

國立政治大學亞太研究英語碩士學位學程
International Master's Program in Asia-Pacific Studies
College of Social Sciences
National Chengchi University

碩士論文

Master's Thesis

臺灣穆斯林少數民族的社會適應：

以印尼穆斯林與中國穆斯林為例

Social Adaptation of Muslim Ethnic Minorities in Taiwan:
Case Study of Indonesian Muslim and Chinese Muslim

Student/ 研究生：Retno Widyastuti/ 孫莉瑋 (101926020)

Advisor/ 指導教授: Prof. Chang, Chung-Fu/ 張中復

中華民國 104 年 01 月

January 2015

臺灣穆斯林少數民族的社會適應：

以印尼穆斯林與中國穆斯林為例

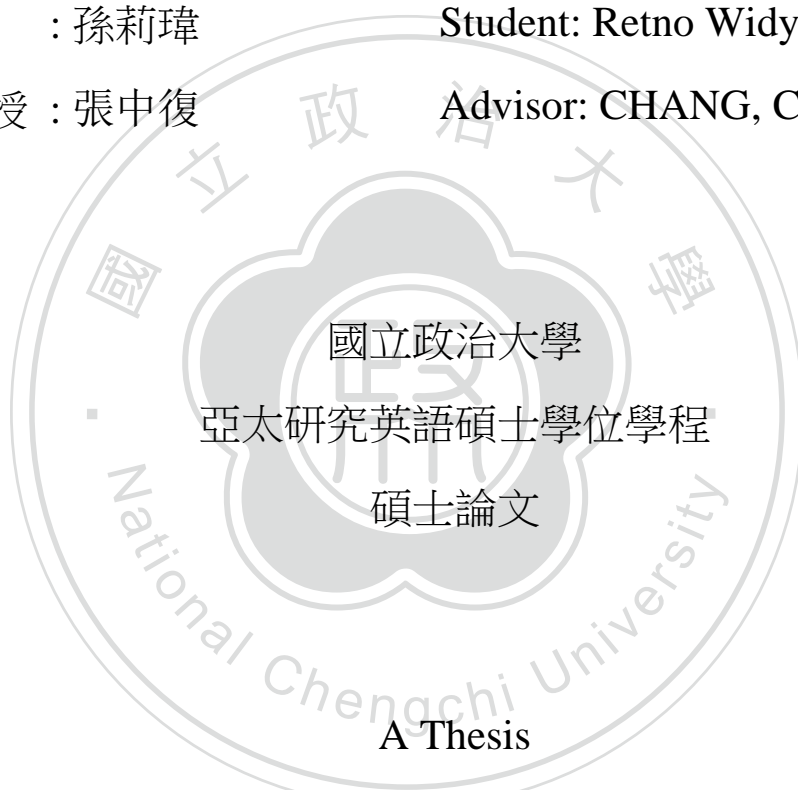
**Social Adaptation of Muslim Ethnic Minorities in Taiwan:
Case Study of Indonesian Muslim and Chinese Muslim**

研究生：孫莉瑋

Student: Retno Widyastuti

指導教授：張中復

Advisor: CHANG, Chung-fu



Submitted to International Master's Program in Asia-Pacific Studies
National Chengchi University
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement
For the Degree of Master of Arts

中華民國 104 年 01 月

January 2015

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, Praise to Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful and the Creator of this universe. Also prays and *salam* for the Prophet Muhammad, the perfect idol in this life. This thesis will not be completed without the outstanding advice, suggestion and full support from my advisor, Prof. Chang Cung Fu, who helped me to finish this thesis and teach me various things about academic life. Also to Prof. Tsai Yuan Lin and Prof. Tsai Zhong De who are willing to be the thesis committee and offer significant advice for my thesis. I also would like to thank Prof. David Holm who introduced me to Prof. Chang, as well as to Prof. David Blundell and Prof. Kuan from their classes during my study in National Chengchi University, introduced and motivated me to learn more about anthropology, ethnology, and sociology.

I would also like to give a nod of appreciation to Prof. Paul O Connor from CUHK and Mr. Shalih Yu from CMA for the important discussion and information about my early research, and for Chinese Muslim Association officers, Imam and staffs in Taipei Grand Mosque, Taipei Cultural Mosque, Longgang Mosque, At-Taqwa Dayuan Mosque, Taichung Mosque, and Kaohsiung Mosque. This research can't be done without the insightful and important discussion from all my interviewees and informant; Indonesian Muslim students, Indonesian Muslim workers communities and Chinese Muslim communities in Taipei, Taoyuan, Longgang, Taichung and Kaohsiung. Also my thankful for Jerrel for helping me with Chinese translation.

Special for my dearest family, *Pak* and *Mak*, my elder sister, brother in law and my niece, thank you very much for your undying support of my studies in Taiwan. I'm a truly blessed person in the world, who's been given many wonderful opportunities in life. Also my family here in Taiwan (Aarin and Ni'mah as my sisters), my circle group in Taiwan, NCCU IA (Dr. Dira Berman, Abner, Jerrel, Nancy and Christine) for wonderful multi-cultural experience, Indonesian family in NCCU ISA, PPI Taiwan, *FORMMIT Utaratu* family, my team and students in UT Taiwan and *Kejar Paket C*, OIC NCCU (esp. Yu Fen), continues support from IMAS officers (esp. Angela and Grace), and IMAS friends (esp. Marlene Dorsey), my new family in PPI Dunia – OISAA and last but not least, Kak Yani, Mbak Lina and Mbak Sarah who has been accompanying me until the end of my stay in Taiwan. I will miss these hectic activities but fruitful and memorable life in Taiwan. *Jazakumullah khairan katsir.*

Taipei, January 2015

Abstract

Taiwan and its Chinese culture is not associated with Islam as religion and Muslim people. However, historically Islam and Muslim play an important role in Chinese history. Starting in early 1990s, there was a growing number of immigrant worker, mainly from South East Asian countries to Taiwan to work in informal sector. Currently Indonesian numbered 200,000, and become the biggest in terms of foreign workers in Taiwan. Majority of these Indonesian workers are Muslim. In order to preserve their identity and cultural life, the Indonesian Muslim in Taiwan formed various religious-based community, do a social adaptation with their environment and interact with Chinese Muslim in Taiwan.

The objective of this study is to initiate the study of Islam and Muslim development in Taiwan, specifically how the social adaptation of Indonesian Muslim with Chinese Muslim in Taiwan, as well as how they preserve their identity as ethnic minority in Taiwan. Qualitative approach on data collection was undertaken, using literature review followed by collecting primary sources from intensive field research and observation in Taipei, Taoyuan, Chungli, Taichung and Kaohsiung.

It's found that Indonesian Muslim gathered and formed some Indonesian Muslim organizations in Taiwan, and they actively interact with Chinese Muslim as the part of their social adaptation. However, due to some differences in cultural background, those Indonesian Muslim communities need to adapt their habit and social life in Taiwan.

Key words: Chinese Muslim, Indonesian Muslim Communities, Muslim Ethnic Minorities, Social Adaptation, Taiwan

摘要

台灣與其中華文化並不像伊斯蘭人民將回教有很強的宗教關聯性。然而歷史上回教和穆斯林在中華的歷史中扮演著一個重要的角色。從1990年代初期，從東南亞有一批勞動者移民來到台灣，並在當地工作。近期，印尼籍的工作者已達到20萬人，他們成為台灣外籍工作者中數量最大的一群。在這當中，絕大部分的印尼籍勞動者都是穆斯林。為了保留自己的身分認同與文化，這群身在台灣的印尼籍穆斯林竟而形成了以宗教為主的許多社群，並因應在地差異與台灣的華人穆斯林進行社會適應上的交流與互動。

此篇研究的目的是在於為台灣的回教與穆斯林研究踏出第一步，尤其是印尼穆斯林與當地的華人穆斯林如何進行社會適應，以及在台灣這樣一個異地環境，身為少數族群的他們如何保有自己的身分認同。此研究採用質性研究方法進行資料蒐集，並以集中性的田野調查中第一手資料的蒐集與觀察進行文獻探討，這些調查資料來自臺北、桃園、中壢、台中以及高雄等地。

此研究發現印尼籍穆斯林聚集並在台灣形成特定的印尼穆斯林組織，並與華人穆斯林有著積極互動，形成他們社會適應過程中的一環。然而，由於文化背景的差異，這些印尼穆斯林社群更需要改變他們社會中的生活習慣以因應在台灣的生活。

關鍵字: 華人穆斯林、印尼穆斯林社群、穆斯林民族弱勢、社會適應、台灣

Table of Contents

Cover.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
摘要 (Abstract in Chinese)	v
Table of Contents.....	vi
List of Figures and Graphs.....	viii
List of Acronyms.....	vii
Chapter 1. Introduction	
1.1 Background.....	1
1.2 Research Questions.....	3
1.3 Research Purpose and Importance.....	3
1.4 Research Methods & Methodology.....	3
1.5 Literature Review.....	5
1.5.1 The Spiritual Life of Indonesia Migrant Workers in Taiwan (2009-2011).....	5
1.5.2 An Explorative Study on the Taiwanese Muslim (2012 - 2013)..	6
1.5.3 Cohesion and Cleavage in a Chinese Muslim Minority.....	7
1.5.4 Ethnic Identity in China: The Making of a Muslim Minority Nationality (1998)	10
1.6 Conceptual Framework	
1.6.1 Immigration, Acculturation and Adaptation (1997)	12
1.6.2 A Theory of Immigrant Religious Adaptation: Disruption, Assimilation, and Facilitation (2010)	14
1.7 Thesis Composition.....	15
Chapter 2. Development of Islam and Muslim in Taiwan	
2.1 History of Islam and Muslim in Taiwan	19
2.1.1 Maritime Silk Road.....	21
2.1.2 Establishment of Taiwan Prefecture by Qing Dynasty.....	21
2.1.3 Nationalist Period (1911 - 1949)	22
2.1.4 Japanese Occupation Period (1895 - 1945).....	23
2.1.5 Evacuation of KMT and Chinese Muslim to Taiwan (1949).....	23
2.1.6 Chinese Muslim Migration from Burma and Thailand.....	24
2.1.7 The Coming of Muslim Foreign Worker to Taiwan.....	24
2.2 Demography and Development of Muslim in Taiwan	27
2.2.1 Chinese Muslim Organizations in Taiwan.....	29
2.2.2 Comparison between Muslim in Taiwan and Mainland China...	29
2.3 Indonesian Muslim Communities in Taiwan.....	32
2.4 Perception of Islam and Muslim in Taiwan.....	36

Chapter 3. Social Adaptation among Indonesian Muslim Communities in Taiwan	38
3.1 Introduction.....	38
3.2 Social and Ethnic Adaptation of Indonesian Muslim in Taiwan.....	39
3.2.1 Indonesian Muslim Activities in Taiwan.....	40
3.3 Masjid At-Taqwa, Indonesian Mosque in Taoyuan.....	44
3.3.1 History of Masjid At-Taqwa in Dayuan.....	44
3.3.2 Masjid At-Taqwa Activities.....	46
3.3.3 Challenges for Masjid At-Taqwa.....	47
3.3.4 Masjid At-Taqwa Phenomenon and Its Influence.....	47
3.4 Social Adaptation of Indonesian Muslim Communities.....	49
3.4.1 Cooperation.....	49
3.4.2 Problem and Challenges.....	51
Chapter 4. Social Adaptation of Indonesian Muslim Communities and Chinese Muslim Communities in Taiwan	53
4.1 Religious Activities and Ceremonies.....	53
4.1.1 Marriage Procession Ceremony.....	54
4.1.2 Death Procession Ceremony.....	55
4.1.3 Friday Prayer.....	55
4.1.4 Ramadan/ Fasting Month.....	56
4.1.5 Islamic Holiday Celebration.....	57
4.1.6 Tabligh Akbar.....	57
4.1.7 Islamic Education.....	58
4.1.8 Islamic Exhibition and Seminar.....	58
4.1.9 Hajj.....	60
4.1.10 Visitation to Detention Center.....	60
4.2 Inter-Marriage.....	61
4.3 Halal Food and Business.....	64
4.4 Challenges for Social Adaptation.....	68
5 Conclusion and Recommendation	
5.1 Conclusion.....	73
5.2 Recommendation.....	73
5.2.1 For Indonesian Muslim Communities.....	74
5.2.2 For Chinese Muslim Communities.....	74
5.2.3 For Both Chinese Muslim and Indonesian Muslim.....	74
5.3 Further Study.....	75
References	76

List of Figures

Figure 1.1	Field Work Agenda.....	3
Figure 1.2	Acculturation Strategies.....	13
Figure 1.3	Conceptual Model of Immigrant Religious Adaptation.....	15

List of Graphs

Graph 2.1	The Number of Indonesian Workers in Taiwan.....	25
Graph 2.2	Indonesian Resident in Taiwan - Based on Living Area.....	26

List of Acronyms

CMA	: Chinese Muslim Association
FORMMIT	: Forum Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia di Taiwan
FOSMIT	: Forum Silaturahmi Indonesia di
IETO	: Indonesia Economic and Trade Office
KMIT	: Keluarga Muslim Indonesia di Taiwan
KOMIT	: Komunitas On Air Indonesia di Taiwan
PCI NCU	: Pengurus Cabang Istimewa Nahdatul Ulama
PCIM	: Pengurus Cabang Istimewa Muhammadiyah
PPI Taiwan	: Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia di Taiwan

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

People are on the move, and so are their faiths...

- The Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life (2012)

1.1 Background

Taiwan and its Chinese culture are not associated with Islam as religion and Muslim people. In fact, the number of Chinese Muslim in Taiwan is expected between 20,000 – 60,000 adherents and mostly they are living in major cities in Taiwan. However, some scholars argued that the number of Chinese Muslim is decreasing in the past 60 years, some others said it is growing. Due to the absence of official statistical survey on religious adherents in Taiwan, this matter still become debatable topic. In fact since 1990s, with the incoming of immigrant workers from South East Asian counties to Taiwan, it's impacted on the number of Muslim in Taiwan.

Currently, there are approximately 200,000 Indonesian workers in Taiwan. Based on Berry's categories on cultural groups (1997; p. 8), the majority of Indonesian who come to Taiwan can be included as *temporary* (such as international students and guest workers). Only a limited number of Indonesian who are permanently settled in Taiwan. They are mostly working in the informal sector, female in early 20's, coming from rural Java and are Muslim.

With their presence, it gives significant growth for Muslim's number in Taiwan in these last 20 years and also gives an important role to represent the image of Islam and Muslim as a whole in Taiwan. It creates a more diverse environment in Taiwan's multicultural life. In order to preserve their identity and cultural life, Indonesian Muslim in Taiwan formed various religious-based community. Therefore, the existence of Indonesian Muslim communities and their activities can help the workers to maintain freshness, and give spiritual strength. These communities can be the medium of aspirations and to maintain brotherhood and solidarity among Indonesian Muslims towards goodness.

As ethnic minorities and religious minority in Taiwan, Muslim and Islam still remaining as a stranger. But with the continues growing number of Muslim in Taiwan, as the part of Taiwan contemporary society, it is important to know and understand more about current development of Islam in Taiwan and Muslim, especially how Indonesian Muslim communities as the “guest” in Taiwan, adapt in new environment socially. Meanwhile, in their daily religious life, they keep interact with Chinese Muslim communities whom are already live in Taiwan for many decades. There should be some acculturations in both sides, during the social adaptation.

The study about Islam and Muslim in Taiwan is still limited, including about the Indonesian Muslim religious life. Thus, in the end of 2013, I conducted a preliminary research and wrote a conference paper titled “Muslim in Contemporary Taiwan; Its Problems and Challenges”. From this research, it is found that the problems and challenges faced by Muslim are coming not only from external, but also internal, among the Muslim communities themselves. There are different challenges between Chinese Muslim communities that already reside in Taiwan for a long time compare to Indonesian Muslim communities who are the “newcomer” in this island. However, there is also some challenges similarities especially due to Taiwan has Islamic country and the Muslim population is very small and become minority.

With the presence of Indonesian Muslim, it shows a social phenomenon of current multicultural life in Taiwan. After seeing these facts, I am interested to know more about the development of Indonesian Muslims in contemporary Taiwan especially in sociological and anthropological perspective, and their social adaptation with the Chinese Muslim communities especially in major cities in Taiwan. Furthermore, with the multi-origins and multi-ethnic of foreign Muslims, as well as the existence of Chinese Muslims in Taiwan, it creates academic curiosity within me.

With my background as an Indonesian, student, Muslim and experiences to join several Muslim community’s activities, these can give me an insider perspective on Muslim and Islam in Taiwan itself, by doing active-participative observation. However, to make an objective research that fits with academic standard, I will also use an outsider perspective during my field research by interviewing key person and reviewing various literatures as reference.

1.2 Research Question

There is limited prior study about Indonesian Muslim communities in Taiwan. Therefore, to initiate this topic I would like to know and analyze the social adaptation of Indonesian Muslim communities with Chinese Muslim communities. The main question in this research is: How does the social adaptation of Indonesian Muslim communities with the Chinese Muslim communities in Taiwan?

1.3 Research Purposes and Importance

The number of Muslim in Taiwan is growing in the past 20 years, especially with the coming of Indonesian Muslim worker. Because there is still limited study about this topic, my purpose and importance of study is to initiate an academic writing related to current development of Indonesian Muslim communities, and also social adaptation of Indonesian Muslim communities with the Chinese Muslim communities in Taiwan, especially in Taipei, Taoyuan, Chungli, Taichung and Kaohsiung. These areas are selected based on the presence of Mosque and the number of Muslim that reside in the city.

In some extend, it can be one part of studies of multicultural life of Taiwan in general. It also can be suggestion for both Muslim community and Taiwan government, for policy making process on social and multi-cultural integration in Taiwan. Furthermore, I do hope that this research can enrich the study of contemporary Islam and Muslim in Taiwan, specifically related to Indonesian Muslim communities in Taiwan.

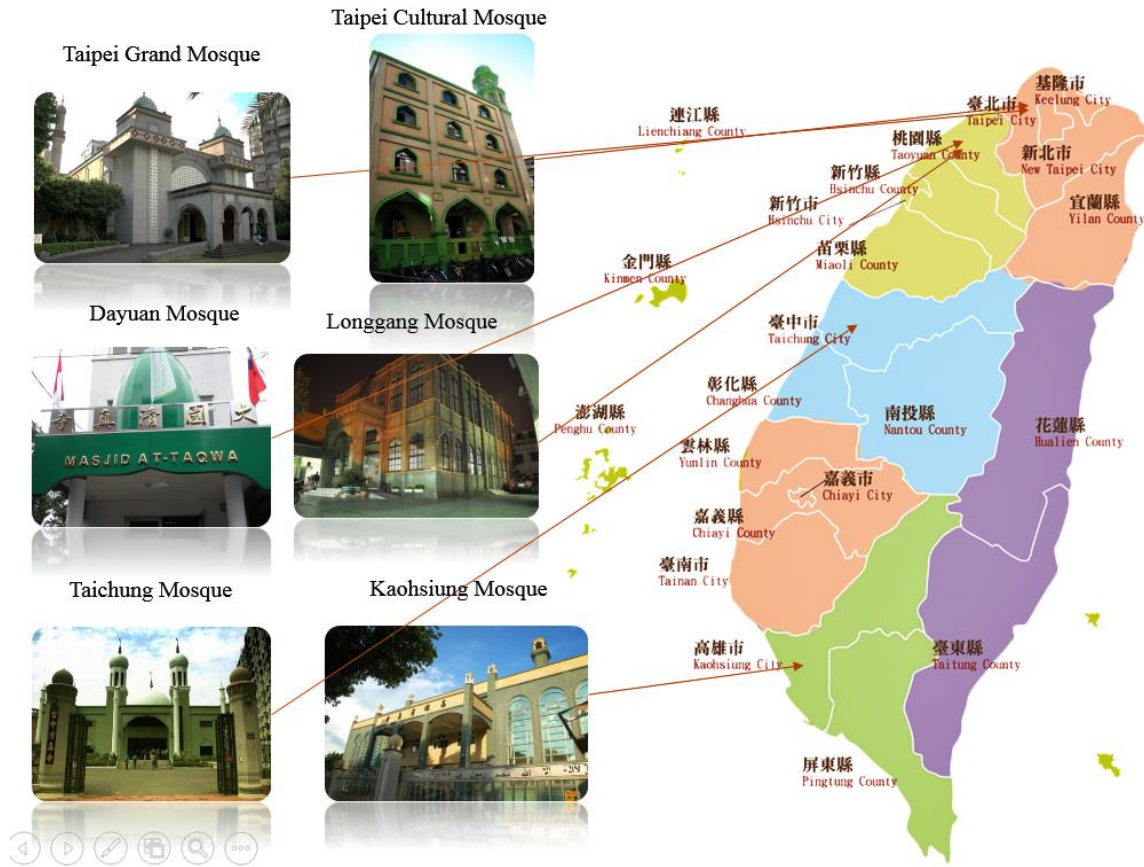
1.4 Research Methods & Methodology

To make an objective view and academic studies for this topic, I use wide range of primary and secondary sources. I conducted intensive field research and observation in Taipei, Taoyuan, Chungli, Taichung and Kaohsiung for two months (June – July 2014) mainly in the mosque, especially during Ramadan or the fasting month on July 2014, Friday prayer, and Muslim communities' weekend activities.

From the observation, the highest interaction between Indonesian Muslim communities and Chinese Muslim communities happened in the mosque. *Masjid* or mosque plays very important roles for Muslim, not only in term of religious needs, but also social aspects. Mosque known as a place for Muslim to do the worship. However, mosque not restricted

to being a place of worship, a location for performing rituals, or a social and political dimension of the Muslim community, instead, it has served as a symbol of belonging and identity (Abdel-Hady, 2010).

Figure 1.1 Field Work Agenda



For primary data, I did in-depth interview with Indonesian Muslim students, workers, and Imam/ staff of the mosque in those cities. The average time that I needed for each respondent for the interview was 45 to 60 minutes. Although it was not fulfil the standard time for an in-depth interview, but from various informant and sources I can cross-check and get the key points of the interviews. However, further research might be required to get a better findings. All the interviews were being recorded (audio), and after I finished it, I wrote the transcript of discussion and made field notes about my observation. While for secondary data I used references from journals, books, articles and news related to my research topic.

1.5 Literature Review

1.5.1 The Spiritual Life of Indonesia Migrant Workers in Taiwan (2009-2011)

A thesis written by Yu Li-na (Chinese name of Yuherina Gusman), an Indonesian that graduated from National Central University – Chungli, titled “The Spiritual Life of Indonesia Migrant Workers in Taiwan (2009-2011)”, will be used as reference to understand the background of Indonesian workers, as the biggest Muslim number in Taiwan, and their spiritual life.

She was applying surface reading in looking at Indonesia Muslim migrant workers life in Taiwan. She found some importance of realities that cannot be understood by non-Indonesian or non-Muslim if it is only read in terms of the differences of cultures and beliefs (Gusman, 2011: p.84). Difference of cultures and beliefs have significant impacts for the life of Indonesian migrant workers.

She concluded and suggested some recommendations regarding regulation and policies on Indonesian Muslim workers, such as:

1) Standard of Contract

Without proper legal protection and a standard contract, each new employment contract brings with it the risk of reduced freedom of mobility and exploitative employer demand. The workers hardly have any chance to improve their situation. For Muslim migrant workers, the missing standard contract makes the need of their beliefs remain un-seen.

2) Reduce the Power of Agencies/ Broker

Most Indonesian Muslim migrant workers accept many mistreatments that violate their belief and psychologies because of their low bargaining power towards agencies.

3) Extended training and information for all involved government agencies

4) Develop A Plural Visions

With the global migration, it makes the society become more complex in terms of religion and ethnicity. Employers and employees are from different countries and cultures and this creates the modern plural societies, thus building the plural vision can be both alienating and inspiring, a source of awareness and dissatisfaction, and a source of pleasure and apprehension.

5) Affirmative Policies

There should be affirmative policies from Indonesian government through political or cultural diplomacies.

6) Empowerment Activities

1.5.2 An Explorative Study on the Taiwanese Muslim (2012 - 2013)

The most recent studies about Muslim demography and analysis in Taiwan, is the writing of Prof. Kuo Wen-ban, an associate professor from Department of Sociology in National Taipei University. His works titled "An Explorative Study on the Taiwanese Muslim (2012 - 2013)" for Institute for Asian Muslim Studies in Waseda University. Kuo explained about how the Taiwanese religious studies in general and sociology of religion in particular had contributed very little to the better understanding of the Muslims in Taiwan, and only a few anthropological field researches which conducted by researchers for their research projects or graduate students for their degree thesis (Kuo, 2013: p.2). He argued that perhaps it was due to the inaccessible of Muslims from general social survey and because of its relatively small size. The knowledge of the Muslims in Taiwan is more from the daily experiences, than from systematic investigations.

For his research, he conducted survey to Muslim respondents who residing in Taiwan, both Chinese/ Taiwanese Muslim and also foreign Muslim (mainly from Indonesia, and a small number of Pakistan and Myanmar respondents). Kuo's research emphasizes demographic studies and analysis about immigrant Muslim in contemporary Taiwan. He mentioned that marriage between immigrants Muslim with Taiwanese is higher in Muslim from Pakistan, Myanmar rather than Muslim from Indonesia. Most of Indonesian Muslim practice endogamy. And he argued that the longer the immigrant Muslim have stayed, the greater marriage rates with Taiwanese.

These Muslim immigrants come to Taiwan mainly because of economic reasons. From Kuo's survey, the income level of the Indonesians is the lowest, while the income distribution of Muslim from Pakistan and Myanmar (then called as Others Muslims) is similar to Taiwanese/ Chinese Muslims. He also argued that there is a positive correlation between year of stay and monthly income: the longer one have stayed, the more income they obtain (Kuo, 2013: 5).

Kuo also mentioned four reasons of coming to Taiwan: 1) Economic reasons (earn money and being told there was a job), 2) Improving one's ability (to study and training), 3) Social

reason (invited by friends and family/ relative), and 4) Technical reason (easy to enter Taiwan and introduced by broker). He mentioned most of Indonesians' reason is economic reasons and technical reasons. While Others Muslim is to improving one's ability and social reasons.

His survey covered some questions, such as: general conditions and respondents background, life in home country, life in Taiwan related to work, religious life (including access to halal food/ restaurant, access to mosque/ prayer room, and access to *da'wa* (calling people to Islam), life in Taiwan related to language comprehension, satisfaction to some aspects such as; work, residence, family, medical care, and financial condition, and the interesting part is satisfaction towards relations with people from respondent's country and relations with Muslims.

1.5.3 Cohesion and Cleavage in a Chinese Muslim Minority (1973)

The first and mainly-cited reference on anthropological studies of Chinese Muslim as ethnic minority and Islam as a religious minority in Taiwan was a dissertation written by Barbara Linne Kroll Pillsbury from Columbia University in 1973, titled *Cohesion and Cleavage in a Chinese Muslim Minority*. Most of her research was conducted in the capital city of Taipei where the concentration of Muslims is the greatest, but she also investigated the secondary cities and towns which the Hui associational networks reached out. She spent about two years living and conducting field research in Taiwan to collect her data through passive or adaptational research and participant-observation research.

Pillsbury's main questions in her research (p.6) are to what extent has shared religion functioned as an integrative force in providing bases for association and for community solidarity in the urban milieu? To what extent have forces of conflict which characterize the community neutralized the existing cohesive forces? What is the nature of the boundaries existing between the Hui community and non-Muslims and how they maintained while its individual members learn to survive in the dominant Han society without being assimilated by it?

Her dissertation consists of four parts. The first part presents the ethno-historical background of the "*Hui-minzu*" or Hui ethnic-minority, including the problem and its social, economic, religious and political setting. Mainlanders Muslims on Taiwan after 1949 concentrated primarily in Taipei, Kaohsiung and Taichung. Most of their profession were

career military personnel, civil servants or small businessmen, a small number of restaurant business owner, a few of farmer and none of sailor (p.3).

Because of the civil war, the Muslims who crossed over to Taiwan in 1949 were become as refugees. They settled wherever and work wherever they found an employer in Taiwan. Pillsbury mentioned that their geographical origins, linguistic groups, and occupational backgrounds in mainland China were varied. But with the single element which drew them all together while setting them apart from other Chinese was Islam (p.4). For each new Muslim arrival on Taiwan access to the Muslim associational networks that had already come, for procuring housing and employment. Through this networks there developed multi-stranded relationships of mutual dependency among the Hui. Even though their diverse origins and socio-economic statuses, the Hui assumed themselves to be a single community united through Islam, as the expression said: “All Hui under heaven are one family” (p. 5).

The second chapter in this first part deals with factors Hui perceive as cohesive or integrative, those which have created a strong in-group sentiment among individuals and families of very disparate origins. First of all, Pillsbury explained about isolation and sinification¹ of religions in China. Similar to Buddhism, Christianity and Judaism, Islam was “foreign” religions imported into China (p. 8). However, although Islam has been existed in China for thirteen centuries in China, Islam which underwent a high degree of sinification never became the part of the Chinese religio-cultural mainstream. Then Pillsbury describes the development of Islam in China².

From Hui historians, he divided the development of Islam in ancient China into several periods (Sun 1963: 144-145, in Pillsbury 1973: 11-20):

1) Period of penetration (early Tang dynasty)

During this period, many traders and mercenaries sent by the Caliph to assist the Chinese emperor in quelling a Tatar rebellion. They rewarded with land and permission to settle in China’s chief cities. Those merchants who came and settled known as “barbarian guests”, and they took Chinese wives.

¹ Sinification or Sinicization is a term to define the process of acculturation in China. Sinicization and the cultural contact with the Chinese (including the influence of Confucianism), continues to produce an acculturation of different background (Katzenstein, 2012).

² Islam followed two routes to China, first by sea (Maritime-Silk Road) and later by land (the fabled Silk Road across Central Asia into Turkestan) (Pillsbury, 1973: p. 8-9)

2) Period of expansion (during Tang dynasty 618 – 906 and Song dynasty, 960 – 1279)
During this time, the trade in which Arab and Persian Muslims were middlemen, grew steadily. The Muslim population was able to increase and spread inland.

3) Period of influence (during the Yuan dynasty, 1279 – 1368)

Under the Mongol emperor, there are more Muslims rose to high military and civil office. The freedom of travel throughout Central Asia, encouraged great cross-cultures and cross-people: Chinese into Central Asia and Arabs, as well as Turks and Persians into China. It's encouraged an influx of Muslim merchants, doctors, scholars, astronomers, astrologers and high-ranking military men who became Mongol's advisors, military sides and staff officers (Pai Shou-I, 1951: 21-22 in Pillsbury, 1973: 12).

4) Period of weakness

Throughout the Ming and Qing dynasties, Chinese Islam remained in protracted isolation from the Islamic world community. The Ming pursued a policy prohibiting foreign dress, foreign languages and foreign names. It is during this period that Chinese Islam underwent its greatest sinification.

According to Ting (1058: 349 – 350, in Pillsbury, 1973: 13-15), there are four aspects of sinification process:

- a) Adoption of Chinese surnames. They chose the Chinese surname which sounded most similar to his original Arabic, Persian or Turkic name, such as; Ma, Ta, Ha, Ho, Na, Sa, Ting, etc. All Muslims on Taiwan have both Muslim and Chinese personal names as well as a Chinese surname
- b) Adoption of Chinese dress
- c) Adoption of Chinese food habits, such as techniques of preparation and the use of chopsticks.
- d) Adoption of local Chinese dialects, in came to replace Arabic and Persian language.

Another factor that contribute to Muslim isolation was Manchu persecution. The Manchus adopted a deliberate divide and rule policy of setting the Muslims against

the Chinese. There was a series of rebellions in Gansu, Yunnan, and Northwest China.

5) Period of Renaissance

The Islamic minority in China began to break out from isolation with the collapse of Qing dynasty. They tried to back into the Islam mainstream through “sunnification”³. Some factors that made Chinese Muslim can break out the isolations are:

- a) Cessation of large-scale hostilities
- b) Sun Yat-sen’s doctrine in 1911 about “harmony and quality of the five races”⁴ which officially put the Muslims on an equal footing with the Chinese
- c) The increasing number of Chinese Muslim who were able to make the pilgrimage to Mecca because of the new freedom of movement and improved transportation.

For the third, fourth and fifth chapter in first part, it consist of the social setting, economic setting, religious setting. Part three discusses conflict within the community which the Hui perceive as dis-integrative and working against the cohesive factors (the cleavage in the community: political organization). While the concluding part focuses on maintenance of social boundaries between the Hui minority and the Han majority, specifically on the threat of assimilation (Pillsbury, 1973: p. 2-3).

1.5.4 Ethnic Identity in China: The Making of a Muslim Minority Nationality (1998)

There are several terms that often being used to call the Muslim in China, such as; the Hui, the Hui Muslim, Chinese Muslim, and Muslim Chinese. What are the differences? To have basic knowledge and understanding about Chinese Muslim, I will briefly reviewed two books written by Dru C. Gladney, who is one of the leading scholars that have expertise in China’s ethnic minorities, especially on Muslim minorities. These books titled “Ethnic Identity in China; The Making of a Muslim Minority Nationality” and “Muslim Chinese: Ethnic Nationalism in the People’s Republic”. They explain how are the Muslims “made”

³ This term refers to reform aimed at purifying Islam of local unorthodox beliefs, practices, and laws which contradict the tenets of Islam (Pillsbury, 1973: 20-21).

⁴ Five races are Han, Manchu, Mongol, Hui and Tibetan

in China and how their ethnic and cultural identity formed in China, as well as explanation of the term “Hui” identity.

The “Hui” is the largest Muslim society among 55 official ethnic minorities in China, in which 10 of them are Muslim. Gladney wrote this book based on his field research for period of years, meeting and talking to Hui in more than 400 households throughout China (from north to south and east to west). He found a problem to discover how the Hui view themselves, how they recognize who is Hui. In the introduction, he said that he felt an ambiguity for the status of them. He said, “After almost 3 years of fieldwork in China, the longer I searched for the Hui, the less I understood what made them Hui (p.1)”.

Compare to another 55 ethnic minorities in China, the Hui has the most special case among the others since the Hui distinguished separately and they are out of the four common category outlined by Joseph Stalin. They generally do not have their own language, peculiar dress, literature, music or the other cultural inventories by which more colorful minorities are portrayed. George and Louise Spindler, the editors said that; for the Hui there is no “we”, because the Hui consist of widely divergent communities living within varying ecological contexts and experience their ethnicity in radically different ways, and they inhabit every major metropolitan area of China and are considered China’s major urban ethnic group. Moreover, they are internally diverse and their presumed ethnicity so ambiguous, so that they are out of the Stalin’s category.

To get further understanding about this matter, Gladney explains the root cause of this problem. He mentioned about the uniting of China through the politics of ethnic identification and Han nationalism, as well as explanation about “unofficial” ethnicity. China’s centralized, state-sponsored policies as well as cultural politics and identity, directed at Muslims and other minorities. Gladney asked; “Why would anyone want to be recognized as an official minority nationality? And why would the government want to recognize them in the first place?”

Later on, he describes more about who are the Hui. Gladney tries to identify the Hui and the background of the making of the Hui nationality as their ethnic identity in China. The explanation is through ethnicity theory from many approaches, such as: the Chinese-Stalinist approach, the Culturalist approach, the circumstantialist approach. Then, Gladney gives more specific case studies about ethno-religious resurgence in a northwestern Sufi

community, fundamentalist revival in Na homeland and the ethno-religious roots, also socioeconomic context and local government policies of Na identity. In the end of his book, Gladney explains about ethnic national identity in the contemporary Chinese State.

Compare to other book, Gladney gives detail explanation about the “ambiguity” status of the Hui as an ethnic in China. Specifically, he gives the reader basic understanding about Hui’s identity as Muslim minority nationality, before explaining some case studies and the Hui’s life nowadays. After read this book, I can understand more about the “uniqueness” of Hui’s identity and status as a minority ethnic in China, and its consequences and impact on some issues/ phenomenon in current China’s situation.

1.6 Conceptual Framework

1.6.1 Immigration, Acculturation and Adaptation (1997)

John W. Berry is a scholar from Queen’s University in Ontario, Canada. In 1997 he wrote an article titled “Immigration, Acculturation and Adaptation”. His main question is how individuals who have developed in one cultural context manage to adapt to new contexts that result from migration. Berry argue that, in the acculturation process there are several variables that depends on the social and personal variables that reside in the society of origin, the society of settlement, and phenomena that exist prior to and arise during the acculturation. He said that the concept of acculturation is employed to refer the cultural changes resulting from these group encounters. Berry also mentioned that there are three interrelated aspects of adaptation: 1) psychological, 2) socio-cultural, and 3) economic.

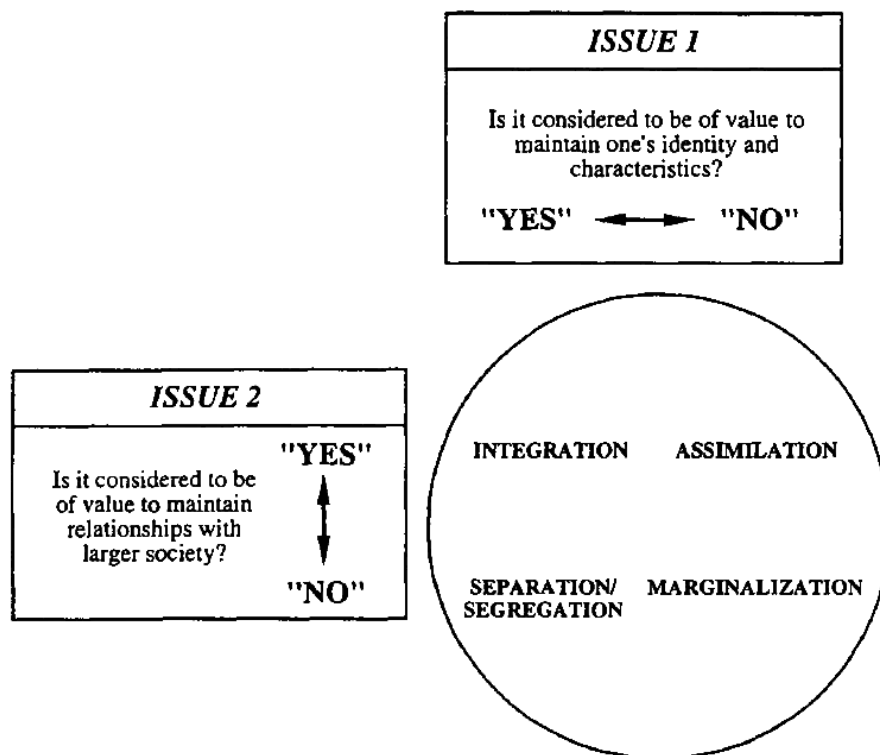
To understand the adaptation and cultural transition of immigrant, Berry gives explanation about basic concept of acculturation. There are several definition about acculturation, the classic one was defined by Redfield, Linton, and Herkovits in 1936 (in Berry, 1997). They defined acculturation as it comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures, come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture pattern of either or both groups. Acculturation is a collective or group-level phenomenon. In other word, acculturation is a change in the culture of the group.

The next discussion emphasized on assimilation, that can be *reactive* by triggering resistance to change in both groups, *creative* by stimulating new cultural forms that not

found in either of cultures in contact, and *delayed* by initiating changes that appear more fully years later. Another basic concept related to immigration issues is plural societies. Berry mentioned that as a result of immigration, the society become culturally plural, means people of many cultural backgrounds come to live together in a diverse society. In some cases, the cultural groups has different power that resulted social terms such as minority, ethnic group, etc.

For immigrant, they should deal with the issue of how to acculturate. In order to adapt and acculturate, there are two main issues for these cultural groups. First issue is *cultural maintenance*, means to what extent are cultural identity and characteristics considered to be important, and their maintenance strived for. The second issue is *contact and participation*, means to what extent should they become involved in other cultural groups or remain primarily among themselves (p. 9).

Figure 1.2 Acculturation Strategies



(Source: Berry, 1997: p. 10)

There are four acculturation strategies: 1) *Assimilation*; when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures; 2) *Separation*, when individuals place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time

wish to avoid interaction with others; 3) *Integration*, when there is an interest in both maintaining one's original culture, while in daily interactions with other groups; and 4) *Marginalization*, when there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), and little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination).

Berry defines adaptation as changes that take place in individuals or groups in response to environmental demands. In acculturation context, there are two adaptations: psychological adaptation and sociocultural adaptation. In this thesis, I will focus on sociocultural adaptation. It more closely linked to the social skills framework (Ward and Kennedy, 1993a in Berry, 1997: p. 14).

1.6.2 A Theory of Immigrant Religious Adaptation: Disruption, Assimilation, and Facilitation (2010)

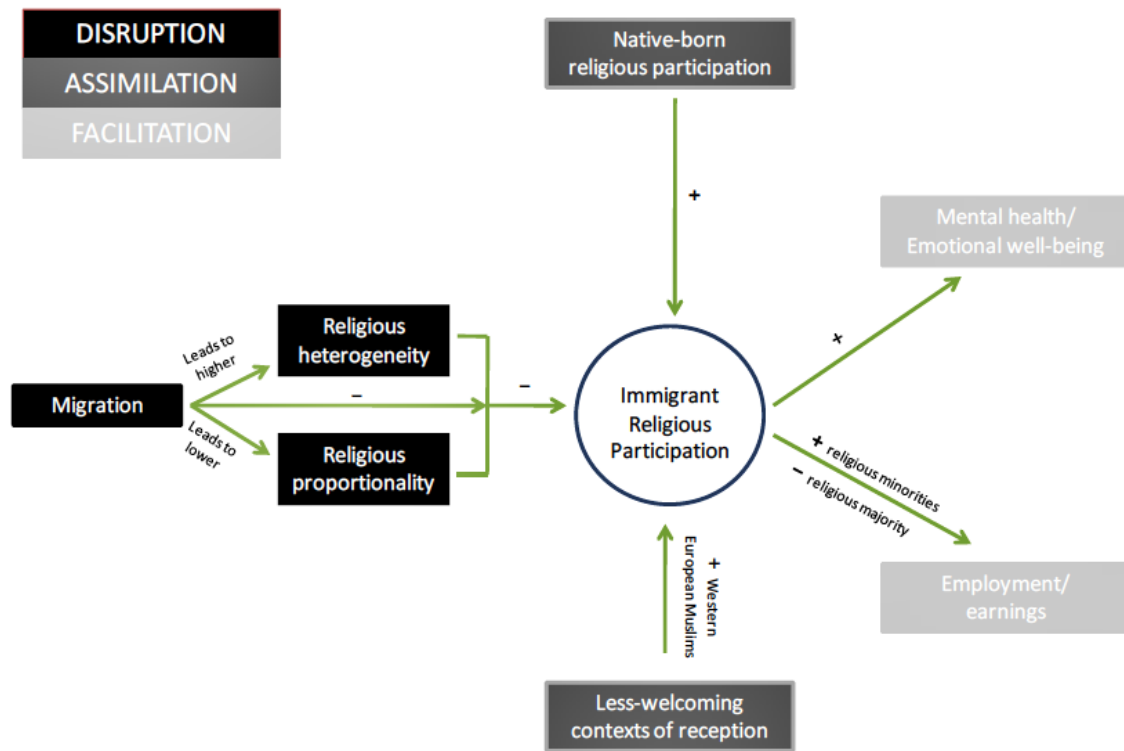
Phillip Carey Connor from Princeton University wrote his dissertation in 2010, titled "A Theory of Immigrant Religious Adaptation: Disruption, Assimilation, and Facilitation". From the research conducted by many sociologists, it is find that religion is important to immigrants, not only in theological or spiritual terms, but also religion has become a point of transnational contact between origin and host societies (p. 7 – 8).

This congregations become the center of religious and cultural reproduction for the second and third generations. In other words, religious practice not only serves to maintain immigrants' cultural traditions, but it also recreates ethnic and religious traditions for their children (p.8). Another important finding by sociologist of migration is that religion and religious institutions can positively assist immigrants in their incorporation into the host society, and religion helps immigrants economically, politically, and psychologically in their adaptation in new environment.

He mentioned that immigrant religious adaptation can consist of three distinct movements; 1) The change in religious practice from origin to host country, 2) The subsequent adjustments made to religious practice in the host country, and 3) The integration into the host society through religious practice. Connor said that in immigrant lives, assimilation to the new society in both its straight-line and newly modified forms, is not always expected for all aspects. For immigrant, religious affiliation is expected to remain a continuing part of the immigrant's identity, and become a sacred piece of immigrant life left untouched by

the assimilation process. Although immigrants do not assimilate *en masse* to the dominant religious beliefs in the new society, immigrants do religiously assimilate in terms of form or frequency of religious participation.

Figure 1.3 Conceptual Model of Immigrant Religious Adaptation



(Source: Connor, 2010: p. 60)

1.7 Thesis Composition

This research will be divided into five chapters. The **first chapter** will explain about thesis background and motivation, research questions, objectives, literature review, conceptual frameworks, thesis composition and research framework. The concept that will be used is social adaptation, and immigrant religious adaptation.

The **second chapter** describe the development of Islam and Muslim in Taiwan, including its history background, current demography of Muslim in Taiwan, development of Indonesian Muslim in Taiwan and the problem and challenges of Muslim in the Taiwan's cultural context.

Currently, there are 1.6 billion adherents of Islam worldwide. Originated from Arabian Peninsula, Islam already spread to entire world, and Muslims have a wide range of races, ethnicities and cultures. They are united in their belief in God and the Prophet Muhammad and are bound together by such religious practices as fasting during the holy month of Ramadan and almsgiving to assist people in need (Pew Research Center, 2012b).

There are also Muslim populations in China. In this country, Islam as religion and culture has been treated as foreign religion, and its presence is not associated with Chinese culture. In fact, according to Michael Dillon (2009), Islam had a significant presence in China since the earliest days of the religion, along with trade activities through Silk Road. Its presence also take important part in China's long history, and gives influential culture that has often times changed the course of Chinese history. Its influence is too vital to be overlooked in discussion of current Chinese culture (Cho, 2009).

In Mainland China, the Chinese Muslim often called as *Hui*, in which the Hui are one of ethnic minority groups in China. However there is different context on using this term in Taiwan. In contemporary Taiwan, the term Hui still being used to refer to all Muslim peoples and Islam is often referred to as *Hui jiao*, although there are some of them reject this term. Instead as a separate nationality in Taiwan, they are more as a religious group or the believers in the Hui religion (*Hui jiao tu*) rather than members of the Hui ethnic group (*Hui minzu*) (Gladney: 1991, p. 19). Many urban Hui and intellectuals prefer and often to use the term "Islam" (*Yisilan jiao*) and "Muslim" (*Musilin*) (Gladney: 1991, p. 20). This condition play an important role for the Hui identity construction in Taiwan that differ to those in Mainland China. The difference between the PRC and Taiwan policies related to religion and nationality has also affected Hui identity and its expression in both societies (Gladney: 1991, p. 283).

In modern Taiwan, most of the Chinese Muslim was coming during the evacuation of Kuo Min Tang's government from mainland China to Taiwan in 1949, with a big number of Chinese Muslim, including some of prominent Chinese Muslims in government and military position. There are military generals that had significant roles during Chiang Kai Shek early leadership in Taiwan, and had several influences which strengthen Islam and Muslim presence in Taiwan's domestic and international affairs (especially with Islamic World & Middle East).

While the second phase is the international migration⁵ of Chinese Muslim from Burma and Thailand in 1980's. They are the descendant of Yunnan Chinese Muslim who moved to northern Thailand and Burma, and then later moved to Taiwan for seeking a better economic condition and living. The most current one is the coming of Muslim foreign workers to Taiwan in 1990s from South East Asian countries. Nowadays, Indonesian workers, in which the majority of them are Muslim, numbered the largest in Taiwan.

The third chapter and fourth chapter will be focused on the analysis of the research finding of observation and field work in Taipei, Taoyuan, Chungli, Taichung and Kaohsiung as well as some social adaptation cases of Indonesian Muslim communities with Chinese Muslim communities in Taiwan.

The **third chapter** is my contribution for introducing the study of Indonesian Muslim communities in Taiwan. I will describe the development and analyze the social adaptation of Indonesian Muslim in Taiwan. With the number of 200,000 Indonesian in Taiwan, it is important to know how they preserve and maintain their identity in Taiwan, what are their problem and challenges. And to understand Indonesian Muslim in Taiwan, we should know how their background. Most of the Indonesian Muslim workers are coming from rural Java Island and having Indonesian traditional Muslim background or often called “*nahdiyyin*” (*Nahdatul Ulama* follower). Then continued with phenomenon of *Masjid At-Taqwa* that includes the story behind.

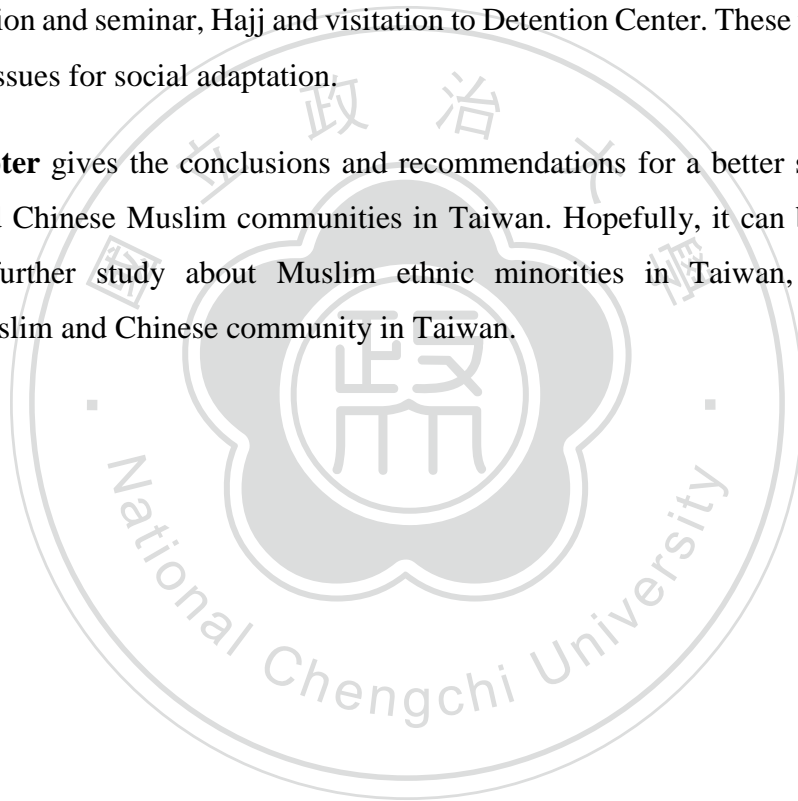
As immigrant and “guest” in Taiwan, in order to preserve their identity and cultural life, the Indonesian Muslim formed various religious-based communities and to fulfil their needs for a place for religious purpose and social gathering, they build this first “Indonesian-mosque” in Dayuan, Taoyuan. *Masjid At-Taqwa* officially launched on June 9th, 2013 and then become the 7th mosque in Taiwan. Its name sounds uncommon for a mosque in Taiwan; it is because this mosque was initiated and built by Indonesian Muslim immigrant in Taiwan. Later on, it will talk about social adaptation and relations among Indonesian Muslim Communities in Taiwan. Currently there are more than 200 Indonesian organizations in Taiwan, not only for religious activities but also advocacy for Indonesian workers.

⁵ According to the United Nations Population Division, an international migrant defines as someone who has been living for one year or longer in a country other than the one in which he or she was born. This means that many foreign workers and international students are counted as migrants (Pew Research Center, 2012a).

While the **fourth chapter** will analyze the social adaptation of Indonesian Muslim community and the Chinese Muslim communities in Taiwan. This chapter as the finding and analysis part of the observation and interview that conducted in mosques in Taipei, Taoyuan, Chungli, Taichung and Kaohsiung.

Some cases for the social adaptation among them will be divided into inter-marriage, religious activities and ceremony, and also halal food and business. For the religious activities and ceremonies, some of the events where Chinese Muslim and Indonesian Muslim interacted are related to wedding procession ceremony, death procession ceremony, Friday pray, Ramadan, Islamic holiday celebration, *tabligh akbar*, Islamic education, Islamic exhibition and seminar, Hajj and visitation to Detention Center. These three aspects become main issues for social adaptation.

The **fifth chapter** gives the conclusions and recommendations for a better social life of Indonesian and Chinese Muslim communities in Taiwan. Hopefully, it can be a premier research for further study about Muslim ethnic minorities in Taiwan, specifically Indonesian Muslim and Chinese community in Taiwan.



CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAM AND MUSLIM IN TAIWAN

2.1 History of Islam and Muslim in Taiwan

China and its culture is not traditionally associated with Islam and Muslim. In fact, according to Michael Dillon (2009), Islam had a significant presence in China since the earliest days of the religion, along with trade activities through Silk Road⁶. Its presence also take important part in China's long history, and gives influential culture that has often times changed the course of Chinese history. However, its influence is too vital to be overlooked in discussion of current Chinese culture (Cho, 2009), and this condition similar to Islam in Taiwan.

Pillsbury (1973) in her dissertation mentioned that it is because of one thousand years' isolation from the rest of the Islamic world. In fact, according to Michael Dillon (2009), Islam had a significant presence in China since the earliest days of the religion⁷, along with trade activities through Silk Road. Its presence also take important part in China's long history, and gives influential culture that has often times changed the course of Chinese history. Its influence is too vital to be overlooked in discussion of current Chinese culture (Cho, 2009).

With its strong Chinese culture, people in general never thought that Islam and Muslim is existed in this island. The very first wave of Muslim migration to this Island was in 1661, following the collapse of the Ming Dynasty China passed into the hands of the Manchus⁸ (Pillsbury, 1973: p.2).

Fan Jing Peng and Ma Shi Ying (2012) divided the waves of Islam in Taiwan before 1945 into 3 phases⁹: 1) Zheng He's fleet arrived in Taiwan in the late Ming and early Qing

⁶ Islam, known as "Religion of Trade", is spreading and developing in China along with the Silk Road routes, for both economic and religious term. The most common route was land route of Silk Route that stretch from Middle East through Central Asia to Eastern coast China.

⁷ Islam presence in Chinese land has been existing for more than 1300 years

⁸ Pillsbury (1973) mentioned that there are approximately 20,000 Taiwanese descendants of those Muslims who follows the Ming loyalist Koxinga (Cheng Cheng-kung) to Taiwan. Most of them settled in small coastal towns such as Lukang, Keelung, Sual, Changhua and Tamsui (p.2).

⁹ From the journal written by Fan and Ma (2012) it mentioned that the Islamic Studies in Taiwan before 1945 were insufficient. But then after 1945 the Restoration Day of Taiwan, it becomes much more sufficient. The scholars who studied Fujian and Taiwan local history and culture, introduced how the life of Muslim in

Dynasties and then moved many immigrants from mainland, and many Hui living in Quanzhou moved to Taiwan, 2) During Qing Dynasty, in which Qing government unified Taiwan, set up the local government and sent several Muslim officials from mainland there¹⁰, and 3) During the Japanese occupation, “foreign” religions incl. Islam were suppressed.

According to Ming history, the earliest Muslims in Taiwan were coming along with Zheng He (鄭和), a great navigator in Ming dynasty. The situation of Zheng He's journey to the West Ocean was recorded in *Gòng Diǎn Lù* (貢典錄), which also recorded the document of countries and local areas where Zheng He has been. Before Qing Dynasty government set Taiwan Prefecture in 1684, the local affairs of Taiwan were under the management of Fujian Province in China (Fan and Ma, 2012).

During the Tang, Song and Yuan Dynasty, many Muslim merchants from Central and West Asia¹¹ travelled to Fujian, which located in eastern coast of China, by the Maritime Silk Route to establish trade contact with China. Richard C. Foltz (1999: 97) mentioned some factors that become major factor accounting for the Islamization of the Silk Road are the Muslim domination of commercial activity. He described that a businessman could feel that becoming a Muslim would facilitate contacts and cooperation with other Muslim businessmen both at home and abroad. It would also benefit from favorable conditions extended by Muslim officials and from the Islamic laws governing commerce. Another factor is assimilation through marriage. Whatever the reasons for one's converting to Islam, Islamization occurs most profoundly among the succeeding generation, since the convert's children in principle will be raised within the father's new community, not his original one.

Taiwan. However, the introduction was incomplete and without comprehensive studies of Muslim in China and its relationship with Taiwan.

¹⁰ Chen Taiping and Bai Qiguo Hui group in Quanzhou Hui Community became major settlers in Taiwan

¹¹ The Hui Chinese have diverse origins, and many of whom are direct descendants of Silk Road travelers. Some in the southeast coast (Guangdong, Fujian) and in major trade centers elsewhere in China are of mixed local and foreign descent. Their ancestors include Central Asian, Arabs, and Persian who married Han Chinese. Several medieval dynasties, particularly the Tang Dynasty, Song Dynasty, and Mongol Yuan Dynasty encouraged immigration from predominantly Muslim Persia and Central Asia, with both dynasties welcoming traders from these regions and appointing Central Asian officials. In the subsequent centuries, they gradually mixed with Mongols and Han Chinese, and the Hui people were formed.

2.1.1 Maritime Silk Road

In this period as well, many Muslim from Arab or Persia also followed the Maritime Silk Road for business or missionary purposes. In the past, Fujian and Quanzhou where crossed the Taiwan Strait and faced Taiwan, were the important starting point of “Maritime Silk Road”. The term “Maritime Silk Route” (海上丝绸之路/ *Hǎishàng sīchóu zhī lù*) is to describe the route that being used by Muslim migrants, who mostly were Arabs and Persians that first came to China, by the sea. Since the 7th century (Tang Dynasty), Muslims constituted a majority in China’s foreign immigration. Chinese scholars generally identified these foreign Muslims as ‘the maritime Muslims’ (海路穆斯林/ *Hǎilù mùsīlín*). Most of these Muslims were traders (Fan, 2001a: 309). Soon, the cross-strait open the ship transportation and since then there are more and more people came for different purposes, such as fishing and business.

The maritime Muslim traders then settled down and lived here, formed a "special foreign culture", married local Chinese, built mosque and tombs for Muslim as well, and then eventually formed a new ethnic group ‘Hui’¹², which carried out the mission of spreading the Islamic teachings. Foreign migrants formed their own neighborhood communities (*fanfang* or foreign street), as named by local Chinese in these cities.

2.1.2 Establishment of Taiwan Prefecture by Qing Dynasty

The establishment of Taiwan Prefecture by Qing Dynasty is an important historical event in history, which is also a significant icon of China's sovereignty on Taiwan. In Qing Dynasty, there were at least 10 Islamic officers had activities in Taiwan. The Islamic officers in Qing Dynasty were under the management of the Central Government of Qing Dynasty. The time they stayed in Taiwan were decided by the Central government, and therefore they only contributed little to the development of Islamic affairs in Taiwan.

The development of local Islamic in Taiwan also could be traced back to those Islamic located in Taiwan. Gladney in his book mentioned that the “Taiwanese Muslims” are those

¹² According to Michael Dillon (1999), the Hui are ethnically similar to Han Chinese; the group has retained some Persian and Central Asian features, but their ethnicity and culture having been shaped profoundly by their position along the Silk Road trading route. While according to the official definition, the Hui are a people who have descended from foreign Muslims who married Chinese and other Chinese ethnic minorities, and were believed to form a *minzu* during the Ming period after several generations of interethnic relations in economic and cultural exchange (Fan, 2001a: 326).

Hui descendants described by the Taiwan China Muslim Association as “20,000 Taiwan-born descendant of Chinese Muslims who came to this island 300 years ago with Koxinga (Zheng Chenggong) (Gladney, 1991; p. 279).

Before 1945, most Islamic located in Taiwan were the Guō (郭) and Dīng (丁) two families, which had strong relationship with Bǎi Qí Guō (百崎郭) in Quanzhou (泉州), and Chén Dài Dīng (陳垵丁). These “first generation” of Muslim migration to Taiwan mostly live in Taishi Township – Yunlin County (Ding family), Lukang Township – Changhua County (Guo family). There were more than 600 residences in Guō family who believed in Islam Lukang, Changhua (彰化). Guo family is descendants of Hui who came with Koxinga, but now no longer observe Islam. They follow traditional Chinese cultures, but still does not offer pork on Fridays nor offering it to their ancestral shrines. They also like to keep their heads covered during rituals.

However, due to some factors, their identity as Muslim was faded. In January 1958, the leader of Chinese Islamic Youth went to Lukang for research. He found that there were more than 300 Islamic families in Lukang, and the elderly people who were more than 60 ages knew they were all Muslim. In addition, few families had the Quran in their house. They still kept the tradition that if any Islamic member died in their family, and they couldn't eat pork for 40 days. From another research, "47 Years Record of Interviewing Lukang", showed the evidence that the ancestor of the Guō family is Islamic. Still there's another report, "the Lost Islamic in Lukang", which kept the reason of Chinese localization of Islamic in Lukang and indicated their ancestors had certain relationship with " Bǎi Qí Guō " in Fujian. As the Islamic settled down, the Mosque appeared as well. After 1949 Chinese Islamic Association came back to Taiwan, the Guō family and Dīng family almost lost their religion and basically they no longer practice Islam anymore in their daily life.

2.1.3 Nationalist Period (1911 – 1949)

After overthrew the Qing Empire, the nationalist established the first “People’s Republic”. Dr. Sun Yat-sen advocated the idea about *wuzu gonghe*, or “5 Peoples of China”; they are the Han, the Manchu (*Man*), Mongolian (*Meng*), Tibetan (*Zang*), and *Hui* (term for all Muslims in China). The recognition of the 5 Peoples of China was the main platform for Sun Yat-sen’s Nationalist Revolution (Gladney, 1991; p. 83).

In 1939, Chiang Kai-shek promoted the assimilationist aspect of early Nationalist policy. In the 1st National Congress of the Chinese Hui People's National Salvation Association in Chongqing, he declared that all non-Han groups within China are sub-varieties of an ancient Chinese race (p. 84). He stated, "The so-called *Huijiaotu* in present-day China, they are for the most part actually members of the Han clan who embraced Islam. Therefore, the difference between them with the Hans is only in religion and different habits of life". Under this policy, the Hui were not considered a separate people or nationality, but a religious group with special characteristics.

2.1.4 Japanese Occupation Period (1895 – 1945)

During the Japanese occupation in Taiwan, all foreign religions practices were forbidden, including for Islam. Instead, the Japanese built Japanese sacred sites and issued the first day of each month is the day to do the worship. Further, to cut the relationship between Taiwanese people to their ancestors and their mother culture with China, Japanese forced each family to set Japanese shrines inside their house rather than worship their own ancestors. Moreover, Japanese government viewed the original tradition of Taiwan as negative tradition, including the marriage and funeral, and therefore they broke these traditions. As a result, they became even more Chinese localization.

2.1.5 Evacuation of KMT and Chinese Muslim to Taiwan (1949)

In the year 1949 was the most crucial part in Taiwan history. After the Chinese Civil War in the 20th century, Nationalist government (Kuo Min Tang/ KMT) evacuate from mainland China to Taiwan, together with approx. 20,000 Muslim families. Most of them came from Yunnan, Xinjiang, Ningxia, Anhui and Gansu (mostly southern and western regions of China) in which have strong Islam and Muslim identity.

After they settled in Taiwan, one of prominent Muslim figure, Bai Chongxi, who were also high rank military general in KMT, re-established Chinese Muslim Association in Taiwan and initiated Taiwan's first mosque; the Taipei Grand Mosque in Taipei. With these great numbers of Muslim migration to Taiwan, they spread to several cities and initiated to build another mosque and Muslim community, such as in Kaohsiung, and Taichung.

The next wave was coming from Burma. In 1950s, due to warfare inside Burma, there was an agreement between Taipei and Rangoon to transported KMT's soldiers and dependents

to Taiwan. Most of these soldiers were Muslim, and due to limitation of space in Taipei, they moved and settled in Longgang in Chungli. Then, they also build a mosque in 1964 and was completed three years later in 1967. There are around 200 Muslim families living around this area with most of them belongs to Ma family clans.

2.1.6 Chinese Muslim Migration from Burma and Thailand

Since the 1980s, a big number of Chinese Muslims from Burma/ Myanmar and Thailand have migrated to Taiwan for economic reasons. These migrants basically were descendants of Chinese Muslim (Hui) in Yunnan¹³. Then, when the Qing dynasty took over the Yunnan area, those Hui migrated to present Burma and northern Thailand. Nowadays, many of them settled in Burma Street at Zhonghe District in New Taipei, Chungli in Taoyuan County and some other towns.

2.1.7 The Coming of Muslim Foreign Worker to Taiwan

Due to the growing economy of Taiwan, also because of the aging population and declining of birth rate, Taiwan open its labor market to foreigner. Most of them working as blue-collar worker in informal sector. They are coming from Indonesia, Vietnam the Philippines, Pakistan, India, and elsewhere.

Currently there is approx. 200,000 Indonesian in Taiwan. Since 1994, the number of Indonesian workers in Taiwan growing rapidly. From only 6,000 people, into more than 190,000 people in 2014. They represent the majority of foreign workers in Taiwan. Why there is such big number of Indonesian workers coming in Taiwan?

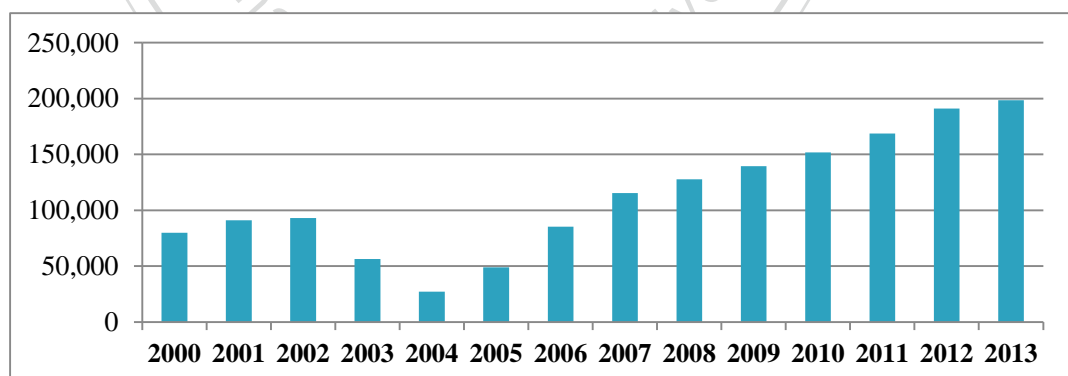
From the research conducted by Rita Pawestri Setyaningsih (2011), there are some push and pull factors that attracted Indonesian workers to migrate to Taiwan (p. 33). For push factors, there is an increasing trend for Indonesian to work overseas and also the limited

¹³ Within the Hui Yunnan, there is intersection of the Chinese, Islamic, and to some extent the Southeast Asian spheres. Rural Hui communities were clustered in the northwest and southwest of China. In Yunnan, in the far southwest of China, many Muslims became involved in farming and opening new agricultural land after the conquest of the region by the forces of Khubilai Khan in 1253. The towns of Kunming and Dali were the main urban centers with large Muslim communities. Michael Dillon (1999) mentioned that one of the important figures for the Muslim in Yunnan is Sayyid Ajall Shams ad-Din (1210-1279). He became the key actors for the movement of Central Asian Muslims into Yunnan, and he also became the one who celebrated for the sinicisation of Yunnan and its incorporation into the Chinese world. Sayyid Ajall was sent to govern Yunnan after serving his Mongol masters in northern and central China. Although Sayyid Ajall becomes the person who ensures social stability and integration in Yunnan, however it mentioned that his influence on the growth of the Muslim community in Yunnan was indirect (Jianping Wang, 1996 in Dillon, 1999).

job opportunities for informal sectors in Indonesia, especially after the 1998 economic crisis. As for the pull factors, the reasons are the increasing prosperity within this region. Taiwan has enjoyed remarkable economic growth due to the pace and progress industrialization (Wang, 1997 in Setyaningsih, 2011). Taiwan open it's door for international migration in 1989. For the first time, Taiwan legalized foreign workers to be included in national construction projects and manufacturing industries. Taiwan faced labor shortage which resulted in a demand of foreign workers.

And then, with the continues growing and increasing number of middle class households in Taiwan, it creates a high demand of domestic labor workers. It's also linked to the growing number of elderly citizens in Taiwan, in which Taiwan faced an aging society. Due to limited number of Taiwanese domestic workers or care takers (Lan, 2006 in Setyaningsih, 2011), later on these vacant position filled by migrant domestic workers to do house-work, child care, and elderly care. Taiwan recruited workers from Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia (Tsay, 2003 in Setyaningsih, 2011). Another pull factor is the salary rate. Taiwan has a much better salary rate compare to Indonesia. For the same job as domestic worker, Taiwan's salary rate could reach US\$ 546 – 618 per month while in Indonesia only US\$ 60 – 100 per month (Setyaningsih, 2011: p. 35). Thus, Taiwan offers very attractive salary for Indonesian domestic workers.

Graph 2.1 The Number of Indonesian Workers in Taiwan



Most of Indonesian workers coming to Taiwan typically women¹⁴ in their early twenties with secondary-level educations. They are becoming workers in informal sector 83% (female, as domestic workers or as caregiver in nursing home) and only 17% in formal

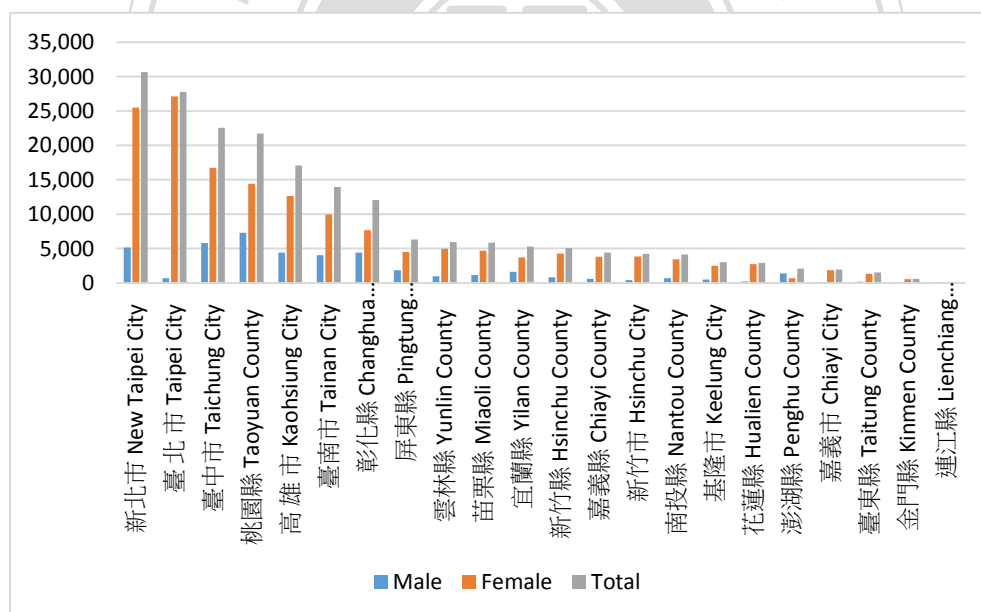
¹⁴ From the National Immigration Agency statistics, it mentioned that the number of Indonesian women in Taiwan per 30 September 2013 is 300,186, while for male is 73,932. (op.cit)

sector (mostly male, as workers in manufacturer, construction, or seafarer). There is an increasing trend for the number of Indonesian workers in Taiwan for last several years (see the graph below, from IETO, 2013).

From the data of Indonesian Economic and Trade Office (IETO) in Taipei (2013), these Indonesian workers coming from East Java, Central Java, West Java, Lampung, Palembang, Medan, and small number from another areas.

Statistically, there is no exact number of Indonesian Muslim in Taiwan. However, their number can be predicted by the religious comparison in Indonesia, in which 87% of Indonesian population are Muslim. It makes Indonesia become a country with the largest Muslim population in the world. These workers coming from certain areas that has strong Islamic cultures and Muslim population concentration such as in East Java, Central Java and West Java.

Graph 2.2 Indonesian Resident in Taiwan - Based on Living Area



Source: Processed from Statistics of Foreign Residents in ROC - by Nationality per March 2014 (NIA, 2014)

Based on the data from National Immigration Agency (2014), the statistic shows that most of Indonesians are reside in New Taipei City (30,668 people), Taipei City (27,790 people), Taichung City (22,544 people), Taoyuan County (21,735 people), and Kaohsiung (17,055 people). For the female workers, they mostly work in informal sector as domestic workers

or caretakers. While for the male workers, they work either in factories (Taoyuan county area) or as a sailor (Kaohsiung and Tainan area).

2.2 Demography of Muslim in Taiwan

It can be clearly said that the number of Muslim communities (both for Chinese and foreign Muslim) in Taiwan is very small. There is no exact estimation number of Muslim in the country, since Taiwan government doesn't have specific survey about religious affiliation for its population. To estimate the number of Muslim in Taiwan, it will use immigration statistic data and country origin of foreign resident (same method as Prof. Sakurai Keiko¹⁵ for describing demography of Muslim in Japan).

To know the number of foreign Muslim in Taiwan, we can assumed from their country of origin, in which from Islamic countries or Muslim-majority countries¹⁶. Foreign Muslims in Taiwan constitute approximately 90% of the entire Muslim population in Taiwan, and composed of 50.672% from total foreign residents in Taiwan¹⁷. The largest share of this population consists of Indonesia, followed in number by Thailand and Burma/Myanmar.

Based on National Immigration Agency statistics per March 2014, the largest share of foreign resident consists of Indonesian (numbered 199,225¹⁸), followed by Thailand, India, and Myanmar. Small number of foreign Muslim coming from Middle East (Turkey, Jordan, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Morocco, and Syria), Africa (Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and Gambia), South Asia (Pakistan, Bangladesh) and Central Asia (Uzbekistan).

Although Thailand and Burma are considerable as non-Muslim majority countries, however the number of Chinese descendent Muslim that migrated to Taiwan in the mid-

¹⁵ Sakurai Keiko is Professor at the School of International Liberal Studies, Waseda University, Japan. She is author of *Shia-ha* [Shia Islam] (2006), *Nihon no Muslim shakai* [Muslim Community in Japan] (2003), *Gendai Iran: Kami no kuni no henbo* [Contemporary Iran: Change in the Land of Allah] (2001), and other publications. Her writing about Muslim in Contemporary Japan can be read in Penn, Michael, Sakurai, Keiko and Nahkleh, Emile. (2008). Islam in Japan: A Cause for Concern? Asia Policy Journal, No. 5 (January 2008). Retrieved from: <http://www.nbr.org/publications/element.aspx?id=150c934b-9886-407d-afd6-a2d6ea23264c>, accessed on: March 17th, 2008

¹⁶ Based on Pew Research Center about The Future of the Global Muslim Population, 10 countries with the largest number of Muslims in 2010 are Indonesia, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Egypt, Nigeria, Iran, Turkey, Algeria, and Morocco. Pew Research Center. (2011). The Future of the Global Muslim Population Projections for 2010-2030, published on January 27th, 2011. Retrieved from: <http://pewresearch.org/pubs/1872/Muslim-population-projections-worldwide-fast-growth>, accessed on October, 5th, 2013

¹⁷ Total number of legal foreign residents in Taiwan per September 30th, 2013 is 508,216 people. *ibid*

¹⁸ The number of Indonesian in Taiwan is equal to 36.65% from total 543,572 foreign nationals in Taiwan. Statistics of Foreign Residents - by Nationality per March 2014. National Immigration Agency Website, Republic of China.

1980s and early 1990s is quite numerous, mainly for economic reasons. As for Malaysia, even this country is considered with large Muslim population, the majority of these residents in Taiwan are of ethnic Chinese descent and are not Muslim. Especially for foreign Muslim from African countries, it can be related to the diplomatic relations between Taiwan to these countries¹⁹. Taiwan invests some projects and gives some scholarships for the students from the countries.

The majority of foreign Muslims (such as Chinese Muslim from Burma and Thailand) started to enter Taiwan in the mid-1980s and early 1990s in search of employment. While for Indonesian workers, many of them came to Taiwan to work as blue-collar workers²⁰.

Furthermore, there is also an increasing number of foreign Muslim students' enrolment in Taiwanese colleges and universities since the late 1990s with scholarships provided by the government and also Taiwanese universities. Based on this data, although Thailand and Burma are considerable as non-Muslim majority countries, however the number of Chinese Muslim that migrated to Taiwan in the mid-1980s and early 1990s is quite numerous, mainly for economic reasons.

As for Malaysia, even this country is considered with large Muslim population, the majority of these residents in Taiwan are of ethnic Chinese descent and are not Muslim. Especially for foreign Muslim from African countries, it can be related to the diplomatic relations between Taiwan to these countries²¹. Taiwan invests some projects and gives some scholarships for the students from the countries.

¹⁹ After 18 years diplomatic relations with Taiwan, Gambia had just announced that it has cut diplomatic ties with Taiwan on November 15th, 2013. The West African state was one of a few African countries to recognize Taiwan, which China regards as part of its territory. Initially, most African states recognized the Taipei government but their number has steadily declined. With Gambia's decision means that Swaziland, Sao Tome and Principe and Burkina Faso are the only African countries that remain allies with Taiwan. Taken from: BBC News, Gambia severs diplomatic ties with Taiwan. Published on November 15th, 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-24951115>, accessed on November 17th, 2013

²⁰ Such as care taker, house-maid, factory worker, and fisherman/ sailor.

²¹ After 18 years diplomatic relations with Taiwan, Gambia had just announced that it has cut diplomatic ties with Taiwan on November 15th, 2013. The West African state was one of a few African countries to recognize Taiwan, which China regards as part of its territory. Initially, most African states recognized the Taipei government but their number has steadily declined. With Gambia's decision means that Swaziland, Sao Tome and Principe and Burkina Faso are the only African countries that remain allies with Taiwan. Taken from: BBC News, Gambia severs diplomatic ties with Taiwan. Published on November 15th, 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-24951115>, accessed on November 17th, 2013

2.2.1 Chinese Muslim Organizations in Taiwan

Currently, there are two major Chinese Muslim organization in Taiwan. The first, highest and biggest organization is The Chinese Muslim Association (CMA)²². CMA, which main office is located in Taipei, has the purposes such as to unite the muslims to work for spreading Islam, promoting religious education and improving the living conditions for muslim brothers, and assisting the Government in religious and national developments.

While the obligations of CMA are to spread Islam, to improve its management, and to promote religious education; to unite muslim brothers and sisters to support the national policies; to take care of the welfare and relief for muslim communities; to promote for muslim brothers and sisters in participating social and political activities; to execute the religious and cultural exchange with muslim organizations in the Islamic world; and to attend other affairs in accordance with the purposes of this Association²³.

The other organization is The Chinese Muslim Youth League (CMYL), founded at Canton in 1949 just before the central government moved its seat to Taiwan. The main objective of CMYL is to unify enthusiastic Muslim youth by reinforcing Islamic religious and cultural activities, by preaching Islam and its concepts, and by maintaining contact with international Muslim youth organizations to enhance cordial bonds throughout the Islamic world.

2.2.2 Comparison between Muslim in Taiwan and Mainland China

Wherever in the world, minority always facing challenges and problems. In this part, the author would like to differences between challenges of Muslim in China and in Taiwan, especially for those Muslim who are ethnically Chinese (Hui). Poceski (2009) said that Muslim in China often found (and still find) themselves in between two worlds, having to balance dual loyalties: to Islam and to China. In view of the basic demand of Islam, Muslim

²² This organization firstly founded in Hankou, China in 1938 by General Omar Pei, a prominent Muslim leader and military general. At first, main duty of CMA are to unify Muslims throughout China, particularly for those who live in Northwest and Southwest China, to support the central government of the Republic of China in the fight against the Japanese. The association was also supposed to maintain cordial bonds between China and other Muslim countries, and to obtain the firm support and substantive understanding of the Muslim World for the ROC. With the moving of KMT to Taiwan in 1949, CMA religious activities were delayed for a time due to a shortage of personnel and difficult economic conditions. By 1958, Islamic religious activities once again started coming to life (Haj Dawood C.M. Ting, 1988),

²³ The Charter of The Chinese Muslim Association. CMA Official Website, Retrieved from: <http://www.cmmainroc.org.tw/ef05/homeweb/catalog.php?infoscatid=56>, accessed on June 27th, 2013

should live under Islamic rule which caused many problems surrounding the existence and survival of Muslim minorities under non-Islamic rule. Like any other Muslim minority living under non-Islamic rule, Chinese Muslims have faced acute problems of identity (Israeli, 2002).

Muslim in mainland China was defined as ethnic minority by the PRC government. According to Jean A. Berlie (2004), at first Muslims in China were a “religious group” more than an ethnic group during the Chinese Republic (1911 – 1949), but then they becoming “minority” in the 1950s by People’s Republic of China (PRC). Currently, there are 55 ethnic minorities in China, and 10 of them are identified as Muslim. The Chinese Han who is Muslim called as “Hui” and their identity card indicates *Huízú* 回族²⁴.

Current PRC policy excludes the Uyghur and the other 8 Muslim minorities from the Hui. PRC adapted Stalin’s four nationality-criteria for China’s minority, such as; language, cultural life (psychological culture), economic life, and common territory. That is why Stevan Harrell calls the Hui (Chinese Muslim) as the strangest minority in China, because they are distinguished based on religion, not ethnicity (Berlie, 2002). So that, rather than called an ethnic group, Berlie said that it is more as a cultural minority.

Sun Yat Sen established the Republic of China, who asserted that the country equally belonged to the Han, the Hui (Muslim), and Tibetan people. However, the prosperity of Muslim culture in China did not last long as the Communist government took control and founded the People’s Republic of China in 1949. In the earliest communist, many Muslims supported call for equality, autonomy, freedom of religion and recognized nationality status, and were active in the early establishment of the People's Republic of China. However, many became disenchanted by growing critiques of religious practice during several periods in the PRC beginning in 1957.

After total suppression, religious practices in China were re-authorized in December 1978 and churches, mosques, and temples began to reopen. Bureau of Religious Affairs has remained rather neutral since the 1980s. The government recognizes only five religions; theoretically there is no other religion that is officially accepted aside from Taoism, Buddhism, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Islam. Then those religions well defined by

²⁴ Most of the Hui are Sunni of Hanafi branch. They live in the city, along the Yellow river in Qinghai, Gansu, Ningxia, Inner Mongolia, Shaanxi, Shanxi, Henan, Shandong. Along the great canal, blue river, Zhangjiang, road between Beijing and Tianjin. Hui in Yunnan decrease in population, partly due to emigration to Southeast Asia and Taiwan.

Document 19 of March 1982 and the new constitution. The government began to liberalize its policies toward Muslims and the practice of Islam (Kim Cho, 2009). Since Deng Xiaoping's post-reforms, Muslims have sought to take advantage of liberalized economic and religious policies. There are now more mosques open in China than there were prior to 1949, and Muslims travel freely on the Hajj to Mecca, as well as engaging in cross-border trade with co-religionists in Central Asia, the Middle East and increasingly South-East Asia.

Because of different ethnic and religious policy in Taiwan, most Taiwanese Muslim identify themselves as *Huimin* (Hui people), not as *Huízú* (Hui minority), so that the mindset of them towards Taiwan society as general is only because difference on religion, not ethnic.

The similarity of the Chinese Muslim in China (*Huizu*) and in Taiwan are they can integrate into Chinese society and culture. Although facing some social and cultural challenges, they get more advantages compare to other Muslim ethnic minorities in China and foreign Muslim in Taiwan since they are familiar with Mandarin Chinese/ Taiwan/ local language, customs, and cultural heritage and hence find living as Muslims in Taiwan is much easier.

Most Hui are closer to the Han Chinese in terms of demographic proximity and cultural accommodation, adapting many of their Islamic practices to Han ways of life, even many members of the Hui nationality may not practice Islam, which often became the source for many of the criticisms of the Muslim reformers. This is both an advantage and a disadvantage in that they often have greater access to power and resources within Chinese society, but at the same time risk either the loss of their identity or the rejection of other Muslim groups in China as being too assimilated into Chinese society, to the detriment of Islam (Gladney, 2003).

Related to the religious freedom, Taiwan has much freedom for all religious practices. As for China, they do not give autonomy to religions, but freedom of religious belief and “normal religious activity” is guaranteed by the constitution of China. In the 1982 Constitution restores or expands the provisions on individual rights and freedom in the 1954 Constitution (Chiu, 1993). But in practice, these freedoms have been tightly circumscribed according the authorities' mood (Tyler, 2003).

Although Muslim who are residing in Taiwan face these challenges, from the interviews and discussion with them, there is little to no active hostility, discrimination or negative

behavior from Taiwanese society. But if so, it is views as natural since Taiwanese merely do not know much about Islam and mean no harm.

2.3. Indonesian Muslim Communities in Taiwan

In order to have maintain and fulfill religious needs and social interaction among Indonesian Muslim in Taiwan, they founded and established organization, community or social groups. A social group can be formed when there are some factors as the reason, for the example shared goals, interests, political ideology, origin, etc. Currently, it is mentioned that there are more than 200 Indonesian organizations and communities in Taiwan.

These communities and organizations can be categorized as follow:

a. Based on area of origin in Indonesia

For the example; *Ikatan Warga Banyuwangi* (IKAWANGI) is an organization for Indonesian workers who originally come from Banyuwangi, an eastern district in East Java Province, and *Ikatan Muslim Dharma Ayu Taiwan* (IMDAT) for Indonesian workers who originally come from West Java Province.

b. Based on operation area in Taiwan

- *Majelis Ta'lim Yasin Taipei* (MTYT) operated in Taipei area. Often held their activities in Taipei Grand Mosque, Taipei Cultural Mosque, Taipei Main Station and Da'an Park
- *Forum Silaturahmi Muslim Indonesia Taiwan* (FOSMIT) operated in Chungli and Taoyuan area. It was founded in 2002 and initiated by Mr. Anto Budianto, one of the Indonesian workers in Taiwan. This organization has their basecamp in Longgang Mosque, Chungli.
- *Ikatan Muslim Indonesia Taiwan* (IMIT) operated in Taichung area, actively participated and held activities in Taichung Mosque, Taichung.
- *Majelis Ta'lim Yasin Chiayi – Indonesia Taiwan* (MTYC-IT) operated in Chiayi area
- *Ikatan Warga Muslim Indonesia Taiwan* (IWAMIT) operated in Kaohsiung area, and often held their activities in Kaohsiung Mosque, Kaohsiung.

c. Based on media-interaction

- Land-based

Most of the Indonesian organization in Taiwan are land-based. They often held their activities regularly every week. The main organization or the umbrella of these land-based Indonesian Muslim organizations are *Keluarga Muslim Indonesia Taiwan* (KMIT). Their organization's members are MTYT Taipei, FOSMIT Chungli, IMIT Taichung, KITAS Taya, MTYCIT Chiayi, FKKBWIT Tainan, IWAMIT Kaohsiung and FORMMIT. This organization was founded in December 2007 in Taipei Cultural Mosque. The first president of KMIT was Mr. Anto Budianto (former President of FOSMIT Chungli).

- **“On air” based**



Similar to land-based organization, there are many on air based Indonesian Muslim communities in Taiwan, and the umbrella of this communities are *Komunitas On Air Muslim Indonesia Taiwan* (KOMIT) or Indonesian Muslim On Air Community in Taiwan. This communities held their religious activities and learning process through cellular phone with unlimited call service.

Because of the limitation of time and mobility of many Indonesian workers, the founder of this organization felt that it is necessary to innovate their way to study Islam over the phone. It is as alternative organization to preaching Islam in Taiwan, especially for the majority of workers who do not allow visiting religious activities outside and limited work day-off. One of the “on air” organization is IWAMIT On Air – Kaohsiung that was established in 2010.

d. Based on membership background

- Indonesian Muslim Students

The biggest and the only Indonesian Muslim students organization in Taiwan is *Forum Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia di Taiwan* (FORMMIT). The member are all Indonesian Muslim students who study in all over Taiwan. FORMMIT scope of work divided into several areas; FORMMIT Utaratu for northern Taiwan (Taipei and Keelung area), FORMMIT Utada for Chungli and Hsinchu area, FORMMIT Tengah for Central Taiwan area (Taichung, etc),



FORMMIT Selatan for southern Taiwan (Tainan, Kaohsiung and Pingtung) and FORMMIT Timur for eastern Taiwan (Hualien).

Although Indonesian Muslim students already has FORMMIT, but they also actively participate and sometime become the activator of International Muslim Students Associations (IMSA) or organizations in their university. For the example in National Taiwan University of Science and Technology (NTUST) – IMSA in Taipei, National Central University (NCU) – IMSA in Chungli, and National Chiao Tung University (NCTU) – IMSA in Hsinchu.

- Indonesian Muslim workers

The Indonesian Muslim workers organization is more and bigger than student organization in terms of human resources and membership.

e. Based on Indonesian branch-based

There are two main Islamic organization in which open their branch in Taiwan. Nahdatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, they are commonly known as the two largest and strongest Islamic social organizations in contemporary Indonesia. Their influence spread to countries that has big population of Indonesian Muslim, including Taiwan. Hence they establish special branch here.

1) PCI Nahdatul Ulama Taiwan (PCINU – Taiwan)

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), means awakening of ‘ulama, was established in Indonesia on 31 January 1926. Based on the location and characteristics, the majority of NU followers are coming from Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Sumatra. And NU’s base are farmers in the rural area and also labor in the urban area in Indonesia. Because most of the Indonesian Muslim workers in Taiwan are coming from rural area in Java Island, so the tradition and culture of NU also followed them.

Because of this cultural phenomenon, the active NU’s member established *Pengurus Cabang Istimewa Nahdatul Ulama* (PCI NU) Taiwan (special branch of NU – Taiwan chapter). There are 4 departments in PCI NU that were established, they are:

- NU Propagation Department (LDNU), in charge of carrying out activities related to the symbols of Islam, Islamic studies, and preserve the tradition of NU in Taiwan.

- Department for Economic Nahdlatul Ulama (LPNU), in charge of carrying out development activities/ NU economic empowerment in Taiwan, including self-employment business training held in collaboration with the field of Industrial / Trade of IETO.
- Department of Counseling and Legal Assistance Nahdlatul Ulama (LPBHNU), shall carry out the counseling/ guidance and legal assistance to Indonesian workers in Taiwan.
- Department of *Amil Zakat, Infaq and shodaqoh* Nahdlatul Ulama (LAZISNU), in charge of collecting and distributing *zakat, infaq and shodaqoh*.

A distinctive feature of NU programs are colossal that mobilizing and involving thousands of people in the same period, such as in the event *istighosah Kubro* (prayer), *pengajian* (religious speech) *Yasin* and *tahlil*, and so forth. They held these activities in Taiwan as well. However, there are some differences with NU in Indonesia. PCI NU Taiwan needs to adapt the Taiwan government's law.

PCI NU Taiwan activities are not only related to religious event. As an organization that relies on various class backgrounds and social strata of society, the presence of PCI-NU role in Taiwan is also expected to help or resolve the problems faced by *nahdliyyin* (or NU member) in Taiwan. For example, labor advocacy program. Because most of Indonesian worker are works in informal sector, such as construction workers, cleaners, domestic helpers, so they have high risk of power abusing by the employer, working visa fraud and others.

2) PCI Muhammadiyah Taiwan (PCIM Taiwan)

Persyarikatan Muhammadiyah or commonly called as Muhammadiyah, is an organization that is established by KH. Ahmad Dahlan in 1912 in Yogyakarta. This organization has significant role in various fields, such as religious, politics, and social life. Muhammadiyah as religious organization, often identified itself as *tajdid* movement (renewal and modernism) in religious practice and social aspect, and a known with anti-Superstition-Heresy-*Khurofat* which are important aspects of a refusal to understand the occult and mystical.

Their mission is to refines understanding that deviate from the Qur'an and Sunnah. One of the efforts of Muhammadiyah is the elimination of a variety of traditions

rooted in the community but not in accordance with the Qur'an and Sunnah, such as eliminating the habit of heresy/ *bid'ah* practice. This custom is commonly practiced among Javanese community that is considered a relic of the Hindu-Buddhist tradition (Al Akbar, 2012).

Pengurus Cabang Istimewa (special branch) Muhammadiyah in Taiwan was established newly in this early year. With the presence of PCIM Taiwan, it become the 20th PCIM in all over the world. PCIM Taiwan was declared by Adam Jerussalem, Indonesian student who active in Muhammadiyah activities, on February 2014 in Tainan.

2.4 Perception of Islam and Muslim in Taiwan

Michael Penn (2008) said that challenges and problems faced by Muslims are consequences of the differences between Muslim and the society approaches toward religion. Similar to Japan, the mindset of Taiwanese/ Chinese is different with Muslim. In general the Taiwanese do not view the purpose of religious practices in the same way that many Muslims do, and their mindset about religion is different with most monotheism religions.

There is no specific research and statistical evidence about how Taiwanese perceptions towards Muslim and Islam. However, from the field interview conducted by writer, it can be found that most of Taiwanese have no direct experience and interaction with Muslims. Most of them only know limited knowledge about Islam and Muslim, in which they get this basic information about it from text book during their study in junior and senior high school. In case of Japan, most of information that the society got, largely shaped by mass media, most of which involve Muslims in the context of wars, terrorism, and acts of violence (Penn, 2008)²⁵.

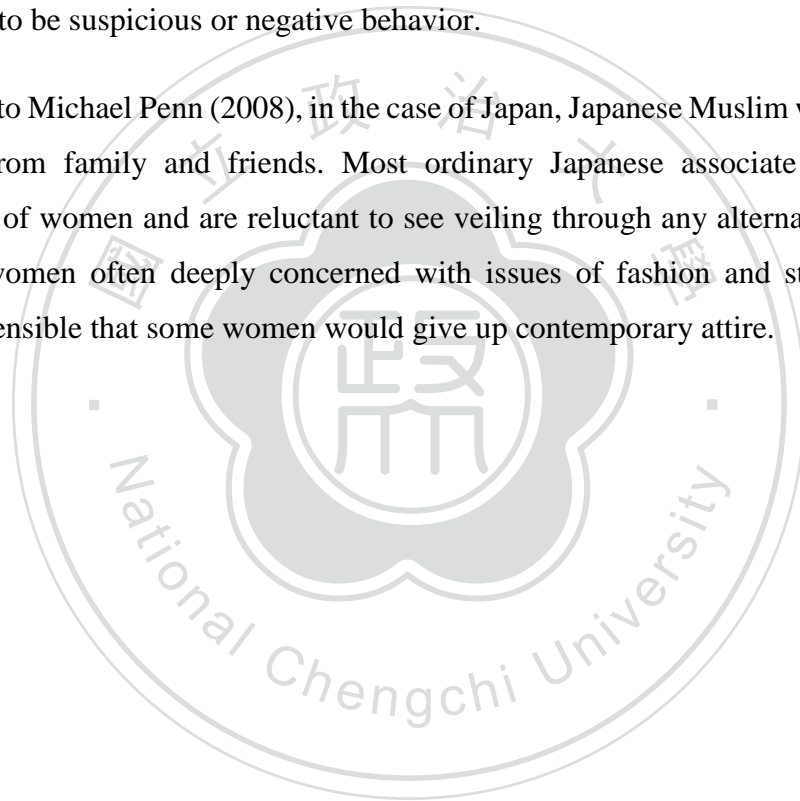
Another problem for Muslim in Taiwan is when they doing their five times pray in daily life, especially for those who are working. For those who are working in formal sector, perhaps their difficulty not as much as the Muslim worker in informal sector (especially care taker, factory worker and sailor). Not only in the matter of proper place to pray, but

²⁵ Professor Toru Miura of Ochanomizu University and Takaaki Matsumoto did a research about the Japanese and High School students Perception towards Islam. The survey result mentioned that there are significant impact of the media on perceptions of Japanese students: 92% of high school students and 78% of university students.

also the tight schedule of work time. Most of the Taiwanese employer do not know and sometimes ignore this religious needs of Muslim workers. Because of this problem, most of Chinese Muslims, who tends to keep their religious practices, are change their work place and prefer to work in company which owned by Muslim or open their own business. But for foreign Muslim, this option will be very difficult for them.

Not every Muslim woman in Taiwan (both Chinese and foreign Muslim) wearing hijab/ head scarf due to many reasons. For those who wear *hijab* often being asked by Taiwanese society. Their question mostly about where the Muslim woman come from, and whether it is hot or not wearing *hijab* during hot weather, especially in summer season. There is little tendencies to be suspicious or negative behavior.

According to Michael Penn (2008), in the case of Japan, Japanese Muslim women may face criticism from family and friends. Most ordinary Japanese associate *hijab* with the oppression of women and are reluctant to see veiling through any alternative framework. Japanese women often deeply concerned with issues of fashion and style, and find it incomprehensible that some women would give up contemporary attire.



CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL INTERACTION OF INDONESIAN MUSLIM COMMUNITIES IN TAIWAN

3.1 Introduction

Fred E. Jandt (2010, p.10) in his book titled “An Introduction to Intercultural Communication”, mentioned that there is increasing concerns about inequality, threats to culture, threats to the environment, and threats posed by immigration. In nearly every country surveyed, people express concerns about losing their traditional culture and national identities and feel their way of life needs protection against foreign influences. So that in order to preserve their identity, the Indonesian Muslim do several activities.

To understand the social adaptation of Indonesian Muslim communities in Taiwan, I conducted field research in Taipei, Chungli, Taichung and Kaohsiung. Most of those whom I interviewed are the committee of Indonesian Muslim workers communities, such as: MTYT Taipei, FOSMIT Chungli, Al Hikmah Dayuan – Taoyuan, IMIT Taichung, IWAMIT Kaohsiung and PCI NU Taiwan.

They are communities/ organizations that has strong relations and attachment with mosques in various cities in Taiwan. Beside of that, I also interviewed Indonesian students who are active to come to the mosque and participated in Indonesian Muslim workers activities. In this part, I will describe and analyze the social interaction of Indonesian Muslim communities in Taiwan.

To understand how is Indonesian Muslim immigrant workers in Taiwan, we need to know how their daily life and condition. There are some similarities between the conditions of Indonesian Muslim workers in Taiwan with the condition in Hong Kong. Both Hong Kong and Taiwan have a large number of Indonesian workers who are majority of female ages between 21 – 35 years old, Muslim, working in informal sector²⁶, and coming from rural area in Java.

²⁶ The term of Informal sector refer to definition by Indonesian government to define domestic and care-workers sector, in which these jobs are excluded from the Indonesian labor law. Most of Indonesian workers in Taiwan are working in informal sector (as housemaids or care-taker for elderly) 87%, manufacturing sector 10%, and the rest in agriculture, forestry, fishing and animal husbandry sector (Setyaningsih, 2011; p. 40).

Based on the research done by Paul O'Connor about Islam in Hong Kong, he captured some characteristics and pattern of Indonesian female Muslim workers. The largest gathering of Indonesian Muslims worker in Hong Kong occurs in Victoria Park, not in Kowloon Mosque (Connor, 2012; p. 45). It also happened in Taiwan, in which the largest gathering spot is in Taipei Main Station area not in Taipei Grand Mosque or Taipei Culture Mosque. They use this public space to gather with their Indonesian workers fellow. Many of the women do not dress in Islamic way (wear headscarves), instead, they follow Taiwanese fashion and style. During daylight time in Ramadan, many Indonesian Muslim women do not do their fasting. Most of them said that it is too hot to do fasting in summer time and some not practicing Islamic traditions anymore.

3.2 Social and Ethnic Adaptation of Indonesian Muslim in Taiwan

Imam Amrusi Jailani (2008) in his writing titled *Pemahaman Islam dan Sentuhan Budaya Lokal* (Understanding of Islam and the Touch of Local Culture), argued that Islam has contact with local teachings (traditions), thus it form a new formulation of local Islam called “local Islamic culture”. Woodward exemplifies this phenomenon with Javanese mystical texts. This is the result of interaction of Islam with the local culture.

Jailani also mentioned, a ritual in a sociological context, is a manifestation of social solidarity and also as tools strengthen social solidarity through performance and dedication. In a paternalistic society like in Indonesia, especially Java, the adhesive and powerful social solidarity are through ritual ceremonies, such as *tahlilan*, *istighatsah*, *tabligh akbar* and so on (Jailani, 2008; pp. 50).

People are on the move, and so are their faith (The Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life, 2012). And not only faith, but culture, habit and tradition also brought together with them. According to functional theory, religion and its function can be assumed to have relevance that applied through worship (ritual). Every ritual in religion, according to this theory, have theological significance, both from the social and psychological dimensions. To fulfil their religious needs in Taiwan, they have some Islamic activities but still with the Indonesian characteristics.

Phillip Carey Connor (2010) mentioned that religion and religious institutions can positively assist immigrants in their incorporation into the host society, and religion helps

immigrants economically, politically, and psychologically in their adaptation in new environment. Immigrant religious adaptation can consist of three distinct movements; 1) The change in religious practice from origin to host country, 2) The subsequent adjustments made to religious practice in the host country, and 3) The integration into the host society through religious practice.

3.2.1 Indonesian Muslim Activities in Taiwan

a. Yasinan and Tahlilan

Yasin is one of the *surah* names in the Koran, precisely the 36th *surah*. *Yasinan* is a term in Indonesian language that indicates “doing activity”, so that *Yasinan* means doing or reading *surah Yasin*. This ritual is the most common activities that can be found among Indonesian Muslim communities, especially workers from Java.

In Indonesia, usually *Yasinan* is held on Thursday night in order to start or close an Islamic learning activity, or as the commemoration of a person's death, or another important event. They read it either individual or in a group. Most of the people who read *surah Yasin* believes that for those whom read this *surah* will get enormous rewards from the God. And the reward of reading this *surah* can be sent to people who have died, to accompany a person who is in critical illness (headed in a state of death) in order to make him or her heal faster or easier.

Most of the time, *Yasinan* always fused with *tahlilan*. In terms of etymology, the word of *tahlil* has a meaning “to say *laa ilaaha illallah*” (no god, but only Allah). *Tahlil* is often cognate with the word of *Tahmid – Alhamdulillah* (to thank God), *Tasbih – SubhanAllah* (Glorious is God), and *Hamdalah – Alhamdulillah* (Thanks and Praise to God). In further development, the term of *tahlilan*²⁷ then be understood in Indonesian society as part of the ritual of *dzikr* especially when there is a Muslim who died. Recitation of *yasinan* for the dead implemented from the first day until the seventh day to the next the 40th day, the 100th day, the first death anniversary, 2nd death anniversary, to 1000th day of death.

According to A. Bekki (in Jailani, 2008), this reality reflect the local culture, especially Java, which is syncretic. Syncretism can be seen in the religious life of Java. This may be due to the flexibility attitude of Javanese people towards “outside religion”. Animism has

²⁷ Timothy Daniels (2009) defines *tahlilan* as ritualized recitation of *dzikr* and prayers. While *dzikr* means reciting or chanting praises, glorifying and remembering God (p. 170-171)

rooted since ancient times of Java, and later on the Javanese accept Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity, which then being transformed, naturalized or being “Javanized”. Geertz categorized this group of people as “*Wong Abangan*”²⁸.



(Source: Personal Documentation, Yasinan and Tahlilan in Masjid At-Taqwa, Dayuan)

Yasinan and *tahlilan* is the most common and frequent religious activities for Indonesian Muslim workers communities in Taiwan. They recite the surah Yasin together. Due to their limited time and day off, this practice is conducted in weekend; mostly Saturday night or on Sunday afternoon, and conducted in Mosque, *Mushola*/ prayer room, or in one of the room in Indonesian store (as practiced in some Indonesian Muslim workers communities in Kaohsiung and Tamsui).

As it is mentioned before, *yasinan* and *tahlilal* are the form of social solidarity activities for paternalistic Indonesian society, even if they are in Taiwan. So that, it gives Indonesian workers to gather together and at the same time, to fulfill their religious needs.

²⁸ From the long assimilation process, contemporary Javanese Muslim society categorized by Clifford Geertz into *Wong Abangan*, *Santri* and *Priyayi*. In his book titled *The Religion of Java* (1976), Geertz defined “*Wong Abangan*” as those who still focuses on the animistic elements in Javanese syncretism and usually related to farmers group. He also mentioned about “*Santri*” or students who study in religious school, who emphasize the element of Islamic syncretism and closely related to merchant and certain farmer group. While “*Priyayi*” are those who are focuses on the elements of Hinduism and closely related to bureaucrats.

b. Tabligh akbar

Tabligh literally means to deliver or to convey. In *da'wa* term, *tabligh* can mean to calling, inviting the people to the way of the God by giving advices and Islamic teaching through dialogue or oral preaching. *Akbar* means massive, great or grand, so that *Tabligh akbar* has the meaning of a religious activity to delivering God's message and Islamic preaching with a big number of people gathered in one place.

Beside of *Yasinan* and *tahlilan*, Indonesian Muslim workers communities hold *Tabligh akbar*. Similar to *yasinan* and *tahlilan*, this massive event is very important for Indonesian Muslim to maintain their social solidarity and fulfill their religious needs. Since the size of the event is quite big, it cost a lot of money, need a big number of people to organize, and need a long time for preparation.



(Source: Hadziq Fabroyir. *Tabligh akbar* in Chungli, held by FOSMIT in year 2010)

c. Islamic Art Activities (*Rebana*)

Rebana is a small round shaped – tambourine that mostly used for accompanying religious song. In terms of Islamic art, it is said that *Rebana* originally coming from Middle Eastern culture, then together with the spread of Islam in South East Asia, this musical instrument also become popular among Muslim in this region.

Rebana often used and performed by Indonesian Muslim in various religious activities and events in Taiwan. Usually, before the *tabligh akbar* started, a group of people will played Rebana and singing the *shalawat* and *dzikr*. Some of the Indonesian Muslim communities have their own Rebana group, and practice regularly every month.

d. Advocacy for Religious Need

Some of the Muslim organizations, not only providing Islamic-related activities but also advocacy service. Based on the data from IETO in 2010, it is mentioned that the most frequent problems faced by Indonesian workers in Taiwan are unpaid wages, working not according to contract, illness during working, violence by the employers, and unilateral threats by agency or employers (Setyaningsih, 2011; p. 42). Generally, Indonesian domestic workers are considered to be pliant to the demands of their employers (Connor, 2012: p. 49).

One of the examples is FOSMIT Chungli that try to advocate a special day-off for Indonesian Muslim workers during big-Islamic holiday, such as Eid. Most of the workers cannot participate and enjoy the Islamic celebration because of their working shift. While PCI NU Taiwan also advocates the Indonesian workers' rights and often make a visitation to the workers who are hospitalized because of accident at their workplace or domestic violence by the employer.

e. Skills Development

Despite of religious activities and advocacy, the programs or activities of Indonesian Muslim communities are skills development, e.g. computer skills, Basic English language, Basic Chinese language, and entrepreneurship. For this programs, Indonesian Muslim students take an important part.

FORMMIT, as the only Indonesian Muslim students' organization in Taiwan, has a special department named Community Service Department, which aims to help the Indonesian workers on advocacy, education and skills development. In every area division, as described in previous chapter, they conduct classes to teach these workers on weekend. They use the room in Masjid or organization's basecamp to give free classes on Sunday afternoon, once or twice in every month. The teachers mainly are Muslim students who studied nearby the mosque and join do this voluntarily activities.

3.3 Masjid At-Taqwa, Indonesian Mosque in Taoyuan

After long period in absence of new mosque in Taiwan, finally on June 2013, there is one newly build Indonesian community mosque in Dayuan, Taoyuan. As immigrant in Taiwan, in order to preserve their identity and cultural life, the Indonesian Muslim formed various religious-based community and to fulfil their needs for a place for religious purpose and social gathering, they build this first “Indonesian-mosque”. This mosque is officially launched on June 9th, 2013. It can be said that this mosque gives a big influence, especially for Indonesian Muslim communities in Taiwan, and creates a special phenomenon about Islam in Taiwan.

3.3.1 History of Masjid At-Taqwa in Dayuan

The mosque named “Masjid At-Taqwa” or Dayuan Mosque (大園清真寺). It was initiated by a Chinese Muslim convert (named Mr. Yasin) and his Indonesian wife (Mrs. Hasanah) who owned “Warung Hasan Wartu”, an Indonesian groceries store and small restaurant.

The mosque is built on a ground sized 24.46 meters x 4.8 meters, and located in Guanyin Industrial Park Complex, not far from Taoyuan International Airport. The existence of this mosque is very desirable for the majority of workers who live in the area Dayuan, Guanyin and surrounding areas. For them, this mosque is much closer than Longgang mosque in Chungli. Previously, they have to travel far and long enough to get to the Mosque.

Before, there are six official mosques or masjids in Taiwan. These six mosques are located in Taipei (two mosques; Taipei Grand Mosque 台北清真寺²⁹ and Taipei Cultural Mosque 台北文化清真寺), Chungli (Longgang Mosque 龍岡清真寺), Taichung (台中清真寺), Tainan (台南清真是寺), and Kaohsiung (高雄清真寺). There are also some small prayer rooms in Taiwan’s big cities where there are big Muslim population (mostly foreign

²⁹ Taipei's Grand Mosque is the first Arabian style mosque built in Taiwan. Ground breaking work was started in 1958, and it was completed in 1960. On the day of its grand opening, the late ROC Vice President Chen Cheng gave the keynote speech and invites the late King of Iran, H.M. Mohammoud Palavi; the King of Jordan, H.M. Hussein; the former Prince Regent of Iraqi, H.P.H. Prince Abdul Ilah; the former Premier of Turkey, H.E. Adnan Miendaris; the former President of the Niger Republic, H.E. Hamani Diari; and the King of Saudi Arabia, H.M. Faisal bin Abdul Aziz (Hajj Dawood, 1988).

worker), as well as in some universities which has quite big number of foreign Muslim students³⁰.

Besides mosques, Taiwan also provides several dedicated small-size Muslim prayer rooms in public spaces, such as; in Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport, Taoyuan County (at the transit area of Terminal 1 and Terminal 2), Taipei World Trade Center Nangang Exhibition Hall – Taipei, Window on China Theme Park in Taoyuan County, Lefoo Village Theme Park in Hsinchu County and Shangri-La Leisure Farm in Yilan County.

The presence of Indonesian Muslim and their mosque show a social phenomenon of current multicultural life in Taiwan. Taiwan and its Chinese culture is not simply associated with Islam as religion and Muslim. However, with the aging population in Taiwan and growing number of immigrant worker³¹, the demographic of Taiwan is changing. Numerous immigrant workers (mainly from South East Asian countries) come to Taiwan to work in informal sector, and Indonesian workers marked as the highest in terms of its number of total foreign workers in Taiwan³².

Many Indonesian workers in this area are away from religious values, so that they finally took the initiative to build a place for doing a prayer. At first, the intention is to create a small place to perform prayer (*mushola*), not the mosque. Some of the Indonesian workers use the upstairs of Mrs. Hasanah's store to be used as a gathering place for study and do *yasinan*.

However, due to the enthusiasm of the Indonesian workers and encouragement from many other Indonesians, they wanted to have a place of worship that also can accommodate many more worshippers for Friday prayers, and the Eid prayer. Mrs. Hasanah then invites various organizations around Dayuan and FOSMIT Chungli to assist the establishment of this mosque. At that time, Mr. Suyadi, whom become the Imam of Masjid At-Taqwa, was the president of FOSMIT Chungli.

³⁰ Some of those universities which provided prayer room for Muslim students are National Taiwan University of Science and Technology (NTUST) in Taipei, National Chia Tung University (NCTU) in Hsinchu, Asia University in Taichung, and National Cheng Kung University (NCKU) in Tainan.

³¹ Based on research from Hong, Yang, and Chen from National Taiwan Normal University, they mentioned on their research report about foreign workers in Taiwan that in recent years, the unbalanced labor supply and demand in Taiwan has resulted in a lack of basic manpower. In consequence, CLA open up Taiwan's job market to foreign workers starting from October 1989.

³² Based on the data of Indonesian Economic and Trade Office (IETO) Taipei, per March 2013 there are 198,367 Indonesian workers (44%) from total 451,202 foreign workers in Taiwan. It puts Indonesia above Vietnam (23%), the Philippines (19%) and Thailand (63,517).

The biggest challenge in the establishment of this mosque is funding, that cost up to 9,000,000 Taiwan Dollar. Based on the Taiwan government regulations for building permits, the building must have stood and finished to build in one year. If not, the unfinished building will be demolished. So that the funds should be ready in the time to catch up this regulation. There is still 2,600,000 Taiwan Dollar shortage for land purchasing payment within one year. At first, the owner of the land offers to rent the land for 10 years, but then he offers to sell the land. It becomes an opportunity for Indonesian Muslim to own the mosque and land permanently.

3.3.2 Masjid At-Taqwa Activities

Until now, this three story mosque had stood quite magnificent and activities are going smoothly. The *takmir* or mosque management seeks to continue to raise funds in various ways, one of them is by promoting of mosque building in various *Tabligh akbar* events and other forums.

During one year after its official launch, Masjid At-Taqwa has been witnessing some Taiwanese who converts to Islam, whether because of individual reason or desire to marry the Indonesian Muslims. In addition, Masjid At-Taqwa hold 5 times prayer and Friday prayers routinely, and weekly recitation of *tahlil* and *yasinan* every Saturday night, where Indonesian Muslim workers have time off at the time.

Masjid At-Taqwa has three imams who serve to the mosque regularly, and they serve in shift depends on their working shift. While the number of regular worshipers at the mosque is depends on the time; during weekday in midday and afternoon prayers time, there is not so many workers can come, only about 5-10 people due to the working shift. While for Magrib and Isha prayer, the number is increasing to 15-20 people. As for Friday prayers, there are around 40-50 people. The highest number of worshiper is on Saturday night and Sunday because of day off work. During the weekend, there are many Indonesian male workers come to the mosque for reciting Koran and learn Islam together. They often stay overnight at the mosque, so that they can continue to study after the dawn prayer.

In this year (2014), Masjid At-Taqwa invited *ustadz* (Islamic teacher) and his wife, who is also an *ustadzah*, from Indonesia to stay and preach Islamic teaching during the whole Ramadan month. They scheduled to give the teaching every day for Indonesian workers

who visiting Masjid At-Taqwa, and also give private consultation regarding daily life problem of workers, in order to strengthen their mind and heart.

Not only religious activity, the mosque management also do entrepreneurs activities, such as making *tempe* (a name of particular Indonesian food made from soy bean) and halal meatballs for helping the funding of remaining payment of the mosque and also to promote halal food in Taiwan. Usually, they sell the halal meatballs, *tempe*, fried duck, and *pientang* (Taiwan lunch box) in *Tabligh akbar* or Indonesian events, also through online ordering by facebook.

3.3.3 Challenges for Masjid At-Taqwa

In addition to funding problem, another challenge for Masjid At-Taqwa is the Taiwanese society who live nearby to the mosque. Although the factory area does not has many resident and there are many Indonesian migrant who work there, but still the society is not familiar with Islam and Muslim. Thus, at first they are quite sensitive with the presence of the mosque and Indonesian Muslim who often visit. But now, some of the neighbor can understand and welcome.

However, there still some of Taiwanese people who often complain by calling police officer. Most of the time, they are complaining about the noise, irregular parking, and littering/cleanliness around the mosque. The mosque management, Mr. Yasin and Mrs. Hasanah are often communicate with some neighbors and police officer to solve this problem and minimize the same problem ahead. In order to have better relations with their neighborhood, the mosque also invites them to join the *ifthar*/ fasting break and have dinner together.

Another challenge for Masjid At-Taqwa is public transportation and accessibility. The absence of public transportation somehow become obstacle for many Indonesian worshipper (both worker and student), especially for those who live far away from the mosque. To reach the mosque location, some of them ride their bicycle for a long way and some others need to use taxi which is more costly. So, to solve this problem, Masjid At-Taqwa management provide a car to pick up worshipper who face this difficulties.

3.3.4 Masjid At-Taqwa Phenomenon and Its Influence

The presence of Masjid At-Taqwa, based on Suyadi opinion, is very important and can motivate Indonesian Muslim workers and Muslim in Taiwan in general, to support and

develop the da'wa more actively through mosques and mushola. Over the last few decades, there has been no new construction of mosque in Taiwan, so that this mosque gives freshness and motivation for them.

According to Suyadi, this mosque is different from other mosques in Taiwan, as it is established independently by Indonesian workers, as well as its management. In addition, Masjid At-Taqwa has more flexibility and freedom for Indonesian Muslims to do their activities compared to other mosques in Taiwan. Masjid At-Taqwa provides an opportunity for Indonesian workers, Indonesia Muslim students and the other Muslim from various countries to come to the mosque. In terms of location, this mosque is the closest to Taoyuan International Airport, hence sometimes there are some Muslim tourist from South East Asia and Mainland China who come to visiting the mosque, doing their prayer and having lunch with Mrs. Hasanah's Indonesian halal food.

Another opinion stated by Mr. Zuhendri, one of the Imam in Masjid At-Taqwa, about the influence of Masjid At-Taqwa. Before the mosque is stood up, according to police officer and security in factory area, criminalities level such as fighting between workers who are drunk and quarrelling in this area was quite high. But after this mosque and activities are hold frequently, the condition are getting better and become more secure.

Mr. Harsono, vice head of Indonesian Economic and Trade Office (IETO) in Taipei, mentioned:

“The number of Indonesian Muslims are very large and spread throughout Taiwan, therefore the existence and construction of mosque or mushola becomes important. The presence of Masjid At-Taqwa in Taoyuan, and the mushola in various places (mostly located near the Indonesian stores) is very good.”

Now, another mosque initiated by Indonesian Muslim workers communities named FOSPI – *Forum Silaturahmi Pelaut Indonesia* (Indonesian Sailor Solidarity Forum) in Donggang, Pingtung, is on progress to be built, and now they are still collecting the fund. In this area, there are more than 1,000 Indonesian male who works as sailor. FOSPI plans to buy a land and building in Donggang, and make 3-storey mosque. They will use this place as their place to do Islamic learning, *yasinan* and *tahlilan*, 5-time prayer and Friday prayer.

In addition, smaller prayer room for praying is also increasingly grown in various places in Taiwan. IETO as Indonesia's representative in Taiwan supports and encourages the

establishment of the religious facilities. However, IETO Taipei, suggested that the establishment of the mosque should be appropriate and not contradict with the Taiwan government's regulations.

3.4 Social Adaptation of Indonesian Muslim Communities

The majority of Indonesia's population is Muslim and so does the majority of Indonesian workers in Taiwan. To maintain their social solidarity, they formed communities or organizations. Currently, there more than 200 Indonesian communities in Taiwan, although not all of them are active. They can be categorized into several parts; for Indonesian Muslim communities, the largest land-based community are PCI NU Taiwan, KMIT and KOMIT. To implement the pillars of Islam and faith, these organizations holding Islamic learning, *Tabligh akbar* and other Islamic spiritual activities.

According to Mr. Harsono, there are some positive things that can be drawn related to the presence of Indonesian Muslim communities and organizations in Taiwan. He said:

“As we know, most of the Indonesian workers in Taiwan are working in the informal sector. They get a heavy-load work duties, in terms of physically and mentally. Therefore, the existence of Indonesian Muslim communities and their activities can help the workers to maintain freshness, and give spiritual strength. These communities can be the medium of aspirations and to maintain brotherhood and solidarity among Indonesian Muslims towards goodness.”

In forming relationships, people exchange goods and services (including emotional support and interaction). Based on social exchange theory, people stay in relationships when they believe that the exchange is beneficial and it is rooted in rational choice theory. In this part, I will explain how they cooperate and what kind of problems they faced.

3.4.1 Cooperation

Interaction and relation among Indonesian Muslim communities in Taiwan can be seen clearly when they conduct *Tabligh akbar* and some communities will take turns on holding this big event. KMIT, as the umbrella of land-based Indonesian Muslim communities, and KOMIT for on air-based Muslim communities in Taiwan, try to organize and synchronized the *tabligh akbar* schedule among the organizer, so that there will be no clash on their schedule.

For Indonesian Muslim communities (both land-based and on air-based) such as PCI NU Taiwan, MTYT Taipei, IMIT Taichung, FOSMIT Chungli and IWAMIT Kaohsiung, they can hold this event by themselves. But sometimes, they also cooperated with smaller-size Indonesian Muslim communities that located or worked in the same city to make more effective and efficient effort.

For each *tabligh akbar* event, it can cost around 300,000 to 500,000 Taiwan dollar; depends on the size of event, the *mubaligh* (the preacher who deliver *tabligh akbar*) who are being invited from Indonesia, equipment, place of event, and number of participant. It means the organizer need a lot of volunteer to gather the funding by spreading proposal to sponsor or asking donation from Indonesian Muslim workers. They also need to cooperate and assist each other, in terms of committee, fundraising and technical preparation.

Event's Poster for Tabligh Akbar



(Source: KMIT. Various events' poster for *Tabligh Akbar*)

This massive event usually conducted once every one to three months, holds in different cities each time, and attended by thousands of Indonesian Muslim workers (mostly female).

To gather such large participant, usually they use and rent a train station hall, public park, schools' Hall, or place that can accommodate a big number of people and easy to access.

Thus, these communities do inter-organizational exchange visits, especially for *tabligh akbar*. They will come to the city where *tabligh akbar* conducted. For the example, when there was a *tabligh akbar* in Chungli that organized by FOSMIT – Chungli, the other communities under KMIT and KOMIT will attend and participate in the event.

Another interaction can be seen when doing advocacy related to Indonesian workers problem. Mr. Suyadi, who was a former president of KMIT, said that in the past he often communicate with all organizations under KMIT to do coordination, especially related to advocacy. When there is Indonesian worker who died due to health condition or working accident, then together with IETO Taipei and Indonesian workers communities or organizations, they help to prepare the funeral procession before they send them back to their family in Indonesia.

3.4.2 Problem and Challenges

According to Gibson, et al (1997: 437), in an interaction, in addition to creating a cooperative and interdependent relationships, it can also result in conflict. Conflict is usually caused by objectives, resource allocation - resource that is shared, decisions, and behavior of each party involved (Myers, 1982:234-237; Kreps, 1986:185; Stewart, 1993: 341). In other words, this occurs if the individual or each component organization has its own interests or goals and do not cooperate with each other.

With the development of Indonesian Muslim communities and organization that is growing rapidly³³, but with this growth, the problem also arises. In some ways, these organization compete each other; whether which communities that are better, more active and exist among others, or which organization that have more members and can gain more funding or donation. However, this competition is not develop into an open conflict. Most of the time, individual or private motive become the reason behind a conflict.

Mr. Zuhendri, argued that another factors that can make problem and challenge among Indonesian Muslim communities is change in management, also change in program and

³³ Especially for “on-air” based communities with the development of communication technology and gadget. They can easily form a new community with a different reason and background.

policy of organization/ communities. In other words, different leader and management will have different program.

In addition, Galih (an Indonesian student who are actively participated in Indonesian workers activities in Kaohsiung and Pingtung) said that the most crucial for Indonesian Muslim communities or organization is the management regeneration. The Indonesian workers in Taiwan mostly working based on 3-years contract, after it finished, usually they come back to Indonesia. Therefore the sustainability and continuity of communities' or organizations' activities is really depends on the member's activeness. They should have a strong regeneration system and implementation.

Lilik, an Indonesian student who serve as Head of Community Service Department in FORMMIT, said:

“During my experience interact with Indonesian Muslim organization in these last 4 years, sometimes there are some intersect or even clash with other organizations when conducting Tabligh akbar, and also the collection of zakat, infaq, and sadaqah, If an organizations hold an event, then the other organizations should not be looking for donations or infaq in the event area (except the hosting organization only).”

Different opinion about challenge for Indonesian Muslim communities given by Mr. Hakun, the head of PCI NU Taiwan. He said:

“The challenge is the influence of Indonesian political issues among Indonesian workers in Taiwan. Indonesia had just held legislative election on April 2014 and presidential election on July 2014. This five-year event influenced not only Indonesian citizens in Indonesia, but also Indonesian in Taiwan. Since there are more than 200,000 Indonesian who are eligible to vote for the election, hence it becomes a potential source for vote getter. So, it is better to make a clear separation between da'wa and politics.”

Over all, another challenges for Indonesian Muslim communities and organization is the absence of activity that show the unity of Indonesian Muslim in Taiwan. Until now, there is no joint activities between inter-Islamic organization under KMIT, PCI NU Taiwan and another communities such as PCI Muhammadiyah Taiwan.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL ADAPTATION OF INDONESIAN MUSLIM AND CHINESE MUSLIM COMMUNITIES IN TAIWAN

This chapter will describes and analyzes about the case studies related to social adaptation of Indonesian Muslim and Chinese Muslim communities in Taiwan. To understand this social adaptation, it should be re-stated that among Taiwanese society, both of Indonesian Muslim and Chinese Muslim in Taiwan are considered as minority in Taiwan, due to the small amount of Muslim as well as the Islamic practices in Taiwan.

As the immigrant in Taiwan, in order to survive and adapt with their environment, of course Indonesian Muslim need to do social interaction and “learn” from Chinese Muslim whom are familiar with Taiwanese situation. Indonesian Muslim as “guest” in Taiwan has different challenges compare to Chinese Muslim. Hence, the presence of Chinese Muslim as “host” in Taiwan is very important for the guests. In their social adaptation, Indonesian Muslim and Chinese Muslim played important role for helping each other through cooperation for various activities.

4.1 Religious Activities and Ceremonies

Masjid or mosque plays very important roles for Muslim in the context of social adaptation. *Masjid* (in Arabic means mosque), known as a place for Muslim to do the worship. However, mosque not restricted to being a place of worship, a location for performing rituals, or a social and political dimension of the Muslim community, instead, it has served as a symbol of belonging and identity (Abdel-Hady, 2010). Hence, the highest interaction between Indonesian Muslim communities and Chinese Muslim communities happened in mosque.

It can be seen that most of the time, especially on Friday and weekend, there are many Muslim from various nations come to the mosque regularly. Not only for doing prayer, but also some social activities for intra and inter-Muslim communities. Here is some activities that has been doing by Muslim communities (both Indonesian Muslim and Chinese Muslim) in Taiwan.

1) Marriage Procession Ceremony

Marriage ceremony is often held in the mosque, mostly among Indonesian workers and some cases between Indonesian worker with Taiwanese, Pakistani or Thailand. Here, the Chinese Muslim who is Imam in the mosque taking important role to proceed the *akad* or holy matrimonial.

All the administrative requirement should be applied to Indonesian Muslim Communities. About this matter, according to Imam Abdullah from Taichung Mosque, the requirement should be strict. There were some cases of Indonesian worker who already married in Indonesia, but then secretly married again in Taiwan without a proper permit from their family. They should proof that they haven't married yet. And also according to Taiwan's law, people only allowed to have one husband/ wife. So that, the mosque and Indonesian Muslim community need to make a strict regulation to prevent this case happened.

Every Sunday in Longgang mosque there is quite often wedding ceremony, around 2-3 times per month. The officer of Not only Indonesian Muslim, sometime there is also wedding ceremony for Chinese Muslim in the mosque. Usually, Indonesian Muslim (students and workers) are helping the preparation of procession and celebration (especially for cooking and washing the dishes).



(Source: Personal documentation. Taken in Longgang Mosque, Chungli on June 22nd 2014)

4.1.2 Death Procession Ceremony

There are some cases of Indonesian workers who died because of accident or illness. Before sending the dead body to Indonesia, they will proceed Islamic cleansing, provide a shroud and bathe the corpse. Mrs. Maulidiyah, one of Indonesian student who actively come to Longgang mosque, ever participated in death-ceremony procession of Indonesian Muslim workers. The workers died because of working accident. Because there's only limited number of people in the mosque, she and some other students and workers helped the procession (bathing, shrouding and prayers for dead body) in the mosque. And after that, the dead body was sent back to Indonesia.

Another example is from Kaohsiung mosque. There was a special case where one of Indonesian worker died because of the HIV. Based on the Taiwan government regulation, those who died because of virus can't be buried and must be cremated. And the dead body can't be sent to Indonesia and proceed in Islamic way. But if he/ she died because accident, the Islamic procession for funeral can be do.

4.1.3 Friday Prayer

Friday is a holy day for Muslim. This weekly event become the opportunity for Muslim from various countries to gather at the mosque. They are mainly coming from Taiwan (Chinese Muslim – elder people), Indonesia (mostly students, while workers is depends on working shift in the factory), Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Gambia and some Muslim from Middle Eastern countries. Not only man, but female Muslim woman come to the Mosque for doing pray and interact each other. In average, there are around 50 – 100 male Muslim and 10 – 20 female Muslim on Friday prayer.

During Friday Pray in Taipei Grand Mosque, we can see an international atmosphere where all the Muslim from many countries coming to this mosque. Not only the students and workers, but also officials from representatives' offices from Islamic countries and Muslim-majority countries come to this mosque to perform their pray. Because the Friday's religious preach in this mosque is taught in English, there are more international Muslim come here. In certain time, there will be hundreds of Muslim gathered to pray, and after that buy some halal meat and food that be sold in a small bazaar in the mosque's hall.

The interaction between Indonesian Muslim and Chinese Muslim during this time is not really intensive, because they only have limited time to conduct their pray and having lunch.

But for some people, they are helping the preparation of the Friday prayer and also serving some small foods for free to the visitors.

4.1.4 Ramadan/ Fasting Month

We can say that the interaction between Indonesian Muslim and Chinese Muslim in Taiwan reach its peak during Ramadan. In every day during this holy month, many Indonesian Muslim and Chinese Muslim come to the mosque to help the preparation of *ifthar* (breakfasting) and dinner. Not only cooking the food, they also divided their works to prepare the room and food, and cleansing the dishes afterward.



(Source: Personal documentation. Ifthar in Taipei Grand Mosque, July 2014)

Because the number of visitor who come for *ifthar* is quite big, so that the mosque management need many volunteers to help them. When conducting an observation in Taipei Grand Mosque, Taipei Cultural Mosque and Longgang Mosque, I met some Indonesian female workers and students who are come to the mosque to help this preparation.

There are around 50 – 100 Muslim coming for *ifthar* every day (and there will be more on weekend), and they will eat dinner together after the prayer. In this time, the interaction among Chinese Muslim and Indonesian Muslim is more intensive, because they will sit in a round table all together and discuss or do a small talks while having their dinner. And sometimes they bring their own food and share it to other Muslim.

4.1.5 Islamic Holiday Celebration

During the Eid celebration many Muslim from various nations come to mosque. Especially for Indonesian workers, even though the Eid pray is on weekday, usually they will try their best to come to the pray by asking special permit. In Chungli, there are many Chinese Muslims living close to the Longgang mosque, so after the prayer some Indonesian Muslim students and workers come and visit the Chinese Muslim houses near Longgang mosque as the part of *silaturrahim* and celebrate the Eid together.



(Source: Personal documentation. Activities after Eid Prayer in Taipei Grand Mosque, 2014)

While in Kaohsiung mosque, after the Eid prayer, there is gathering as well. For Indonesian Muslim, usually they cook in Indonesian store's kitchen next to the mosque and it was cooked by IWAMIT Kaohsiung member. As for Chinese Muslim, they cook in Mosque's kitchen and eat in the mosque's hall.

4.1.6 Tabligh akbar

FOSMIT, under the organization of KMIT, hold a *Tabligh akbar* once a year in Chungli. KMIT's function is to help all the Indonesian Muslim organization activities in Taiwan to match the schedule. *Tabligh akbar* is an event for Indonesian Muslim (mostly workers) and hold every month in different places in Taiwan with different organizer.

The Indonesian Muslim held this regular event to commemorate religious holiday. The *tabligh akbar* itself is held in Indonesian language, so that there is no Chinese Muslim participate in this event, however the organizer invited the Imam and the Mosque

management. They give many support and help in terms of permit to Taiwan's local government and police, giving speech in the day of event, and also the equipment.

According to Mrs. Maulidiyah, FOSMIT and Longgang mosque have close and good relations, they are helping each other and have good cooperation on Islamic activities.

4.1.7 Islamic Education

One of the challenge for Muslim in Taiwan is limited Islamic education for children. Imam Abdullah from Taichung Mosque said that we must concern about education for future generation of Muslim to make better contribution for Islam in Taiwan. Not only in matter of number of people, but also in terms of quality of people and education. Islamic education also very important for Muslim, especially if they are as minority.

Although it is still limited, however there are basic Islamic teaching every weekend in every mosques in Taiwan. The teacher is not only Chinese Muslim but sometimes Indonesian Muslim students and workers also being asked to teach basic Arabic and Quran reading. For the example is many Indonesian workers and students come to Kaohsiung mosque to helping and teaching basic Arabic for Quran reading to Chinese Muslim.

In Chungli, some students from NCU who are active in FORMMIT (Indonesian Muslim students Forum) give some free courses such as computer and Basic English course for Indonesian workers. They also teach Arabic Quran reading for Chinese Muslim children and children of inter-marriage. Especially in Longgang mosque, every Saturday and Sunday there are classes for children from 10 am – 12 pm. There are several classes for learn basic Arabic for Quran reading based on their level. In every class, there 10-15 children. Many of them is the second or third generation of Chinese Muslim from Thailand or Burma, and some mixed Thailand – Taiwan, Pakistan – Taiwan, Indonesian – Thailand, etc.

4.1.8 Islamic Exhibition and Seminar

Interaction between Indonesian Muslim and Chinese Muslim, especially Indonesian students can be seen from Islamic exhibition and seminar. One of the biggest event for Indonesian Muslim student in Taipei is International Muslim Culture Exhibition (IMCE). This annual event was held by National Taiwan University of Science and Technology – International Muslim Student Association (NTUST – IMSA). IMCE held since 2011, and

aims to introduce Islam as minority in Taiwan with soft culture approach through culture, and food. The visitor's enthusiasm is quite big. In this event, many Muslim from various countries give their support, especially CMA and Taipei Grand Mosque. They support not only financially, but also for the interpreter and speaker for the seminars. Not only from the organization, support also come from Chinese Muslim personally to give donation, event preparation, publication, idea, equipment and network.

Another Islamic exhibition also held by Muslim Student Association in Yuan Zhe University (YZU) and National Central University (NCU) in Chungli. Most of the member of the association are coming from Indonesia, Gambia and some Middle Eastern student. One of Indonesian student initiated this activity for the first time in YZU. The mission of this event is to introduce about Islam, halal food and *hijab* for all Taiwanese and foreign students in their campus. This event also get full support from Longgang mosque, in which the Imams came to the exhibition to give speech and seminar about Islam, and Taiwanese Muslim student also taking part actively as well. Not only in Chungli, but all the Imam or mosque management in big cities in Taiwan are often being invited by the Muslim students to give lectures or seminars about Islam.



(Source: National Taiwan Museum. Event's poster about the exhibition, 2014)

Not only conducted by Indonesian Muslim students, in early until mid-year 2014 there was an exhibition called "The Exhibition of Islamic Life and Culture" held by National Taiwan Museum in Taipei. Every weekend, there were some volunteers from Chinese Muslim and also Muslim students from various countries to help this special event. They help to introduce about Islam in general and Muslim daily life, including help the visitor to wear Muslim's clothes as experience.

4.1.9 Hajj

Started in 2013, some Indonesian Muslim participated in Hajj pilgrimage. Together with Chinese Muslim and another Muslim from various countries, they went to Mecca from Taiwan. Compare to Indonesia, it is easier for Indonesian Muslim to go Hajj from Taiwan because of the quota. While the Hajj cost is not much different. In the future, Indonesian Muslim communities planning to regularly join this Hajj mission and keep the coordination with Chinese Muslim Association to organize the application from Indonesian Muslim in Taiwan.

4.1.10 Visitation to Detention Center

Another interaction is related to visitation to detention center. Sometimes Indonesian Muslim, Chinese Muslim and Pakistani Muslim do their regular visitation to detention center in Sanxia, Hsinchu, Yilan and Nantou to visit Indonesian Muslim workers who are arrested because of the violation of immigration regulation and working permit.

Mr. Aslan, Pakistani Muslim who have been living in Taiwan for 20 years and married with Indonesian worker, is one of the Muslim who are regularly visiting those detention centers. During Ramadan, the Muslim donate some food and money for Indonesian workers in detention center to have a proper meal for fasting. They also asked the officer to cook the food for Indonesian workers. Mr. Aslan also mentioned that in Sanxia, some of the halal restaurant owner bring free halal food for *ifthar* and break fasting. Last Ramadan, I joined Mr. Aslan for the visitation to detention center in Nantou. There are 45 Indonesian workers; 30 woman and 15 man, who are staying in this DC.

Indonesian Muslim presence in Taiwan is very important for Islam in Taiwan. One of Taiwan's mosque problem is the limited presence of Chinese Muslim especially from young generation. Only the elderly Muslim who come to mosque regularly. That's why, the Indonesian Muslim presence is very significant to enliven Islamic activities in mosque.

Ma Hikmah, a female Chinese Muslim whom is participate actively in Taipei Grand Mosque, said that:

“Compare to Taiwan condition in 20-30 years ago, the condition is better because currently there are more foreigner Muslim in Taiwan that help a lot. With the big number of Indonesian Muslim in Taiwan, they are enliven the Islamic activities and attendance in mosques.”

In Masjid At-Taqwa official inauguration on June 2013, many Chinese Muslim representative from Mosques and organizations in Taiwan, also Islamic countries' representative office in Taiwan attend this historical event. All of them declare their support and help for the Indonesian Muslim and *da'wa* in Taiwan, especially related to facilities. A testimony about Indonesian Muslim also mentioned by Kaohsiung mosque's Imam. The Imam said:

"I'm proud with Indonesian Muslim in Taiwan because since the establishment of Kaohsiung mosque, Indonesian Muslim are very active to come and enliven the mosque. The number of Chinese Muslim is quite small, so that Indonesian Muslim presence is very important for Islam in Taiwan."

According to Imam Abdullah³⁴, the Taichung mosque's Imam, the interaction and relation of Indonesian Muslim and Chinese Muslim is very good. He said:

"There are more than 200,000 Indonesian worker in Taiwan and majority of them is Muslim. In my opinion, the relations among Muslim should be like a brotherhood, so that masjid Taichung provide place to hold activities without any charge (only for cleaning). The mosque is shared together for Muslim from any country in the world, we give freedom as long as they obey the masjid's regulation."

To understand further interaction and cooperation between Indonesian Muslim and Chinese Muslim, there are four main case studies where they interact and relate at most.

4.2 Inter-Marriage

Marriage is the fastest way to assimilate two different backgrounds. Assimilation, in which social control is consolidated, has usually been thought of as the process in which cultural homogeneity is produced. But in the context of Indonesian Muslim woman and Taiwanese's inter-marriage, the possibility can be both, either they assimilate into the Islamic culture or Chinese culture (*sinicized*).

There are Indonesian workers, mainly woman that married with Taiwanese who is convert to Islam. However, compare to another foreign Muslim in Taiwan, the number of Indonesian – Chinese Muslim marriage is not as many as Pakistanis. But in some cases, the

³⁴ Imam Abdullah Shan Yaowu (閃耀武), Imam of Taichung Mosque, is Chinese Muslim from Myanmar. He was graduated from Al Azhar University majoring in Islamic Law in Egypt, and finished his study in 1996. In the same year, he was appointed to serve in Taichung Mosque.

inter-marriage Muslim couple has significant role among the Chinese and Indonesian Muslim communities.

One of the inter-marriage case in Longgang mosque area is Mrs. Wati, former Indonesian worker who married with Thailand Chinese Muslim. The other one is Imam of Longgang Mosque and Mrs. Siti (former Indonesian worker) who married in the end of 2013. Their marriage makes the relations between Indonesia Muslim and Chinese Muslim in Longgang mosque getting closer.

While in Kaohsiung area, some prominent inter-marriage couples are Mrs. Sari & her Taiwanese husband, Mrs. Hartati & Taiwanese Muslim, and Mr. Zaenal & Taiwanese wife, and also Mrs. Santi & her Taiwanese husband in Qijin Island. All of them have stayed in Taiwan for long time, and after married they open Indonesian store and Indonesian halal food restaurant.

Mr. Zaenal has been living in Taiwan for more than 20 years. At first, he was a worker but then he started his business and now is quite successful. Mr. Zaenal also known as the most prominent Indonesian figure in Kaohsiung. He owned Indonesian store close to Kaohsiung main station, and also center for making tempe (fermented soy bean) and halal meat ball close to the port. He also actively invite Indonesian workers to participate in his entrepreneur activities.

Not all inter-marriage couples among Indonesian workers and Taiwanese can bring Islam to their daily activities. Some of Indonesian women even convert to Chinese religion and follow the husband's family tradition. To prevent it, in Taichung Mosque, if the Taiwanese man want to married with Indonesian Muslim women, he should learn about basic Islamic teaching for 3 months in the mosque before convert to Muslim and get the Muslim certificate. But this convert should be because of the self-consciousness, not because of the marriage. However, in fact there are some cases where the groom converted only for ceremonial purpose, then after he already married, then he return to his previous religion or believes.

Furthermore, in Taiwan due to a lack of family religious education and biased education system, "freedom of belief" contributed to the deterioration of religion. Most of the second generation Muslims in Taiwan were unfamiliar with the Muslim community. Therefore, for the third and fourth generation of Muslims is even more difficult to know and

understand Islamic concept and practices, even though their grand parents (first generation) were very religious. Ma Chao-Yen argued that although the first generation of Chinese Muslim in Taiwan built excellent facilities, however in terms of sustainability, they are failed to establish religious and cultural infrastructure.

The next generation can received better education and career in Taiwan, however in the context of religion, they were lack of knowledge, belief and Islamic practices. Some of them even denied themselves as Muslim, even though their parents/ grandparents were Muslim. Furthermore, with the absence of formal Islamic education institution/ school in Taiwan and limited Islamic teacher made the sustainability of Islamic education in Taiwan become worse. No wonder that many of Muslim families' descendants drifted away from Islam.

As one generation followed another, they became almost totally assimilated into Taiwanese society, adopting Taiwanese customs and the Taiwanese religion (China folk religion, Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism). To solve this problem, the Muslim authorization needs to boost Islamic activities and enhance the education of young generation for a greater emphasis on religion. And Muslim community need to take a part for keeping the sustainability of education by providing Islamic teacher and trainings.

In Taipei, Arabic language is being taught formally in National Chengchi University in Taipei since 1957 under the Department of Arabic Language and Culture under the Department of Oriental Languages and Cultures. Due to the growing importance of Arab nations in the aspect of cultures, politics and economics of the world, the ROC government authorized the Department of Arabic Language and Culture to be independent, making it equal to the Department of Oriental Languages and Cultures within the university.

The Chinese Muslim Association has also been sending Taiwanese Muslim students overseas to receive formal Islamic education, mostly in Middle East. However, most of them then working as diplomat in Ministry of Foreign Affairs, especially to Islamic countries, and there is only limited young generation of Taiwanese Muslim who want to be religious leader (imam) or Islamic teacher. To further improve the effort in preserving the Islamic faith among the Muslims, the association has developed a plan to "educating secular educators" and that the Bureau of Education of the Taipei City Government has approve the proposal to hold Islamic courses for primary and secondary school teachers during

summer vacations. They also provide authentic Islamic information to public school teachers to eliminate the Islamic stereotyping and misunderstanding.

4.3 Halal Food and Business

The word *halal* (in Arabic) means permitted or lawful and in Chinese often translated into *qing zhen* 清真. Halal foods are foods that are allowed under Islamic dietary guidelines. Muslim cannot consume pork or pork by products; animals that were dead prior to slaughtering; animals not slaughtered properly or not slaughtered in the name of Allah; blood and blood by products; alcohol; carnivorous animals; birds of prey; land animals without external ears. Islam prohibits anything which intoxicates, affects the functioning of the brain, or harms the body. These prohibited foods and ingredients are called *haram* (in Arabic) means forbidden.

From a book written by Gladney (1991), in order to understand Hui Muslim identity in China, it starts with the understanding of the term *qing zhen* 清真³⁵ as the expressions of Hui identity. *Qing zhen* is a Chinese term that literally means the “pure” and “true”. It is commonly written as a sign for Muslim food diets in restaurants and food stands. But this concept expressed by the Chinese ideographs as meant more to the Hui than the absence of lard or pork. In the Geertzian sense, it become a “sacred symbol” marking Hui identity (Gladney, 1991; p. 7).

One of the greatest challenges for Muslims in Taiwan is finding halal food. Most of Taiwanese have little consciousness of Muslim dietary practices and mostly argued that halal food is troublesome (麻烦 or Máfán). Even most of them know that Muslims do not eat pork, but they still do not understand why Muslim cannot eat pork and what the meaning of halal is. It can be seen from most of the question that Muslim got from Taiwanese. However, this problem somewhat can be solved since basically many of Taiwanese also have religious dietary custom (for Buddhism who are becoming vegetarian), so that to find vegetarian food in Taiwan is quiet easy.

³⁵ Based on Donald Leslie, this term of *qing zhen* might have originated with the Chinese Jews and referred to Judaism in many of their ancient inscriptions. While the prominent Hui historian Ma Shouqian concludes that before the Yuan Dynasty, *qing zhen* referred to both Islam and Judaism. By the Ming dynasty, its meaning become generally restricted to the religion of the Hui people (Gladney, 1991; p. 11 – 12).

Recently, there is a good development regarding halal food business. Until now, there are 31 restaurants throughout the country that are now certified as Halal or Muslim friendly restaurants. Most of them are Indian, Pakistan, Thai, Turkish and Egyptian cuisine. In March 25th, 2013 there were sixteen restaurants around Taiwan were given Halal certification³⁶, which identifies them as trustworthy establishments that serve food in compliance with Islamic dietary law. This certificates was officially given at a ceremony in Taipei as the part of Taiwan’s efforts to attract more Muslim tourists in a bid to expand its tourism³⁷. There are also numerous Halal Yunnan, Burmese and Thai small food shop/ restaurant in Zhonghe area, Taipei City and Longgang, Chungli – Taoyuan City.



(Source: Personal documentation. Halal food bazaar in Taipei Grand Mosque after Friday Prayer. A Chinese Muslim women sell Halal chicken to Muslim immigrant)

In the 2013 & 2014, TAITRA together with THIDA³⁸ (as co-organizer) held an event named “Taiwan International Halal Expo”, which held on June. The concern of THIDA is

³⁶ The certificates were issued by the Tourism Bureau, in collaboration with the Taipei-based Chinese Muslim Association, to restaurants in Taipei, New Taipei, Taoyuan, Taichung, Tainan, Hualien and Taitung.

³⁷ The China Post. (2013). 16 more restaurants around nation get halal certification. Published on March 26, 2013, 12:01 am. Retrieved from: <http://www.Chinapost.com.tw/taiwan/national/national-news/2013/03/26/374205/16-more.htm> .

³⁸ Taiwan Halal Integrity Development Association abbreviated as THIDA (台灣清真產業品質保證推廣協會 or Tái wān Qīngzhēn Chǎnyè Pīnzhǐ Bǎozhèng Tuīguǎng Xiéhuì) is a certification body that produces Halal certificates in Taiwan. The association, which is based in the Taipei Cultural Mosque in Taipei, was inaugurated on 7 May 2011 in Taipei. The opening ceremony was attended by association managers, economic representatives, business people and around 300 Taiwan Halal Good Association companies and their relevant factions in Taiwan. The objectives of this association is to ensure the Halal-ness to all Muslim consumers anywhere in the world, protect the Halal integrity of local certification bodies from mistakes or

because of the current world Muslim population number, that has been estimated to be 1.5 to 1.6 billions, or 1 out of 4 persons in the world is a Muslim. It is estimated that the Muslim market is worth 800 billion to 1.2 trillion US dollars per year, a very significant new market. This is a very good foundation has been laid down for Taiwan's Halal Industry to exploit, especially it has emerged as a very important new business opportunity, encourage establishing Islamic financial services and Muslim tourism, and participate in developing business opportunities in the Muslim markets.

In recent years in order to develop tourism in Taiwan, the government has aimed at Muslims from South-East Asia and Mainland China to promoting tours to Taiwan. The halal food and Muslim friendly environment in Taiwan has thenceforth greatly improved. Now, step by step Muslim in Taiwan can find food with halal logo in many hypermarket in Taiwan. And CMA just gives new halal certification to some five star hotels and restaurant, mainly in Taipei.

Finding halal food in Taiwan is quite difficult especially for foreign Muslim. However with the presence of Chinese Muslim who open the halal food or halal restaurant business, it is very important and essential. Next to Masjid At-Taqwa, Mrs. Hasanah open a small Indonesian Halal restaurant. For the halal meat and chicken supply, it was carried by Ali, a Chinese Muslims living in Chungli. He slaughter the chickens and ducks by himself. While for the beef, the supply is Chinese Muslim traders. While for Halal food in Longgang area are available every day, especially near the Longgang mosque area. Many of Chinese Muslim reside and live around the mosque, and they open halal restaurant or halal food stall near the market. They also sell halal food on Friday pray.

One of the case of inter-marriage in Longgang mosque area is Mrs. Wati, former Indonesian worker who married with Thailand Muslim. She and her husband open Indonesian halal restaurant not so far from Longgang mosque, and also provided halal raw chicken and Indonesian food stock. They owned their own small-scale poultry farm and Mrs. Wati's husband will slaughtered the chicken in Islamic way so that they can provide halal chicken. Mrs. Wati also provides catering for Indonesian Muslim students who want to order

mishandling, avoid consequences from such mistakes that may affect interests of other law-abiding companies, and allow sharing of the limited resources of each individual mosque in both the shariah and technical fields.

Indonesian halal food every Wednesday or Thursday in every week. She organizes the food order by using facebook and then she will deliver the catering to NCU.

As for halal meat in Kaohsiung, it is available every day in Kaohsiung mosque. But many of Indonesian workers cannot access the halal food because of their limitation with working hour, factory regulation and food provider. Furthermore, the understanding and knowledge of halal concept among Indonesian themselves and Taiwanese are still limited.

Halal meat also available in some Indonesian store (especially from those inter-marriage couple that he mentioned before). They slaughtered the chicken by themselves and take the halal meat from importer. Based on government regulation, we cannot slaughtered the animal in the city's market, it should be outside the city. So, usually the Muslim student buy an alive chicken and they slaughtered by themselves. Based on Mr. Kahlil experience while living in Taichung before, he often to do slaughtered chicken by himself. And there is also Indonesian worker who work in abattoirs, so that all the chicken from that company is considered as halal.

In Kaohsiung mosque on Friday, there's no people selling food. However halal meat are available to sell in Mosque's office every day. The chicken meat is slaughtered by Mr. Musa (one of the Mosque officer) by himself, while beef meat is imported from New Zealand. All the visitor on Friday pray get free lunch from the mosque. For Indonesian Muslim, there is an Indonesian store next to Mosque and they eat there. The owner are Indonesian female Muslim who are married with Taiwanese *muallaf*, then they open the Indonesian store and halal restaurant.

Not only individual, Chinese Muslim organization and mosque often helps various food industries, halal restaurant and hotel to get halal certification. Now, Taichung mosque in cooperation with TIHDA, arrange the national halal certification in Taiwan and will launched only one halal logo. TIHDA has good relations and was recognized by MUI (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia*) and Jakin Malaysia, and MUS (*Majelis Ulama' Singapore*). They already held several conferences and seminars about halal food in Singapore, Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur. Step by step, TIHDA tried to get international halal standard.

After we gather information from the Chinese Muslim Association (CMA) about Halal certification (which is easy and simple), we try to have a discussion with the school representative or in this case with the Office of International Affairs (OIA). Last week,

several students have discussed with Professor Llyod (OIA) regarding the buffet at canteen 3 which has halal problem issue. Pertaining to this, we try not to justified anyone, instead we try to make it sounds more official. Thus, the international Muslim students would like to propose official halal certification through the CMA. Now, Professor Llyod still discussed this matter with the school representative. Let us pray so that the school will approve this proposal.

One of the example of the interaction between Indonesian Muslim students with Chinese Muslim is when the NTUST student want to proceed halal canteen in their campus. NTUST canteen provide halal food since late 2010. To make sure the halal procedure, the Indonesian Muslim student regularly check the canteen's kitchen by themselves to know the chicken and cooking process.

In the first process, Imam Musa, the previous Imam in Taipei Grand mosque, personally helping the students on explaining about halal procedure to the canteen and university management. However, currently the canteen has different person who cook and there is no a proper knowledge transfer from previous one. And this canteen does not have a formal halal certification. CMA give halal certification for food products, hotel and restaurant inside Taiwan. While TIHDA certified Taiwanese products for exporting to Middle Eastern countries.

Student in NTUST come to CMA to ask the halal procedure for their canteen, including documents and requirement for a restaurant or canteen to get this certification. CMA also offer a training for hotels and restaurant who want to get Muslim-friendly title in order to support government's program to promote tourism. CMA also made a halal food and Muslim-friendly catalogue for Muslim traveler.

4.4 Challenges for Social Adaptation

Based on the field research and interviews with Indonesian Muslim and Chinese Muslim in Taipei, Taoyuan, Chungli, Taichung and Kaohsiung, I asked all the interviewees about what are the challenges for Indonesian Muslim and Chinese Muslim to do social adaptation.

a. Communication and Language skill

All of the interviewees are agree that the biggest challenge for interaction and relation between Indonesian and Chinese Muslim is language skill. In many cases, there is some misunderstanding and it make the communication among them become more complicated. This challenge somehow creates a barrier and grouping among the Muslim community.

Compare to Indonesian Muslim male workers, Indonesian female workers who work in domestic sector usually can speak Chinese fluently because they used to communicate with their employer intensively. While the reason why Indonesian Muslim male workers can't speak Chinese fluently is because their job demand not really needed language skill.

Sutardji (30 years old) was the former vice president of FOSMIT in 2013. Based on his experience, he feels that there is still gap on interaction and relation among Indonesian Muslim with the other Muslim in Taiwan. He said;

“It is look like there is a high wall that separate us. We don't have any single activity for all Muslim in Taiwan. In the past, we ever tried to initiate a program that can unite all the Muslim in Longgang mosque to strengthen our solidarity. However, it was failed and there is no other initiative to re-start this program.”

The reason of this program's failure perhaps due to language barrier. Sutardji added:

“It is very difficult to find any translator or interpreter that can be available in whole time when holding an event. Once, we ever helped by the member of Jama'ah Tabligh who can speak Chinese, English and Arabic. But because they only stay for a short term, so we can't keep them. We also ever asked Indonesian students who study in National Central University to be our interpreter, but the obstacle is their tight schedule for researching and studying.”

Sutardji added, that to show the existence of Muslim in Taiwan, several years ago there is a project to collect the number of Indonesian Muslim through Indonesian Muslim communities. It was organized by Taipei Grand Mosque, in order to give statistical information about the number of Muslim in Taiwan. Their expectation is to advocate a special holiday for Muslim in Taiwan, especially for migrant workers who works in informal sector, to do their Eid prayer (especially if the Eid is on weekdays). However, after 4 years, there is no updates and follow up about this project.

b. Time and Flexibility

Although Indonesian female workers have better language skill, however they have limited time and less flexibility on joining activities and direct interaction with people outside their work place. Based on the regulation, the workers should have day off once a week, but in fact, many female workers only get one day off per month. This is also become the reason of “innovation” for Indonesian Muslim communities to create “On Air” communities to keep learning Islamic teaching and interact with their Indonesian friends.

For those who are working in formal sector, perhaps their difficulty not as much as the Muslim worker in informal sector (especially care taker, factory worker and sailor). Not only in the matter of proper place to pray, but also the tight schedule of work time. Most of the Taiwanese employer do not know and sometimes ignore this religious needs of Muslim workers. Because of this problem, most of Chinese Muslims, who tends to keep their religious practices, are change their work place and prefer to work in company which owned by Muslim or open their own business. But for foreign Muslim, this option will be very difficult for them.

c. Difference in Culture and Habit

Some negative image to Indonesian workers are many of them often violate the mosque regulation, didn't keep the cleanliness, noisy and forgot to silent their cellphone when inside the mosque. Some problems ever occurred during Eid pray. At that time, there are many Indonesian Female workers come to mosque, but they are too noisy while the Imam doing the *khutbah*, many of them selling products inside the mosque (in the pray room), and many of them taking pictures (with their friends). And these activities disturb the other visitor and make them feel uncomfortable (Mrs. Novi, Kaohsiung).

Not all Indonesian Muslim who visit mosques that aware with the mosque regulation and *adab*. Many Indonesian women who come are not wearing *hijab* and not a proper clothes. The man smoking in mosque area even though there is a prohibition ban. Some others do not keep the cleanliness of the mosque, doing trade/ selling goods inside the mosque and quite noisy when talking with their friends. These kind of behavior often criticized by Chinese Muslim.

d. Difference in Religious Practice and *Mahdzab*

People are on the move, and so are their faith (The Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life, 2012). And not only faith, but culture, habit and tradition also brought together with them. To fulfil their religious needs in Taiwan, the Indonesian Muslim have some Islamic activities but still with the Indonesian characteristics. Although Indonesian Muslim and Chinese Muslim share same faith and beliefs, but there are some different habits that might be the cause of potential conflict among them. The majority of Indonesian Muslim workers in Taiwan have traditional Islamic background, so that some of worship ordinances are different with the Chinese Muslim.

Between Indonesian Muslim and Chinese Muslim, there are some differences on practicing religious activities, but it doesn't makes a big problem. As the example, Indonesian Muslim (especially the workers with *Nahdatul Ulama* background), they practicing *yasinan* and recently *nisfu sya 'ban* (the night of 14th day in *Sya 'ban*, the 8th month in Islamic calendar).

However, this practice is not happened among Chinese Muslim, and Kaohsiung mosque didn't forbid this practice openly, only give some advices and information to Indonesian Muslim. Indeed, *yasinan* already become a habit for Indonesian Muslim especially from *Nahdatul Ulama* background, although they are not in their home country, but they bring this culture and still practicing in Taiwan.

Mr. Kahlil argued that this *yasinan* activity also useful for keeping the Muslim brotherhood, building the society's relations and to treat "homesickness" with their home. *Yasinan* activity is held regularly every month in Kaohsiung mosque and also in Indonesian store close to the harbor. It attracts the interest of Indonesian workers to come and gather. The Kaohsiung imam originally coming from Burma, but he has been in Taiwan for 20 years. He knows about Indonesia and ever visited Indonesia. He also knows about *Nahdatul ulama* and *Muhammadiyah* issues.

Another critics from Pakistani or Bangladeshi Muslim, that is woman should not singing (even for religious or Islamic activity) and they cannot read the Quran in front of man. The *adab* for interaction between man and women should be strictly implemented. In some cases, Indonesian Muslim activities are hold at night due to time limitation and day-off of the workers, and there is no room separation between man and woman, they simply differ the order of seat. Woman should be stay at home and not coming to the mosque.

When there is criticism, it's more likely related to sharia law, not because the behavior or cultural differences. Music in the mosque is not suitable in Taiwan. Islamic spirit and culture also sharia. But if they want to recite Quran or nasheed is okay.

e. Mosque Management Regulation

Access and facility in the mosque are depends on the mosque management and imam. In early 2000's, Indonesian Muslim who live in Taipei often use Taipei Cultural Mosque as the center for their activities. But during the renovation of the mosque and because there is a misused case of some Indonesian workers, so they move to Taipei Grand Mosque.

According to some Indonesian workers, limitation on access and permit to use the room in the mosque can be seen from some regulations such as rental fee, bureaucratic process for borrowing room. Previously, the regulation is not as strict as now. These regulations affected in the decreasing of activities in the mosque and the Indonesian Muslim should try to find another place to do their regular activities.



5. CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Conclusion

From this research, it is found that there are many factors for both Indonesian Muslim and Chinese Muslim as ethnic minorities and religious minority in Taiwan, to adapt their social live in order to preserve their identity and to survive as the minority. While at the same time, to create a better environment, they introduce the Islamic values and culture through some events. Of course in their social adaptation, they need to do cooperation, however in fact, sometimes there are some misunderstanding and miscommunication due to language barrier and different ethnic background.

In terms of number, Indonesian Muslim indeed a lot. From my interview with the Chinese Muslim, all of them say that with their size, Indonesian Muslim represent the general image of Islam and Muslim in Taiwan. However, they face the challenge of losing their identity and culture, because of the assimilation with Taiwanese and Chinese culture (*sinicization*). Hence, Islamic mentoring, guidance and support from various Muslim communities in Taiwan is very important for Indonesian Muslim. Therefore, the existence of Indonesian Muslim communities and their activities can help the workers to maintain freshness, and give spiritual strength. These communities can be the medium of aspirations and to maintain brotherhood and solidarity among Muslims towards goodness.

In the third chapter, it is already explained how the intra-social adaptation among Indonesian Muslim communities, and in the fourth chapter about inter-social adaptation and relation between Indonesian Muslim communities and Chinese Muslim. As the ethno-religious minority in Taiwan, the solidarity among Muslim is a must and cooperation to handling challenges and problem is highly needed for both side.

5.2 Recommendation

After seeing the problem and challenge faced by Indonesian Muslim and Chinese Muslim communities in Taiwan, there are some recommendations for smoothing their social adaptation and relations.

5.2.1 For Indonesian Muslim Communities

- a. Because communication and language are the main problem for most Indonesian Muslim, the leader of Indonesian Muslim or communities organization should be able to speak either English or Chinese fluently. In addition, according to Imam Abdullah from Taichung mosque suggest that the leader should be active, religious, and have good behaviour as well.
- b. Spreading the importance of *adab/* courtesy through education, especially the obedience towards regulation and courtesy in the mosque, manners as well as habit and behaviour, and cleanness.
- c. Keeping intensive communication toward Chinese Muslim, especially for on holding activities.
- d. There is official representative from Indonesian representative office in Taiwan (IETO) to be the medium and bridge between Indonesian communities with the Taiwan government, Chinese Muslim Association or Mosques' management (top down approach).

5.2.2 For Chinese Muslim Communities

- a. The Imam of the mosque should be able to speak at least Chinese, Arabic and English, so that when there is an Islamic preaching, it can be understood by most of worshipper who attend the prayer in the mosque (especially during Friday prayer and Eid). Hopefully it can engage more Muslim to join the activities and interact more.
- b. Especially for the mosque management, they need to give more access for Muslim from various countries to use the mosque for religious activities, and also give clear regulation and proper explanation about do's and don'ts.

5.2.3 For Both Chinese Muslim and Indonesian Muslim

- a. Language is the most important to communicate, adapt, strengthen the relations and interaction. Therefore, both parts need to learn the languages (Chinese and English, or Indonesian) to minimize misunderstanding and to ease the communication.
- b. And at least there is one translator or interpreter that available every time to help the communication among Muslim.
- c. Need to hold and organize more regular Islamic activity for Muslim from various countries in order to ease and increase social adaptation and strengthen the

solidarity. For the example; organize annual conference related to Islamic issues, Islamic summer camp. While the organizer and participant, should be mixed from various countries

- d. To increase the solidarity, it is better to make activities not only in the mosque but also outside the mosque, for the example by visiting each other house.
- e. Need to cooperate and help each other in holding any religious activities. It is important to narrow the distance and minimize the difference. As the guest, Indonesian Muslim communities often facing a limitation of access in Taiwan, so that the Chinese Muslim help is very important. For Chinese Muslim as the host, their most challenge is limitation in human resources/ manpower when holding events, while Indonesian Muslim numbered a lot.

5.3 Further Study

Due to lack of previous research and study about Indonesian Muslim communities in Taiwan and their religious life, it can be said that my research topic is the first one to be done by Indonesian Muslim student, and it can contribute to Taiwanese society in general for getting a better understanding about this ethnic and religious minorities. Of course, it is highly needed to do a further study about Indonesian Muslim communities and their social life in Taiwan, especially the social adaptation and relations with other Muslim communities in Taiwan.

My limitation in Chinese language, prevent a larger communication and discussion with more Chinese Muslim. I only interviewed those who can speak English and do an interview based on the availability of Chinese translator who can help. Therefore, my suggestion for further study is the needs of deeper and more interviewees from more Chinese and Indonesian Muslim communities in larger scope to get a better and much proper study about social adaptation of Muslim minorities in Taiwan.

REFERENCES

- Abdel-Hady, Zakaryya Mohamed. (2010). *The Masjid, Yesterday and Today*. The Center for International and Regional Studies; Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar, No. 2, 2010. Retrieved from: <http://www12.georgetown.edu/sfs/qatar/cirs/AbdelHadyBriefCompleteFile.pdf>, accessed on April 2nd, 2014
- Al Akbar, Nuruddin. 2012. *JEJARING MUHAMMADIYAH; Sebuah Analisis Recovery Bencana Merapi Yang Dilakukan Organisasi Muhammadiyah* (Muhammadiyah networks; an Analysis of Volcano's Eruption Recovery by Muhammadiyah). *Jurnal Sosiologi Islam*, Vol 2, No 2 (2012).
- Allievi, Stefano (Ed). (2010). *Mosques in Europe; Why a Solution has Become a Problem*. Network of European Foundations (NEF) Initiative on Religion and Democracy in Europe. London: Alliance Publishing Trust.
- Bagby, Ihsan. (2004). *A Portrait of Detroit Mosques: Muslim Views on Policy, Politics and Religion*. Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, Michigan. Retrieved from: http://www.ispu.org/files/PDFs/385_Detroit%20Mosque%20Study%20Ihsan%20Bagby.pdf, accessed on April 2nd, 2014.
- Berlie, Jean A. (2004). *Islam in China; Hui and Uyghurs between Modernization and Sinicization*. Bangkok: White Lotus Press.
- Berry, John W. (1997). Lead Article: Immigration, Acculturation and Adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 1997, 46 (1), 5-68.
- C.M. Ting, Haj Dawood. (1988). *Islamic Traditions Continue in Taiwan* (translated by Ko Shu Jen). Taiwan Review Website, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China (Taiwan). Published on January 1st, 1988. Retrieved from: <http://taiwanreview.nat.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=105358&CtNode=1362>, accessed on Oct 28th, 2013.
- Connor, Phillip Carey. 2010. *A Theory of Immigrant Religious Adaptation: Disruption, Assimilation, and Facilitation*. Dissertation, Department of Sociology, Princeton University (UMI Dissertation Publishing, ProQuest).
- Daniels, Timothy. (2009). *Islamic Spectrum in Java*. England; Ashgate.
- Dillon, Michael. (1999). *China's Muslim Hui Community: Migration, Settlement and Sects*. Richmond: Curzon Press.
- Elias, Ranga Aditya. (2013). Invisible Agent in Taiwan-Indonesia Cooperation. TASEEAS Conference in May 31st, 2013. Retrieved from <http://fgumail.fgu.edu.tw/~cseas2013/1-2-2.pdf>, accessed on May 18th, 2014
- Fan, Jing-Peng and Ma, Shi-Ying. (2012). 1945 年之前台湾回教研究 (Islamic Studies in Taiwan Before 1945), translated by Jerrel Lai. *西北师大学报 (社会科学版)*

- (Journal of Northwest Normal University (Social Sciences)), Vol. 49 No. 1 (Jan 2012), p. 67 – 73.
- Fan, Ke. (2001a). Maritime Muslims and Hui Identity: A South Fujian Case. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 21 (2), 309-332.
- Fox, James J. (2004). Currents in Contemporary Islam in Indonesia. Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies. The Australian National University. Retrieved from: https://digitalcollections.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/42039/2/Islam_in_Indonesia2.pdf, accessed on June 21st, 2014
- Gladney, Dru C. (1991). *Muslim Chinese; Ethnic Nationalism in the People's Republic*. Cambridge (USA): The Council on East Asian Studies Harvard University.
- Gladney, Dru C. (1998). *Ethnic Identity in China: The Making of a Muslim Minority Nationality* (Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology). Florida: Harcourt Brace & Company.
- Gowing, Peter G. (1970). Islam in Taiwan; Cut off from its roots, Taiwan's small community of Chinese Muslims struggles to survive. Saudi Aramco World Magazine, July/ August 1970, printed edition, p. 22-27. Retrieved from: <http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/197004/islam.in.taiwan.htm> accessed on Oct 27th, 2013.
- Gupta, Akhil and Ferguson, James (eds). (1997). *Anthropological Locations; Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science*. Berkeley; University of California Press.
- Gusman, Yuherina. (2011). *The Spiritual Life of Indonesia Migrant Workers in Taiwan (2009-2011)*. Master's Thesis, English Department, National Central University. Retrieved from: <http://thesis.lib.ncu.edu.tw/ETD-db/ETD-search/getfile?URN=971202601&filename=971202601.pdf>, accessed on January 22nd, 2014.
- Haddad, Yvonne Y., Smith, Jane I. and Esposito, John L. (eds). (2003). *Religion and Immigration: Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Experiences in the United States*. California: Altamira Press.
- International Crisis Group. (2007). *Islam and Identity in Germany*. Europe Report N181, 14 March 2007. Retrieved from: http://www.cie.ugent.be/documenten/islam_in_germany.pdf, accessed on April 2nd, 2014
- International Religious Freedom Report 2007: Taiwan, The Office of Website Management, Bureau of Public Affairs. Retrieved from: <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2007/90134.htm>, accessed on October 30th, 2013
- Jailani, Imam Amrusi. (2008). *Pemahaman Islam dan Sentuhan Budaya Lokal* (Understanding about Islam and Local Culture Touch). *Jurnal KARSA*, Vol 13, No. 1 (2008): MADUROLOGI 3.

- Jandt, Fred E. (2010). *An Introduction to Intercultural Communication: Identities in a Global Community*. 6th edition. Sage publication: California.
- Katzenstein, Peter J (ed). (2012). *Sinicization and the Rise of China: Civilizational Processes beyond East and West*. London; Routledge.
- Keluarga Muslim Indonesia di Taiwan* (KMIT) official Website. (2014). Retrieved from: <http://www.kmitw.org/>, accessed on April 20th, 2014
- Kim Cho, Jung Yeon. (2009). Islam in China. Muslim -Christian Encounter, Torch Trinity Center for Islamic Studies Journal, volume 2, number 2, June 2009.
- Kuo, Wen-ban. (2013). *An Explorative Study on the Taiwanese Muslim (2012 - 2013)*. Institute for Asian Muslim Studies, Waseda University. Retrieved from: http://www.kikou.waseda.ac.jp/ias/data/files/An_Explorative_Study_on_the_Taiwanese_Muslim.pdf, accessed on April 25th, 2014
- Mackerras, Colin. (1998). Han-Muslim and Intra-Muslim Social Relations in North-western China. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 4:1-2, 28-46. Published online: 24 Dec 2007.
- Miura, Toru. (2006). Perceptions of Islam and Muslims in Japanese Schools: Questionnaire Survey and Textbooks. *Annals of the Japan Association for Middle East Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 2, March 2006. NII-Electronic Library Service.
- O'Connor, Paul. 2012. *Islam in Hong Kong: Muslims and Everyday Life in China's World City*. Hong Kong [China]: Hong Kong University Press.
- Pearson, Richard, Li, Min and Li, Guo. (2002). Quanzhou Archaeology: A Brief Review. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 6 (1), (Mar 2002), 23–59.
- Penn, Michael, Sakurai, Keiko and Nahkleh, Emile. (2008). Islam in Japan: A Cause for Concern?, *Asia Policy Journal*, No. 5 (January 2008).
- Pew Research Center. (2011). *The Future of the Global Muslim Population Projections for 2010-2030*, published on January 27th, 2011. Retrieved from: <http://pewresearch.org/pubs/1872/Muslim-population-projections-worldwide-fast-growth>, accessed on October, 5th, 2013.
- Pew Research Center. (2012a). Faith on the Move: The Religious Affiliation of International Migrants. Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, March 2012. Retrieved from: <http://www.pewforum.org/files/2012/03/Faithonthemove.pdf>, accessed on: June 11, 2014
- Pew Research Center. (2012b). The World's Muslims: Unity and Diversity. The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, August 9, 2012. Retrieved from: <http://www.pewforum.org/files/2012/08/the-worlds-muslims-full-report.pdf>, accessed on: January 8th, 2014

- Pillsbury, Barbara L.K. (1973). *Cohesion and Cleavage in a Chinese Muslim Minority*. PhD Thesis, Columbia University.
- Poceski, Mario. (2009). *Introducing Chinese Religions*. New York; Routledge.
- Presented paper on The 11th Annual Conference on Islamic Studies. 2011. 10-13 October 2011, Retrieved from: <http://dualmode.kemenag.go.id/acis11/file/dokumen/KumpulanMakalahPresentedPapers.pdf#page=184>, accessed on June 27th, 2014
- Sanjek, Roger. (1990). *Fieldnotes; The Makings of Anthropology*. Cornell University Press; New York
- Setyaningsih, Rita Pawestri. (2011). *Job Satisfaction of Indonesian Workers in Taiwan*. Master's Thesis, International Master Program in Asia Pacific Studies, College of Social Sciences, National Chengchi University.
- Statistics of Foreign Residents - by Nationality per March 2014. (2014). National Immigration Agency Website, Republic of China. Retrieved from: <http://www.immigration.gov.tw/public/Attachment/44301714146.xls>, accessed on April 25th, 2014.
- Taiwan International Halal Expo 2013, Taiwan External Trade Development Council, TAITRA Official Website, published on February 5th, 2013. Retrieved from: http://www.halalexpo.com.tw/en_US/news/info.html?id=671CFC92390346C9, accessed on June 20th, 2013.
- Taiwan Today. (2014). Taipei hosts mass celebrations for Eid. Published on August 4th, 2014. Retrieved from: <http://www.taiwantoday.tw/ct.asp?xitem=220289&CtNode=416>, accessed on August 7th, 2014
- The Charter of The Chinese Muslim Association. CMA Official Website, Retrieved from: <http://www.cmainroc.org.tw/ef05/homeweb/catalog.php?infoscetid=56>, accessed on June 27th, 2013
- The China Post. (2013). 16 more restaurants around nation get halal certification. Published on March 26, 2013, 12:01 am. Retrieved from: <http://www.Chinapost.com.tw/taiwan/national/national-news/2013/03/26/374205/16-more.htm>, accessed on October 5th, 2013.
- The Republic of China Yearbook 2012. (2012). Religion. Office of Information Services, Executive Yuan. Retrieved from: <http://www.ey.gov.tw/en/cp.aspx?n=4ADC064334D460FA>, accessed on Nov 1st, 2013
- Turner, Bryan S. (ed). (2010). *The New Blackwell Companion to the Sociology of Religion*. West Sussex; Wiley – Blackwell Publishing.