

DIALECTIC OF RELIGION AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN NORTH SULAWESI JEWISH COMMUNITIES FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF CROSS-CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS PSYCHOLOGY

Sekar Ayu Aryani

Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, Yogyakarta

email: sekar.aryani@uin-suka.ac.id

Abstract

This study explores how theology and culture influence the attitude and behavior of Jews in North Sulawesi. The question arises because of Jewish teaching on the Promised Land, an always-longed-for place by the Jews of a diaspora country. The qualitative study employs purposive sampling by using a cross-cultural and religious psychological approach. It relied on interviews from prominent Jewish figures and their followers in North Sulawesi and was complemented by the non-Jewish religious leaders, documents, and literature. Data analysis consists of data reduction, exploration, and verification. The last step was data contextualization by combining field and library research data. The study found that Jews in North Sulawesi have harbored a longing for the promised land, but this has not prevented the growth of their nationalist spirit and loyalty to the Republic of Indonesia. Furthermore, their firm allegiance to Indonesia, and the objective approach to the promised land proving their loyalty to the Torab. This research also discovered, behind the exclusive impression of Jews, their teachings in North Sulawesi had a very pluralist and inclusive vision. The study concludes, that the assumption that Jews in North Sulawesi have problem with loyalty to the Republic of Indonesia appear unproven, because they interpret their faith flexibly and rationally.

[Kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi bagaimana teologi dan budaya mempengaruhi sikap dan perilaku nasionalisme orang Yahudi di Sulawesi Utara. Pertanyaan itu muncul karena Yudaisme memiliki ajaran tentang Tanah Perjanjian, tempat yang selalu dinanti oleh orang-orang Yahudi di negara diaspora. Penelitian kualitatif ini menggunakan purposive sampling dengan menggunakan pendekatan Psikologi Lintas Budaya dan Agama. Pengumpulan data mengutamakan wawancara dari tokoh-tokoh Yahudi dan pengikutnya di Sulawesi Utara dan para tokoh agama non-Yahudi, kemudian dilengkapi dengan dokumen, dan studi literatur. Analisis data terdiri dari reduksi data, eksplorasi, dan verifikasi. Langkah terakhir adalah kontekstualisasi data dengan menggabungkan data penelitian lapangan dan perpustakaan. Studi ini menemukan bahwa orang-orang Yahudi di Sulawesi Utara menyimpan kerinduan akan Tanah Perjanjian, tetapi itu tidak menghalangi pertumbuhan semangat nasionalisme dan kesetiaan mereka kepada Republik Indonesia. Lebih jauh lagi, nasionalisme mereka yang kuat terhadap Indonesia, dan pendekatan objektif terhadap Tanah Perjanjian membuktikan kesetiaan mereka kepada Taurat. Penelitian ini juga menemukan, di balik kesan eksklusif orang Yahudi, ajaran mereka di sana memiliki visi yang sangat pluralis dan inklusif. Studi ini menyimpulkan, anggapan bahwa orang Yahudi di Sulawesi Utara akan menghadapi masalah kesetiaan kepada Republik Indonesia tampaknya tidak terbukti, karena mereka dapat menafsirkan iman mereka secara fleksibel dan rasional.]

Keywords: Indonesian Jews, national identity, cross-cultural, religious psychology

A. Introduction

Antisemitism, both religiously and politically, is common in Indonesia. Indonesian Muslims find it hard to differentiate between Judaism as a religion and Israel as political power. Both are intertwined, so many Muslims find it unnecessary to differentiate between them. It is not unusual to blame Jews for any unjust political maneuver of Israel. As a Muslim majority country, Indonesia openly supports Palestine, and Indonesia refuses to recognize the state of Israel until a satisfactory peace agreement can be reached between Israel and Palestine. Indonesia strongly supports the struggle of the Palestinian people for their rights

and freedoms. In contrast, Indonesia and Israel have no diplomatic relations. This fact has become an adequate justification for Indonesian Jews to remain silent, as there is no obligation to reveal their religious identity.¹ However, there is currently a small group of Jews in Indonesia willing to reveal their identity to the community.

The Jewish community in North Sulawesi has openly expressed their religious beliefs by constructing the *Shaar Hashamayim* synagogue in the city of Tondano, Indonesia's only Jewish house of prayer today. Tondano's synagogue exemplifies Jews' openness in Indonesia. The synagogue serves as a center for religious dialogue and regular prayer because people of various religious backgrounds are welcome to attend this place.

North Sulawesi, where the Jewish community settled, is the most friendly province towards Jewish people. The Christian community and the local government have even constructed a Christian symbol rooted in Jewish culture, the Menorah. Atop the Air Madidi hill, on the foot of Mount Klabat, there is a site made for this religious symbol. The Menorah is a Jewish symbol that remains internalized in Christian belief. This Menorah is the largest in the world, standing at 20 meters in height.

Although Jews appear to be welcome in North Sulawesi and are willing to worship openly, another issue must be addressed, national identity. Judaism is often conflated by Indonesians with Zionism, and Zionism is closely associated with Israel.² Zionism is also seen as an invitation to all Jews to return to the Promised Land. This situation raises the question of whether Indonesian Jews want to return to Israel and how this would affect their loyalty to the Republic of Indonesia.

This paper questions: (1) How do Indonesian Jews experience the dynamics of diversity, related to their Jewish identities amidst other cultures?; and (2) How do Indonesian Jews interpret national identity in

¹ Jessica Champagne and Teuku Cut Mahmud Aziz, "Komunitas Yahudi Surabaya: Riset Mahasiswa", *Relief: Journal of Religious Ideas*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2003), pp. 77–88.

² Epafra said: "The signifiers Jews, Israel, and Zionists, and to some extent, also Freemasons, Theosophy, or Mossad, are all understood as overlapping and discussed in one breath. It's as if all the signifiers are one and the same: Jews must be Zionists, Zionists are definitely Jews, all Jews are Freemasons, and so on." Leonard Chrysostomos Epafra, 'Realitas Sejarah dan Dinamika Identitas Yahudi Nusantara', *Religio: Jurnal Studi Agama-agama*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2012), p. 198.

the context of their beliefs?

Although some studies have been conducted, research on Judaism and national identity in Indonesia remains scarce. Leonard Chrysostomos Epafra explores the history of Judaism in Indonesia, beginning with early arrivals (recorded in the 7th Century, continuing through the pre-colonial era, Dutch colonization, Japanese occupation, and recent developments. Because of this broad scope, Epafra's research is considered quite comprehensive. His article titled *Realitas Sejarah dan Dinamika Identitas Yahudi Nusantara* [Historical Reality and Dynamics of Jewish Identity in Indonesia] provides a general overview of the history and development of Judaism in Indonesia.³ A similar analysis was presented at Monash University entitled *Jews at the Frontier: Identity, multiple belonging, and Indonesian Jewish History*.⁴ Epafra's analyses assists the research community in obtaining a view of Jewish people in Indonesia.

Zainal Abidin divides Judaism in Indonesia into two groups, Orthodox and Reformed. The Orthodox Jewish group is led by Yacob Baruch, who centered their activities at the Tondano Synagogue. The second group is the Jewish community which includes both Orthodox and Liberal Jews. The liberals consist of three sects, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist, which unite into the United Indonesia Jewish Community (UIJC). In North Sulawesi, this second group had Sabbath worship at the home of one of the members in Teling Atas, Manado City, under the direction of Yobbi Ensel.⁵

Fatimah Husein gives an overview of the various perceptions of Indonesian Muslim students towards Jerusalem and Jews. The research findings support the assumption that students in secular universities are more critical than those in Islamic universities. This can be seen from their responses to the issues of Jerusalem and the Jews in Indonesia. The negative image towards Jews is even stronger among secular university students. However, that does not mean that Islamic university students are not critical of Jews. It is just that their criticism looks more reasonable

³ Epafra, 'Realitas Sejarah dan Dinamika Identitas Yahudi Nusantara'.

⁴ Leonard Chrysostomos Epafra, "Jews at the Frontier: Identity, Multiple Belonging, and Indonesian Jewish History" (Monash University, 22 Jun 2015).

⁵ Zaenal Abidin, "Eksistensi Pemeluk Agama Yahudi di Manado", *Harmoni*, vol. 14, no. 3 (2015), pp. 99–113.

with a socio-historical basis than merely religious claims.⁶

Romi Zarman explored the history of Jews in Indonesia during the Dutch Colonial Era. Since the beginning, Jews in Indonesia have struggled (*berjalan pincang*). They only received half-hearted support from the Dutch colonial government. In addition, Jews were attacked from local Malay literary works and mass media in the colonial era. Furthermore, when the Japanese took over Indonesia from the Netherlands, Jews were discriminated against as a group synonymous with America and Britain, Japan's main enemies at that time.⁷

In much broader terms, Sofia Ricottilli explores the concept of Jewish multiple-belonging as Jews and Irish. Although Judaism has been assimilated into Europe for centuries, their Jewishness has not faded, causing an unresolved identity.⁸ Susanne Terwey explores the dialectics of identity between Jewishness and nationality in France and Germany during the 20th Century.⁹ Ekholm and Muir have studied the difficulties and problems associated with being a Jew.¹⁰

Research on Judaism and national identity in Europe and American, especially in relation to migration to Israel, has also been conducted by several researchers. However, from the vast literature on Judaism and national identity, there is very little research that specifically mentions

⁶ Fatimah Husein, 'Jerusalem and the Jews: The Views of Indonesian Muslim Student Activists', *Politics and Religion Journal*, vol. 5, no. 2 (2011), pp. 197–212.

⁷ Romi Zarman, *Di Bawah Kuasa Antisemitisme: Orang Yahudi di Hindia Belanda (1861-1942)* (Yogyakarta: Tjatanan Indonesia & Jual Buku Sastra, 2018).

⁸ Sofia Ricottilli, "Others Have a Nationality. The Irish and the Jews have a psychosis": Identity and Humour in Howard Jacobson's 'The Finkler question' and Paul Murray's 'An evening of long goodbyes'", Ph.D Dissertation (Venice, Italy: Ca' Foscari University of Venice, 2015).

⁹ Susanne Terwey, "British Discourses on 'the Jew' and 'the Nation' 1899-1919", *Quest. Issues in Contemporary Jewish History: Journal of Fondazione CDEC*, no. 3 (2012), pp. 111–29.

¹⁰ See Laura Katarina Ekholm and Simo Muir, "Name Changes and Visions of 'a new Jew' in the Helsinki Jewish Community", *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis*, vol. 27 (2016), pp. 173–88; Günther Jikeli, "Anti-Semitism in Youth Language: the Pejorative use of the Terms for 'Jew' in German and French Today", *Conflict & Communication Online*, vol. 9, no. 1 (2010), pp. 1–13; Ben Kasstan, "Positioning Oneself and being Positioned in the 'Community': An essay on Jewish ethnography as a 'Jew-ish' ethnographer", *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis*, vol. 27 (2016), pp. 264–83.

Jews in Indonesia, let alone the growing Jewish community in North Sulawesi.¹¹ Only Theo Kamsma may have achieved it. He traced the generation of Jews in North Sulawesi, especially from the descendants of Abraham Fontein, a Dutch Jew who died in Japanese custody during its occupation in Indonesia. Kamsma reveals a clear Jewish lineage. However, Fontein's Jewish school is different from Jacob Baruch's. Jacob Baruch is a well-known Jewish figure in Indonesia today since his open Judaism has been covered by media in the last decade. Baruch's synagogue in Tondano, which claims to be orthodox, is different from Fontein's in Manado which is considered Messianic Judaism.¹² Kamsma's work is helpful. However, it was a historical analysis, while, the study on Indonesian Judaism through cross-cultural and religious psychology approaches is as yet undisclosed.

The topic of minorities is also a concern in this study because it is about the Jewish community in the middle of the supremacy of other religions with more adherents. Fortunately, many studies that combine identity, religion, and discrimination toward minorities have been conducted. Most of the works put psychology at the forefront.¹³ Research

¹¹ Yechiel Klar, "From 'Do not arouse or awaken love until it so desires' through 'Return to Zion' to 'Conquest of the Land': Paradigm Shifts and Sanctified Reenactments in Building the Jewish State", *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol. 43, no. Part A (2014), pp. 87–99; Matt Reingold, "The 'Draw-A-Religious Jew' Test and Students' Religious Identities", *Art/Research International: A Transdisciplinary Journal*, vol. 2, no. 1 (2017), pp. 89–109; Ofir D. Rubin and Aviad Rubin, "Intergenerational Religious Transmission Mechanisms among Second-generation Migrants: The Case of Jewish Immigrants in the United States", *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol. 43 (2014), pp. 265–77.

¹² Theo Kamsma, "Echoes of Jewish Identity in an Evangelical Christian Sect in Minahasa, Indonesia", *Indonesia and the Malay World*, vol. 38, no. 112 (2010), pp. 387–402.

¹³ Germine H. Awad, "The Impact of Acculturation and Religious Identification on Perceived Discrimination for Arab/Middle Eastern Americans", *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, vol. 16, no. 1 (2010), pp. 59–67; Jessica Graham and Lizabeth Roemer, "A Preliminary Study of the Moderating Role of Church-Based Social Support in the Relationship Between Racist Experiences and General Anxiety Symptoms", *Cultural diversity & ethnic minority psychology*, vol. 18, no. 3 (2012), pp. 268–76; Revathy Kumar, Nancy Seay, and Stuart A. Karabenick, "Immigrant Arab Adolescents in Ethnic Enclaves: Physical and Phenomenological Contexts of Identity Negotiation", *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, vol. 21, no. 2 (2015), pp. 201–12; G.C. Hall and G.G. Maramba, "In Search of Cultural Diversity: Recent Literature in Cross-cultural

focusing on the dimension of a group of people is very appropriate to be approached with psychology.

The Minority Group Affiliation Hypothesis states that when people with multiple identities speak the language of their minority group, they would be more likely to behave in a way that preserves the cultural stereotype of the majority towards the minority group.¹⁴ The Jewish minority in North Sulawesi, with their dual identities as Jews and Indonesian nationals, is likely to have succumbed to the stereotypes directed at them in order to survive. In other words, they must demonstrate their Indonesian identity to avoid being associated with Israel.

A person with dual identities generally experiences difficulties communicating with other members of the community. This difficulty is often referred to as “stumbling blocks” by Barna, who breaks this down into several obstacles: 1) likeness assumptions; 2) language differences; 3) non-verbal miscommunication; 4) preconceptions and stereotypes; 5) tendency to evaluate negatively; and 6) high anxiety or tensions.¹⁵

This study uses a cross-cultural and religious psychological approach to conduct qualitative research. The participants are individuals who claim Judaism as their religion and openly practice it, despite having other religions stated on their identity documents for administrative reasons. They are divided into two groups, Jews by birth (including those born from cross-marriages with non-Jews)¹⁶ and converted Jews

and Ethnic Minority Psychology”, *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, vol. 7, no. 1 (2001), pp. 12–26; Chiara Sabina, Carlos A. Cuevas, and Jennifer L. Schally, “The Effect of Immigration and Acculturation on Victimization among a National Sample of Latino Women”, *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, vol. 19, no. 1 (2013), pp. 13–26.

¹⁴ Anisa N. Goforth, “Minority Group-Affiliation Hypothesis”, *The Encyclopedia of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, vol. 2, ed. by K.D. Keith (2013), <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1002/9781118339893.wbecpp362>, accessed 18 Jan 2020.

¹⁵ Laray M. Barna, “Stumbling Blocks in Intercultural Communication”, in *Intercultural Communication: A Reader*, ed. by Larry A. Samovar et al. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1994), pp. 345–53.

¹⁶ Leonard Chrysostomos Epafra, “Contextual Jews: The Emergence of New Jewish Identity in the Post-Reformation Indonesia”, presented at the Jewish Communities in Asia: Cultural Contacts in Historical and Comparative Perspectives (University of Haifa, 23 Apr 2018).

(who have no Jewish lineage). In addition, the participants are limited to residents of North Sulawesi, Indonesia.

In addition to Jewish interviewees, this study examined Islamic and Christian religious figures in North Sulawesi, as well as local government officials. In addition, interviews with several ordinary residents (non-stakeholders) were undertaken. The non-Jewish subjects are important to clarify the existence of Jews in North Sulawesi from the perspective of outsiders who are in proximity to them (in the same area). Therefore, the data gathered is not solely subjective information from Jews.

The location of the research was focused on North Sulawesi, particularly Manado and Minahasa. The observations were mainly done in Jewish religious sites, such as the Shaar Hashamayim Synagogue in Tondano, then the Menorah site in Minahasa, as well as other places such as the rabbinical houses and Jews in North Sulawesi. Jews in North Sulawesi, who are most visible, are mostly Orthodox Jews, signified by their strict obedience to Jewish laws, particularly in terms of worship and tradition (e.g., kosher food).

This qualitative study relies on field research data obtained through interviews (including in-depth interviews), observation, and documentation. After the data collection, it is organized into patterns, categories, and a basic description, to find and formulate a working hypothesis. Steps are followed toward data reduction, exploration, and verification. The last step is data contextualization, which combines field data with data from library research.

B. History of Jews in North Sulawesi

Judaism was brought to North Sulawesi during the colonial era (the early 1900s) by Jewish entrepreneurs from the Netherlands. The entrepreneurs at that time were known as *particulieren*, non-civil servants. *Particulieren* had a more stable settlement in several places than civil servants, allowing them to organize a community. One of *particulieren* was Abraham Fontein. Abraham Fontein was born in 1875, the first of eight children in the Winschoten Jewish family of Markus Fontein and Alida Wijnberg. In 1892, when he was 17 years old, Fontein went to the Dutch East Indies. He played a role as a grenadier at the KNIL (Royal Dutch East Indies Army) and was stationed in the City of Radja in Aceh. After

leaving the army, Abraham Fontein became a famous businessman in Manado. In 1902 he bought his first shop. Abraham Fontein's descendants also passed on the profession as an entrepreneur. One of them was John Fontein. He and Toar Palilingan, one of the Jewish descendants of another family, became the central figures for Jewish life in Minahasa. Their main religious activity was at the Korengkeng Street synagogue in Manado, where Abraham Fontein opened his shop a century before.¹⁷

During the Japanese occupation and subsequently Indonesia's independence, many Dutch Jews lost their jobs and had to leave. The number of Jewish descendants dropped drastically due to the arrest and torture by the Japanese, which was preceded by a special request from the German Nazi Party. After the Second World War, the Jewish population was approximately 750 people in Batavia, 500 people in Surabaya, 250 people in Bandung, and others scattered around various other areas. This figure is surprising, considering that the population census held by the colonial government in 1930 recorded the existence of 1,095 Jews in the Dutch East Indies. In the late 1930s, that number had increased to 2,500 throughout Java, Sumatra, and other parts of the Dutch East Indies. However, that number continued to decline as policies and political events emerged in Indonesia. The nationalization of everything foreign by President Soekarno in the early 1950s sparked a large migration of Jewish descendants from Indonesia.¹⁸ Rather than return to The Netherlands, many moved to Southern California, United States, and many Iraqi Jews moved to Melbourne, Australia. Jews who resulted from intermarriage chose to stay in Indonesia. Only the Iraqi Jewish community in Surabaya still existed since independence. However, their numbers are also currently on the decline. Most of them left Indonesia in 1958 for Israel and other

¹⁷ Theo Kamsma, "Echoes of Jewish Identity in an Evangelical Christian Sect in Minahasa, Indonesia", *Indonesia and the Malay World*, vol. 38, no. 112 (2010), pp. 387–402.

¹⁸ Jeffrey Hadler, "Translations of Antisemitism: Jews, the Chinese, and Violence in Colonial and Post-colonial Indonesia", *Indonesia and the Malay World*, vol. 32, no. 94 (2004), pp. 291–313. See also Abraham Utama, "Kronik Kehidupan Yahudi di Indonesia", *CNN Indonesia* (3 Aug 2016), <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20160802221031-20-148780/kronik-kehidupan-yahudi-di-indonesia>, accessed 15 Mar 2021.

Western countries.¹⁹ Beth Hashem in Surabaya, the oldest synagogue in Indonesia, was eventually demolished in 2013 after several years of becoming a cultural icon. The Shaar Hashamayim Synagogue in North Minahasa, opened on 2 *Tisbri* 5765, or 2004 CE, is the only remaining synagogue in Indonesia.

The rejection of Jews in Indonesia is often viewed as systemic because Judaism is not legally considered an ‘official’ religion in Indonesia. It was briefly recognized during President Soekarno’s era when Hebrani (Hebrew religion) could be stated on an identity card (KTP). However, it was never approved as an official religion during the New Order period,²⁰ notably after UU No. 1 PNPS/1965 was issued. According to Hadler, because the Indonesian government asks all citizens and official visitors to declare a religion, and that Judaism is not legally recognized, Jews cannot exist in Indonesia on the census list. The Jewish community in Indonesia has rarely been reported in publications. Many Jews choose to assimilate (embracing other religions) or at least not to openly practice Judaism. As a result, it is often assumed that the Jewish community was not a significant historical presence in either colonial times or in modern Indonesia.²¹

After the decline of the New Order, Jewish people began to resurface during this time of greater freedom. Gradually, those who believed they had Jewish blood began to identify themselves as Jews openly.²² One of the respondents, A. Ben Benayahu also mentioned that many people began tracing their ancestry and converted to Judaism. He said their consciousness and passion drove them to return to their origins.²³ Thus, euphoria to return to Jewish roots did occur in Indonesia, particularly in North Sulawesi, where religious expression had greater freedom during the Reformation Era.

Unlike many regions in Indonesia that have a Muslim majority and rarely any Jewish individuals, North Sulawesi is the most welcoming

¹⁹ Eli Dwek, “The Demise of the Jewish Community in Surabaya”, *Jews of Java*, http://jewsofjava.com/jewsofjava_recollections.pdf, accessed 11 Mar 2022.

²⁰ Jeffrey Hadler, “Translations of Antisemitism”, p. 304.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Yaakov Baruch, interview (31 Aug 2019).

²³ Avhsalom Ben Benayahu, interview (29 Aug 2019).

province to Jews. Local governments have even built a symbol of Christianity taken from its Jewish roots, namely the symbol of Kaki Dian. It was built on Air Madidi Hill, at the North Minahasa Klabat mountain. Kaki Dian, commonly known as the minaret (Menorah), is a symbol of Judaism accommodated in Christianity. Kaki Dian in North Sulawesi is the largest globally, at 61 feet (about 20 meters) high. The symbol of the Star of David is also found in several corners of the city of Manado in the form of wall decoration on residents' houses or car stickers.

C. The Dynamics of the Jewish Community in North Sulawesi

1. *In-search of a Jewish Identity*

Since their arrival in Indonesia, the Jewish community was never monolithic. For that reason, it has also been common for Jews in Indonesia to follow many movements. A Jew's choice of movement typically stems from two factors, a result of their tracing of ancestry to a specific movement, and/or a result of their search and religious experience. Yaakov Baruch, a well-known Jew in North Sulawesi, started with Sephardic (the orthodox Judaism of the Iberian Peninsula), like his family in Singapore. His ancestors were Dutch Orthodox Jews. Although Dutch Orthodox Jews are typically Hasidic (ultra-orthodox Jews of Eastern Europe), Yaakov Baruch's ancestors were Sephardic. Therefore, Yaakov Baruch followed this family tradition. Aside from his heritage, Rabbi Yaakov Baruch's belief adherence to Sephardic Orthodox also stems from the acknowledgment that Judaism is a choice to fully and correctly implement the Torah. He stated that Sephardic was the most suitable school for him.²⁴

Problems exist among Jews in determining their genealogy, which is critical in determining their preference for a school of Judaism. As a result, many Indonesian Jews choose their affiliation based on study and experience. Not all Indonesian Jews are as fortunate as Rabbi Yaakov Baruch, who managed to trace his Jewish lineage. Some people have recognition but cannot trace their ancestry to a Jewish ancestor. Converted Jews typically face this problem. After extended unsuccessful attempts

²⁴ Yaakov Baruch, interview (31 Aug 2019).

to find a particular genetic lineage, they decide to convert to be Jewish.²⁵

Conversion to Judaism is not an easy task. It typically requires five to ten years, depending on the seriousness and perseverance of one's intentions. This lengthy process is generally due to denial or rejection, which can occur up to three times. This rejection aims to test a person's sincere intention to follow Judaism. According to Rabbi Yaakov Baruch's, this "rejection" can be accomplished in various ways. It could, for example, take the form of advice to re-consult their current religious figures. For a Muslim, it would be an *Ustaz* (*guru*) or *Kyai* (cleric), for a Christian, it would be a Pastor, and for a Catholic, it would be a Priest. This test is carried out because Judaism, according to Baruch, teaches that everyone can do good and go to heaven if they make efforts in their respective religions. Every person with faith can *Tikkun Olam*, be part of the kindness toward the universe.²⁶

This statement gives the impression that Jews want every person to commit to their religions and does not require conversion to Judaism. However, if a person intends to convert to Judaism, they would be given a chance. The second stage of "rejection" involves a test of a person's sincerity in following the Torah's teachings. If that individual can honestly follow every instruction of the Torah and find comfort in doing so, then he or she is ready to convert to Judaism. A person who sincerely desires to embrace Judaism may have a genuine Jewish soul, according to Yaakov Baruch, a soul that existed in Sinai when the Torah was given to Moses.²⁷ Perhaps because of the difficulty of the Jewish conversion requirements, the number of Jews in North Sulawesi remains small. Accordingly, there aren't many Jewish converts, most of them believed to be Jewish by birth. At the time of observation, no more than 20 Jews attended the Sabbath service at the Shaar Hasyamayim Synagogue of Tondano. That includes all men, women, and children.

²⁵ Yaakov Baruch, interview (31 Aug 2019).

²⁶ Yaakov Baruch, Sabbath Sermon (Beit Shaar Hashamayim, Sulawesi Utara, 31 Aug 2019).

²⁷ *Ibid.*

2. *Jewish Pluralistic Views and Religious Dialogue*

Indonesian Jews experience dynamics with other religious communities. This is exemplified by the doors of the synagogue being always open for guests of any religion. Visits and dialogue events with various religious communities are documented in specific documentary images and memorabilia housed in the synagogue. A group from Darussalam Gontor, one of Indonesia's best Islamic boarding schools, has been photographed at the synagogue. For the North Sulawesi Jewish community, dialogue is linked to the teachings of Judaism that have pluralistic visions. According to Yaakov Baruch, God created humankind with many nations and religions for a purpose. Those who were not born Jewish are destined to carry out kindness toward the universe (*tikkun olam*) through the means of other non-Jewish religions. According to these religions, these good acts can take them to heaven. Thus, the ticket to heaven is not only accessible by Jews.²⁸

Jews do not seem to expect conversions from other religions. The responsibility of a Jew to invite another person into Judaism applies solely to a parent inviting their children, not to other people.²⁹ One of North Sulawesi's Jews (by birth) still allows his wife to practice Islam and does not ask her to convert to Judaism. A successful conversion typically happens to those with a genuine soul (Jewish-ness). Hence, they are considered as "returning" instead of converting. Therefore, invitations to worship together are only given to those who identify as Jewish descendants, not to those who are not truly Jews.

Christians, in this case, GMIM, also recognize that Judaism practiced in North Sulawesi is not a missionary religion. Moreover, there have been no reports received by GMIM leaders saying that there is a Jewish movement inviting Christian followers to convert to Judaism.³⁰

3. *Affirmations of Public Religious Figures*

Non-Jewish religious figures explain that the presence of the Jewish community in North Sulawesi is welcomed and is not controversial. The existence of the Shaar Hashamayim Synagogue and religious activities

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Piet M. Tampi and Denny Tarumingi, interview (29 Agustus 2019).

within it shows that Jews in North Sulawesi are open. The coverage by national and international media has elevated their presence. However, as a minority, their existence is still not considered significant by the provincial office of the Ministry of Religion. According to the head of the office, the relatively calm attitude of the Jewish community made them “unheard” in the sense that they never trigger social problems. Administratively, the Ministry of Religion has yet to make special provisions in the region. Much of the population apparently even assumes that these people are Christians.³¹ Although their traditions are relatively close to Christians, the latter does not recognize the Jewish community as part of their denomination due to differing beliefs.³² Because of the different dogma, it ought to be considered a separate and independent religion that is not a part of the Christian church.³³ As it is not under the umbrella of Christianity, the coordination of the Jewish community in North Sulawesi is more appropriate under the FKUB, which is oriented towards harmony, irrespective of religion.³⁴

Regardless of Judaism’s lack of formal government recognition, the Ministry of Religious Affairs still allows and supports any religion’s practice and development. Although support is not provided in the form of material assistance, the MoRA guarantees that it will not allow any interference to the people of North Sulawesi in practicing their beliefs. The only expectation is that everyone respect and comply with the national ideology. Aside from that, there are no special provisions, and any religion may thrive in North Sulawesi.³⁵ Bimas Kristen (Christianity Bureau of the Ministry of Religious Affairs) also understands Rabbi Yaakov’s attitude of independence and non-affiliation with Christianity. It is because Bimas Kristen works with the government to ensure Christian diversity persists with no issues.³⁶

³¹ Head of Regional Office of North Sulawesi Ministry of Religion, interview (28 Aug 2019).

³² Cynthia Sepang, interview (Aug 2019).

³³ Piet M. Tampi and Denny Tarumingi, interview (29 Aug 2019).

³⁴ Cynthia Sepang, interview (Aug 2019).

³⁵ Head of Regional Office of North Sulawesi Ministry of Religion, interview (28 Aug 2019).

³⁶ Cynthia Sepang, interview (Aug 2019).

Similar acceptance has also come from the GMIM (Gereja Masehi Injili Minahasa, Evangelical Christian Church of Minahasa). GMIM is the largest church in North Sulawesi. Some of the people who follow Judaism were once part of GMIM. For GMIM, the presence of the Jewish community needs recognition because this relates to religious freedom.³⁷ MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, *Indonesian Ulama Council*) views that Jewish people have the same rights as other citizens. The MUI head office's opinion is based on Islamic history, which teaches that during Muhammad's era, the state of Medina also housed Jewish people.³⁸ Considering the responses of these parties, it can be understood that there is technically no opposition to the presence of Judaism in North Sulawesi because the state protects the religious freedom of its citizens, regardless of the belief. It is quite different from many other provinces where the pressure from the majority through mass mobilization and the lack of assertiveness of the government apparatus in protecting minorities is a persistent and recurring problem.

Residents interviewed for this study also confirmed the statements of religious and government leaders above. Lin had never heard of any conflict between Jews and other religions. According to her, even during the demonstrations in Java (by a Muslim group) against Israel, the pro-Israel discourse in Manado came out of a small group of Christians, not Jews.³⁹ The researcher also interviewed some teenagers (students) in a boarding house belonging to a Jew. Reginald, the boarding house owner, frequently invites them to dinner. Even though the boarding house owner typically began the meal with Jewish prayer, the students, who are Christians and Muslims, did not find it awkward to eat together. Reginald also advised the students to pray according to their religions.

D. Dialectics between the Promised Land and National Loyalty

The theme of the "Promised Land" plays a vital role in the context of the conflict between Israel and Palestine. In the Torah, Genesis 12:1-7, it is described that God promised land for Abraham and his descendants (e.g., Jews). The existence of a story of a promised land in the Torah

³⁷ Piet M. Tampi and Denny Tarumingi, interview (29 Aug 2019).

³⁸ Abdul Wahab A. Ghafur, interview (28 Aug 2019).

³⁹ Lin, interview (30 Aug 2019).

is used to legitimize the state of Israel by Zionists. Israel as a modern state based on several social capitals, which Epafras calls a Cultural Memories, namely past experiences that shape identity, life attitudes, and perspectives on both oneself and others. Included in this Cultural Memory are religious narratives, diaspora experiences, the emergence of Zionism, the Holocaust, and rebirth of Masada. The religious narrative that is stored in the Jewish holy book, Tanakh (Torah, Nevi'im, Ketuvim) already mentions the land determined by God. Therefore, the diaspora (*galut / golah*) is seen as exile or punishment for the sins of Jews. While the desire to return to the promised land is a longing for Jews throughout the ages, as expressed in the expression *l'shana ba-ba'a ve yerushalayim* (next year to Jerusalem).⁴⁰ The continual migration of Jews into Palestine transformed into a political idea to occupy every inch of Palestine as the Promised Land. History has shown that it is not God's promise to Abraham that caused the conflict, but rather it was land disputes that led to the idea of referring to the paradigm of the Promised Land as a justification of Jews to occupy Palestine.⁴¹

Although not all Jews agree with Zionism, and not all Jews see Jerusalem as the promised land, many do. From the Jewish viewpoint, other countries are not allowed to work or exploit that land. They believe that the claim of this land is inviolate, and they are persistent because it comes from a holy text. This persistence is a manifestation of the desire to secure a territorial home intended for Jewish people.⁴² The Vatican has officially acknowledged that they believe a verse about the Promised Land (called Canaan) in the Bible (Exodus 6:3) is intended for descendants of Abraham (Jews). However, they refuse to theologially legitimize the Israeli-Palestine dispute because religious affirmation on this matter could have an adverse political impact that worsens the conflict.⁴³

⁴⁰ Leonard C. Epafras, "Memahami Ingatan Kultural Yahudi dalam Konflik Israel-Palestina", *Jurnal Kawistara*, vol. 3, no. 2 (2013), pp. 117–226.

⁴¹ Ulrike Bechmann, "Genesis 12 and the Abraham-Paradigm Concerning the Promised Land", *The Ecumenical Review*, vol. 68, no. 1 (2016), pp. 62–80.

⁴² Sol Roth, "The Right to the Land", *Tradition: A Journal of Orthodox Jewish Thought*, vol. 17, no. 1 (1977), pp. 7–22.

⁴³ Adam Gregerman, "Is the Biblical Land Promise Irrevocable?: Post-Nostra Aetate Catholic Theologies of the Jewish Covenant and the Land of Israel", *Modern Theology*, vol. 34, no. 2 (2018), pp. 137–58.

Citizens' loyalty towards their nations is strengthened if their nationalism is based on love towards their motherlands. Every person who is born in Indonesia should have the same feeling towards the republic (NKRI) as their homeland. However, it cannot be denied that religious identity sometimes trumps national identity, which can occur with any religion, including Judaism. The invocation to return to the Zion hill or the Promised Land, generally known as Zionism, is this calling. It is a political movement in the 20th Century that calls every Jew back to their home country, which is modern Israel – a reflection of Ancient Israeli heritage of King Solomon. It is essential to see how Indonesian Jews may be drawn to respond to the call.

1. *Chosen Nation, not Racial Superiority*

The chosen nation and the promised land are the two conditions that determine Jews' religious behavior. They also influence other aspects of life, particularly politics. From the perspective of Jews in North Sulawesi, as explained by their leader, the concept of the chosen nation is interpreted differently. The idea of a chosen nation exists in all religions, including Judaism. The concept is written in *Parshah Re'eh*.⁴⁴ In *Parshah Re'eh* the nation of Israel is chosen as a holy (*'am qadosh*) and beloved (*'am segulah*) land; therefore, the demands from them are higher than other nations. This idea is strengthened when the Jewish nation was under the rule of other countries, particularly Islam, during the Middle Ages. This idea has thus become a aspect of Jewish identity.⁴⁵

According to Baruch, before God chose Israel, He came to 70 countries. However, the countries did not appear suitable to be given the Torah. It does not mean that they were too barbaric for it, but instead, they might be too pleasant; they were already good enough. Therefore, they did not need the Torah. God then gives the Torah to Jews.⁴⁶ It means that Jews were chosen by God not to be given special rights but to take on a particular task, "... *chosen to be given the Torah, chosen to be held responsible and not to act as we wish. We were not chosen to be given gold, or a present, we were*

⁴⁴ Yaakov Baruch, interview (31 Aug 2019).

⁴⁵ Leonard C. Epafra, interview (5 Sep 2019).

⁴⁶ Yaakov Baruch, interview (31 Aug 2019).

chosen to be given the Torah and the responsibility to follow the Torah."⁴⁷

According to Yaakov Baruch's understanding, the chosen nation is the nation that God chose to carry out God's commands through adherence to the Torah. Through this obedience, the Jewish people would be healthier and smarter, and these are the benefits of abiding by a disciplined lifestyle, including a strict diet. It also indicates that the concept of a chosen nation is not racial superiority, indeed Jews were seen as the barbaric ones that needed Torah. They were selected to be pushed to become better people and a nobler nation.⁴⁸

2. *Returning to The Promised Land is Not Urgent Now*

The Book of Exodus (6:3) calls the aforementioned promised land Canaan. Upon returning to Canaan, the Jews successfully rebuilt the Temple in Jerusalem, until the Romans returned and destroyed it. After this, Jews dispersed for centuries in exile until modern Israel was established after World War II. This event continues to be a collective memory that is often repeated, and the spirit to return to the Promised Land for Jewish people never fades. According to Reginald Tanalisan, the North Sulawesi Jews, who play an important role in reciting holy book during Sabbath day in Shaar Hashamayim Synagogue, believe that they will not be able to fully carry out the Torah unless they are in the Promised Land (Israel).⁴⁹

The question is whether a return to Promised Land often surfaces in Jewish group discussions. Not all Jews have the desire to return to Israel. Usually, they only visit or make a pilgrimage to obtain a more memorable religious experience. Many Indonesian Jews have no desire to settle in Israel. According to Baruch, recently, Israel is not considered a very desirable place to live, particularly for those who are settled and are comfortable living in other countries. The heat of the political situation, the climate, and many other factors lead Jews to prefer their homeland rather than the Holyland. Many Jews who have tried to live in Israel have decided to return to their countries, and have chosen to stay as diaspora

⁴⁷ Baruch, 'Sabbath Sermon'.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Reginald Tanalisan, interview (28 Aug 2019).

rather than permanently settle in Israel.⁵⁰ This phenomenon signifies that although there is a longing to set foot in the holy lands of Jerusalem, not everyone has the desire to settle in Israel.

The lack of duty to return to Israel is related to the prophecy of the Messiah's arrival and the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem. Israel is currently considered incomplete because the temple has not been rebuilt, and the Messiah has not arrived. For that reason, for Jews, going home to Israel is an aspiration that shall never fade, requiring them to continue carrying out the teachings of the Torah. Settling in Israel is not currently an urgent issue because the requirement for completeness is yet to be fulfilled. Therefore, Jewish people, in general, still facing the dialectic of their citizenship between the country of diaspora and the Promised Land.⁵¹ At this point, it is necessary to undergo the Jewishness and loyalty to the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) equally.

3. *National Identity in Diaspora*

Theologically, Jewish Indonesians' allegiance to the Republic of Indonesia is based on the understanding of *tikkun olam*, which states that Jews can do good wherever, even if they are not in the holy land. As a result, committing oneself outside of the promised land remains a highly valued virtue.

In terms of national identity, Jews in North Sulawesi are quite optimistic about the climate of religious freedom following the reformation, particularly since the era of Abdurrahman Wahid's leadership. This also gives them the confidence to be more open without having to hide anymore.

Likewise with cultural encounters, Jews already identify themselves as "true Indonesians" because their language, culture, and tastes, as well as their lifestyle are more at ease with Indonesian style than Israeli style. As a result, when they can visit Israel, it is simply for a pilgrimage to holy sites, having no desire to stay.

Therefore, since a return to Zion or re-settlement in Israel is not the primary goal of Jews, they choose to become good citizens despite being in diaspora. Therefore, Jewish must maintain national identity in

⁵⁰ Yaakov Baruch, interview (31 Aug 2019).

⁵¹ Reginald Tanalisan, interview (28 Aug 2019).

the country of the diaspora, at least by remaining compliant with the law and positive participation towards the country of residence.

In Indonesia, Jewish residents pre-date Independence Day, meaning that Jews are not entirely new to the country. Pre-colonial history shows the possibility of Jews from the Middle East and India entered Indonesia long before Jews from Europe did during the colonial era. When Indonesia formed a nation-state, the Jewish descendants in the country were automatically rightful citizens of the republic, because many of them were born raised in this country. The state had become their homeland. Yaakov Baruch explains that “[w]e have been in Indonesia since birth, and we grew up beside the Pancasila and UUD 45, so we have no issues with that, we even abide by them, for sure.”⁵²

Benayahu holds a similar view that “I feel that I am an Indonesian, I was born in Indonesia, I eat Indonesian food, I drink Indonesian water.”⁵³

According to Ben Benayahu, theologically Jewish people want to return to Israel because that is the end of their long diaspora. In general, they always long to visit there, yearning for it, and always wanting to come back and visit for a longer time. However, the current reality for many Jews who are living in the diaspora is also God’s will. Consequently, an area of the diaspora must also be respected by Jews. The longing for the Promised Land cannot be a reason for disloyalty to their respective countries of citizenship. Instead, a Jew must contribute to the country and pray for the country where he is.⁵⁴ In Jewish prayers, there is also a special prayer for the good of their country of residence. This prayer is found in a Siddur that asks for a blessing for president, vice president, and the state.⁵⁵ It is also proof that Jews must love their countries of residence.

E. Psychological View on the Indonesian Jewish Dialectic

The Jews of North Sulawesi, being a Jewish group in a diaspora country, generally display multiple identities because of a dialectic between religious identity and national identity. It is explained by the

⁵² Baruch, interview (31 Aug 2019).

⁵³ Avshalom Ben Benayahu, interview (29 Aug 2019).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Michael Walzer et al. (eds.), *The Jewish Political Tradition: Volume II: Membership* (New Haven London: Yale University Press, 2006).

theory of Minority Group Affiliation, which holds that groups that have multiple identities tend to assume the status of the minority. Being a minority influences their attitude and religious behavior.⁵⁶

Psychologically, dialectic experience between citizenship and religious identification potentially causes multiple personalities or conflict among identities. According to Barna, a person with multiple identities is vulnerable to communication obstacles with other members of society with different identities. This section discusses whether, psychologically, Jews experience those obstacles. This obstacle is called a “stumbling block” and consists of assumptions of similarities, language differences, nonverbal miscommunication, preconceptions, stereotypes, tendencies to evaluate, and high anxiety.⁵⁷

Four out of six impeding characteristics in Barna’s Stumbling Block Theory are visible in the lives of North Sulawesi Jewish people. The other two traits of language difference and non-verbal interpretation are not visible because they coexist and intermingle with people of the same language and culture.

1. *Tendency to Evaluate*

In the Jewish community of North Sulawesi, this psychological characteristic is visible, although not equally strong. It cannot be denied that the strength of religious commitment influences these psychological characteristics. The tendency to evaluate other groups can stem from Jewish people only eating Kosher food. Consequently, Jews in North Sulawesi are aware of those who eat non-Kosher. It is visible when they live in the same household. For example, at Reginald’s house, he is a converted Jew who also prays at Shaar Hasyamayim synagogue, where several boarding school children live. They have different religions, including some Christians. Sometimes they cook pork. Therefore, Reginald makes two separate kitchens even though they are located next to each other. One is dedicated to a kosher kitchen, and the other is a communal one. As another example, Reginald talked about an event when he and other Jews preferred to line up with Muslims when queuing to eat a buffet at a wedding party. The only reason is that *kosher* food is

⁵⁶ Anisa N. Goforth, “Minority Group-Affiliation Hypothesis”

⁵⁷ Barna, “Stumbling Blocks in Intercultural Communication”.

close to *halal* food.⁵⁸

2. *Preconceptions and Stereotypes*

The desire to fulfill the teachings of the Torah occasionally creates preconceptions and stereotypes from people outside the Jewish community. It is apparent in their caution when giving donations. Jewish teaching emphasizes that the giver is responsible for how the receiver spends the donation. Indeed, if the money is used for evil, the donator also receives punishment. This Jewish attitude often receives accusations based on the preconception and stereotype that they are stingy.⁵⁹ There is, however, no apparent other prejudice directed towards Jews, and they have never received any prejudice of being Zionist. When religious dialogue takes place, especially when Muslim visitors come to the synagogue, the topic of Zionism is frequently brought up. Jews frequently succeed in convincing Muslims that Shaar Hasyamayim Jews have no connection to Zionism and do not support it.

3. *Anxiety and Tension*

Due to their minority status and their different beliefs and practices, the Jews of North Sulawesi sometime feel anxious and tense. However, they have overcome it. When the global political climate heats up due to conflicts in Israel-Palestine, anxiety and tension may rise. Although Jews do not always personally support Israel political maneuvers, they may be seen as pro-Israel simply due to their Jewish faith. This characteristic of anxiety and tension is usually also felt by Jews in other places, so it is not particular characteristic for certain Jews only. The traumatic religious history of past colonization, eviction, and attempted massive and systematic extermination as a nation (genocide) are kept and inherited by future generations. Consequently, all Jews, including those in North Sulawesi, feel wary of outsiders, feeling anxious and tense.

The anxiety of the Jews in North Sulawesi is not about the treatment of members of other religions in the province. The worry is that there is a misunderstanding from outside, especially Muslims in Indonesia. The 'attack' from anti-Israeli parties usually occurs on social

⁵⁸ Reginald Tanalisan, interview (28 Aug 2019).

⁵⁹ Yaakov Baruch, interview (31 Aug 2019).

media, and attackers are mainly not North Sulawesi residents. Meanwhile, there is no threat of a physical encounter with Jews in North Sulawesi.

On the other hand, Pro-Israeli Christians in North Sulawesi sometimes raise the tension for carrying out acts of support for Israel, which may be in response to the rampant support for Palestine that is rife in Java. However, this pro-Israel support does not benefit the Jews in North Sulawesi. It adds to the anxiety because it causes increasing tensions between Jews and Muslims, especially in the media.⁶⁰

4. *Assumption of Similarities*

The assumption of similarities can be understood as a characteristic usually seen in communications among cultures and religions. The attitude of a particular group towards another group is based on an assumption that although the other group has differing faiths and cultures, they are still humans and are still Indonesian citizens. This is true even among residents of North Sulawesi, who show similarities. With this similarity, it is expected that communication can be maintained well. However, all this similarity is only an assumption, and, every tribe, culture, and religion have their way of communication, such as non-verbal communications. Even the same thing in a different context may lead to a different interpretation. This similarity assumption in the context of Jewish people in North Sulawesi is seen in the way they view Christians. At first, they would think that Christians are like them in that they also believe in the Bible, particularly the Old Testament. Charismatic Christians are even sympathetic towards Jewish people because they have similarities in religious practices and the use of symbols from the Old Testament, such as the Menorah and other symbols.

This assumption of similarities does not always lead to agreement, however. Many practices that Christians follow are not in line with the beliefs of Jewish people in North Sulawesi. For example, the use of media for worship such as statues and the crosses. This media are considered by Jewish people to be blasphemous and must be eliminated because they tarnish the purity of their belief in God. Moreover, the call to invite non-Christians to convert in Christianity is referred to as a mission, something that is unnecessary for the Jews of North Sulawesi.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

F. Concluding Remarks

In drawing conclusions for this paper, the research uses a cross-cultural and religious psychological approach to investigate the religious experiences of the North Sulawesi Jewish community, particularly its leader (Yakov Baruch) and some of his followers. This method allows researchers to explore religious experiences in the context of cross-faith and cross-cultural realities, such as living as a minority, living alongside a Christian community, and living in a Muslim-majority country. This religious experience is manifested to foster harmony by modifying religious doctrine to national identity interpretations. According to the findings, the Jews of North Sulawesi have overcome the four stumbling blocks they encountered.

North Sulawesi Jews are not like other Indonesian Jews who conceal their Jewish identity because they feel the sociopolitical and religious environment is unsafe for them to disclose their identity. North Sulawesi Jews have publicly shown their Judaism since the Reformation Era, both in implementing worship and in social contacts with other religious groups. This appears motivated by various factors. However, the most notable is their theological perspective, which can compromise the dialectic between theological beliefs in the form of a call back to Promised Land and their nationalism as Indonesian citizens in the form of loyalty Pancasila and NKRI.

They say that the compromise is their rational-flexible interpretation of *Tikun Olam*, the core Jewish teachings. With this admission, it is clear how they encounter religious psychological complexities in coping with the dialectic between theology and national identity, which manifests in their everyday lives. This study demonstrates how theology in dialogue with society (nationalism) influences the actions of religious groups.

Acknowledgment

I would like to thank the LPPM (*Institute for Research and Community Services*) of Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University of Yogyakarta by providing research support through *Bantuan Operasional Perguruan Tinggi Negeri/BOPTN* (State University Operational Assistance).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abidin, Zaenal, “Eksistensi Pemeluk Agama Yahudi di Manado”, *Harmoni*, vol. 14, no. 3, 2015, pp. 99–113.
- Awad, Germine H., “The Impact of Acculturation and Religious Identification on Perceived Discrimination for Arab/Middle Eastern Americans”, *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, vol. 16, no. 1, 2010, pp. 59–67 [<https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016675>].
- Barna, Laray M., “Stumbling Blocks in Intercultural Communication”, in *Intercultural Communication: A Reader*, ed. by Larry A. Samovar et al., Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1994.
- Bechmann, Ulrike, “Genesis 12 and the Abraham-Paradigm Concerning the Promised Land”, *The Ecumenical Review*, vol. 68, no. 1, 2016, pp. 62–80 [<https://doi.org/10.1111/erev.12199>].
- Champagne, Jessica and Teuku Cut Mahmud Aziz, “Komunitas Yahudi Surabaya: Riset Mahasiswa”, *Relief: Journal of Religious Ideas*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2003, pp. 77–88.
- Dwek, Eli, “The Demise of the Jewish Community in Surabaya”, *Jews of Java*, http://jewsofjava.com/jewsofjava_recollections.pdf, accessed 11 Mar 2022.
- Ekholm, Laura Katarina and Simo Muir, “Name changes and visions of ‘a new Jew’ in the Helsinki Jewish community”, *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis*, vol. 27, 2016, pp. 173–88 [<https://doi.org/10.30674/scripta.66574>].
- Epafras, Leonard C., “Memahami Ingatan Kultural Yahudi dalam Konflik Israel-Palestina”, *Jurnal Kawistara*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2013, pp. 117–226 [<https://doi.org/10.22146/kawistara.3978>].
- , “Realitas Sejarah dan Dinamika Identitas Yahudi Nusantara”, *Religió: Jurnal Studi Agama-agama*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2012, pp. 194–244 [<https://doi.org/10.15642/religio>].
- , “Jews at the Frontier: Identity, Multiple Belonging, and Indonesian Jewish History”, Monash University, 22 Jun 2015.
- , “Contextual Jews: The Emergence of New Jewish Identity in the Post-Reformation Indonesia”, presented at the Jewish Communities

- in Asia: Cultural Contacts in Historical and Comparative Perspectives, University of Haifa, 23 Apr 2018.
- Goforth, Anisa N., “Minority Group-Affiliation Hypothesis”, *The Encyclopedia of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, vol. 2, ed. by K.D. Keith, John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2013, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1002/9781118339893.wbeccp362>, accessed 18 Jan 2020.
- Graham, Jessica and Lizabeth Roemer, “A Preliminary Study of the Moderating Role of Church-Based Social Support in the Relationship Between Racist Experiences and General Anxiety Symptoms”, *Cultural diversity & ethnic minority psychology*, vol. 18, no. 3, 2012, pp. 268–76 [<https://doi.org/10.1037/a0028695>].
- Greggerman, Adam, “Is the Biblical Land Promise Irrevocable?: Post-Nostra Aetate Catholic Theologies of the Jewish Covenant and the Land of Israel”, *Modern Theology*, vol. 34, no. 2, 2018, pp. 137–58 [<https://doi.org/10.1111/moth.12388>].
- Hadler, Jeffrey, “Translations of Antisemitism: Jews, the Chinese, and Violence in Colonial and Post-colonial Indonesia”, *Indonesia and the Malay World*, vol. 32, no. 94, 2004, pp. 291–313 [<https://doi.org/10.1080/13639810500031012>].
- Hall, G.C. and G.G. Maramba, “In Search of Cultural Diversity: Recent Literature in Cross-cultural and Ethnic Minority Psychology”, *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2001, pp. 12–26 [<https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.7.1.12>].
- Husein, Fatimah, “Jerusalem and the Jews: The Views of Indonesian Muslim Student Activists”, *Politics and Religion Journal*, vol. 5, no. 2, 2011, pp. 197–212 [<https://doi.org/10.54561/prj0502197h>].
- Jikeli, Günther, “Anti-Semitism in Youth Language: the Pejorative use of the Terms for ‘Jew’ in German and French today”, *Conflict & Communication Online*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2010, pp. 1–13.
- Kamsma, Theo, “Echoes of Jewish Identity in an Evangelical Christian Sect in Minahasa, Indonesia”, *Indonesia and the Malay World*, vol. 38, no. 112, 2010, pp. 387–402 [<https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2010.513850>].
- Kasstan, Ben, “Positioning Oneself and Being Positioned in the

- ‘community’: An Essay on Jewish Ethnography as a ‘Jew-ish’ Ethnographer”, *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis*, vol. 27, 2016, pp. 264–83 [https://doi.org/10.30674/scripta.66579].
- Klar, Yechiel, “From ‘Do not arouse or awaken love until it so desires’ through ‘Return to Zion’ to ‘Conquest of the Land’: Paradigm Shifts and Sanctified Reenactments in Building the Jewish state”, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol. 43, no. Part A, 2014, pp. 87–99 [https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2014.08.007].
- Kumar, Revathy, Nancy Seay, and Stuart A. Karabenick, “Immigrant Arab Adolescents in Ethnic Enclaves: Physical and Phenomenological Contexts of Identity Negotiation”, *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, vol. 21, no. 2, 2015, pp. 201–12 [https://doi.org/10.1037/a0037748].
- Reingold, Matt, “The ‘Draw-A-Religious Jew’ Test and Students’ Religious Identities”, *Art/Research International: A Transdisciplinary Journal*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2017, pp. 89–109 [https://doi.org/10.18432/R2005V].
- Ricottilli, Sofia, “Others Have a Nationality. The Irish and the Jews have a Psychosis’: Identity and Humour in Howard Jacobson’s ‘The Finkler question’ and Paul Murray’s ‘An evening of long goodbyes’”, Ph.D Dissertation, Venice, Italy: Ca’ Foscari University of Venice, 2015.
- Roth, Sol, “The Right to the Land”, *Tradition: A Journal of Orthodox Jewish Thought*, vol. 17, no. 1, 1977, pp. 7–22.
- Rubin, Ofir D. and Aviad Rubin, “Intergenerational Religious Transmission Mechanisms among Second-generation Migrants: The Case of Jewish Immigrants in the United States”, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol. 43, 2014, pp. 265–77 [https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2014.09.003].
- Sabina, Chiara, Carlos A. Cuevas, and Jennifer L. Schally, “The Effect of Immigration and Acculturation on Victimization among a National Sample of Latino Women”, *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, vol. 19, no. 1, 2013, pp. 13–26 [https://doi.org/10.1037/a0030500].
- Terwey, Susanne, “British Discourses on ‘the Jew’ and ‘the Nation’ 1899–1919”, *Quest. Issues in Contemporary Jewish History: Journal of Fondazione CDEC*, no. 3, 2012, pp. 111–29 [https://doi.org/10.48248/

issn.2037-741X/781].

Utama, Abraham, “Kronik Kehidupan Yahudi di Indonesia”, *CNN Indonesia*, 3 Aug 2016, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20160802221031-20-148780/kronik-kehidupan-yahudi-di-indonesia>, accessed 15 Mar 2021.

Walzer, Michael et al. (eds.), *The Jewish Political Tradition: Volume II: Membership*, New Haven London: Yale University Press, 2006.

Zarman, Romi, *Di Bawah Kuasa Antisemitisme: Orang Yahudi di Hindia Belanda (1861-1942)*, Yogyakarta: Tjatanan Indonesia & Jual Buku Sastra, 2018.