

Chinese Ethnic Coffee Shop Adaptation in Riau through Inclusivity in Malay Society

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Abstract. This article focused on non-Muslim Chinese ethnic coffee shop entrepreneurs, aiming to discover and analyse forms of adaptation that have led to the survival of these coffee shops and their acceptance by the Malay-Muslim community. This qualitative research, utilising an ethnographic approach, is situated in Pekanbaru. Data was collected through observation and interviews with 11 predetermined informants, including entrepreneurs from second and third-generation Chinese families, Malay Riau cultural figures, historians, tourism advocates, coffee enthusiasts and customer informants. Documentary data in the form of autobiographies/biographies of the early founders of coffee shops. This study identified forms of adaptation, including the coffee shop managers' identification with the community, continuity of family management adhering to halal and hygienic standards, prioritising honesty to gain community trust, forming partnerships and employing Muslim-background workers, and fostering communication, organisation, social engagement, and philanthropy. The adaptation of coffee shop entrepreneurs was expedited by the openness and acceptance of Muslim traders in Pekanbaru since the early 20th century. The presence of these coffee shops, deeply rooted in the social and cultural life of the Malay-Muslim community, manifests inclusivity. This encompasses accepting the halal aspect of the coffee shops' offerings, managed by non-Muslim Chinese ethnic groups.

Keywords and phrases: Malay society in Indonesia, non-Muslim Chinese, Chinese coffee shops, inclusivism in Malay society, adaptation into Malay-Muslim community

Introduction

Coffee shops play a crucial role as a public space and lifestyle in the social and cultural context of Malay society in Indonesia. Various coffee shop businesses and the coffee industry grew and were generally managed by the Chinese ethnic group from the beginning (Hakam and Sinaga 2021). According to research by Toffin and *Majalah MIX Marcoom* (Toffin Indonesia 2020), the number of coffee shops in Indonesia in 2019 was 2,950, managed based on the creativity of young people. This number had increased threefold compared to 2016, with only 1,000 coffee shops. In Pekanbaru, the official government website acknowledges an increase in coffee shops as small and medium businesses, especially those opened with modern, Instagram-able concepts and store atmospheres favoured by young people, with at least 30 new coffee shops in 2018. Since the 20th century, there have been 546 coffee shops in Pekanbaru, with over 20% located in Senapelan and managed mainly by the Chinese ethnic group (Zulkurniawan 2021). Among these coffee shops are those that began to operate after the war of independence and have survived until today; hence, they are known as legendary coffee shops. Travel and culinary magazines such as *travelingyuk.com* (Rivaldi 2018), *Tribuntravel.com* (Nisa 2021) and *RiauMagz* (2021) have published articles about these legendary coffee shops, such as Kimteng, Indah Ria, Laris, Megaria, King, Kola-Kola and Milenium, which are managed by the Chinese ethnic group and have received positive reviews from visitors.

Numerous studies on coffee shops have been conducted, which can be classified into three trends: (1) coffee shops and lifestyle, (2) coffee shops from a management perspective and (3) coffee shops as a medium of communication, socialisation and identity formation. Studies on coffee shops as a lifestyle view their existence as reflecting society's changing social and cultural life. The function of coffee shops has developed beyond just being a place to drink coffee and hang out but also to showcase one's status, existence, and other social activities (Wijayati, Fahleti and Arianto 2019; Taufani 2020; Amrihani and Ritonga, 2021). Studies on coffee shops from a management perspective show that the increase in coffee shops is due to various factors related to managing the coffee shop industry, both small and medium-sized. These factors include coffee supply, the quality of coffee beans, customer behaviour and satisfaction with service, marketing strategies and modern store atmosphere and design (Nurfalah, Surti and Tabrani 2020; Syahsudarmi 2020; Soimah and Aslan 2021; Joesyiana, Asepma and Saipul 2022). Coffee shops now function as a medium of communication, socialisation and identity formation. Generally, the focus is on the function of coffee shops since the 20th century, which has developed as a public space with various new parts that did not exist in previous centuries (Erman 2014; Santoso 2017; Hakam and Sinaga 2021).

However, the aspect of coffee shop entrepreneurs or managers has received less attention in these three trends.

Coffee shops can be visited by all segments of society, all strata, all ethnic groups, and various religions. Numerous aspects of life are discussed in these places without considering one's background. Muslim Malay society, which has an inclusive character, does not make religious differences a barrier to socialising and interacting with non-Muslim Chinese ethnic groups. Conversely, non-Muslim Chinese ethnic groups have successfully adapted, allowing their coffee shops to be accepted and to survive until today. This article focuses more on the forms of adaptation by non-Muslim Chinese ethnic groups in maintaining their coffee shop businesses in Muslim Malay society. This ability to survive is remarkable because, despite many obstacles, such as the national issue of repatriating Chinese ethnic groups in Indonesia to their homeland of China in 1959, discrimination against Chinese ethnic groups during the New Order era, the growth of coffee shops with modern concepts, or the COVID-19 pandemic that has caused many small and medium businesses to close down, Chinese ethnic group coffee shops can still survive and are recognised as legendary.

On the other hand, this ability to survive is supported by the character of Malay society, especially in trading areas, where traders are more accepting and open-minded, followed by the wider community. Malay identity, based on Islam with the concept of *masuk Melayu masuk Islam* (entering Malay means entering Islam), reflects the flexibility of Malay society in accepting diversity within the unity of religion, language and Malay customs (Sanusi 2017; Prayogi, Abidin and Zulaikhah 2022).

For Chinese non-Muslim culinary entrepreneurs, it is not easy to identify themselves as part of Muslim Malay society due to religious differences and the issue of halal food practices. They try to adjust their business standards to those accepted by Muslim Malay society, and nationalism has become an issue of self-identification because among the founders of coffee shops were Indonesian independence heroes.

Literature Review

Inclusivism in Malay society

As defined by Alan Race's (1983) tripolar concept, inclusivism claims a loose view and acceptance that other religions also hold truths. In Zamakhsari's (2020) research, this inclusive theology claims that their religion is the most correct and does not blame other religions but accepts them as a form of harmony in diversity.

The inclusivism of the Indonesian nation's ancestors led them to exist in trade and brought foreign nations to trade and settle, as in the studies of Mahayana (2017) and Utomo (2017). According to Andaya (2019), the Malay ethnic group tends to stimulate the emergence of new ethnic groups in a community. Inclusivism in Malay society can be seen in the concept of ethnicity and cultural identity identified as a Muslim society: tradition aligned with Sharia law and Sharia law aligned with the Quran. As in the studies of Sanusi (2017) and Prayogi, Abidin and Zulaikhah (2022), any ethnic group that is Muslim is considered Malay, popularised by the expression entering Malay means entering Islam. The principle of entering Malay in trading areas, when faced with non-indigenous and non-Muslim people, is relatively elastic because, according to Barth (1998), the main principle in trade is for economic reasons, interests and benefits. If there are obstacles, people can choose partners according to their interests in a transaction. According to Andaya (2008), even adaptation can be a conscious decision to follow a particular ethnic group, in this case, Malay, for some benefits.

Inclusivism in Malay society can be seen through their acceptance of cuisine managed or originating from the Chinese ethnic group. The research of Sya, Marta and Sadono (2019) found that the harmony of Chinese and Malay ethnic relations in Bangka was established through cultural adaptations such as cuisine and clothing. Makmur et al. (2018, 144) and Dewi (2018) found that the forms of adaptation in the phenomenon of the Minang Pondok language in Padang also involved changes in the pronunciation of food names. Regarding halal, there is indeed enough caution among the community, as found in the study of Kushardiyanti, Khotimah and Mutaqin (2022), which found that the dominant sentiment from netizens is neutral or undecided (pro or against) regarding non-halal Padang restaurants or non-halal rendang in Jakarta, with an inclusive or positive sentiment of 30.87%. Saliro, Muchsin and Baharuddin (2021) research on cuisine bridges social dialogue and interaction to create social harmony in Singkawang. Ritonga and Bahri's (2017) study showed that the social and cultural interaction of the Chinese with local culture gave birth to culinary hybridity in Pekanbaru, which is accepted by all ethnic groups and is no longer identified with a particular ethnic group.

Chinese ethnic and coffee shop culture

Chinese ethnic in Indonesia are spread throughout various regions and play an important economic role. The openness of the Indonesian nation has inspired Chinese ethnic to build an adaptive identity with Indonesian-ness while retaining their ancestral cultural identity, as researched by Yunariono (2019). Based on Barth's (1998) study, Chinese ethnicity is among those who can maintain their

cultural identity in the face of the need to adapt for balance. Hakam and Sinaga's (2021) research explained the relationship between Indonesia's increasing coffee shop trend and the Chinese ethnicity's role in preserving coffee shops' existence. Even in Indonesia, coffee shops have integrated Chinese identity, such as using cups and ceramic vessels from the past and Hainanese-style brewed coffee. Wati, Elmustian and Auzar (2019) also discussed Yong Dolah's story in Bengkalis, who made the coffee shop a place for expression through humour. Visiting coffee shops has become part of Malay culture that has persisted until now, as Riana, Wahyuni and Elsera (2021, 1545) researched in Daik Lingga, Riau Islands and various regions in Riau.

Coffee shops in Indonesia, including in Malay territories, are related to the Chinese ethnicity. According to Erman (2014), the spread of coffee cultivation and the tradition of drinking coffee initially came from the Arabian Peninsula to Europe and Asia through trade routes, coinciding with the spread of Islam. Coffee shop business owners are subject to customer preference and loyalty. Therefore, the performance of coffee shops is also influenced by the consumerist lifestyle of the community, as researched by Rasmikayati et al. (2020) in Bogor, West Java. Coffee shop business owners do not have the freedom to sell products without adapting to the preferences, loyalty and satisfaction of customers with their coffee shop. This adaptation has become one of the reasons for the development of coffee shops as a public space for social communities, as a means of fostering literacy, expression, inspiration and even resistance in the community (Erman 2014; Suryadin, Maulana and Amalia 2021).

Inclusivism, coffee shops and Senapelan traders

Inclusivism among Malays and their loyalty to following elite society are implied in Gramberg's (1864) report in the mid-19th century when he sailed along the Siak River and stopped in Pekanbaru. The inclusive attitude of Malays in the Siak River and Malacca Strait regions has existed since the trading era, as Andaya (2019) mentioned. Interactions among traders of different ethnicities and cultures significantly impacted social, cultural and economic development. They came from various places up and down the Siak and Kampar rivers and West Sumatra in local and international trade (van Alkemade 1887). They were concentrated in Senapelan, such as Kampung Bukit or Kampung Bandar and Kampung Dalam (Cheris and Refi 2017). In Senapelan, Muslim traders, especially those from West Sumatra, are called *urang pakan*. They conducted international business through export-import, transportation services and plantations that used labour, including Chinese people (Winata 2022), and through hajj worship that gave traders new knowledge and insights (Bruinessen 1990). *Urang pakan* became persistent and

resilient economic actors (Van-Anrooij 1885). In the 20th century, their lives appeared prosperous. Due to their excellent and stable socioeconomic status and social generosity practices, traders were more trusted and followed by the community, including their inclusive attitudes (Cheris and Refi 2017). This social and cultural capital is understood and responded to by Chinese ethnic traders in building economic partnerships and social harmony (Bourdieu 1977; Davey 2009).

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Chinese community and settlement in Senapelan Pekanbaru already existed, located adjacent to the houses of indigenous residents and traders. There was a Chinese captain's house, a temple facing the Siak River and a complex of Chinese shops, all located near the market not far from the edge of the Siak River (Suwardi 2006). Here, Muslim and Chinese traders built communication and interaction around trade. For example, Haji Sulaiman traded with the owner of Chop Khee Seng's store, and Haji Saleh Abbas rented the first floor of his lodging named Nirmala to Tang Kim Teng's coffee shop. Thus, the coffee shop was better known by the community as Kedai Kopi Nirmala (Nyoto 2016). The traders also had a better level of religious literacy than the general population and became a reference in cross-ethnic interactions, including the acceptance of Kedai Kopi Nirmala (Bruinessen 1990).

Research Methodology

This study employs a qualitative method with a simultaneous ethnographic approach to observe the community's behaviour and the management of legendary coffee shops. This ethnographic approach develops a profound understanding of values and inclusive meanings within Pekanbaru society. The research commences with determining the research location, namely Kedai Kopi Kimteng and Kedai Kopi Indah Ria in the Senapelan district of Pekanbaru. The owners of both coffee shops share a common background as veterans of Indonesia's independence struggle from the Chinese ethnic group. The subsequent steps involve selecting informants and conducting interviews, making ethnographic notes, posing descriptive questions, analysing interview results, introducing domain analysis questions, presenting structural questions, creating taxonomic analyses, posing contrastive questions, performing component analyses, identifying cultural themes and crafting an ethnographic report (Windiani and Rahmawati 2016).

The research data in this study was obtained through observation, interviews and documentation techniques. The researchers directly participated as recurring customers in legendary coffee shops and observed the ambience, cleanliness, staff, partners and other visitors (Winarno 2015). In-depth interviews were conducted

intermittently between 2020 and 2023 with eleven informants or deliberately chosen sources of information (Ariani, Atmaja and Winingrum 2023). Some informants knew the researchers' identities, while others were not. The informants were selected based on their knowledge and ability to articulate their experiences concerning the history and development of the coffee shops and the community in Pekanbaru. The informants included descendants of the owners of Kedai Kopi Kimteng and Kedai Kopi Indah Ria, loyal customers of the coffee shops since the 1980s, tourism advocates in Pekanbaru, cultural figures, traditional Malay figures, historians, customers from the Malay ethnic group in Selatpanjang, Siak, Bengkalis, Moro and Kundur to observe similarities or differences with customers in Pekanbaru. Customers were asked descriptive questions about the halal aspect and their feelings regarding managing Chinese ethnic coffee shops.

The documentation technique encompassed the study of autobiographies/biographies, photographs, letters of appreciation and other collections from the owners of both coffee shops to gain an "insider's perspective" on the coffee shop businesses. The experiences from the inception of the coffee shops and their resilience are typically present in the biographies of the deceased founders (Wijaya 2019). Other documentation included biographies of elite traders in Senapelan during the first half of the 20th century as context and comparison and various literature on the formation of inclusivism, Malay culture and Chinese ethnic groups. The authenticity and credibility of the data were evaluated by comparing or seeking support for a statement from other statements to strengthen or triangulate the data sources. For instance, observation and interview results were triangulated with documentary data and vice versa (Gottschalk 1985; Zamili 2015). Based on the analysis, three themes emerged: (1) the relationship between inclusivism, coffee shops and traders in Senapelan, (2) the self-identification of non-Muslim Chinese coffee shop owners and (3) forms of coffee shop adaptation. The final step was the compilation of the writing.

Results and Discussion

Identity of Chinese ethnicity of coffee shop owners

Since the 20th century, most of the owners and managers of coffee shops in Pekanbaru were of Chinese ethnicity, concentrated in Senapelan, occupying old buildings such as in Kampung Dalam and Kampung Bandar, in the areas of Tanah Merah and Sago on Juanda Street and Pasar Tengah, especially on Karet Street or Dr. Leimena. They lived alongside and mingled with other residents in the same village, in the market and coffee shops (Sudarmin 2014). In this area, many coffee shops are over half a century old and considered legendary, such

as Kedai Kopi Kimteng, the earliest recorded Chinese coffee shop in Pekanbaru, which opened in 1950. Then, it was followed by Kedai Kopi Laris in the same year. Other legendary coffee shops such as Kedai Kopi Indah Ria and Kedai Kopi Megaria were opened in 1970, Millennium in 1982, and Kola-Kola in 1985, all owned and managed by non-Muslim Chinese ethnicity (Raus and Baihaki 2011).

In addition to mingling in public spaces, another form of identification for coffee shop owners is by exposing the nationalism of their parents. Tang Kim Teng and Lioe Tjai Soen, alias Eddy Lawalata, are veteran heroes of Indonesian independence. After the war, they decided not to continue their military membership separately. The background as family members of independence heroes can evoke respect and sympathy from the community that they are part of the history and struggle of the Riau community (Basri 1985). Being the offspring of veterans has become a source of pride passed down to the new generation, the children of coffee shop owners (Nyoto 2016; Wilaela et al. 2022). Descendants of Tang Kim Teng and Lioe Tjai Soen are proud of their parents as independence heroes, even though these former heroes experienced complicated lives in the realm of independence. They put up photos of their fathers dressed as veterans and various medals and certificates of appreciation from the government on the walls of the coffee shop and publish biographies of their fight.

In addition to showing their nationalistic side, identity is also conveyed in the biography of Tang Kim Teng, the founder of Kedai Kopi Kimteng, Tang Kim Teng is widely known as a veteran hero. Unlike Kedai Kopi Indah Ria, the owner's biography has not been published and many people do not know that the founder of the coffee shop is a veteran hero. New customers come to the coffee shop because they are interested in media reviews as a legendary coffee shop that needs to be visited. However, suppose the old traders in Pasar Sago are asked. In that case, they generally know Eddy Lawalata as a nationalist Chinese figure who cares about them. Eddy Lawalata enrolled his children in Perwari School, a multi-ethnic private school, even though the Pek Eng Chinese School was still standing then. The surrounding community appointed his son in the Chinese-Malay village as their leader for more than 10 years without intending to replace him until now.

Forms of adaptation by non-Muslim Chinese ethnic coffee shop owners

Based on this study, we found three ways the Chinese coffee shop owners have been adapting to the Malay society of Pekanbaru, Indonesia.

Family business continuity

The main factor that has sustained the Kedai Kopi Kimteng and Kedai Kopi Indah Ria is the family's effort to maintain continuity in management. Tjun Lan, the older sister of Tang Kim Teng (1921–2003), had run a coffee shop business before the two siblings opened the Yu Han coffee shop in 1950. After Kim Teng fully managed the coffee shop, he rented the ground floor of the Nirmala Inn on the banks of the Siak River from Haji Saleh Abbas. Hence, his business became known as Kedai Kopi Nirmala. In 1960, the coffee shop was changed to Kedai Kopi Segar in Simpang Sago, and it moved to the Pelindo area in 1968 (Nyoto 2016). Meanwhile, Lioe Tjai Soen (1924–2002) or Eddy Lawalata and his wife Kustini, a Chinese woman from Pekanbaru, opened Kedai Kopi Indah Ria in 1970 on the corner of Pasar Sago and Juanda Street in Pekanbaru, after previously selling groceries (Wilaela et al. 2022).

Like the legendary coffee shops owned by non-Muslim ethnic Chinese in Senapelan, Kedai Kopi Kimteng and Kedai Kopi Indah Ria are family businesses passed down from generation to generation, from the founders to their children and grandchildren. Kim Teng involved his children and grandchildren in the coffee shop; the third generation now manages it (Nyoto, 2016). After Eddy Lawalata passed away, the owners of Kedai Kopi Indah Ria, his children Kristin and Maria, continued to manage the business. They are proud of their parents and do not want to forget their hard work establishing the business, so they voluntarily continue the business legacy even though they could choose other jobs. Maria stated that in the past, her brother returned to Pekanbaru from Surabaya to manage the coffee shop. Now, she is taking over because the coffee shop is their parents' legacy that should not be wasted (Wilaela et al. 2022).

Honesty, halal and cleanliness

The new generation of managers continues to follow the strategy of their predecessors by adapting to the halal food standards in both management and raw materials to meet the needs of the Muslim-majority in Pekanbaru (Ritonga and Bahri 2017). The successor informants support each other and say that their coffee shops can survive by following the management standards taught by their parents, such as the statement: "This coffee shop has been in the family for three generations, and we were taught how to manage it to keep it going". One of the standards is halal: "This is a halal coffee shop; the employees, cooks and everyone is Muslim and wears a hijab. They must also be honest; saying it is halal means, it must not be different from what is said". In addition, Kedai Kopi Indah Ria also serves the first halal porridge menu in Pekanbaru, which is communicated orally and symbolically (Wilaela et al. 2022).

Legendary coffee shops partner with and employ mostly local Muslims. Partners and employees interact more with customers while the owners sometimes go out to greet them but are often found sitting at the cashier's table, as seen at Kedai Kopi Kimteng (Dewi 2018). Meanwhile, at Kedai Kopi Indah Ria, the owner, Maria, can be found anywhere, even in the kitchen. Coffee enthusiasts are free to see who cooks and serves the coffee, so they do not have any doubts about the halal status of the food because the ingredients and management are open and cooked and served by local Muslims. As stated by an informant, "The coffee, rice cake and satay are delicious. Javanese people cook them. They originally came from Siak and are sold out by 10 a.m." (Jamil, *pers. comm.*, 3rd December 2022). Coffee lovers do not see the owners as outsiders because they are descendants of Chinese people in Riau, as well, "Enough coffee supplies are available because Indonesian-made food and community needs accompany them, and their coffee is ground on-site. They come from various regions in Riau, such as Bengkalis, Siak, Taluk Kuantan and Selatpanjang" (Suwardi, *pers. comm.*, 2nd December 2022). Informants pay attention to the "local" aspect or adaptation of coffee shop management.

These traders try to hold onto honesty, which is an essential factor in maintaining their culinary business because the certainty of halal is closely related to the conformity between what is said and the reality. They also always maintain the hygiene of the coffee shops, kitchens and food products, as well as place the production process tables at the front of the shop to give the impression that there are no secrets (Wilaela et al. 2022). In 2017, Kimteng was affected by a food poisoning incident that affected several government officials in Pekanbaru. Kimteng's health certificate was temporarily revoked and reinstated after the Pekanbaru Health Department deemed it healthy. Shortly after, customers returned to fill the tables, and the current conditions seemed more hygienic. Coffee shops in Riau open early in the morning to cater to the tendency of Malay people to drink coffee in the morning. Even in Bengkalis, there is a new habit where after praying Fajr in the mosque, the congregation visits the coffee shop before going home (Ghofur, *pers. comm.*, 26th January 2023). Coffee lovers in Pekanbaru visit coffee shops on weekends and weekdays in the morning. Nowadays, coffee shops are also open in the evening.

Social and culture capital: Organising and generosity

Tang Kim Teng and Eddy Lawalata are not only coffee shop owners. They are also veteran heroes who build communication through veteran organisations and Chinese ethnic social organisations. They are Chinese community leaders in Pekanbaru who have concern and generosity. They are close to local officials, often

interacting as customers or during Heroes' Day commemorations. They are also part of cross-ethnic communities such as veteran organisations and Chinese ethnic social organisations. Tang Kim Teng once worked to establish a special Chinese cemetery in Rumbai. Eddy Lawalata was one of the founders of a place of worship on Sumatera Street in Pekanbaru. Their coffee shops have become gathering places for veteran heroes and their young friends. In his old age, Kim Teng is still visited by his former commander, Lieutenant Colonel Hassan Basri, and his fellow hero, Jasman, at his coffee shop (Nyoto 2016). When Eddy Lawalata was still alive, he took his children to his fighting areas during the revolution, such as Air Tiris and Pasirpangaraian. People there still knew him and welcomed them warmly and intimately. They also became a support system for asking for help, such as when small traders in the Pasar Sago came to Eddy Lawalata to borrow business capital and he generously forgave them when they could not repay it (Wilaela et al. 2022). This social capital is helpful for the coffee shops' sustainability after their founders' passing.

Discussion

This study is related to other studies on social-cultural inclusivism in various regions in Indonesia. Adaptation has been made well because of its benefits (Andaya 2019). The adaptation carried out by the Chinese ethnic group has created a cultural identity that still respects their ancestral culture (Wilaela 2023). The cultural uniqueness of coffee shops in Pekanbaru is the role of Muslim traders as the main driving force behind the emergence of inclusivism. As an elite community, they have successfully disseminated inclusive attitudes. The past's cosmopolitan and international trade culture which respects differences and accepts innovations, has inspired inclusivism in the Malay community, which has long been known to be very open to differences and new things from outside them (Gramberg 1864; Bourdieu 1977). After the war of independence, the inclusivism of the Malay people and the business opportunities of coffee shops in the culture of Malay people enjoying coffee, as well as the lack of interest of Muslim traders in coffee shop businesses, have been utilised well by non-Muslim Chinese traders. With adaptation and self-identification, they have maintained coffee shop businesses for decades since the mid-20th century, making them legendary.

As an ethnic group with a small population amid a diverse society, the Chinese ethnic group must adapt to achieve balance (Barth 1998). Accepting non-Muslim Chinese coffee shop products in the Malay-Muslim community reflects a maturity in cross-ethnic and religious interactions that are not easily provoked. Chinese coffee shop entrepreneurs have adapted to ensure the halal aspect of their food (Ritonga and Bahri 2017), identification as part of society and Indonesian

nationalism, interaction and communication through organisations and the social values they uphold. The development of various culinary businesses, such as coffee shops, bakeries, cafes and restaurants run by non-Muslim Chinese ethnic groups, shows that the inclusiveness of Malay society has been well-maintained.

People from various segments of society become customers at Kedai Kopi Kimteng and Kedai Kopi Indah Ria not only because of their taste and satisfaction with the coffee and menu but also because of the cleanliness of the shops, even though they are generally old buildings with simple interiors (Achmad, Samsir and Efni 2020). In addition to Malays being open and familiar with coffee shops, as in the story of Yong Dolah (Wati, Elmustian and Auzar 2019), it is also related to Pekanbaru in the past as a cosmopolitan and international trading area. Coffee shops become democratic public spaces and places of inspiration, economic agreements, building solidarity, resistance and other expressions (Santoso 2017; Riana, Wahyuni and Elsera 2021; Erman 2014). Coffee shops are a literacy medium for the inclusiveness of society in trading pockets such as the Senapelan area in the past, and traders accelerated inclusiveness in that trading culture.

Running a coffee shop requires understanding the independence of tastes, preferences and consumer desires (Rasmikayati et al. 2020). This necessity becomes even more significant when operated by non-Muslim Chinese in Muslim-majority areas, so there is an effort at self-identification and symbolisation, communication through social organisations and generosity. Self-identification within the framework of nationalism is necessary not only in the economic aspect of coffee shops but also in building harmony and avoiding national conflicts between the native population and the Chinese ethnic group, which historically occurred in Riau after the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence (Basri 1985).

Conclusion

The inclusivism of the Malay-Muslim community in Pekanbaru, Riau, is closely related to Senapelan as a trading area. Through their trading culture, Muslim traders played a role in driving inclusivism. The community imitated them in being open and accepting diversity without prejudice over time. Non-Muslim Chinese coffee shop owners took advantage of the Malay culture of frequenting coffee shops, which had become a public space for all segments of society. Chinese coffee shops were family businesses inherited from their parents. They sought to identify themselves as part of the community and build communication, organisation and social generosity. The matching of the menu and coffee, cleanliness and comfort, symbolism of honesty and trust in halal food have maintained the existence of non-Muslim Chinese coffee shops and made them a medium for inclusivism literacy in Malay society.

This research can strengthen the concept that non-Muslim Chinese coffee shop owners are astute in utilising social culture capital and seizing Malay society's *budaya ngopi* (coffee culture) in Pekanbaru. They also adapt to fit the needs of Muslim society. These coffee shops have survived throughout the 20th century until today despite the emergence of creative and modern coffee shops and cafes. Although this study relates to Pekanbaru's history as a trading city and traders who played a role in accelerating the inclusiveness of society, it does not address the issue of Muslim traders neglecting the opportunities for coffee shop businesses. What obstacles do Muslim traders face while they, as elite members of society, have an excellent opportunity to develop coffee shop businesses? These Muslim traders do not require their children to continue in the trading business, as has been done by Chinese coffee shop owners. They provide job freedom, so the second and subsequent generations of Muslim traders have a variety of jobs on the one hand. On the other hand, Muslim traders are gradually diminishing.

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