The everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia: Participants navigating points of tension and cultivating harmony through adaptive socio-cultural practices

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Jony Eko Yulianto

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ABSTRACT

Inter-ethnic marriages are a pressing issue in many culturally diverse countries. In Indonesia, inter-ethnic marriages comprise approximately 11% of all marriages. Researchers have predicted that this number will increase due to increasingly positive public perceptions of inter-ethnic marriages among younger generations of Indonesians. However, more research is needed to deepen present understandings of the everyday conduct of such unions. This thesis explores the dynamic inter-cultural, relational, spatial and material dimensions of the everyday conduct of 10 inter-ethnic marriages between Javanese and Chinese persons in East Java, Indonesia. Particular attention is paid to how couples navigate points of inter-cultural tension in their shared efforts to realise harmony in their marriages. This is done through adaptive socio-cultural practices. I also consider how inter-ethnic marriages can function as encounter spaces within which people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds come together to cultivate shared and culturally hybrid lives that draw from the cultural traditions of both partners. This thesis is based around three international publications. The first article conceptualises inter-ethnic marriages as third spaces for inter-cultural re-assemblage. I document the use of various agentive social practices that enable participants to combine key elements of Javanese and Chinese Indonesian cultural assemblages within their inter-ethnic marriages. The second article explores how inter-cultural tensions in the conduct of inter-ethnic marriages are managed by participants through often mundane social practices that contribute to the socio-cultural construction of various locales, across which couples forge their lives together. The third article documents how money, related objects, and practices are often implicated in the inter-cultural relational dynamics, tensions and culturally hybrid practices that emerge when persons from different cultural backgrounds cooperate to forge new lives together. Overall, this thesis contributes to the psychology of inter-ethnic marriages by offering new insights into the ways in which Javanese and Chinese Indonesians conduct their everyday lives together. In particular, this thesis highlights the centrality of approaching inter-ethnic marriages between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians as an intimate and socio-structural process that needs to be understood within the broader context of historical inter-group relations. Accordingly, this research bridges the gap between local experiences of conducting inter-ethnic marriages and broader societal shifts in terms of how members of Javanese and Chinese cultural groups can strive agentively to cultivate more harmonious lives together.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is an ethnically and culturally diverse country encompassing 17,508 islands (Cribb & Ford, 2009), a population of over 273 million people (World Bank, 2021) and 630 ethnic groups, languages and dialects (Arifin et al., 2015). In terms of ethnic composition, Javanese stands out as the largest ethnic group and constitutes approximately 40% of the population. Excluding Sundanese (15.51%), the remaining ethnic groups each contribute 3% or less to the national population (Arifin et al., 2015). The high variability of ethnic groups in Indonesia reflects the diversity of people who call Indonesia home and come into regular contact with one another. Based on a 2010 national ethno-demographic survey, approximately 10.7% of the Indonesian population are engaged in inter-ethnic marriages (Utomo & McDonald, 2016). Further, scholars have predicted that this number will increase due to the positive attitudes towards inter-ethnic marriages among the younger generations (Lyn et al., 2014). The increasing numbers of people practicing inter-ethnic marriages can be seen as a societal shift in Indonesia, considering the prolonged historical and socio-political tensions between some ethnic groups, such as Javanese and Chinese Indonesians. This societal shift warrants more detailed and engaged research into inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia. Accordingly, the focus of the present thesis is to document and explore the ways in which Javanese and Chinese Indonesian married couples conduct their everyday lives together.

This thesis focuses on the everyday experiences of inter-ethnic couples in the context of the broader societal shifts in inter-group relations in Indonesian society. By situating inter-ethnic marriage at this crossroads of inter-group relations, I contribute to the current knowledge about how macro-level trends can be reproduced through everyday interactions and inter-personal relationships (Holzkamp, 2016; Schraube & Højholt, 2016). In the process, I draw on a growing orientation in social psychological studies of everyday life toward documenting and interpreting the wider significance of mundane activities in the reproduction

of broader social and cultural patterns of life, including those of culture and ethnicity (de Certeau, 1984; King et al., 2018; Li et al., 2010).

In framing up the focus of this study, I am informed by the seminal work of the philosopher and social psychologist Simmel (1900/1978) who proposed that:

> Society is a structure that transcends the individual, but that is not abstract. Historical life thus escapes the alternative of taking place either in individuals or in abstract generalities. Society is the universal which, at the same time, is concretely alive. (p. 99)

This extract reflects an orientation towards society and social formations that compose it as being the product of ongoing inter-personal interactions, everyday social practices and inter-group relations. It requires us to investigate how general social structures such as cultures and associated ways of engaging with others are reproduced through local everyday social interactions (Dreier, 2016). Research into the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriage provides an important contribution to the broader inter-group relations in Indonesia today.

Accordingly, I approach inter-ethnic marriage as an encounter space within which people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds come together to cultivate shared and culturally hybrid lives that draw from the traditions both partners bring to the relationship. Central to this thesis is a focus on how such inter-cultural relational spaces are constructed and managed as people conduct their daily lives together. Also of interest are the implications this has for participants' experiences of cultural connection, continuity and hybridity. Further, the joint construction of exclusive relationships across cultures can be challenging for the people involved in such inter-ethnic marriages. I am interested in how people redefine and resituate themselves in everyday life and society more broadly. Drawing from the scholarship on *the conduct of everyday life* (Hodgetts, Sonn, et al., 2020; Schraube & Højholt, 2016), *social practices* (Blue, 2019; Halkier & Jensen, 2011) and *cultural assemblage* (DeLanda, 2006/2019; Deleuze & Guattari, 1988), I explore the complex cultural, relational, spatial and material

dimensions of the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages between Javanese and Chinese persons in Indonesia. In essence, the overall aim of this thesis is to document the ways in which participating Javanese and Chinese Indonesian couples forge lives together whilst navigating points of synergy and tension through the development of various adaptive social practices.

The everyday conduct of everyday inter-ethnic marriage is a complex, dynamic and multifaceted relational phenomenon. As such, there is no single theory or framework that would enable me to capture its full complexity. Consequently, to explore and make sense of participants' everyday experiences, I offer what Hodgetts and colleagues (2021) refer to as a *conceptual bricolage* (see Levi-Strauss, 1962), where various concepts are dialogued into an explanation to understand and address social phenomenon such as inter-ethnic marriage. In this thesis, I work eclectically, drawing on relational principles from Javanese and Chinese literature, as well as concepts across the social sciences that are compatible with epistemic constructionism, ontological realism and relational ethics. As I demonstrate in this thesis, such an eclectic approach enables me to explore couples' agentive practices in navigating points of synergy and tension in their marriages (Yulianto et al., 2022a, 2022b, 2022c).

The remainder of this introductory chapter provides more information on the research context and how inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia have been textured by prolonged historical engagement between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians. This includes some key socio-historical events that have shaped relations between these groups. I also discuss how these events provide a useful background for my research. The second section considers key trends in the vast international and interdisciplinary literature on inter-ethnic marriage and key concepts used in the research into inter-ethnic marriage globally. Here I discuss the main clusters of research into inter-ethnic marriage in general, a review of how couples navigate tensions and the key concepts used in prior research into inter-ethnic marriage. In this section, I argue that inter-ethnic marriages are more dynamic, fluid and multifaceted than often presented in the literature. Moving to

the third section, I situate this thesis conceptually within the disciplinary context of psychology. As I argue, psychology in Indonesia has developed out of a colonial history and is currently dominated by WEIRD[1]-centric and individualistic psychological approaches that have been imported primarily from the United States and other Eurocentric contexts (Henrich et al., 2010). As many scholars have discussed, these approaches are often inadequate when grappling with the complexities of non-individualistic societies such as Indonesia in the Global South (Li et al., 2018). My research approach draws from Javanese and Chinese literature, as well as global scholarship on the conduct of everyday life, social practice and assemblage theory.

Contextualising inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia

Inter-ethnic marriages between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians are situated within the context of often tense histories between the indigenous *(pribumi)* and non-indigenous Indonesian or settler populations. These tensions have encompassed considerable levels of mistrust and violence over several centuries (Carey, 1984; Dahana, 2004; Herlijanto, 2019; Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020; Meyer & Waskitho, 2021; Setijadi, 2017). I note that relations between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians are multifaceted and deeply entangled with the nation's colonial history, including the use of the classic strategy of 'divide and conquer' by Dutch colonialists which amplified inter-group tensions in Indonesia by exploiting divisions and social stratification between ethnic groups. Accordingly, in this section, I offer a brief overview of the historical, social, cultural and political events that have contributed to the shaping of inter-group relations between these ethnic communities.

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[1] WEIRD is an acronym for Western, Educated, Individualistic, Rich and Democratic Societies represented by 80% of research participants, but only 12% of global population (Henrich et al, 2010).

Inter-ethnic marriages between indigenous ethnic groups and Chinese Indonesians have shaped Indonesian history since the early arrival of Chinese immigrants in Indonesia around the 14th century (Reid, 2001). Whilst these groups have remained distinct, from the beginning many Chinese settlers married local Indonesians and assimilated themselves to varying degrees into these indigenous communities for various purposes, including access to commercial opportunities (Carey, 1984). In the process, local people called the first generation of Chinese migrants who came to trade as *Totok* (pure blood) and the descendants of Chinese settlers and indigenous people as *Peranakan* (local born) (Wee et al., 2006). Subsequently, the growing *Peranakan* population also influenced the development of Chinese Indonesian culture with its unique linguistic styles, cuisine and socio-cultural norms (Hoon, 2017). Various elements of Chinese culture have also been assimilated into local indigenous Indonesian cultures through ongoing inter-group processes of encounter, exchange and accommodation. Scholarship on early inter-ethnic marriages between Chinese settlers and indigenous ethnic groups in Indonesia has predominantly focused on general demographic trends. Often for practical reasons, such as the lack of available personal oral histories, it has not focused on the perspectives of the couples themselves (e.g., Coppel, 2012; Heidhues, 2017; Skinner, 2017). Nevertheless, this body of work is particularly useful as a starting point for us to think about and approach inter-ethnic marriages as a space for couples to forge and live culturally hybrid lives together.

Central to discussions of inter-ethnic marriage between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians is the articulation of power struggles that stem from the broader inter-group relations in Indonesian society, which are particularly evident in the period of Dutch colonisation (1700-1938)[2]. During this period, relations between indigenous ethnic groups and Chinese Indonesians were exploited to serve colonial ends, using 'divide and conquer' tactics. In the early colonial period, many Dutch colonialists saw Chinese Indonesians as potential collaborators due to

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[2] Indonesia has a long colonial history, including Dutch colonialism (1700-1939), British colonialism (1811-1816) and Japanese colonialism (1942-1945).

their financial and material power, whilst indigenous Indonesians were understood as primitive, inherently lazy, less commercially-orientated and uncooperative (Pols, 2007). As noted by Furnivall (1944/2010), Dutch law defined the country of '*Dutch East Indie*' (now called Indonesia) as a 'plural society', with a racial hierarchy that discouraged inter-mingling between races. Europeans were positioned at the top, Chinese Indonesians made up the second order, and indigenous Indonesians were placed at the bottom of the hierarchy. In order to maximise revenue for The Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* or VOC), Dutch colonialists predominantly employed Chinese Indonesians who were already active traders and financial advisers. These Chinese Indonesians became central to the administration of the colonial state and were used to impose oppressive tax-farming practices on local indigenous Indonesians, for example. This system bred considerable bitterness and suspicion among indigenous groups such as the Javanese towards not only the Dutch colonialists but also Chinese Indonesian communities (Carey, 1984).

These developments in Indonesian history are familiar practices within the processes of colonisation, which often involve categorising ethnic groups into hierarchies and amplifying inter-ethnic tensions between indigenous and settler populations in ways that marginalise indigenous groups (Hoadley, 1988; Skinner, 1961). As is evident in many other colonial contexts, the practices of Dutch dominance over indigenous groups, including in this case those employing Chinese as 'middle-men', bred resistance from the indigenous groups concerned. For example, in the early Java War (1825-1830) when indigenous Indonesians fought against Dutch colonialists, a small squadron commanded by Raden Ayu Yudakusuma, the daughter of the first Sultan of Yogyakarta, attacked a Chinese community in Ngawi (East Java). This action was followed by additional attacks against Chinese communities in Central Java (Carey, 1984). Consequently, relationships between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians have generally been conflictual and textured by mistrust and animosity up until very recently. A considerable number of studies have documented cooperation between these

ethnic groups (Carey, 1984; Hoadley, 1988) but such collaborations are generally seen as historical anomalies. As an example of collaboration, during the Java war, many Chinese Indonesian *Peranakan* in several cities in Central Java assisted the Javanese army by providing them with gunpowder and related supplies, and occasionally fighting Dutch colonialists alongside Pangeran Dipanegara's Javanese army (Carey, 1984).

Scholars have documented some of the complexities and contradictions in the history of Indonesia, including Javanese and Chinese Indonesian entrepreneurs in West Java developing joint ventures with indigenous communities, Javanese local rulers appointing Chinese Indonesian advisors for their commercial operations, and Javanese aristocrats *(priyayi)* marrying local Chinese Indonesians (Carey, 1984; Hoadley, 1988). I mention these more harmonious interactions in order to foreground the complexities of relations between these groups and how cooperation features in our overlapping histories, often alongside and entangled within situations of conflict. Colonisation, after all, is a messy and contradictory business.

In contextualising inter-ethnic marriages between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians in Indonesian society, it is also important to note that ethnicity and culture have been politicised again in more recent times. For example, the 1965 genocide (Cribb, 2001) is an exemplar of how conflict between indigenous Javanese and Chinese Indonesians is often manufactured to serve political agenda. Predating the resignation of Soekarno as the first president in 1965 and the subsequent killings of eleven of his loyalist generals, many Chinese Indonesians were targeted by local indigenous demonstrators. I acknowledge that the reasons for the suspicion held towards Chinese Indonesians were a long time in the making and animosity had been festering as a result of earlier historical developments such as those noted above. Scholars such as Cribb (2001) have argued that the historical views by indigenous Indonesians of Chinese Indonesians as dominating moneylenders and oppressive tax-farming agents central to the Dutch colonial project have persisted. After independence (1945-1965), many Chinese

Indonesians owned businesses that were perceived to afford this group considerable financial advantages over other groups. Further, Chinese Indonesians were perceived by many indigenous Indonesians as a driving force for socio-economic inequalities and the financial subjugation of groups such as the Javanese (Chua, 2004). It is estimated that more than 500,000 people[3], mostly those who allegedly supported the Indonesian Communist Party, were killed in subsequent acts of genocide (Cribb, 2001). Consequently, thousands of Chinese Indonesians moved abroad permanently in direct response to attacks on Chinese businesses and houses in major Indonesian cities (Cribb & Coppel, 2009).

As a direct response to the 1965 genocide, the government of the newly appointed President Soeharto (1966-1998) launched an infamous assimilation *(pembauran)* policy to suppress Chinese culture and ethnic identity (Hoon, 2006). This assimilation policy is particularly relevant for this study because it provides historical background to how tensions in national-level politics directly impact the everyday lives of many Chinese Indonesian people and their relationships with Javanese people. For example, the Cabinet Presidium 126 of 1966 ruled that all Indonesian citizens who use Chinese Indonesian names were required to change them for indigenous names. Chinese Indonesians who did not comply with these policies experienced difficulties when accessing public facilities, such as registering their children at public schools, applying for jobs in public organisations and purchasing private land (Lindsey, 2005). Briefly, the assimilationist policy in this authoritarian era shaped the predominant character of public space within many Indonesian institutions. As a result, many Chinese Indonesians came to affiliate more with the private sector as a means of avoiding prejudice and discrimination (Harjatanaya & Hoon, 2018; Lindsey, 2005). Many Chinese children were sent to private schools and their parents went to work for private companies (Harjatanaya & Hoon, 2018). The government also ruled that ethnicity *(suku)*, along with religion

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[3] The number of victims in the 1965 genocide has been subject of discussion for some time as a response to many publications that incorrectly claimed 500,000 Chinese Indonesians killed. Scholars have noted that although many Chinese Indonesians suffered greatly, the number of Chinese Indonesians killed is not fully substantiated (Cribb, 2001; Cribb & Coppel, 2009).

(agama) and race *(ras)* were forbidden topics, not to be discussed openly, including in academic settings (Van Klinken, 2003). This was because the government of the time believed that such discussions could drive division and threaten national stability. As such, contact zones between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians became more limited as indigenous Indonesians and Chinese Indonesians developed their own socio-spatial landscapes of everyday living.

Although Chinese Indonesians have been mingling in Indonesian society since the 14th century and have contributed to the independence of Indonesia as a diverse nation-state, the sentiments of indigenous *(pribumi)* and non-indigenous relations often place Chinese Indonesians in a marginal position as "the other" or strangers (Coppel, 2005). As exemplified in the more recent 1998 anti-Chinese Indonesian violence, indigenous and non-indigenous tensions that are evident in the narratives through which each group stories themselves and each other can be ignited and lead to inter-ethnic violence, including violent attacks on Chinese Indonesians (Purdey, 2006). Many demonstrators who demanded the resignation of President Soeharto attacked the Chinese Indonesian-owned business district in Glodok, Jakarta. In the process, thousands of Chinese Indonesian women were raped and killed, and the voices of such victims have been silenced within contemporary national discourse (Marching, 2007). At the same time, many non-Chinese residents put signs in front of their houses, saying 'Muslim-owned' (milik orang Islam), 'indigenous-owned' (milik orang pribumi), or 'Muslim-indigenous-owned' (milik orang pribumi muslim), to avoid being attacked themselves. As a consequence, Chinese Indonesian families who could afford to sought safety by moving to private housing enclaves or by migrating overseas. Many Chinese Indonesian families also now actively discourage their descendants from marrying indigenous Indonesians. As such, inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia, especially between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians, remain textured by inter-ethnic tensions and racial stereotypes.

Managing such inter-ethnic tensions without trying to assimilate difference is a central element of inclusive nation-building and inter-group harmony (see

Ward & Liu, 2012). In the Reformation Era (1998-present), further laws and presidential regulations were introduced to promote safe spaces for Chinese Indonesians. For example, under the administration of President Abdurrahman Wahid, all discriminatory regulations introduced under President Soeharto's administration (e.g., Presidential Decree 14 of 1967) were rescinded. Consequently, Chinese Indonesians can celebrate Chinese New Year openly, with Chinese New Year itself being treated as an optional national holiday after 2001 (Hoon, 2009). The government also allowed previously banned Chinese cultural expressions to be conducted in public spaces, including the lion and dragon festival, lantern festival, and Chinese cuisine and clothing is no longer prohibited. In 2003 President Megawati further contributed to inter-group harmony by making Chinese New Year a full national holiday. Under the administration of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004-2014), Act No 12/2006 on Citizenship Law recognised all Indonesian-born Chinese as full Indonesian citizens. In 2014, President Yudhoyono regulated to change the use of the term *Cina* (China), which is considered a derogatory term by many Chinese Indonesians, to *Tionghoa*[4]. In this way, we can see that public policy that is informed by understandings of inter-group relations can help set a stage in which more inclusive and harmonious inter-group relations can be cultivated in ways that enable Indonesians to navigate and work through inter-group tensions.

To add a little further complexity, it is also important to note that the issue of ethnicity in Indonesia often intersects with that of religion (Bertrand, 2004; Muluk et al., 2018). This is reflected in the signs put up by Muslim-owned businesses during times of trouble, when Islam is often used as a proxy for indigenous. Many inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia are also inter-religious (Mulia et al., 2005). As such, the present study considers religion as an important part of the cultural assemblages that partners bring into their marriages. With religion an important cultural element for many Indonesians (Muluk et al., 2018),

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[4] The term Tionghoa is derived from the Chinese phrase 'zhong hoa' (中華), which means Chinese people.

there are six official religions acknowledged by the government. Based on the 2010 national survey conducted by the National Statistical Bureau (2021), Islam is the largest official religion and constitutes approximately 87% of the population, followed by Protestant (8%), Catholicism (3%) and Hinduism (1%), whilst the remaining official religions such as Buddhism and Confucianism *(Konghucu)* constitute less than 1% of the total population. Consideration of the role of religion in the study of inter-ethnic relations in Indonesia follows previous research into inter-ethnic marriage globally. Scholars have noted a blurred demarcation if a particular inter-cultural tension experienced by the couples is caused by their ethnicity or religion (Karkabi-Sabbah, 2018; Sim, 2010; Zadrożna, 2015).

Whilst indigenous and non-indigenous narratives texture inter-ethnic relations between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians, recent scholarship has also begun to document the importance of context in the form of broader societal shifts. For example, prior studies have documented that stereotyping between Indonesians and Chinese Indonesians has persisted, but also appears to be waning in terms of prevalence (Herlijanto, 2019; Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020; Meyer & Waskitho, 2021; Setijadi, 2017). As noted by Kuntjara and Hoon (2020), the representation of Chinese-ness in Indonesia's public sphere is no longer taboo. There is "a glimpse of hope that there is now more space for inter-ethnic understanding to be cultivated rather than during in Soeharto era" (Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020, p. 214). The number of people practicing inter-ethnic marriage is now 10.7% of the total population (Utomo & McDonald, 2016) and younger generations tend to have more positive attitudes toward inter-ethnic marriage (Lyn et al., 2014). Scholars have also documented that people in Indonesia have ambivalent views towards inter-ethnic marriage between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians. For example, a relatively recent Indonesian National Survey (Setijadi, 2017) asked Indonesian *pribumi* to react to the statement: "It is inappropriate for native Indonesians to practice inter-ethnic marriage with Chinese Indonesians". Of the 1,620 respondents, 33.7% agreed, 35.8% disagreed, and 30.6% neither agreed nor disagreed. These changing attitudes offer further context for this qualitative

study of how inter-ethnic couples navigate such tensions between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians today.

Previous research into inter-ethnic marriages

Within the context of multicultural societies, many people from different socio-demographic backgrounds socialise and these interactions enable people to connect and forge relationships across ethnic groupings (Yeung & Mu, 2020). As such, inter-ethnic marriages are not only about affections, but also require the negotiation of cultural practices and the creation of shared hybrid cultural spaces (Lapanun, 2020; Luke & Luke, 1999). Many people engaged in such unions strive to learn to operate within different cultural settings and in accordance with norms of the other culture that their partner brings with them into their marriages (Chong, 2020; Yeung & Mu, 2020). The resulting points of synergy and tension around ways of being, cultural traditions and practices that are foundational to the construction of collective and personal identities can make participation in inter-ethnic marriages both rewarding and challenging (Kim et al., 2021). Scholars have responded to such complexities by investigating the consequences of practicing inter-ethnic marriages, not only for the couples themselves but also for those around them: parents, grandparents, descendants, neighbours and broader communities (Utomo, 2019; Yeung & Mu, 2020; Zhou, 2017).

The resulting body of research spans various disciplines, including psychology, sociology, anthropology, cultural studies, family studies, political sciences and human geography (Gaines et al., 2015; Kalmijn, 1998; Lee et al., 2017; Törngren et al., 2016; Utomo, 2019; Woesthoff, 2013). Such research includes foci on the causes and trends in inter-ethnic marriage (Jacobson & Heaton, 2008; Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2007), marital adjustments to cultural differences (Silva et al., 2012; Tili & Barker, 2015), the influence of national-level inter-group politics (Gaasbeek, 2013; Smits, 2010; Stevens & O'Hanlon, 2018), issues of social class and caste (Hou & Myles, 2013; Ida Bagus, 2008; Pinaud, 2016), and additional

socio-demographic factors, including education and the relative sizes of ethnic groups within broader populations (Furtado & Theodoropoulos, 2010; van Ours & Veenman, 2010).

In psychology in particular, scholarship on inter-ethnic marriage has focused primarily on the ways in which couples navigate stress and tensions in their marriages and engage in social bonding, and on levels of marital satisfaction and marital happiness (Cheng, 2010; Fu, 2006; McElroy-Heltzel et al., 2018). Scholars in this disciplinary area have also considered relational maintenance, effective counselling and therapy for inter-cultural couples, parental approval and processes of cultural humility (Bell & Hastings, 2015; Dainton, 2015; Leslie & Young, 2015; McElroy-Heltzel et al., 2018). Our discipline has featured in special issues of scholarly journals, including the *Journal of Social Issues,* which offer unique insights into inter-ethnic marriage, primarily within settings such as the United States (Gaines et al., 2015).

To recap, inter-ethnic marriage is a vast and complex topic that has been explored by various disciplines, including psychology, for quite some time (Frame, 2004; Gaines et al., 2015; McKenzie & Xiong, 2021; Roncarati et al., 2009). The remainder of this section provides a brief overview of key trends and findings from previous research to situate my present focus within the broader canon of existing scholarly knowledge. Specifically, a review of findings relating to how couples forge culturally hybrid lives together is central, as a key focal point for this doctoral research. I begin by briefly reviewing explanations for inter-ethnic marriages. I then discuss key trends in the research into how couples cultivate and navigate hybrid cultural lives. These first two subsections provide a basis for the next subsection where I discuss the prospective areas of investigation that have been acknowledged as necessary and have not yet been investigated substantively, which are key concerns for my present research. I argue the need for a more dynamic and multifaceted understanding of couples' everyday experiences of conducting inter-ethnic marriages.

Explanations for inter-ethnic marriages

Throughout the last few decades, scholars have endeavoured to document, explain and theorise various aspects of inter-ethnic marriage (Gaines et al., 2015; Kalmijn, 1998; Kim et al., 2021; Silva et al., 2012; Williams, 2010). This section offers a brief discussion of the three main clusters of research into inter-ethnic marriage whereby scholars focus on individuals and couples, on the social structures that shape their lives, and on both human agency and social structures. In discussing each cluster, I provide critical reflections on the relevance of these orientations to the complexity of inter-ethnic marriage in Indonesia and on the ways in which my thesis extends previous scholarship.

The first cluster of research investigates inter-ethnic marriages primarily from an individual-focused perspective (Bell et al., 2018; Fu et al., 2001; Lee et al., 2017). Primarily employing quantitative survey methods, this research asserts that personal attributes, such as personality traits, personal values, or the socio-economic backgrounds of the prospective partners play a central role in how they select partners from different ethnic groups and engage in inter-ethnic marriages (Fu, 2006; S. Lee et al., 2017). An important development of this cluster is the extension of the focus from individual attributes to the dyad (couple) and the key situational factors that partners bring to situations in their marriages within which they are interdependent (Gaines & Agnew, 2003).

Reflecting the centrality of personal attributes in selecting and conducting such marriages with partners from different ethnic group, scholars such as Lee and colleagues (2017) argue that particular personality traits such as openness to experience and conscientiousness are important features for inter-ethnic partner selection and union. These authors argue that personal traits such as openness to experience enable couples to engage in relationships with people from different ethnic backgrounds (Lee et al., 2017). Relatedly, the trait of conscientiousness is thought to enable individuals to be conscious of the feelings of their partners when managing inter-personal conflicts (Lee et al, 2017). Ahern and colleagues (1981), and Shibazaki and Brennan (1998) also foreground the importance of

traits, ranging from dominance, endurance and self-esteem, to aggression and deference in the conduct of inter-ethnic marriages.

As noted above, recent research has continued to focus on personal traits whilst extending the focus to the ways the traits which partners bring into the union relate to one another within the marriage dyad. For example, scholars have explored the importance of couples having similar familial values (Chebotareva & Volk, 2020). From research conducted within Russia, Chevotareva and Volk argue that, in general, inter-ethnic marriages work well when inter-ethnic couples prioritise and live-out universal human values, rather than ethnicity-based values. Central within this cluster of research is the notion of *social homophily*, which argues that inter-ethnic marriages can work well when the couples focus on their similarities as human beings, rather than their differences as enculturated or ethnic beings (see McPherson et al., 2001). Research into familial values in inter-ethnic families foregrounds the importance of the processes of enculturation through which different partners bring aspects of the value systems and religions within which they have been socialised into their inter-ethnic marriages. Central to this body of literature is interdependence theory (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978), which attests to the mutual influence by which couples affect each other's thoughts, feelings, and behaviour. As a social exchange-orientated theory, interdependence theory is seen by researchers in this area as a useful tool for exploring how inter-ethnic couples cognitively evaluate their influences toward partners in specific situations (Dainton, 2015; Gaines, et al, 2015). Such research extends the application of interdependence theory beyond a single cultural setting and into the context of inter-cultural settings. However, it remains unclear how cultural (both ethnic and religious) values manifest qualitatively in the everyday conduct of these marriages.

A key issue with quantitative research focused on the personal traits and cultural values of individuals and couples is that it focuses on internal mechanisms within the minds of individuals. However, this orientation pays less attention to the environments or broader social and cultural contexts within which these

individuals forge their relationships. Scholars in this area, for example, often focus on participants' perceptions of the costs and benefits of their marriages and in doing so reduce these unions to a crude form of social exchange (Domic & Philaretou, 2007; Moses & Woesthoff, 2019). Of particular interest is the development, maintenance and decay of relationships as the result of accumulation of transactional exchanges through which couples seek to balance the perceived costs of being in a relationship with their partners with the benefits of such unions (Nakonezny & Denton, 2008). From this perspective, inter-ethnic marriages are reduced to somewhat selfish undertakings that are linked to personal motivations, such as those related to social mobility whereby partners from lower-status ethnic groups can realise benefits in partnering with higher socio-economic or educational status people from other groups (Gündüz-Hoşgör & Smits, 2002; Kalmijn, 1993). In other words, the complexity of marital quality is reduced to a rational, self-serving, cognitive evaluation of the costs and rewards of the relationship. From this instrumentalist perspective, marital couples who receive favourable rewards and cost outcomes from each other are thought to be more likely to be satisfied with their marriages. Clearly, this perspective is overly simplistic. It reduces relationships to some kind of consciously mechanical trade-off between rewards and costs to individuals in a vacuum that does not include due consideration to the broader relational networks (extended family and community) within which these couples often reside (Nakonezny & Denton, 2008). Additionally, this orientation also has limitations in not addressing how such cognitive appraisals are informed by broader structural, relational, cultural, economic and political factors (Landor & Barr, 2018; Sabatelli et al., 2018). The present research considers how aspects of these broader relational contexts saliently texture inter-ethnic marriages between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians.

I do not wish to totally dismiss the orientation and findings from this first cluster of research. Rather, I simply wish to signal that despite the useful insights it can offer regarding personal traits, values and perceptions of costs and benefits

from these marriages, there are many other aspects to these relationships that also warrant further exploration.

Accordingly, the second cluster of research focuses on societal structures that influence the prevalence and success of inter-ethnic marriages (de Guzman & Nishina, 2017; Hill, 2018; Ware et al., 2015; Yeung & Mu, 2020). Central here is the conceptualisation of inter-ethnic marriages as impacted by broader social processes, including migration, national-level politics, and particular public policies (Pinaud, 2016). The focus on structural factors offers macro-level analysis of inter-ethnic marriage and, as a result, does not engage with the individual level concerns explored in the first cluster of research (Gaasbeek, 2013).

Hannemann and Kulu (2015), for example, offer a historical analysis of immigration policies in the United Kingdom since 1837, in the Victorian era, and the ways these policies drove an increase in the number of immigrants who practiced inter-ethnic marriages in the country. Focusing on such structural issues has proven useful particularly in comparing the trend of inter-ethnic marriage across generations (Roy & Hamilton, 1997) or across regions within a particular country (Roy & Hamilton, 2000). In contrast to the first individual-fixated cluster, macro-focused analyses offer explanations of how inter-ethnic marriages are also shaped by the broader structural systems that operate beyond individuals' control (Silva et al., 2012).

Whilst structural considerations are important, it is also important to consider the risk of structural determinism whereby we assume that particular policies, such as those surrounding migration, are the determining factors in shaping the prevalence and success of such marriages. In keeping with the theory of the conduct of everyday life, inter-ethnic marriage, which is the focus of this study, is not simply determined by structural factors (Schraube & Høijholt, 2016). Inter-ethnic couples also exercise human agency to select partners and conduct their marriages within the context of broader social structures, and along the way can bend structures to better reflect their own personal needs (Lyons & Ford,

2008; Williams, 2010). For example, Karkabi-Sabbah (2018) documents the efforts of Israeli and Palestinian couples 'breaking the barriers' (p. 192) of inter-group conflict by practicing inter-ethnic marriage. Karkabi-Sabbah argues that such inter-ethnic marriages reflect couples' agentive practices in breaking the stigma and the many institutionalised rules in society that encourage division between these groups. As such, a combined focus on both personal agency and social structural considerations is important to deepen research engagement with inter-ethnic marriage.

Correspondingly, the third cluster of research is anchored in the argument that research into inter-ethnic marriage needs to include both human agency and structural aspects (Klocker & Tindale, 2021; Raghunathan, 2021; Stevens & O'Hanlon, 2018). Central to this cluster of research is an assertion that individual or structural elements alone are not sufficient to understand such marriages (see Leslie & Young, 2015). For example, through an analysis of the challenges experienced by Indian women in Singapore, Raghunathan (2021) documents how Singapore's practice of ethnic categorisation of people into CMIO (Chinese, Malay, Indian and Others) and associated policies were evident in a tendency for Indian women to see themselves as being oppressed by the men they married from different groups. In the United States, recent research suggests that inter-ethnic marriage is influenced by immigration and public policies that often function as barriers to people marrying undocumented Latino/Latina immigrants (Schueths, 2015). These researchers, and others, speak of how societal-level politics around migration and who belongs affect marital dynamics at the inter-personal level where people work to find workarounds to avoid the more negative consequences of these policies (Lomsky-Feder & Leibovitz, 2009; Pinaud, 2016). Such insights into the dynamics of structure and agency are important to consider to extend our knowledge about inter-ethnic relationships and to highlight the intersection between inter-personal and inter-group relations.

The need to consider a dual focus on human agency and social structures in my research is particularly relevant in the Indonesian context. Previously,

scholars such as Utomo (2019) have documented the conduct of inter-ethnic marriages in Jakarta, which have required couples to engage in intensive interactions with the broader kinship networks and ethnic communities from which both partners originated. Utomo (2019) foregrounds the centrality of divergent cultural expectations and the importance of partners becoming re-socialised within their partner's cultural traditions and understanding the cultural expectations they face as a wife or husband, as well as the importance of learning to communicate with relatives in ways acceptable to them. This research raises the importance of considering how inter-ethnic marriages become entangled within often competing cultural expectations and associated everyday practices.

An example from inter-ethnic couples in Bali demonstrates the habitus change (Bourdieu, 2000)[5], such as when the Muslim Javanese family members have to visit an ancestral Hindu Bali centre to *nunas tirdha,* or request blessings from the ancestors (Ida Bagus, 2008). This author reflects on how Balinese Hindu-informed practices, such as *nunas tirdha* become important aspects of Muslim Javanese partners' conduct of everyday lives as well (Ida Bagus, 2008). Elements such as cultural expectations (Utomo, 2019) and changing habitus (Ida Bagus, 2008) are crucial considerations for further investigation, including my own, into the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia.

Couples navigating inter-cultural tensions: What we know so far

International research demonstrates extensive efforts to document various ways in which couples navigate inter-cultural tensions in their marriages (Cheng, 2010; Sharaievska et al., 2017; Silva et al., 2012; Tili & Barker, 2015). Central to my exploration of this literature is the shift from a primary focus on negative aspects

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[5] Habitus refers to shared social practices or ways of conducting oneself within particular groups of people (Bourdieu, 2000). Habitus encompasses enactments of shared values, tastes and expectations within groups and is associated with collective identities. It is a central concept for explaining how key elements of broader social formations and society are socialised into the dispositions and ways of conducting oneself that feature within particular groups.

of these marriages and associated cultural tensions to more positive aspects of such marriages and the ways in which couples agentively navigate key tensions (Djurdjevic & Girona, 2016; Klocker & Tindale, 2021; Leslie & Young, 2015). This leads to further consideration of links between previous research and my own doctoral study.

Research into inter-ethnic marriage has focused primarily on the challenges that often accompany such unions (Abramson, 1971; Gaines et al., 2015; Porterfield, 1978; Woesthoff, 2013). Taking a slightly deeper look into tensions often (though not always) surrounding inter-ethnic marriage more broadly, research has identified a tendency towards depicting such marriages in negative terms — as inappropriate (Duck & VanderVoort, 2002), prohibited (Roncarati et al., 2009), challenging (Woesthoff, 2013), inherently difficult to maintain (Domic & Philaretou, 2007), unstable (Bratter & King, 2008), problematic (Troy et al., 2016), and constraining (Choi & Tienda, 2017). Engaging with the complexities surrounding inter-ethnic marriage, scholars have even produced a continuum of inter-ethnic marriage inappropriateness that features three primary categories, namely the unconventional, the disapproved and the forbidden (Goodwin & Cramer, 2002).

Research in this area has been shaped heavily by the assumption that inter-ethnic marriage is difficult because of inherent ethnic differences between partners (Roncarati et al., 2009), language barriers (Usita & Poulsen, 2003), child-rearing disagreements (Frame, 2004), differences in communication styles (Tili & Barker, 2015), social policy barriers (Schueths, 2015) and social network disapproval (Bell & Hastings, 2015). Such research does foreground many of the important issues that can come with complex relationships involving persons from different cultures. However, many inter-ethnic marriages also thrive and researchers are increasingly recognising the need to pay more attention to the positive potential that often comes with such relationships (Yun, 2015). We need to find out more about how people come to navigate the complexities involved on a daily basis when striving to create lives together.

Whilst it is also important to consider positive aspects of inter-ethnic marriages, as I will do in this thesis, it is also important to emphasise that previous research into problems in these marriages has had positive practice implications. The direct impact of the focus on the, at times, challenging nature of inter-ethnic marriage is the growing body of knowledge that explores couples' strategies to cope with the stress that has resulted from such marriages (Bell et al., 2018; Lee et al., 2017; Tili & Barker, 2015). This body of knowledge also informs counselling practices and reflects the key focus on cognitive processes and inter-personal skills drawn on by partners to manage and resolve particular tensions. Tili and Barker (2015), for example, highlight the need for couples to have and utilise inter-cultural skills, such as the ability to communicate and negotiate inter-cultural tensions with their partners, which can be enhanced by cultivating growth mindsets through self-awareness, open-mindedness, mindfulness, showing respect to partners and self-disclosure. Similarly, Bell and colleagues (2018) focus on the importance for couples to be understanding and forgiving, and to practice benevolence towards their partners to make the marriages work. This body of knowledge is particularly important for many practitioners dealing with inter-ethnic couples experiencing conflict and relationship problems (Leslie & Young, 2015).

What is missing from such literature is due consideration of how these marriages are often being conducted within the context of the ongoing inter-ethnic tensions, power imbalances, racism and discrimination which are associated with broader relational networks (Karkabi-Sabbah, 2018; Raghunathan, 2021). This is why research can benefit from broadening the focus from the couples themselves to include their wider relationships with the broader family networks and communities that the partners bring with them into these marriages (Zhou, 2017). As well as considering negative aspects associated with interactions with extended families, the present study also considers how participants navigate tensions and understand the positive dynamics and benefits of their marriages.

This focus on both the tensions and opportunities that come with inter-ethnic marriage is also timely given that recent studies reveal trends towards the increasing prevalence of such marriages globally (Gaines et al., 2015; Lee & Bean, 2004; Rosenfeld, 2008). Accompanying the increasing prevalence of inter-ethnic marriages is an increasing focus on the positive aspects of these unions (Djurdjevic & Girona, 2016; Kuramoto, 2017; Yun, 2015). For example, in a recent study of Korean-Caucasian couples in the United States, Yun (2015) argued that, *just like other couples,* successful inter-ethnic marriages feature positive characteristics. These include shared efforts to focus on commonalities, realising that they have many differences that are not restricted to culture and can be managed, and accepting that their union is in many respects unique to them. Couples participating in Yun's (2015) study revealed that they possess several relational strengths. These included tolerant attitudes towards difference, a depth of self-knowledge, resistance to cultural hierarchy and the practice of marital mutuality such as having equal household labour contributions and power in making decisions. Likewise, from a study of inter-ethnic marriages between Japanese and foreign residents in Japan, Kuramoto (2017) found that couples often became good at *kuuki wo yomu* (reading air). This is a typical Japanese expression that refers to the ability to sense the temperature, emotions and atmosphere of the relationship and to decide accordingly what to say, how to say it and whether to say something or not. These studies are essential for reminding us of the positive potentials in inter-ethnic marriages and the abilities of partners to understand their situations in complex ways and to work to achieve some harmony in their lives together.

Throughout this thesis, I argue for the need to document the ways in which couples conduct their inter-ethnic partnerships day-to-day. Everyday life is complex in the sense that various facets of social life come together and intersect (Schraube & Højholt, 2016). Focusing on day-to-day conduct requires us to approach inter-ethnic marriages as a process in which couples develop tactics to render their marriages more habitable as relational spaces. Research into inter-

ethnic marriage that is context-specific, considers broader social structures such as national-level politics and focuses on the actual hybrid practices is limited (Klocker & Tindale, 2021; Raghunathan, 2021). This research aims to fill this gap by focusing on both the tensions and the positive aspects of these marriages as these emerge out of the relational, spatial, material and cultural contexts within which participating couples reside. Central here is a focus on the material-psychological practices or actions that assist the couples to navigate tensions that emerge not solely from partners' traits or personal differences, but also the broader familial and community relations (Raghunathan, 2021). In the subsequent section, I discuss the specific areas to be explored in the present research into inter-ethnic marriage: the issues of places and mobilities.

Inter-ethnic marriages, places and mobilities

Reflecting the realisation that inter-ethnic marriages are emplaced and occur somewhere, recent studies have paid attention to the centrality of place (Karkabi-Sabbah, 2018; McKenzie & Xiong, 2021). This thesis is also informed by scholarship on the social psychology of place that considers the everyday entanglements of persons, various social practices and particular places (Cresswell, 2006; Hodgetts, Sonn, et al., 2020). For social and community psychologists working in this area, places comprise much more than activity settings or backdrops to human experience (Hodgetts, Sonn, et al., 2020; O'Donnell et al., 1993). Places can be inclusive and central to social inclusion, connection, relational practices, enactments of culture and the cultivation of shared practices. Places can also exclude, intensify divisions and carry inequitable enactments of power (Dixon & Durrheim, 2004). Further, activities conducted within particular places are also entangled within broader social structures that shape their use and what is considered appropriate (Dreier, 2016; Li et al., 2010). For example, religious systems are reproduced through the actions of persons in mosques or churches and in the commerce that is enacted within markets. Despite particular places being central to the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages,

the dynamics of place-making and habitation have not featured prominently in research into such unions (Lomsky-Feder & Leibovitz, 2009; Pinaud, 2016; Rahnu et al., 2020; Sharaievska et al., 2017). Sharaievska and colleagues (2017), for example, have documented how visiting public places is used as a key strategy for couples to manage stress in their households and to foster marital satisfaction. Such locales (destinations) and associated shared practices can be seen as part of the everyday landscapes across which these marriages are conducted (see Hodgetts & Stolte, 2016). By visiting parks, for example, couples can repurpose these locales to serve their needs for connection and shared leisure.

In extending the current research into inter-ethnic marriage through spatial analyses, I also consider the concept of mobility and how couples move between particular places in the conduct of their everyday lives. Recent scholarship in family studies has also started to consider issues of urban mobility or movements across cityscapes that weave together various locales into landscapes for the conduct of everyday family life (Holdsworth, 2013; Jensen et al., 2015), documenting associations between particular places and practices, combinations of these and expressions of affection among family members (Jensen et al., 2015), the easing of tensions (Hall & Holdsworth, 2016), and establishing familiarity and a sense of shared routine (Murray & Doughty, 2016). Additionally, Jensen (2010) discusses the concept of *negotiation in motion*, which offers a unique way to consider issues of mobility and the importance of journeys between particular locales that link these into broader familial bonding events. Current scholarship in the area of inter-ethnic marriage, although not placing mobility as its focus, includes detailed accounts of the ways couples often move between many places, such as when visiting in-laws in other countries (Grinëv, 2018), and driving to workplaces (Sha, 2020). Further, within the context of inter-ethnic marriages in post-war countries, couples are often forced to move to other houses or boarding houses for safety (Pinaud, 2016; Woesthoff, 2013). Zhou (2017) provides an account of how inter-ethnic couples in China frequently move between rural and urban areas several times a week to make their lives more liveable. The author

argues that such mobility is crucial, enabling the family to work on their dream to become affluent. Such examples shed light on the centrality of mobilities in everyday life as means not only to connect locales but also as ways to access complex spaces where many other issues such as social class, places, ethnicities and associated inequalities are entangled (Djurdjevic & Girona, 2016). Through this research, I seek to document how participating couples conduct their lives together within and across various locales. I am interested in how particular places and the objects that populate these are employed by couples in the conduct of their lives within and across domestic and more public urban settings.

Previously, scholars have documented how inter-ethnic couples have complex experiences when accessing various domestic and public urban settings (Klocker & Tindale, 2021; Raghunathan, 2021; Sha, 2020). Discussing the experiences of inter-ethnic couples in Australia, Klocker and Tindale (2021) talk about how Asian women tend to have different phenomenological experiences in the practice of mundane acts such as walking in the city depending on whether they walk alone, with a White partner, or walk as a family unit in a Western cultural setting. For example, for a Chinese woman, walking alone in a predominantly White area generally casts her in the stereotype of an Asian as an outsider, tourist, visitor, poor person, or person with a lack of English skills. Walking with a White partner with a visibly different physical appearance to her, on the other hand, casts her as a gold digger, prostitute, or visa seeker, while walking with third culture children whose physical appearances differ from Asian, often casts her in the stereotype of an adoptive mother, a nanny or maid (Klocker & Tindale, 2021). Such research, and that of others (Raghunathan, 2021; Sha, 2020), provides useful explanations for inter-ethnic marriage as a space that combines multiple distinct elements such as ethnicity and associated stereotypes, gender, social class and so forth that are fluid and exchangeable, to form an assemblage (DeLanda, 2006/2019).

A focus on place and everyday objects is important for the study of inter-ethnic marriages because when people conduct their lives together, they not only

do so within and across particular locales, but also through the use of particular everyday and culturally significant material objects (Falicov, 2001; Kim et al., 2021; Sha, 2020). Researchers have invoked the importance of places and objects in experiences of tension in inter-ethnic marriages. Examples given include how the practice of sending money to parents in a migrant's home country can cause inter-cultural tensions in marriages (McKenzie & Xiong, 2021; Sha, 2020). Money is a material object that researchers have associated with inter-cultural marital tensions because different cultural groups often have different ways of understanding and using money (Kim et al., 2021). These recent explorations of the use of money in inter-ethnic marriages suggest that money and related material objects are central to how couples express affection and mutual responsibility towards each other (Lapanun, 2020). Money is a multifaceted, key everyday object that I consider in some detail in Chapter Five. Scholars have long argued that particular objects can invoke feelings of nostalgia, love and affection, and familiarity through shared ritualistic uses or practices involving the use of those objects (Avieli, 2009). The use of objects is also associated with efforts to create rhythm in the conduct of everyday life (Blue, 2019; Latour, 2005).

More broadly, previous social psychological research has documented how simple everyday acts using objects can offer insights into the complex processes of identity construction and cultural connection (Cassim et al., 2015; Graham et al., 2016; Li et al., 2010). Li and colleagues (2010), for example, explored how gardening assists Chinese migrant women in New Zealand to reconstruct and establish their senses of self in the period of transition between their lives in the home and adopted countries. Emplaced acts such as creating a vegetable garden from raw land, removing rocks, seeding the land, watering and fertilising the plants help migrant participants to recreate and reconnect with some of cultural aspects of their lives. Taking another example, Graham and colleagues (2016) explore how, within the context of inter-ethnic families, material objects such as a grandmother's cookbook function as social actors that connect memories and sensations associated with cooking a particular dish and in doing so, recreate the

sense of affection and warmth among family members. A focus on key material objects such as money and family cookbooks can offer material ways of exploring further nuances in how couples experience and manage inter-cultural tensions and create culturally hybrid spaces within which they not only manage their finances but also find tactics to achieve shared goals and harmony in life (Djurdjevic & Girona, 2016).

Key concepts in research into inter-ethnic marriage

This section discusses key concepts that provide the conceptual basis for the present research. We begin with a brief discussion about the use of inter-ethnic marriage as the primary concept. Such discussion is important because research into inter-ethnic marriage often use different terms to refer to such marriages. I then delve deeper into various concepts frequently discussed in the literature on inter-ethnic marriage, such as assimilation, cultural hybridity, the third space (Bhabha, 1994), liminal spaces (Gennep, 1909/1960; Turner, 1987) and the intimate sphere (Alexander, 2013; Djurdjevic & Girona, 2016; Klocker, 2014).

Research into inter-ethnic marriage globally often employs different terminology to conceptualise such marriages. Terms include exogamy, inter-racial marriage, mixed marriage, dual heritage household, outgroup marriage, transnational marriage, inter-cultural marriage, and inter-ethnic marriage (Graham et al., 2016; Kaplan & Herbst-Debby, 2018; Kim et al., 2021; Piatkowska et al., 2020; Rosenfeld, 2008). This variability in the terms used emerges from the different standpoints adopted within particular studies or traditions. For example, scholars adopting the term exogamy focus on the social boundaries between groups whereby exogamous marriage refers to persons with partners from outside a given group (Rosenfeld, 2008; Still & Loftus, 2016). A more prevalent term, specifically within the context of the United States, is inter-racial marriage. Scholars using this term give centrality to marriages between different races in the US (Bland, 2017; de Guzman & Nishina, 2017; Hou & Myles, 2013). More neutral terms are mixed marriage and inter-cultural marriage, whereby scholars

emphasise that such marriages not only focus on ethnicity or race but also other axes of difference, including religion, class, gender and place (Kaplan & Herbst-Debby, 2018; Sharaievska et al., 2017). For the purpose of this thesis, I have opted to use the term inter-ethnic marriage because of the nature of Indonesia as an ethnically diverse country, including the Javanese and Chinese Indonesian ethnic groups from which the thesis is developed (Meyer & Waskitho, 2021). The use of inter-ethnic marriage is also consistent with the emerging scholarship in ethnic studies, especially works that have been published in post-authoritarian era in Indonesia (Ananta et al., 2013, 2015; Arifin et al., 2015; Buttenheim & Nobles, 2009; Hoon, 2006; Meyer & Waskitho, 2021; Trajano, 2010; Van Klinken, 2003).

International research into inter-ethnic marriage primarily features the concept of *assimilation* (Alba & Nee, 2009; Gordon, 1964; Hoon, 2006; Kim, 2007; Lee et al., 1974; Qian & Lichter, 2001, 2007; Wu et al., 2015). Assimilation-orientated scholars argue that inter-ethnic marriages are *the output* of low social boundaries between members of different ethnic groups, whereby group members no longer perceive ethnic distinctions or cultural differences as barriers to marriage (Lee et al., 1974; Qian & Lichter, 2007). This line of reasoning has existed in psychology for some time. For example, in theorising the concept of social distance, Bogardus (1925) argues that acceptance of inter-ethnic marriage is a signal that there is weak social and cultural distance between groups. Within the broader social sciences, classic assimilation theorists conceptualise inter-ethnic marriage as the final stage of assimilation processes (Gordon, 1964). Primarily drawing on quantitative analyses with large datasets, scholars seek to interpret macro-level trends in inter-ethnic marriage globally (Qian & Lichter, 2007; Wu et al., 2015). Whilst macro-level explanations of inter-ethnic marriage globally are useful to inform understanding of macro trends in ethnic formations across countries (Hannemann & Kulu, 2015; Qian & Lichter, 2007), they have limitations in terms of understanding the nuances involved in the actual everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages (see Holzkamp, 2016).

In explaining inter-ethnic marriage, scholars have also shown that the lived experiences of inter-ethnic couples are more complex and dynamic than often represented in large-scale studies (Wilkins, 2004; Yodanis et al., 2012). Often missed is due consideration for how many people practicing inter-ethnic marriage report doing so because they are in favour of and actively seeking difference in prospective partners (Yodanis et al., 2012). Drawing on the notion of *affiliative ethnic identities*, or a trend whereby "individuals are no longer confined to their own ethnic ancestry in forming an ethnic identity" (Jiménez, 2010, p. 2), Yodanis and colleagues (2012) argue that many people nowadays opt to practice inter-ethnic marriage to learn a new culture and its norms, customs and traditions. Adding further complexity to discussions of these issues, Wilkins (2004) documents what is referred to in derogatory terms as the 'Puerto-Rican wannabe' (p. 103). Such 'wannabes' are predominantly young White people in the United States who form partnerships with people of colour who are stereotypically valued highly within their own peer groups. It has also been argued that some people practicing inter-ethnic marriage do so to demonstrate their own racial superiority (Edgar, 2007). In short, whilst group boundaries are an important element in explaining inter-ethnic marriage, also important are subcultural trends and personal predispositions.

Reflecting on the dynamics in inter-ethnic marriages, scholars such as Graham and colleagues (2016) also discuss the concept of *re-membering* in relation to how different partners reproduce values and practices from their own cultural traditions within hybrid marriage spaces. The concept of re-membering expands notions of remembering beyond the cognitive processes of recollection and into an active agentive space whereby people re-member themselves or reproduce their membership (often in modified forms) of their cultures of origin. As such the term refers to the material, spatial and embodied practices that reproduce aspects of culture, tradition and group membership (Pickering & Keightley, 2013). Common examples of re-membering include cooking a favourite dish that one might have cooked with a parent or grandparent in order to mark a

cultural or religious event and in doing so reproducing one's sense of connection to that person and the cultural tradition they represent. As such, one's memories of being a family and community member within a particular tradition in one's past can be brought into the present in a manner that offers some continuity of self (Graham et al., 2016). Central here is the re-enactment of cooking practices that often involve the use of particular material objects, including old recipe books, particular ingredients and tools. The practice often provides a sense of re-engagement with one's culturally patterned traditions (Lévi-Strauss, 1983). This material, spatial and embodied nature of social practices within the conduct of inter-ethnic marriages is central to how people connect themselves through domestic acts to broader socio-cultural traditions, which I also demonstrate in my thesis.

Central to this discussion of such dynamic practices of re-membering and the cultural exchanges that often come with them is the concept of *cultural hybridity.* Bhabha (1994) asserted that through a process of cultural hybridity two cultural systems come to intersect and form the *third space* that draws from both original traditions and combines various aspects of these in dynamic ways. Central to Bhabha's initial formulation of cultural hybridity are the power relations between colonising and colonised groups which shape inequities within the third encounter space whereby one tradition dominates or assimilates another. By focusing on the power imbalance between the colonisers and colonised, the concept of cultural hybridity is useful in orientating scholars to the power dynamics at work in the construction of shared cultural spaces between groups (Bhabha, 1994). As such, cultural hybridity is a useful concept to inform explorations of inter-cultural issues of domination and power imbalance, particularly within multicultural countries such as Indonesia with histories of inter-ethnic conflict (Hoon, 2017).

Whilst the concept of cultural hybridity has proven useful in research into colonisation and inter-group relations (Ratele, 2006; Steyn, 2005), scholars have also identified a number of limitations with its initial conceptualisation. For

instance, the concept of cultural hybridity tends to be used to explain issues of macro-level cultural fusion, including those pertaining to music and popular culture, linguistic trends and the arts, whilst overlooking more micro-level aspects of cultural engagement and mundane everyday practices (Kraidy, 2005; O'Connor, 2018). As a response, scholars have called for more nuanced research focused on the actual conduct of hybridity within everyday life (Ang, 2001; O'Connor, 2018; Tate, 2017). For example, in advocating for developing the importance of ordinary hybridity, Ang (2001) pays specific attention to the need to explore the ways Chinese Indonesians adjust to and think about their hybrid lives with non-Chinese Indonesians. This thesis shares a similar concern and focuses on the conduct of Javanese and Chinese Indonesian couples within a broader social milieu that features considerable cultural hybridisation.

Another concept that informs my understanding of the dynamics in inter-ethnic marriages is *liminal space*, which overlaps with the concept of third space. Liminal space refers to an encounter space that is the setting for dialogue and negotiation and is created between people through social interaction (Gennep, 1909/ 1960; Turner, 1987). Liminal spaces feature difference and people's efforts to understand and bridge such differences. Such spaces can be approached as thresholds between cultures that take form through the interactions of the people located there (Ali & Sonn, 2010). These are often culturally transformative and hybridising spaces through which people can learn about others, grow, change and at times can produce hyphenated identities that draw on more than their own cultural traditions of origin. The concept of liminality is widely used to inform the investigations of interactions across cultural boundaries that are central to studies of cultural dynamism and change, indigeneity, the dynamics of ethnicity, and processes of migration and resettlement (Lindqvist, 2018; Lyons & Ford, 2008; Rollock, 2012; Vesala & Tuomivaara, 2018).

Research into inter-ethnic marriages also features the notion of *intimate sphere,* or a private zone where inter-ethnic couples forge lives together that feature cultural hybridity (Alexander, 2013; Djurdjevic & Girona, 2016; Kalmijn,

1993; Klocker, 2014; Moses & Woesthoff, 2019). In some research this concept has become a proxy for the inter-ethnic marriage space (Kalmijn, 1993; Moses & Woesthoff, 2019). For example, Klocker (2014) as well as Moses and Woesthoff (2019) mention the intimate sphere of inter-ethnic marriage as a neglected zone in the research into inter-ethnic relations. The authors argue that discussion of ethnic relations tends to focus on the ethnic communities themselves rather than the inter-ethnic couples (Djurdjevic & Girona, 2016).

In this thesis, I argue that the intimate sphere of inter-ethnic marriage is both psychological, in the sense that it involves human perception and interaction, and material, in that these unions take place somewhere (Burkitt, 2004) and involve the use of particular material objects and social practices (Simmel, 1900/1978). This orientation is informed by Simmel's (1900/1978) seminal conceptualisation of the intimate sphere as a key site for socio-cultural reproduction and innovation. In keeping with the position of Simmel and other scholars noted above, I seek to extend the conceptualisation of the intimate spheres of inter-ethnic couples by considering various materialities and associated everyday practices.

Conceptual contributions from Wilhelm Wundt, Marie Jahoda and Klaus Holzkamp

Prior to discussing the research approach taken in this thesis, it is useful for me to also position my PhD within the discipline of psychology more broadly. As a global discipline, psychology continues to evolve and diversify to encompass a range of epistemological, ontological, ethical, theoretical and methodological perspectives and applications. As such, this section touches on the historiographies of three key historical figures who have influenced the development of the discipline in general and this thesis in particular. All three exemplify different seminal points of engagement with pressing social psychological or societal issues. More specifically, I briefly consider Wilhem Wundt's *Völkerpsychologie*, Marie Jahoda's immersive scholarship, and Klaus

Holzkamp's social psychology of the conduct of everyday life. Each draws on an orientation towards the everyday and shares a similar interest in understanding the implications of shared societal or cultural structures and macro-level experiences and actions. These approaches offer useful touchstones for situating my thesis within the international project that is psychology today. They also provide useful reference points for articulating aspects of my understanding of the development of psychology as a discipline in Indonesia. In short, it is through reference to these seminal scholars that I situate my own eclectic approach to this PhD thesis from within the Indonesian context.

There are many ways to open the discussion about the histories of psychology. Following Brinkmann (2015), I have opted to start by making a distinction between psychology as a science and psychology as implicit human conduct. The latter necessitates a reflexive understanding of one's own position as an enculturated being and scholar in relation to others. Although the conception of psychology as a science is relatively new in terms of world history, it is important to note that concerns with the conduct of life and efforts to make sense of it are as old as human existence (Hodgetts et al., 2020). Different communities of human beings have been seeking to understand the issues of life and what it means to be a person in relation to others for a very long time prior to the development of a systematic science of the mind and human interaction. As Ebbinghaus (1908) noted over a century ago, psychology is a discipline with a long past and a short history. The term 'short history' is often dated to 1889 when Wilhelm Wundt established an experimental and physiological psychology laboratory. The 'long past' refers to the time when psychology was a branch of philosophy and religion, as is evident in ancient texts including the Vedas (Hodgetts et al., 2020). This version of our discipline's historical account is what is normatively transmitted to scholars across generations in introductory psychology courses and textbooks (e.g., Brennan & Houde, 2017; Weiten, 2021), in which Wundt is recognised as 'the founder of modern psychology' for his effort to introduce the scientific method via experimental psychology. As a result, the rich

era prior to 1889 is often overlooked and simply seen as 'the pre-modern history' of psychology (Farr, 1991).

Whilst setting the groundwork for the experimentalist approach to psychology is indeed one of Wundt's biggest achievements, to associate him only with experimental psychology is to dismiss his comprehensive efforts to develop a more phenomenologically-based social science orientated approach to psychology (Danziger, 1994). Crudely, from the perspective of British empiricism many introductory texts dismiss this phenomenological work as simply 'introspection' and inherently subjective and unscientific. However, scholars of the history of psychology who pose more historically situated understandings of our discipline have documented how throughout his career, Wundt maintained a balance between his two approaches to psychology: as *naturwissenschaften* (natural science) and *geisteswissenschaften* (social science) (Danziger, 1994; Diriwächter, 2004). Taking the former approach, Wundt investigated physiological phenomena in the laboratory setting. Taking the latter, Wundt investigates the social psychological phenomena which also inform my thesis. Wundt positions each approach as a complementary half, rather than as competing approaches to the discipline (Danziger, 1979). For Wundt, psychology as a natural science is characterised by causality and Newtonian physics and involves hypo-deductive methods. For Wundt, each approach tackles different issues, requires different methods or modes of operation, produces different results that are equally valuable, and needs to be understood from different conceptual or philosophical standpoints (Danziger, 1994). My primary concern in this research is with *Völkerpsychologie.* My consultations with native German-speaking colleagues (including Dr Amanda Young-Hauser) inform me that the term *Völkerpsychologie* is difficult to translate precisely from German to English. The term refers to "a kind of social psychology based on historical, ethnographic, and comparative analysis of human cultural products, especially language, myth, and custom" (Danziger, 1994, p. 37).

Wundt's lesser-known approach, *Völkerpsychologie*, is paid little attention in the official histories presented in introductory psychology texts that privilege his *naturwissenchaften* approach. However, *Völkerpsychologie* is equally important to discuss because it stimulates the development of later research traditions focused on the psychology of culture and everyday life (Diriwächter, 2004). The term *Völkerpsychologie* was originally coined by Wilhelm van Humboldt and developed further by Moritz Lazarus and Heinrich Stienthal (1860). It focuses on the role of community *(gemeinschaft)* in shaping human thought and action. Scholars adopting *Völkerpsychologie* propose that ideas do not emerge from individuals as lone thinkers or rational human calculators (information processors) alone (Diriwächter, 2004). It was proposed a century or more before recent developments in discursive social representations and narrative psychologies that personal ideas are often derivative of collective ideas. These share meaning frames or understandings and are socially and culturally constructed and often passed down in modified forms through generations through processes of socialisation and enculturation. In many respects, they comprise communal or community efforts to understand the world and are often tested and modified through ongoing human interactions and in light of situational changes, for example.

In his seminal work on *Völkerpsychologie*, Wundt developed his own take on this line of reasoning by dividing collective ideas into the areas of custom, language, myth and morality. In doing so, he develops an early collectivist psychology of culture. As Wundt (1915) asserts:

> …we can say that these factors [language, myth, and customs] and their development in relation to humans are joined under the general term of culture, so that in this regard Völkerpsychologie and the psychology of culture (Psychologie der Kultur) are equivalent terms/concepts (Begriffe). (p. 57)

Wundt's efforts to develop *Völkerpsychologie* reflect an early recognition in psychology of the need to understand human beings as cultural beings by considering the communal contexts within which human thoughts and actions are

shaped. By engaging with complex phenomena such as customs, myth, language and morality, Wundt demonstrated how taking context into consideration is crucial to understanding human subjectivities, ways of being and related everyday practices. Although Wundt did not explicitly mention socio-political upheavals or socially engaged research and concepts such as praxis in his ten volumes of *Völkerpsychologie*, it is clear that the work he did prior to developing his *naturwissenschaften* (experimentalism) was more sophisticated than is often asserted in introductory textbooks that reduce his *Völkerpsychologie*, phenomenological approach (Diriwächter, 2004) and complex metaphysical understanding of science (Lindzey & Aronson, 1985) to mere introspection (Danziger, 1980).

While Wundt's comprehensive efforts to develop these two approaches to psychology are useful for pointing to the need for continuing with a plurality of approaches in psychology, most of Wundt's students built their own work upon his *naturwissenschaften* approach. When bringing German psychology to countries such as the United States, Wundt's students emphasised an experimentalist psychology based narrowly on the philosophically problematic positivism of British empiricism (Farr, 1991). For example, experimentalists such as Ebinghauss and Kauss did not see the same limitations of experimental methods as Wundt did when grappling with issues of human perception and meaning-making. These students believed that there were no limits to the topics that could be explored through well-designed experiments (Danziger, 1979). Subsequently, the development of psychological knowledge in the United States was dominated by investigations within the limits of controlled experimental conditions. The domination of experimentalism led to the emergence of the behaviourist approach that dominated psychology as an emerging discipline in the United States for five decades from the 1920s (O'Neil, 1995). Correspondingly, hegemonic histories of the discipline are largely written through a British empiricist lens and describe the discipline as a branch of the natural sciences (Watson, 1913). Relatedly, more community and phenomenologically-orientated approaches, such

as *Völkerpsychologie* were largely neglected in the US context, treated as inferior, secondary efforts or written out of disciplinary histories (Cahan & White, 1992).

There are of course exceptions to such disciplinary trends and the development of more collectivist or communally orientated approaches did continue after Wundt (Hodgetts et al., 2020). For example, in the early to mid-1900s major upheavals, such as the great depression and world wars, became pressing social crises that demanded responses from social psychologists that required more nuanced understandings of group processes. Many socially engaged psychologists were concerned by the experiences of people negatively impacted by these upheavals and worked to develop practical knowledge that could be employed to respond to societal needs across complex and diverse settings (Hodgetts et al., 2020). Many efforts broke from the empiricist emphasis on the need for psychologists to be value-free, objective and enact scientific neutrality through a methodological overreliance on ever more complex statistical modelling (Andreouli & Figgou, 2019). Groups of social psychologists felt that they could not neglect the societal challenges that were occurring outside the laboratory (Danziger, 1994) and this contributed to the formation of groups such as that led by Goodwin Watson and others in the United States, including the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (Hodgetts et al., 2020).

During the 1930s a group of social psychologists in Northern Europe who were educated in the broader foundations of the discipline and familiar with Wundt's *Völkerpsychologie* developed their own collectivist, community-engaged and overtly emancipatory approaches to addressing societal upheavals and injustices. For example, the Austrian social psychologist Marie Jahoda criticised the British empiricist disciplinary orthodoxies of the day and called for psychologists to engage in documenting and addressing the hardships that many people were facing within community settings. Jahoda and her team conducted a study in Marienthal in Austria by immersing themselves in the local community (Jahoda et al., 1933/1971). In doing so, these scholar activists painted a detailed portrait of everyday life of a community experiencing systemic unemployment

that still informs present-day understandings of how people experience and respond to poverty and hardship (Hodgetts et al., 2017).

A central aspect of the Marienthal project was to engage cooperatively and work *with* particular communities to document their experiences and find solutions to the concerns local people raised. This was seen a preferable approach to the dominant psychology of the time that focused on conducting research *on* 'subjects' in experimental settings that were far removed from the upheavals of the time. The immersive approach showcased by Jahoda and colleagues (1933/1971) is widely regarded as an early manifestation of what would come to be known as community psychology (Fryer, 2008; Rutherford et al., 2011), which also reflects many aspects of Wundt's *Völkerpsychologie* psychology (Hodgetts & O' Doherty, 2019).

After World War II, disciplinary tensions arose again, particularly in the United States, between those aligned with the physical and those aligned with the social science approaches to psychology (Herman, 2020). For example, in the 1960s tension arose about the relevance of the discipline to addressing pressing societal issues and engaging with the everyday lived experiences of human beings. In the 1970s these tensions manifested in what was termed the 'crisis in social psychology' (Gergen, 1994/2012). Discussions about this crisis talked about how much of the psychological research of the time had little social relevance (Silverman, 1971; Smith, 1973), lacked direction and vision (Elms, 1975), relied overly on hypothetical abstractions and statistical methods (Boulding, 1980), was overly focused on individuals or lonely thinkers (Pepitone, 1976; Steiner, 1974), was culturally and ethnocentrically relative to affluent White America (Brandt, 1970), demonstrated limited theoretical sophistication beyond crude causal models (Cartwright, 1979), and ignored etic and emic tensions in the interpretation of research findings (Triandis et al., 1973). In short, this crisis was multifaceted but centred on the issue of social relevance and the need for theoretical and methodological pluralism in the discipline (Faye, 2012). It also

rearticulated key concerns that had been raised by earlier generations that included Wundt, Jahoda and others (Hodgetts & O'Doherty, 2019).

A decade of crisis in social psychology set the stage for increased critical scholarship globally and the re-articulation of traditions of psychology indigenous to various socio-cultural settings (Hodgetts et al., 2020). For example, back in Germany, Klaus Holzkamp responded to the concerns being raised by developing a phenomenologically informed and contextually sensitive psychology. In his early work, Holzkamp grappled with how to enhance the ability of psychology to tackle societal concerns and this led to him rethinking the nature of psychology as a social science requiring more interactive, dialogic and participative methodological approaches. According to Teo (1998), Holzkamp argued that the focus on the individual in experimental psychology, for example, was abstracted from Western societal contexts like the United States and Germany with their associated cultural assumptions. As such these approaches were not as objective as many proponents assert. In these settings, cultural assertions of the individual as autonomous have been ideologically dominant for some time.

Holzkamp's response was to develop another variation of a collectivist orientated social psychology that mirrored the earlier efforts of Wundt, Jahoda and others, and which emphasised the need to consider links between the personal and the collective in human psychology. Holzkamp again shifted aspects of our disciplinary focus out from efforts to dissect individual minds to also explore how people conduct their lives in concert with others within the context of collective structures or cultures (Schraube & Osterkamp, 2013). Whilst what has come to be known as WEIRD (White Educated Industrial Rich and Democratic) psychology (Henrich et al., 2010) based on British empiricism tends to view individuals and the world through subject-object distinctions, Holzkamp argued that person and context are inter-connected within a dynamic nexus of being (Holzkamp, 1979). Subsequently, Holzkamp's proposal to study everyday life did not simply involve the study of different rhythms or lifestyles, though it does usefully encompass such a focus. Central to his work is an approach to human

subjectivity as fundamentally inter-connected with the social world, whereby people become themselves through their entanglements with others with whom they learn to live with and interact in particular ways that reflect their shared collective meaning systems (Holzkamp, 2016).

These developments have considerable resonances with re-emerging work on indigenous psychologies and ways of being, and processes of pluralising the discipline, transforming it from a single sphericule (Fraser, 1990), into a space that accommodates diverse epistemological, ethical, ontological and metaphysical perspectives in psychology (Guimarães, 2020; King & Hodgetts, 2017; Li et al., 2018). Many cultural groups exist in their given societies with different needs and ways of being, doing, thinking, and knowing. Similar in spirit to Wundt's work in developing his early psychologies, central here is a sphericule that enables these distinct cultural groups to recognise their own epistemologies and ways of being, which serve as a basis to converse with other culturally grounded sphericules. It is to these developments that I seek to contribute from my own socio-cultural context.

Shifting the context to Indonesia and extending this effort to acknowledge the collectivist orientation to psychology that informs my doctoral research, I also assert that we have some unique cultural perspectives and ways of conducting our everyday lives together to offer to the global discipline. I see significant resonances between my own Javanese cultural perspective on the inter-connection of human beings and the collectivist and context-orientated scholars from Europe, who I introduce above. In this thesis, I work to bring psychological concepts from Javanese and Chinese Indonesian cultures and ways of conducting everyday life into dialogue with theory and research from the global discipline of psychology and related social sciences (see Guimaraes, 2020; King & Hodgetts, 2017).

I am not the first to create such a dialogue in psychology between Indonesian thought and European collectivist psychology. For example, in the early 19th century, one of Wundt's students, Emil Kraepelin, visited Java to study the collective mental life of Javanese people as a basis for contributing to the

development of *Völkerpsychologie* (Kraepelin, 1904). Kraepelin's visit sparked a series of studies into the psychology of culture in Java (Kohlbrugge, 1907; Travaglino, 1924). Unfortunately, these studies were also part of a colonial project and were undertaken to serve assimilative Dutch colonial policies in what was incorrectly renamed the *Dutch East Indies* (Indonesia) (Muluk et al., 2018; Pols, 2007). By studying Javanese customs, myths and cultural practices, Kraepelin adopted a European colonial perspective to theorise the 'native mind' of Indonesian society (Kohlbrugge, 1907). As is often the case in such Eurocentric colonial ventures in psychology, Javanese people were approached from a deficit perspective. The lack of reified characteristics such as European style individualism and associated selfish values was articulated as supposedly intrinsic primitiveness, laziness, inability to plan ahead, lack of capacity for critical thinking, and a propensity towards irrational actions. Echoing the eugenics of the time, these supposed deficits were presented as primary reasons for why Javanese people were not at the same 'stage of development' or 'evolution' as their European counterparts (Pols, 2007). These deeply racist studies reflected colonialist trends in the early psychology of culture that gave scientific credibility to assertions of the inferior characteristics of native peoples. These studies were used to justify often brutal processes of colonisation as civilising missions embarked on by 'superior' and more evolved Europeans on behalf of humanity (Guthrie, 2004; Travaglino, 1924). Briefly, regardless of the approach, early efforts to conduct research into the psychology of Javanese culture served colonial ends rather than the actual needs and interests of Javanese people and our fellow citizens.

As is common throughout the Asia Pacific region (Li, Hodgetts & Foo, 2018), alongside the subsequent development of the discipline of psychology in Indonesia came the proliferation of attempts by the institutional leaders in many schools of psychology to encourage early-career scholars to study overseas. Central to such efforts is the desire to produce an academic workforce with the skills to conduct psychological research and teach in order to train others. Speaking personally, I was sent by my university to complete this PhD at Massey

University in New Zealand. The education in psychology received by many scholars such as myself, particularly those from previous generations, is aligned predominantly within the boundaries of individualistic and British empiricist-based WEIRD psychology. This process has contributed to the development of 'advanced' research skills in Indonesian universities, and in particular the use of a range of sophisticated statistical techniques. However, the hegemony of positivism in this imported version of psychology (Farr, 1991) has also hampered the development of fit-for-purpose approaches to psychology that reflect the diversity of how Indonesian people see themselves and their place in the world, how we relate to others, and how we might respond to the pressing needs of our own society. The development of socio-psychological knowledge about Indonesian society is still framed primarily by efforts to impose WEIRD theories and methods onto local people who live within very different and non-individualistic cultures (see King & Hodgetts, 2017). However, there is now a growing interest in developing and adapting more collectivist, community-orientated, indigenous and practically orientated psychologies that are fit for purpose in Indonesia (Muluk et al., 2018).

I see my thesis as also contributing to this growing initiative to develop approaches to psychology that address our own concerns and cultural ways of acting, interacting, and being with others from our own perspectives. In the process, I do not wish to dismiss other approaches to psychology, such as those stemming from historical figures such as Wundt, Jahoda and Holzkamp. Rather, I seek to learn from these traditions, and the scholarship on the conduct of everyday life in particular, to cultivate the articulation of our own approaches to the discipline that are fit for our purposes, serve the needs of Indonesian people, and which can contribute to the pluralising of the broader discipline (Guimaraes, 2020).

Briefly, the discipline of psychology that is prominent in Indonesia today has developed out of our colonial history and is overly WEIRD-centric and individualistic. This approach is proving inadequate in grappling with the

complexities of a non-individualistic society made up of people from 630 distinct ethnic groups. Drawing insights from Wundt's *Völkerpsychologie*, Jahoda's immersive approach to community engagement, and Holzkamp's psychology of the conduct of everyday life, I seek to engage with societal concerns regarding inter-ethnic relations. I do this through an initial focus on the everyday lives of Javanese and Chinese Indonesian married couples within the context of broader cultural and socio-political histories and structures.

The thesis structure

This chapter has outlined the context for the research and topic, and the disciplinary approach taken in my thesis. The next chapter, Chapter Two, discusses my methodological stance in this research. Within this chapter, I discuss the theoretical and methodological framework used to gather empirical materials from the participating couples. Specifically, I discuss the conduct of everyday life (Hodgetts, Sonn, et al., 2020; Schraube & Højholt, 2016), social practices theory (Blue, 2019; Halkier & Jensen, 2011) and cultural assemblage (DeLanda, 2006/2019; Deleuze & Guattari, 1988) to inform my immersion approach in East Java, Indonesia. I also discuss ethnographic and visual methods such as go-along and photo-elicitation interviews that I have used with my participating couples. I also discuss the concept of researcher-as-bricoleur to justify my analytical strategy used to make sense of couples' experiences. Finally, I discuss the project ethics in this research with specific reference to the growing literature on relational ethics.

Chapter Three documents my first empirical investigation into the day-to-day experience of inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia. Here I invite the readers to look at the relational complexity of inter-ethnic marriage which is situated within the broader social milieu. Chapter Three explores how the couples develop their relationships within broader and more complex layers of relationship, including with parents and in-laws and ethnic communities and, in particular, looks to see how inter-ethnic marriages can be seen as an assemblage (Yulianto et al., 2022a). This article is particularly useful to extend current scholarship on hybridity, which

generally approaches hybridity from the perspective of macro issues such as music, arts, food and literature. Drawing on the scholarship on assemblage (DeLanda, 2006/2019; Deleuze & Guattari, 1988) and social practice theory (Blue, 2019; Halkier & Jensen, 2011), this article offers a novel approach to research into everyday hybridity in inter-ethnic marriages.

Moving forward to Chapter Four, I invite the readers to start broad by following the tours taken by participants through everyday locales that are significant for the participating couples. This mobile approach is in contrast to the dominant approaches in the research into inter-ethnic marriage, which are generally static. Building on the scholarship on urban mobility (Cresswell, 2006), everyday life (Hodgetts, Sonn, et al., 2020; Schraube & Højholt, 2016) and social practice theory (Blue, 2019; Halkier & Jensen, 2011), I offer an investigation into the utility of a spatially-orientated approach for psychological research into inter-ethnic marriage (Yulianto et al., 2022b). In doing so, I explore how, in the navigation of inter-cultural tensions day-to-day, inter-ethnic couples develop a relation-scape. Further, I demonstrate that by taking a tour, inter-ethnic couples collaboratively weave various locales, such as homes, schools and churches, and associated socio-cultural practices to meet their needs.

After taking a tour through the relation-scape of the participating couple, I invite the reader to delve deeper into a particular locale, namely a couple's home, within which they conduct their inter-ethnic marriage. Chapter Five contributes to knowledge of the everyday material practices engaged in by participating inter-ethnic couples. This chapter is set against a backdrop of the predominant approaches in socio-psychological research into inter-ethnic marriages, which often overlook everyday material objects. Drawing on the scholarship on social practice-orientated theories such as actor-network theory, and Javanese and Chinese literature on money in everyday life, Chapter Five looks at how the social materiality of memory objects such as money and related household objects is central to the negotiation of the shared lifeworlds of Javanese and Chinese Indonesians (Yulianto et al., 2022c). Here, the use of money and household objects

extends our understanding of how couples work together to achieve harmony. In the process, I document how objects can signify care and affection as well as being of practical use. I also demonstrate that such negotiation is evident in efforts to develop hybrid lifeworlds.

To conclude this thesis, Chapter Six provides a general discussion of the main findings of my research and works to situate these insights back into the literature, while also outlining the specific contributions my work makes to the body of knowledge regarding inter-ethnic marriage. This chapter consists of three sections. The first section outlines the key findings of each publication (Yulianto et al., 2022a, 2022b, 2022c) and discusses the broader implications of this research. The second section discusses the contribution of my thesis to the discipline of psychology. Specifically, I pay attention to the use of an eclectic theoretical orientation that encompasses the conduct of everyday life, social practice, and assemblage theory. Of particular interest is also how I enact this orientation empirically through the adoption of a culturally informed methodology (Guimarães, 2020; Jahoda et al., 1933/1971). My concluding remarks in the final section of the last chapter of this thesis remind readers of the centrality of inter-ethnic marriage within the context of culturally diverse countries such as Indonesia.

CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH APPROACH

This chapter provides a more detailed discussion of the approach taken in this project. Indonesia is a culturally diverse country and has a multifaceted history, as discussed in Chapter 1, that requires us to attend to the everyday lived experiences of inter-ethnic couples. Central to this chapter is the methodological efforts by drawing on ways of engaging participants that are familiar and comfortable for them. As such, I start by discussing the overall orientation that informs the thesis. I outline the orientation to the *conduct of everyday life* (Hodgetts, Sonn, et al., 2020; Schraube & Højholt, 2016)*, social practice theory* (Blue, 2019; Halkier & Jensen, 2011) *and cultural assemblage* (DeLanda, 2006/2019; Deleuze & Guattari, 1988), which are combined to form the eclectic theoretical basis of this PhD thesis. I then discuss my empirical engagements with participating couples and recount the visual methods and ethnographic tools such as go-along interviews (Kusenbach, 2003) through which I engaged with them. Subsequently, I also provide a brief discussion of the case-based approach and an account of the project ethics where I offer my reflections on relational ethics. This chapter concludes with reflections on the analytical strategies used to make sense of the empirical materials gathered.

The conduct of everyday life

This research is informed by the orientating concept of the conduct of everyday life, which was coined by Max Weber in 1952 and introduced into psychology by Klaus Holzkamp in 1995 (Holzkamp, 2016). The concept of the conduct of everyday life offers an understanding that quotidian (everyday) and what can appear to be mundane acts, such as conversing, cooking, or eating are more than simply banal phenomena and have social significance. Such acts are approached as key elements of wider socio-cultural systems and as means of reproduction of broader social structures. Following Holzkamp (2016), I approach everyday life as a psychologically important realm that is populated by various

relationships between people, places and things, and where social relations that make us human take form and are reproduced personally and collectively (Burkitt, 2004; Lefebvre, 1991). This orientation towards the conduct of everyday life is important for approaching human beings as enculturated and active social agents whose daily practices reproduce broader social relations and structures (Dreier, 2016). Scholarship in the conduct of everyday life also approaches human subjectivity and relationships as the focal points of social psychological research and is often informed by both European and non-European cultural traditions (Hodgetts, Sonn, et al., 2020).

As noted above, the concept of the conduct of everyday life enables us to link personal actions and broader social structures (Teo, 2016). Predating the contemporary use of this orientation in psychology, and as noted in the introduction section to this chapter, the German philosopher and social psychologist Georg Simmel (1900/1978) also foregrounded the importance of everyday interactions for the reproduction of broader social structures and as a realm in which abstract societal structures take concrete form and can be witnessed in action. As such, social structures (see assemblage theory below) are approached as dynamic social formations that are reproduced and elaborated through ongoing inter-personal interactions and social practices as people go about the conduct of their everyday lives (Hodgetts, Stolte, et al., 2020). Everyday practices, such as talking with Javanese elders in the *Krama* (well-mannered) linguistic style, for example, are fundamental to the reproduction of Javanese collective ways of being with and showing respect towards elders (Errington, 1985).

Focusing on the conduct of everyday life is particularly useful for this thesis because it offers a conceptual orientation towards the dynamics of inter-personal relationships and associated social practices whilst not ignoring the importance of broader societal structures (Halkier & Jensen, 2011). Central here is the notion of *socialisation* through which human beings become immersed within collective meanings system and emerge as persons who think and act in concert with others

within and across various settings (Hodgetts, Sonn, et al., 2020). Here, everyday life involves routine (ordinary) and disruptive (extraordinary) events. In the perspective of everyday life, routine acts are not solely the product of autonomous individuals because our routines and practices are also shaped within our social worlds and often conducted in relation to the routines and arrangements that are enacted by those around us in society. As such, our everyday lives are profoundly inter-connected with other people's lives. As Schraube and Højholt (2016, p. 6) note, "Developing routine is not an individual project. Our routines are created, maintained and negotiated in the other's conduct of life, which may also entail conflict or struggle with them".

Although all people conduct routines and experience disruptions in their everyday lives, it is important to note that everyday life is often inequitable; some have more security, autonomy, and certainty than others (Hodgetts, Sonn, et al., 2020). What is routine for some people might be disruptive to others. A macro-level example would be processes of colonisation that disrupt one group's ways of being by imposing the routines of newcomers whilst also banning key cultural practices through which colonised groups reproduce themselves as encultured beings (Hodgetts, Stolte et al., 2020). As such, it is important to acknowledge that everyday life encompasses power dynamics where some people can feel and be empowered, whilst others are marginalised, exploited and oppressed (Silverstone, 2013). Relatedly, Lie and Bailey (2017) note that during the authoritarian era (1665-1998) Chinese Indonesians had to navigate overt daily racism and discrimination, and show how this became a routine aspect of the conduct of everyday life in Chinese Indonesian communities.

Important to note again here is that everyday lives occur somewhere and are often conducted within and across various locales that are textured by various practices and conventions (Hodgetts, Sonn, et al., 2020). As such, the concept of place is important in the research on the conduct of everyday life (Pink, 2012). Place has a crucial role beyond simply functioning as a physical space where people conduct their activities (O'Donnell et al., 1993). Place is also where people

invest meaning and cultivate a sense of identity through shared social practices (King et al., 2016). In research on the conduct of everyday life, everyday practices that are conducted within and across places are not simply local acts. Rather, they connect local acts with the wider socio-cultural practices within a particular society (Dreier, 2016). The places which people inhabit can be seen as crucial actors that connect people, the objects they use and activities carried out and, in doing so, reproduce the socio-cultural traditions (King et al., 2018; Lefebvre, 1974/1991).

This conceptualisation of place within the conduct of everyday life is particularly important for studies of inter-ethnic relations such as mine because when conducting their marriages, people bring their senses of place, meanings and the ways of being into the marriage space. As such, inter-ethnic marriages can be approached as liminal spaces (Gennep, 1909/1960; Turner, 1987) or as third encounter spaces (Bhabha, 1994) where ways of being, doing and thinking are re-enacted and re-negotiated. Central to my exploration here are the ways couples work together to develop their marriages as a more habitable space for both partners. Given that social practices are important elements in the conduct of everyday life, I continue the discussion by incorporating *social practice theory* into the theoretical framework of this study.

Social practice theory

Social practice theory offers an orientation towards everyday actions as manifestations of broader societal and cultural systems (Blue, 2019). Proponents of social practice theory assert that often mundane everyday acts, such as cooking, playing, driving and so forth, are a product of collectively shared ways of being and behaving (Halkier & Jensen, 2011) and are implicated in the reproduction of various cultural systems (King et al., 2016). In keeping with the concept of everyday life, this approach bridges human agency and structure, and places the focus of analysis on the practice itself (Hargreaves, 2011). As Giddens notes, "the basic domain of the study of the social sciences… is neither the experience of the

individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across spaces and time" (Giddens, 1984, p.2). From this perspective, social practices are not seen as simply the result of individual beliefs, attitudes or preconditions for behaviours, but rather are elements and variations on collective ways of thinking, being and acting in the world (Blue, 2019). Social practices encompass combinations of "bodily activities, forms of mental activities, things and their use, a background of knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 249-250). As such, the meaning of a practice does not necessarily reside in any particular aspect, but rather in the combination of these and the significance that a particular practice holds for the social actors who engage in it or are impacted by it.

Worth noting here is that it is through engagements in particular social practices that people often reproduce themselves as enculturated beings (see Giddens, 1984). For example, cooking a Chinese dish involves specific sets of knowledge (e.g., about the recipe, ingredients, herbs and spices), rules of cooking (e.g., ways of cutting), cooking skills (e.g., pan sear or deep fry), and objects (e.g., Chinese wok). The links between these elements are maintained and reproduced by a skilful cook familiar with the style of cuisine. By cooking the dish and consuming it, often with others, the cook contributes to the reproduction of the cultural system from which the dish is derived. As such, social practice theory approaches people as social psychological and material beings who conduct their lives within and across particular locations, often in collaboration with others, and in doing so contribute to processes of cultural reproduction (Hodgetts et al., 2020).

Consequently, objects and material practices are important elements for research into social practices in everyday life, including when exploring inter-cultural relations. For example, in their exploration of the experiences of Korean American couples living in the United States, Kim and colleagues (2021) note that a Korean wife felt a sense of strong affection when her American husband cooked traditional Korean food for her, such as Miyeouk soup, to comfort her after

delivering a baby in a place far from home. This account invokes the significance of the material practices in such marriages that go beyond the materiality of the objects. The handling of objects in a particular place reflects agentive tactics for escaping from adversity and life stresses (Hodgetts et al., 2017). The use of objects helps inter-ethnic couples to make sense of and navigate inter-cultural tensions and helps the couples to give new meaning to their relationships. Such material practices connect people, things, relationships, inequalities and feelings (Daanen & Sammut, 2012; Latour, 2005) within broader social structures and cultural systems, or what we refer to in the following section as assemblages.

It is also important to note that social practices are not always rigid and many are adapted by people to suit various situations and needs (Reckwitz, 2002). New elements can be brought into a practice by means such as cooking a traditional dish using new ingredients, adapting the dish to new contexts and tastes, or adopting replacement dishes when one becomes tired of cooking a certain way (see Hargreaves, 2011). Such changes can be influenced by multiple factors such as when a cook cannot afford certain ingredients or they learn a new and possibly more effective way of chopping ingredients from a family member (Warde, 2005). Acknowledging such processes of change is important when researching a topic such as inter-ethnic marriage whereby different traditions and practices come to inhabit the same space, such as a household, and the inhabitants have to adjust some of the cultural practices they bring into the space. It is through exploring such adjustments that we can witness cultural hybridity as a process central to the everyday conduct of such unions. As such, I approach inter-ethnic marriages as dynamic third or encounter spaces within which different cultural practices and associated expectations and meanings come into contact and are often adapted to suit the requirements of couples as they conduct their everyday lives together.

Culture from the perspective of assemblage theory

Assemblage theory is particularly useful for conceptualising the dynamic nature of human relations within the context of larger social formations, including cultures. As dynamic social structures, assemblages are made up of various human and non-human elements or entities that come together metaphorically like instruments within an orchestra (DeLanda, 2006/2019). Accordingly, assemblages have been conceptualised as "the provisional holding together of a group of entities across differences and a continuous process of movement and transformation as relations and terms change" (Anderson et al., 2012, p. 177). Foundational to assemblage theory is an orientation towards the social world as an emerging or contingent social formation or construction that exists in a dynamic state of becoming (Anderson et al., 2012). From this perspective, the social worlds occupied by all of us are constituted through numerous assemblages that, ontologically, make up a socially contingent reality that is reproduced through ongoing social practices and everyday interactions.

Assemblage theory affords a useful perspective for thinking about cultures as dynamic social formations that feature key elements, including languages, worldviews and belief systems and associated practices and ways-of-being and interacting with others. As members of particular cultural groups, we are immersed within and emerge as persons through processes of socialisation and enculturation that are evident within cultures and can be conceptualised as assemblages that cohere and reassemble through the conduct of everyday life (Hodgetts, Sonn, et al., 2020). These cultural assemblages are coherent in their own right. They also influence one another, often share overlapping elements and are reshaped through ongoing interactions between people, places and objects, such as when Javanese and Chinese Indonesians marry and build lives together. Such unions feature ongoing interactions that extend beyond the partners to the broader familial and community networks from which each emerges and which they take with them into the relationship.

Assemblage theory orientates us towards investigating how different elements, including people, values, beliefs, places, practices and traditions are interwoven in the co-construction of inter-ethnic marriages as culturally hybrid relational mosaics. My core focus in this research is not simply on the properties of the discrete elements that are invoked in the accounts of the research participants. It is on the orchestral coming together of these elements in the co-creation of marriage spaces in which both partners can be comfortable culturally (DeLanda, 2006/2019; Deleuze & Guattari, 1988). It is through the re-assembling of key elements from both cultures as the couples go about conducting their everyday lives together (Schraube & Højholt, 2016) that the newly formed marriages take shape as culturally hybrid third spaces.

In short, I approach inter-ethnic marriages as hybrid third spaces that take form between the larger cultural assemblages from which each partner emerges. Central to these marriage spaces are processes of 'de-territorialisation' and 're-territorialisation' (see DeLanda, 2006/2019). Such processes are central to how particular entities are drawn from a cultural assemblage and recombined with elements from another cultural assemblage and resituated (territorialised) within the creation of a third space. As I will document, this re-territorialisation or resituating of elements is central to processes of cultural hybridisation and the combining and reworking of cultural objects and practices that are central to the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages. I am particularly interested in how inter-ethnic marriages compose third spaces for cultural re-assemblage that are comprised of elements from two distinct cultural assemblages that are brought into a 'collective alliance' (Hillier & Abrahams, 2013). Briefly, assemblage theory offers a useful orientation towards the dynamic processes of cultural hybridity, which are often central to the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages as third spaces of inter-cultural exchange within Indonesian society today.

Empirical engagement with participating couples

This section discusses the ways I engaged with the participating couples. I start by discussing the research setting, the city of Nganjuk in East Java, where I conducted the fieldwork. I then discuss how I immersed myself in local activities at a local kindergarten and recruited the participants. In particular, I discuss the etic and emic tensions that emerged from my research and my strategies for dealing with such cross-cultural aspects throughout my research, such as collaborating with a Chinese Indonesian colleague to conduct the interviews. I also provide an account of the methods used to gather empirical materials such as go-along interviews (Kusenbach, 2003) and visual methods (Reavey, 2012). The section also includes profiles of the ten participating couples.

Research setting

The fieldwork was conducted in the city of Nganjuk in East Java (1,127,963 population). The people in the city are predominantly Javanese Muslim (99%). Chinese Indonesians and other ethnic groups make up less than 1%. Many people in this city work as labourers, farmers or are self-employed. With a 2021 regional minimum wage of 1,954,705 rupiahs (roughly 195 New Zealand dollars) per month, Nganjuk is the *kabupaten* (regency) with the second-lowest minimum wage in East Java. Consequently, many local people, including some participating couples in this research, have opted to increase their incomes by commuting to work in larger cities with higher minimum wages, such as Surabaya (4,300,479 rupiahs or 430 New Zealand dollars per month) or Malang (3,058,275 rupiahs or 305 dollars per month) and returning home during the weekends. Chinese Indonesian families live predominantly in the main business district where many own kiosks and shops or run other businesses. They tend to be more affluent than their Javanese counterparts. This contextual orientation explains why inter-ethnic marriages between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians often involve broader social issues such as ethnicity, class and religion.

I began my fieldwork by immersing myself in a local kindergarten. This setting was useful because this is a locale where many inter-ethnic couples send their children for preschool programmes. Following Marie Jahoda and colleagues (Jahoda et al., 1933/1971), taking an immersive approach means grounding myself in the community and learning the narratives, social practices, norms, values, cultures and history of the community (Rappaport, 2000). Doing culturally informed research in an ethnographically orientated manner (Case et al., 2014) such as mine requires a way to contextualise participant couples' experiences that recognise the multifaceted issues that come with inter-ethnic marriages. In this study, I draw on this orientation whilst incorporating insights from Javanese culture (primarily), which draw on my own cultural habitus as well as related work from scholars in the Asia Pacific region (Li et al., 2018), regarding ways to engage in respectful and reciprocal interactions as means to establish ethical relationships. I also worked with a Chinese colleague to balance out my own perspective on Chinese ways of being. Chinese input was also included through supervision by Professor James Liu (a leading international Chinese scholar).

Important here is that my cultural immersion with the participating couples included both emic and etic aspects (Berry, 1989). The emic aspect stems from my prior knowledge and understanding as a Javanese person interacting with Javanese participants. My fieldwork also had an etic aspect related to the way I interacted with Chinese Indonesian participants. Understanding the existence of emic and etic tensions in these interactions between myself as the researcher and my participants informed how I conducted myself. For the Javanese participants, conversing with me involved sharing narratives within the group. For Chinese Indonesian participants, conversing with me is more akin to sharing stories with someone from a different group. However, at the same time, it is also possible that the couples engaged with me as inter-ethnic couples narrating their stories to me as a person who is also involved in an inter-ethnic marriage relationship.

My immersive approach was characterised by inviting my wife, who is from the Minahasa ethnic group, and my 3.5-year-old to socialise in a local kindergarten

where many inter-ethnic couples send their children. In keeping with Javanese habitus (Bourdieu, 2000), involving family members to enter a particular community is part of being culturally responsive and accountable. My interactions with these couples started in a common room where parents socialised while waiting for their children to finish their lessons. Central to the early phase of immersion is the self-introduction where accountability by the researcher is once again crucial as it offers a basis to build further relationships with community members. For Javanese, the cultural centrality of accountability is particularly evident when community elders ask simple questions such as "Where do you live?" *(dalemipun pundi?)* or "Who are your parents and grandparents?" *(putranipun/wayahipun sinten?)*. Asking such spatial and genealogical questions reflects the dialectical and relational nature of the community members. For example, by asking "Who are your parents and grandparents?", the elders attempt to track and connect my genealogy with their own to find the connections between us. Although in the early phase I came in as an outsider, such genealogical conversations provided a sense of connection between me and the community members. From here, I started to build relationships with the members by putting aside my research agenda and involving myself in the activities of the parents' community regularly on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, Briefly, Javanese cultural immersion requires us to put 'relationship first and research second' (see Hodgetts et al., 2016).

Another important part of relationship building with Javanese community members is applying Javanese cultural elements that signal respect to them. For instance, instead of speaking Bahasa Indonesia (the national language of Indonesia) I used the Javanese language during my daily interaction with community members. The Javanese language comprises three Javanese linguistic styles representing hierarchical levels of respect (Errington, 1985). *Krama inggil* is the highest order of the Javanese language, which is used to converse with older people. *Krama madya* is the second highest order of Javanese language that is used to talk to peers. *Ngoko* is the lowest level order of Javanese language that is

used to speak to younger people. From the perspective of Javanese ethics, using the correct level of language signals the respect I have towards other people as fellow human beings, and the respect I wish to show the community members by acting in a culturally appropriate way as a Javanese person (Errington, 1985). Exceptions to this local language use were made if the participants felt more comfortable talking in Bahasa Indonesia.

Further, my immersion in the parents' community at the kindergarten came with a community expectation to join parents' activities in the kindergarten, including helping the school to organise a field trip to the local park (see Figure 1) or Chinese New Year celebrations at the kindergarten. Central here is recognising that our presence contributes to the community activities. Immersing my family and myself in the activities of the community has helped me to establish my relationships with community members. We started to feel comfortable talking about a range of topics, including our marriages. As a consequence, I became familiar with the rhythms of the everyday lives of the community members. Subsequently, I could identify some inter-ethnic couples who were appropriate for my study. From here, I approached these couples more formally to ask about their willingness to participate in this study. Snowball sampling was applied in this research as the principal of the kindergarten also assisted me by approaching other prospective participants such as a part-time teacher at the kindergarten, and some acquaintances such as the parents of a former teacher.

Figure 1. Helping the kindergarten to organise a fieldtrip in a local park

Recruiting the couples

After spending considerable time socialising with the parents and getting familiar with the prospective participating couples, I was able to formally ask couples to participate in my research. Then, I presented them with the research documentation, including the information sheet and consent forms for my study (See Appendices Two and Three), to explain the details of my research and made an appointment to meet. Having agreed to participate, almost all participating couples invited me to their homes to *dolan* (visit). To *dolan,* according to Javanese culture, is to visit without a specific purpose. At this point, I acknowledged that my role as researcher was 'a good friend', 'a fellow Javanese person', or 'a fellow parent'. On further reflection, the invitations to come to their homes can be seen as invitations to build deeper relationships with the participating couples. In this case, the trust we developed was deeply emplaced and strengthened as our meeting place shifted from a public space (e.g., a common room at the kindergarten) to a private space (e.g., the participant couples' homes).

To visit a household requires a Javanese person to practice what it means to be Javanese. For example, the Javanese habitus informs me to bring my family members along with me on the very first visit and to also bring a gift for the host family. As is common among Javanese, I brought groceries such as garlic and

shallots, oil, noodles, soy sauce, eggs and so forth as contributions. For couples with children, bringing snacks or chocolate was also culturally appropriate. Central here is to make the groceries personal and meet the specific needs of the participating couples. Our first conversations were conducted in the *ruang tamu* (living room) which is generally placed at the front of homes. In this first conversation, the host generally acts in a formal way. For example, they bought special dishes and drinks for my family and me as the guests. The couples also repeatedly asked if I wanted something else to eat or drink. According to a *pinisepuh* (Javanese cultural elder) (Fieldwork conversation, 30 November 2019), such acts reflect the Javanese cultural values embedded in the terms *gupuh, lungguh* and *suguh*. Gupuh means 'feeling busy and warm hosting guests'. This feeling shows that the host is happy to receive us as guests. Lungguh means inviting the guests to enter and sit comfortably. Suguh means to serve the guests with particular food and drink as an honour.

In conversing with couples, I also utilised my commonalities with the participants as a social lubricant to build trust and cooperative relationships with them. Being married to a woman from a different ethnic group (Minahasa) in Indonesia, I see myself as having a lot in common with the couples. As someone who is practicing an inter-ethnic marriage, I can share my experiences of how my wife and I conduct our own inter-ethnic marriage as a means of building rapport and commonality. Other experience that was important in the relationship-building part of this research is my familiarity with Javanese and Chinese Indonesian ethnic groups respectively. As a Javanese person, I am familiar with Javanese culture. As a lecturer at a university where staff and students are mostly Chinese Indonesian and as a member of the congregation of a local church that includes a large number of Chinese Indonesians, I have had considerable time and opportunity to become familiar with Chinese Indonesian culture and customs. By being generous with information about myself, I spread seeds of trust that encouraged participants to be open about their marital relationships. I was also gaining insights from the Southeast Asian literature into how Eurocentric methods

such as interviewing can be adapted or indigenised for use in different cultural contexts (Li & Forbes, 2018; Pe-Pua, 1989). As I have just outlined, interviewing participants within the context of Indonesian society does not start with the interview itself, but rather, the interview is often a by-product of broader social relationships and cultural obligations.

By the time I socialised with the couples, we had become more familiar with each other and trust had gradually developed. Trust is evident when formality gradually shifts into informality, particularly when participating couples asked me to eat with them in the dining room or kitchen (at the back of the house)[6] or asked me to speak using *ngoko*, the casual Javanese linguistic style, even though they are older. This also signals a degree of comfort and trust has formed within the developing relationship. Some couples also invited my family and me to simply hangout together, doing things such as buying groceries, cooking, or eating in traditional Javanese *warung* (coffee shops). Other couples also asked me to assist their children with school-related things or to help them access information on particular issues such as how to register online as a taxi driver. According to my Javanese habitus, all these gestures confirmed our sense of familiarity. At this point, I understood that I could (re)explain the research and obtain their verbal and/or written consent to participate in my research.

Interviewing the couples

The fieldwork was conducted with 10 couples over a period of 10 weeks (from November 2019 to January 2020) with subsequent online interactions. For each participating couple, at least three types of interviews were conducted (see Appendix Four). These consisted of *biographical interviews* (Galletta, 2012), *go-along interviews* (Kusenbach, 2003) and *visually-based interviews* (Reavey, 2012).

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[6] In Indonesia, the dining room and kitchen are mostly placed at the back of the house. Allowing a guest to enter the kitchen and spend time in the dining room are particularly important signals to show the closeness of the relationship, since these are places where many domestic interactions happen.

Combined, these produced a total of 65 interviews, over 500 pages of transcript, 70 pages of field notes and over 360 photographs. Biographical interviews encompass the general stories about the backgrounds of the partners and about their marriages. This type of interview was particularly important for us to gain a broader perspective based on participants' demographic profiles and the key life experiences that have shaped their present situations. I also employed visual interview techniques (Reavey, 2012) that included the use of annotated genograms, conceptual mapping and photo-elicitation exercises (Hodgetts et al., 2007). Drawing on these enhanced interview techniques enabled participants to visualise their experiences and key issues and events in ways that are more tangible for researchers by producing artefacts from their daily lives. Such techniques enable participants to show and tell the researcher about key aspects of their lives and relationships. They help participants to take reflective moments and step back and consider their situations. Mapping, talking and discussing photographs offers participants a means of bringing researchers further into key aspects of their lives. I also interviewed the couples by themselves and together. The inclusion of some joint interviews was important for me to access both their personal and shared stories. While a couple interview offers a platform for considering how they negotiate meaning and prompt one another, as well as revealing the power relations in terms of who dominates story construction, interviewing participants separately also enables participants to story themselves more from their own perspectives.

Go-along interviews involve spending time talking with participants as they go about their everyday lives and engage in various everyday social practices, such as shopping or cooking (Kusenbach, 2003). These interviews are useful for developing knowledge about participant routines, practices and enactments of cultural traditions as they occur within the everyday settings they inhabit. Joining couples going to the shop or local market to buy groceries and in other routine practical activities allowed me to better understand my participants within the context of their everyday lives (Graham et al., 2016). For example, I had the

opportunity to go with participating couples to buy ingredients and herbs and spices to cook Chinese dishes for Chinese New Year and to cook alongside them, where I learned that cooking practices often include complex cultural considerations. Such dynamic interviews are useful and effective in generating stories about practices that have become routine in our participating couples' everyday lives. Go-along interviews enabled me to overcome difficulties that can be found in one-off, sit-down and highly structured interviews, which often lead to stilted encounters, sparse responses and limited narrative production (Kusenbach, 2018). Moreover, it is not possible to engage with all aspects of lived experience in sit-down interviews because informants may not realise the significance of broader social practices in their lives that they just do as a matter of course. By going with them as they engage in such practices, I then have opportunities to discuss these at the time or shortly afterwards.

Given that this research has both etic and emic elements, how I deal with these etic-emic tensions is crucial. Whilst scholars generally agree that customs and cultural practices are central to many ethnic communities in Indonesia (Buttenheim & Nobles, 2009), prior study into inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia, however, provides limited explanation about how researchers address these etic-emic tensions (see Ida Bagus, 2008; Utomo, 2019). Guimarães (2020) states: "whether the psychologist is involved in research or practice in an inter-ethnic field, they must consider their ethnic-cultural belonging and the consequences of their approach to other people" (p. xi). Consequently, I invited Novensia Wongpy (Huang Fen Xia), a Chinese Indonesian collaborator, to assist me with the interviews. Our collaboration is particularly useful to tackle the issue of alterity (Guimarães, 2020), especially when interpreting accounts from the Chinese partners. For example, when talking about Chinese values, beliefs and cultural practices, the Chinese partners often mentioned particular Chinese terms and/or stories, which were new to me as a Javanese person. Here, my Chinese Indonesian collaborator could explain and help to make the interviews more culturally balanced. Novensia Wongpy (Huang Fen Xia), along with Agnes Christina (Chiang

Ru Ping), another Chinese collaborator, also provided comments on the transcripts that were subsequently generated. For example, in the transcript of a biographical interview, one of the participating couples provides an account of the herbs and spices used in Chinese dishes and how some of these have been replaced with Javanese herbs and spices due to availability. The Chinese collaborators generously provided insights into the effects of those changes to the dish. These comments have helped to orientate me culturally during my analysis and interpretation of the interviews. In addition, the supervision team for this thesis included a leading Chinese scholar (Professor James Liu) who has helped me to make sense of the empirical materials generated from the Chinese partners and, in the process, provided me with discussion and literature on Confucian teachings that proved crucial for my analysis.

Considering that particular material objects are often considered important by members of both groups, as I have conceptualised in the social practices section, attending to how participants story such objects offered anchor points for moving further into their life narratives with them. Both Javanese and Chinese Indonesians have cultural mnemonic artefacts that function as significant anchors for 're-membering' people and culturally patterned social practices of importance to them. Hence, I also paid attention to the mnemonic artefacts, including photo albums, souvenirs and ornaments. Evident in my fieldwork is the importance of particular material objects for understanding the significance of familial relationships and events (Hodgetts et al., 2017). For example, during the fieldwork, a couple played me a song and showed me the lyrics (see Figure 2) written by the Javanese singing community for their son. By asking participants to talk about such objects, I prompted them to reveal the significance of such community to the Javanese partner's family, particularly in relation to his awareness of Javanese cultural expectations for their third culture child. These stories lie beyond the frame of a picture. It is the storying of such objects and the associated reproduction and adaptation of cultural values and traditions that offer

a key focal point for exploring how the general is reproduced through the particular (Hodgetts, Stolte, et al., 2020).
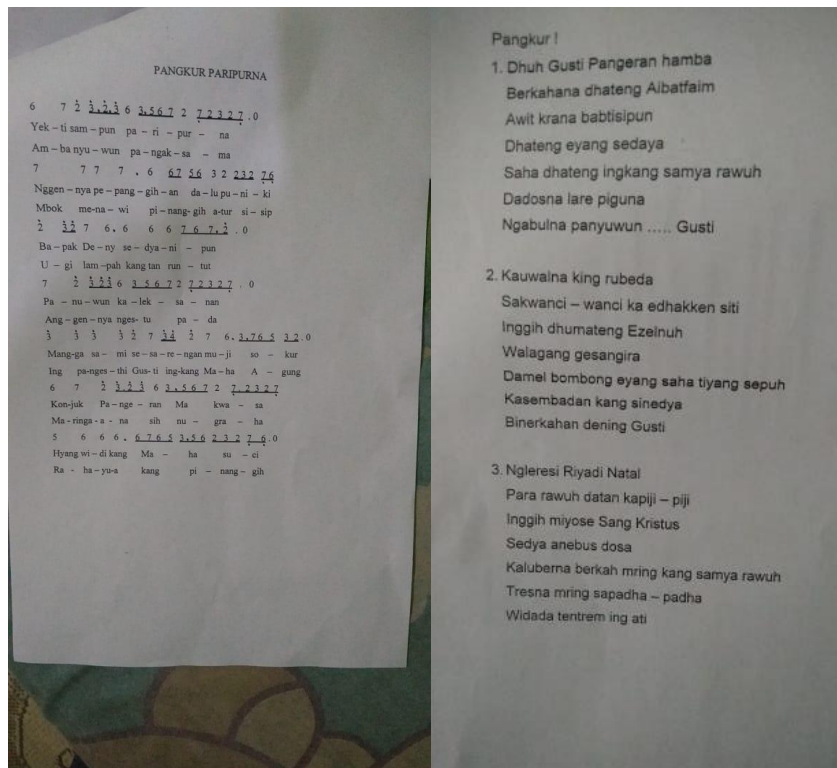
Figure 2. The lyrics of the song made by the Javanese singing community for the couple's son[7]

After developing close relationships during the fieldwork, ending this culturally informed research cannot be done by simply saying goodbye and thank you to the participating couples. Instead, I needed to return to the participants to round off the research by conducting final casual conversations with each couple. On these occasions, I thanked the couples for allowing me to spend time with them and doing the research together. I also gave each couple gifts, such as *batik* (traditional Javanese cloth), and food. In the following section, I will briefly introduce the couples who participated in this study.

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[7] The lyrics of the song ask for blessings for the baby. For example, the first verse of the song means, "Oh God Almighty, please bless this child. At the beginning of his spiritual journey, he came to us, the Javanese elders, and asked directions. Please make him grow well into a man who contributes to his people. Please grant our wish".

The participating couples

This section provides background information about the participating couples. Pseudonyms are used to ensure the anonymity of all couples. The 10 inter-ethnic couples who participated in this research are described in the following paragraphs and their details are summarised in a table (see Appendix Five). During the selection process, I considered the length of time that the couples had been together, which ranged from 4 to 34 years. This range enabled me to engage with couples whose shared narratives are new as well as those whose narratives have had time to mature and deepen. As noted above, there have been considerable taboos surrounding the marriage of Javanese and Chinese people. These taboos have softened in recent years, but it is still important to consider the narratives of people who married during times of more intense taboos (Dahana, 2004; Herlijanto, 2019; Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020).

Couple #1 comprised Bing and Giatun. Bing was a Chinese Indonesian man in his 50s at the time of the research. Giatun was a Javanese woman in her 40s. They had been married since 1994 and had no children, but they lived together with two children of Giatun's oldest sister who were 20 and 13, and with Giatun's mother who was in her 70s. Bing was self-employed. People asked him to do electrical and plumbing jobs here and there. Giatun sold fried onions and taught at the kindergarten as a part-time teacher. Every Tuesday and Thursday, Giatun also helped the local radio station as an announcer. In addition, Giatun also worked as a drop-shipper selling clothes via her social media accounts. It was also common for local people to order Javanese and Chinese dishes from Giatun. Bing often helped Giatun to buy the groceries and deliver the dishes and he would drive Giatun to work at the local radio station and kindergarten. As a couple from low socio-economic backgrounds, their empirical materials were characterised by material and financial hardship.

Couple #2 consisted of Jayadi and Elly. Jayadi was a Javanese man and Elly was a Chinese Indonesian woman, both in their 50s. They had no children from this marriage, but Jayadi had one 23-year-old daughter from a previous marriage

and Elly had three children from her previous marriage: two daughters, 22 and 20, and an 18-year-old son. Jayadi and Elly had been married since 2008 and at the time, the household comprised Jayadi, Elly and Elly's third son, as her other children worked in Surabaya. Elly was recruited through the recommendation of the principal of the kindergarten. Elly's second daughter used to work as a teacher at the kindergarten before moving permanently to Surabaya to work as a banker. Jayadi was a retired civil servant who had worked in a local office of the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing and Elly was a retired banker who had worked at a private bank in Surabaya. Now, Elly runs a small shop near the main road. Elly also rents out half of the shop to a Play Station rental business. In our conversations, Jayadi and Elly talked at length around the issues of financial management between them, reflecting how important such everyday monetary practices are for this couple.

Couple #3 included Brian and Ningsih. Brian was a Chinese Indonesian man. Ningsih was a Javanese woman. They had been married since 2014 and had two children, 7 and 4, who were enrolled at the kindergarten. Brian and Ningsih ran a small-scale money-lending business as an extension of a business owned by Brian's mother. After divorcing her Chinese husband, Brian's mother remarried to a Batak man who later introduced her to the money-lending business, which is a common occupation in the Batak ethnic community. This is how Ningsih learned about the business of moneylending. Brian's mother provided support for Ningsih by giving her some of her clients in *Pasar Wage* (the local Javanese market). In addition, Brian's mother also provided Ningsih with a stall located in front of the Javanese traditional market to rent out. As such, Ningsih's everyday life was strongly characterised by mobility, with frequent trips to collect money from the clients and tenants in local Javanese traditional markets.

Couple #4 comprised Ersa and Lingling. Ersa was a Javanese man and Lingling was a Chinese Indonesian woman, both in their late 30s. They were married in 2011 and had one 5-year-old son, who was enrolled in the kindergarten. Ersa and Lingling were primary caregivers for Ersa's father in his late 70s who resided in the

same town, visiting him often to look after him. Ersa and Lingling lived next to Lingling's older sister. Ersa worked as a civil servant like all of his Javanese family members. Lingling ran a small shop near the main road selling phone credit *(pulsa)*, cakes, snacks, ice cream and toiletries. Lingling also often received orders from local people to cook Javanese and Chinese dishes. Known as a good cook, Lingling often helped the local church and NGOs by assisting with community meals.

Couple #5 consisted of Indro and Yenyen. Indro was a Javanese man in his 40s and Yenyen was a 29-year-old Chinese Indonesian woman. They had been married since 1995 and had two sons, 13 and 10, and a daughter who was 6. Indro worked in a publishing company. During our interactions, Indro talked a lot about his relationship with Yenyen, which he described as highly dramatic. For example, when talking about their wedding ceremony, Indro talked at length about how Yenyen's parents did not like Indro. As such, Indro and Yenyen got married without Yenyen's parents. However, after the first child was born, Yenyen's parents came to the hospital to see their newly born grandson and that was the moment when Indro recognised that his in-laws had accepted him and they allowed him to call them father. Yenyen worked as a cake seller. She made food and sold it to the kindergartens and some of the elementary schools nearby. As such, Yenyen was familiar with many of the parents at the kindergarten. Many parents recommended Yenyen as a participant and this is how Yenyen was recruited to participate in this study.

Couple #6 included Denny and Fang. Denny was a 31-year-old Javanese man. Fang was a 29-year-old Chinese Indonesian woman. They had been married since 2016 and had a toddler. At the time the fieldwork was being conducted, both Denny and Fang worked as lecturers at the local university before Fang decided to resign and focus on home life in early 2022. Denny had a large number of Javanese family members living in Yogyakarta and Fang's family members mainly resided in Surabaya. Denny and Fang self-identify as very culturally aware because Denny speaks to his parents in the highest Javanese linguistic style and Fang also follows Chinese customs. They visited their parents regularly. During our interactions,

Denny and Fang proudly described their unique wedding celebrations in which they tried their best to accommodate both Javanese and Chinese elements. As Denny is a Catholic and Fang is a Protestant and many of their family members are Muslim, stories about inter-ethnic marriage and how it relates to religion are strongly evident in their empirical materials.

Couple #7 comprised Mike and Yani. Mike was a Chinese Indonesian man and Yani was a Javanese woman, both in their late 30s. They had been married since 2007 and had an 11-year-old son. Mike and Yani worked as staff in the same local company. Mike worked as a professional graphic designer and Yani as an administrator. Mike's parents regularly invited all the children to gather together in their home. Yani's mother was of Javanese aristocratic descent *(Raden Ayu)* and therefore Yani had been raised to use strict Javanese etiquette. Sometimes, Yani's mother came over to Mike and Yani's home to see her grandson. Mike and Yani were mutually supportive and encouraged each other to achieve their work goals. As such, the conversations with them were strongly textured by marriage and work life.

Couple #8 consisted of Hendra and Nitya. Hendra was a Chinese Indonesian man in his 40s. Nitya was a Javanese woman in her 30s. Both worked as administration staff. They were married in 2010 and had no children. Hendra and Nitya were also primary caregivers for Nitya's parents who were in their 70s. They visited their parents regularly to look after them and to take them on vacations. Nitya loved to cook Javanese dishes and had learned to cook Chinese dishes. Hendra and Nitya used to conduct their marriage long-distance due to Hendra working off the island. However, at the time of the study, they were living together and enjoying their marriage. Hendra was a Catholic and Nitya was a Protestant. They attend a Christian church and the Catholic cathedral on alternating Sundays as a strategy to accommodate their denomination difference.

Couple #9 included Budi and Maimunah. Budi was a 53-year-old Chinese Indonesian man. Maimunah was a 47-year-old Javanese woman. They had been married since 1992 and had three daughters who were 23 and 20, and a 13-year-

old son. Budi was a Christian and Maimunah was a Muslim. In the first 15 years of the marriage, Maimunah used to live together with her in-laws. In this period, Maimunah learned about Chinese cultural practices such as cooking Chinese dishes and celebrating important cultural events with the associated material objects such as noodles and red-coloured eggs at birthday parties. Despite having a Christian upbringing, Budi did not really practice it and had adopted the practice of worshipping the ancestor whose photograph was displayed on the wall in his living room, using incense.

Couple #10 comprised Yoto and Li. Yoto was a 54-year-old Javanese man. Li was a 43-year-old Chinese Indonesian woman. They had been married since 1992 and had two daughters in their late 20s. Yoto and Li lived near the kindergarten. One of the teachers at the kindergarten introduced me to Yoto during a kindergarten fieldtrip. Yoto was of Javanese aristocratic descent and to prove this, he showed me an old certificate explaining his genealogy from Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono I of Yogyakarta. Yoto was a retired civil servant who had worked in the local office of the National Population and Family Planning Board and Li was a housewife. In storying their relationship, Li remembered how hard it was to marry Javanese during the New Order era. She contrasted her experiences with the current situation which she described as "much easier". This couple is also inter-religious in that Yoto is a Muslim and Li is a Catholic.

A case-based approach to the analysis

This research and the associated analytical process draw upon scholarship in case-based research, which has a long history in the social sciences in general and psychology in particular (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Hodgetts & Stolte, 2012). This section offers a brief discussion on the case-based approach in research into inter-ethnic marriage in Indonesia. Of particular interest, I provide reflections on how the case study is a useful research strategy that enables me to explore the cultural, material, spatial and relational dimensions of the participating couples' relationships.

By way of background to this analytical approach, scholars have proposed that cases can be explored on various scales. We might engage with the case of a particular person or, as in my research a couple whose relationship exemplifies a particular issue, community or organisation, event, or entire society (Yin, 2012). The point is that cases often vary in scale, but all case studies share the approach of investigating a particular exemplar of a phenomenon in order to develop a deeper and contextualised understanding of the phenomenon in general (Radley & Chamberlain, 2012). Case studies can be constructed using quantitative methods (particularly for large scale cases) as well as more ethnographically-orientated techniques (particularly for smaller-scale studies) (Bobis et al., 2005; Greenholtz & Kim, 2009), with mixed methods also being common (Guetterman & Fetters, 2018).

Cases are particularly relevant to the study of the conduct of everyday life because everyday life encompasses various concrete cases of activities within which people develop their social skills (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Schraube & Højholt, 2016). Central here is the notion of the *virtuoso* (Bourdieu, 1977/2007), or people as experts in the conduct of their everyday activities. Mundane acts in marriages such as driving, cooking or managing money are not simply developed through a single performance. These experiences are developed through routine acts in which people gain context-dependent knowledge about ways to live in concert with others (Flyvbjerg, 2006). In other words, the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages offers various cases that enable us to develop a nuanced view of reality which includes the human agency that people can demonstrate within rule-governed acts (see Flyvbjerg, 2006; Hodgetts, Sonn, et al., 2020). Contemporary research has employed case-based approaches to explore the complex issues of culture, community, marriage, and so forth within everyday contexts (Graham et al., 2016; Groot et al., 2020; King et al., 2018).

It is important to note that cases are not simply found. Cases are constructed for the purposes of research (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2012). Let me explore this point in more detail. Clearly, the relationships I investigate within this thesis exist

independent of my research. However, in engaging with the couples for the purposes of research, I construct each of them as research cases. Through my interaction with the couples, I learnt to understand the singularity of their marital relationship through their stories about their historical backgrounds, the social context they live in, observed behaviours, reflections on the past and hopes for the future (Radley & Chamberlain, 2012). As such, each case is a product of the research practice that is formed through my inquiry (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2012). When narrating the stories of their inter-ethnic marriages, the participating couples are essentially displaying their negotiations of everyday life and in doing so they also come to represent the group and situations of people experiencing inter-ethnic marriage (Radley & Chamberlain, 2012). Clearly, there is much more to these couples than the fact that they conduct inter-ethnic marriages. However, for the purposes of research this is what the account of each couple or case is about.

The *doubleness* of the typical and unique is evident in cases (Delmar, 2010). That is, by looking at cases of a phenomenon, such as inter-ethnic marriage, we are able to explore both the unique aspects of different relationships as well as more general trends across cases. It is also common for researchers to draw on a series of cases to develop understandings of how broader societal relations and issues, including tensions between groups are reproduced locally in people's everyday lives (Hodgetts & Stotle, 2012). As such, case-based research affords opportunities for exploring how general trends are reproduced through, and shape, local interactions and relationships. This characteristic of portraying the general and the local in case-based research works in the spirit of the argument made by Simmel (1900/1978) regarding the micro society. In my research, inter-ethnic marriage is understood as an everyday site of rich, complex and culturally textured social phenomena that occur as a series of moving, overlapping waves that ripple out from the particular (micro- or personal-level) to the general (macro- or societal-level) and vice versa (Hodgetts, Sonn, et al., 2020). Given the understanding that the context of inter-ethnic marriage is at the crossroad of

inter-personal and inter-group relations, case-based research is appropriately employed within my research. I approach each case as a focal point for investigating the use of various practices and aspects of culture in the conduct of couples' everyday lives together and in doing so seek to produce context-bound understandings of inter-ethnic relationships.

Despite drawing on a case-base orientation in this research to explore the narratives of specific couples, this does not mean that I cannot make more general observations regarding how inter-ethnic married couples, in general, make sense of and story their lives together (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Hodgetts & Stolte, 2012). Case-based research often involves the construction of thick descriptions of various social phenomena, such as inter-ethnic marriage (Flyvbjerg, 2006). It is designed to offer readers an opportunity to consider the nuances of how couples conduct their everyday lives together and can be used comparatively to consider the unique features of each relationship as well as trends across the participating couples. In other words, cases can be clustered for comparative purposes (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Radley & Chamberlain, 2012).

Following this case-based approach, this thesis explores the lived experiences of 10 couples, whilst also contributing to providing insights into the wider social structures of Indonesian society. By working closely with the participants in accordance with the logic of the case, I sought to document and interpret how participating couples conducted their everyday lives together. In contexts such as Indonesia, it is still common for inter-ethnic marriage to be categorised as marginal, and for some, deviant, when compared to endogamous marriage (Utomo & McDonald, 2016). Adopting a case-based strategy in this research allowed me to provide the inter-ethnic married couples space to share their narratives and to lift the lid, as it were, on how people respond to such contextual concerns in their everyday lives. These involve daily activities, events and situations that are significant for developing an understanding of inter-ethnic marriage (see Hodgetts, Sonn, et al., 2020). Participating in inter-ethnic marriages might create inter-cultural tensions. Couples, however, are not passive in

navigating these tensions. Through cases, we can also see how they demonstrate agentive responses to make their marriages work.

Relational ethics in research into inter-ethnic marriage in Indonesia

Prior to discussing the analytical strategy used to make sense of the empirical materials generated, it is useful for me to first reflect on the ethics of this project. This is particularly important because inter-ethnic marriages between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians involve etic and emic tensions and power dynamics. In this section, I argue that we need to recognise these complex power dynamics and utilise them to inform our ethical research practices (Sonn et al., 2019). Drawing on recent scholarship on relational ethics, this section outlines my efforts to form dialectical and reciprocal relationships during my research into inter-ethnic marriage in Indonesia.

My application for ethical clearance for this research was peer-reviewed and judged to be low risk according to the guidelines and processes of the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (MUHEC) (see Appendix Six). Obtaining an ethical clearance is important as this is one of the procedures of the College of Humanities and Social Sciences at Massey University to ensure that all research is conducted in an ethical manner. The application involved a range of documents written in English and translated into Bahasa Indonesia, including the general research information sheet which contained information about the conduct of the research and the rights of the participants, informed consent, and the procedures for transcribing the interviews and storing the transcripts. Most of the elements of this application were important in that they helped me to think ethically about the ways I would conduct the fieldwork. In particular, my approaches to the site of my research, my interview guidelines, my reflexivity as researcher and the implications of the study for participants were all important to consider prior to starting the fieldwork.

During my fieldwork, however, I reflected on what it meant to be ethical in the context of my research in Javanese and Chinese Indonesian communities

which required me to situate myself in keeping with Javanese and Chinese Indonesian practices and principles (Hodgetts, Rua, et al., 2021) when building relationships with community members, *pinisepuh* (Javanese cultural elders), participating couples and collaborators. A considerable amount of research into inter-ethnic marriage has been conducted to investigate relational dynamics, as well as the challenges in researching such marriages (Craig-Henderson & Lewis, 2015; Tili & Barker, 2015; Utomo, 2019), demonstrating that researchers are generally aware of the complexity that comes with research in areas with such etic-emic tensions. What is limited in such scholarship, however, is analysis of the ways in which researchers articulate reciprocal relationships with the many parties involved. Subsequently, the following paragraphs offer brief accounts of the nature of relational ethics and how I operationalised relational ethics at various levels in this study.

The principles of relational ethics require that when conducting research, the central questions to answer are not only what sort of knowledge is to be produced but also how can we ensure that knowledge is produced in an ethical manner (Levinas, 1979). This concept orientates us to consider "what knowledge is being sought and why and whose interests are being served" (Hopner & Liu, 2021, p. 180). Relational ethics orientates us to value mutual respect, dignity and inter-connectedness between "the researcher and researched, and between [the] researcher and communities in which they live and work" (Ellis, 2007, p. 4). Central to this concept is the need to act from the heart and the mind, to maintain inter-personal bonds and open dialogue between the researchers and all parties involved, in which the relationships evolve over time (O'Doherty & Burgess, 2019). Here, research is seen as being not only about conducting research together, but also about the of conduct of life together with the various parties such as communities, collaborators and research participants (Hilppö et al., 2019). In a world where social inequalities persist as the most pressing social issue, there is a moral obligation to take care each other.

On a conceptual level, operationalising relational ethics in research into inter-ethnic marriage in Indonesia requires us to bring indigenous and global literatures into dialogue, or what Hodgetts and colleagues (2021) describe as *conceptual bricolage* (see Levi-Strauss, 1966), where culturally informed concepts such as Javanese and Chinese relational principles are in dialogue with global scholarship such as relational ethics (Ellis, 2007; Flyvbjerg, 2001; Hopner & Liu, 2021). Such conceptual dialectics are necessary to develop culturally informed ethics that are relevant and resonant for local people but also bring insights to the global audiences. In doing so, both elements — culturally informed principles and global scholarship — are equally important and complement each other. For example, to centralise Javanese and Chinese relational principles means to acknowledge Javanese and Chinese Indonesians' ways-of-being, thinking and doing that have been practiced and enacted by both ethnic communities for millennia. Using these principles to understand empirical materials is in keeping with our efforts to not impose knowledge to understand particular ethnic communities (Guimarães, 2020) and in doing so, (re)produce academic imperialism. Psychology is continuing to diversify and there is a need to develop the discipline into more than a singular public sphericule (King & Hodgetts, 2017), which can be enacted through dialogues with global literature such as relational ethics.

Operationalising relational ethics means ensuring reciprocal relationships between the researcher and all parties involved, including the communities, collaborators and participants. Such reciprocity provides a basis to foster social relationships and cooperation (Mauss, 1950/2002). In practice, ensuring reciprocity is often inseparable from gifting. Scholars such as Mauss (1950/2002) conceptualise gifting as part of the informal economy, which is located in contra-position with commodified, formal relations involving exchanges of money and goods. Mauss' (1950/2002) conceptualisation of reciprocity is useful as a starting point to discuss how we enact relational ethics in this research. However, such a rigid binary of formal and informal relations can limit the rich and nuanced

relationships I have built with parties involved in my research. For example, gifting is central to how relational ethics is enacted in this research because gifting enables me to demonstrate care for the participants. In particular, this is why I provided a gift for each couple, usually a bag of groceries, on each of my visits. However, central here is not simply buying the groceries but learning which types of groceries met the needs of each particular couple, which I learned from my everyday interactions. As such, bringing groceries as a gift is not only formal in the sense of material compensation for participating couples' time and effort, but also informal in the sense that it requires us to understand the specific needs of the couples. The groceries, as a gift, are deeply relational and personal. As a response, my participant couples often reciprocated with gifts of particular relevance to my family. For example, after finishing an interview with Brian and Ningsih, Ningsih gifted me a pack of the chicken nuggets she sells, after learning that my son loves chicken nuggets. This example exemplifies that in gifting, we have an obligation to receive that is inseparable from the obligation to reciprocate (Mauss, 1950/2002).

Reciprocity can also take less tangible forms such as time, concern and care. Beyond utilitarianism, this can also constitute a gift-deferred or a gift paid-forward (Hodgetts et al., 2015). For example, in this research I worked closely with my Chinese Indonesian collaborators. A Chinese colleague who assisted me with the interviews and gave helpful comments on transcripts, refused *batik* and money to compensate for the time and effort that they put in. However, the collaborator asked about my willingness to provide comments on a paper that they were in the process of submitting to a journal, which I provided several months later. To get more feedback from a Chinese Indonesian perspective, I invited another Chinese Indonesian colleague to comment on the transcripts. My consideration when involving this second collaborator was that this person is a visual artist with considerable experience in conducting theatre performances and writing graphic novels on the everyday life of Chinese Indonesians post-1998. Additionally, this Chinese Indonesian collaborator also practices inter-ethnic marriage with a Javanese. This collaborator also refused *batik* and money and opted to ask

permission from the couples to adopt and modify some of the stories in the transcripts into a graphic novel (see Appendix Seven). The script of the graphic novel was a collaborative process with these couples. In addition, I have learned that the collaborator has also sought opportunities to apply for funding to re-enact the stories as a theatre performance. As a result, I helped the second Chinese Indonesian collaborator to write and pitch a proposal to several graphic novel publishers. I also have helped the collaborator to apply for a performance grant to showcase the graphic novel and theatre performance. Here, relational ethics with my collaborators are maintained through relationships involving caring practices and efforts to support their works and activism.

Making sense of the empirical materials generated

In efforts to make further sense of the empirical materials (observational field notes, interview transcripts, drawings, photographs and material objects), I am informed by the recent development of an impressionistic approach that is relevant to visual inquiry into everyday life (Hodgetts, Andriolo, et al., 2022). Here, I explore participants' accounts of the everyday conduct of their inter-ethnic marriages in relation to community and societal narratives surrounding inter-ethnic relations and the existing academic knowledge relating to these relationships. This is achieved through a process of *abductive reasoning* (Brinkmann, 2014; Hodgetts & Stolte, 2012) that is central to my positioning of the researcher as a *bricoleur* (Kincheloe, 2001, 2005; Markham, 2005). That is, I worked eclectically and in an open-ended manner to explore the empirical materials in relation to existing research and theoretical ideas. The core goal was to build up a picture of these marriages that can never be fully complete, but which offers further insights into the dynamics of inter-ethnic marriage in Indonesia.

The analysis or sense-making part of this research did not begin only when the fieldwork was completed. Conducting this research *with* participants across multiple interactions and conversations allowed me to engage collaboratively with the couples in a dialectical relationship designed to deepen our understandings of

inter-ethnic marriage together as we go. More specifically, the way I organised the empirical material is as follows. First, I gathered all of the different types of empirical material together. My observational notes, photos taken by participants, transcripts of formal and informal interviews and other forms of empirical materials were collected in one place and put into time-based sequential order. The simple photograph gridding interview (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2014) was particularly useful in my analytical strategy (see Appendix Eight). In doing so, I annotated each photograph with locations, people, activities and objects. Then, I started to draw associations between places and certain practices conducted by the couples or partners. After categorising, analysing and interpreting the photographs, I started to conceptualise topics such as mobility, everyday material practices and relational complexity, and worked with my supervisors to theorise broader processes at play. I also utilised a personal journal containing my thoughts and reflections on every single piece of empirical material generated (Allport, 1942). It is important to note that the reflections on certain empirical materials were written in the personal journal as soon as the empirical material was generated in order to ensure that I stayed connected to the materials. However, the reflections are reviewed over time (Brinkmann, 2014) to understand the whole of the work as the number of empirical materials generated increased day by day.

Having written my reflections into a personal journal, I sifted through the reflections looking for what was interesting or strange and then clustered the materials according to different culturally meaningful facets. Through this process, which also involved elements of trial and error, I invited participating couples, the Chinese Indonesian collaborators and a Javanese cultural elder to work with me to make sense of the empirical materials. By working with them, the participants could revisit and revise the stories they had shared and provide feedback on my initial interpretations. Throughout this process, I sent the reflections and steps that I took to my supervisors who acted as sounding boards, offering feedback and assisting me to defamiliarise my understandings of the empirical materials (Kaomea, 2003; Shklovsky, 1917/1965). My supervisors included three scholars in

community and applied social psychology, cross-cultural psychology and Māori community psychology. In the process of defamiliarisation, my supervisors introduced me to an extensive body of scholarly work on Kaupapa Māori and Confucian teachings. Thus, the processes involved in making meaning of the empirical materials were a product of joint reflections between the participating couples, the researcher, the Chinese collaborators, the Javanese cultural elder and the supervisors. I also used the literature to help me interpret the clusters and construct an angle for the case. Then once I had done this with all of them, I started comparing the cases more formally in an effort to crystallise the main argument and write the research manuscript.

CHAPTER THREE: THE ASSEMBLAGE OF INTER-ETHNIC MARRIAGES

In Chapter Three, I invite readers to delve deeper, to look at how the marriages are conducted within a broader layer of relationships. In doing so, I approach culture from the perspective of assemblage theory (DeLanda, 2006/2019; Deleuze & Guattari, 1988). This conceptual orientation enables me to consider how cultures can be seen as dynamic social formations including beliefs, values, social practices and ways of being. It is through the re-assembling of key elements from both cultures that couples forge their lives together and create the third spaces of inter-ethnic marriages (Bhabha, 1994). As I will demonstrate in this chapter, participants shared various examples of the ways they bring culturally informed elements into their marriages. This includes their relationships with parents and in-laws, their religious practices, work traditions, and everyday mundane practices such as cooking. The wide range of examples demonstrates that the conduct of everyday life can be seen conceptually as spaces of re-assemblage.

This chapter contributes to the scholarship of cultural hybridity that mainly speaks to the macro level of asymmetrical power relations between the colonisers and the colonised. In this chapter, I focus more on the everyday or mundane relational aspects of how people from different ethnic groups forge lives together. Central here are the ways participants demonstrate agency through the observation, (re)production and adaption of elements from their cultures to make their marriages work. As I demonstrate in this thesis, the combination of assemblage and social practices theory has proven useful to highlight the need to consider both social structures and human agency in research into inter-ethnic marriages.

This chapter is published as:

The assemblage of inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia

Abstract

Inter-ethnic married couples develop their intimate lives together within the context their broader cultural communities. Drawing from 10-weeks of fieldwork with ten Javanese and Chinese Indonesian couples (65 interviews, over 500 pages of transcript, 70 pages of fieldnotes and over 360 photographs), we approach such marriages as dynamic sites of cultural hybridity and the re-assemblage of key elements from the participants' ethno-cultural assemblages of origin. We document how mundane social practices, such as practicing respect of elders, observing religious practices, combining familial work traditions and fusion cooking are instrumental elements in establishing culturally hybrid ways of conducting more harmonious lives together. The conceptual framework developed for this article from assemblage and social practice theories offers a novel approach to exploring everyday cultural hybridity in the conduct nature of inter-ethnic marriages.

Key words: Inter-ethnic marriage, assemblage, hybridity, articulation, Javanese, Chinese Indonesian

Over recent decades, research has begun to document complex layers of relationality within inter-ethnic marriages. Studies have investigated inter-personal issues between partners (Leslie & Young, 2015), with children (Sweeney, 2017), and broader community networks and kinships structures (Utomo, 2019). Scholars have also argued that relational issues in inter-ethnic marriages extend to various human and non-human (material) entities (Klocker & Tindale, 2021), urban and rural contexts (McKenzie & Xiong, 2021) and enactments of affiliative ethnic identities (Yodanis et al., 2012). These marriages have also been explored

in terms of inter-group issues of class, caste, gender and national-level politics (Ida Bagus, 2008). Briefly, the focus of previous research has broadened from the specifics of dyadic relationships of partners to how the lives and experiences of inter-ethnic couples take shape within broader community, cultural and societal contexts.

International research into inter-ethnic marriages has also drawn on postcolonial scholarship to foreground the importance of cultural hybridity within such unions (Chong, 2020). Bhabha's (1994) conceptualisation of cultural hybridity is central to the creation of 'third spaces' between two participating cultures, which often carry asymmetrical, disjunctive and contradictory relations between cultures. It is within one such third space created by Javanese and Chinese Indonesian married couples that this research is located and where participating couples' identities and cultural similarities and differences are negotiated in everyday life (Chong, 2020). Although Bhabha's (1994) concept of a third space comprises an important theoretical steppingstone for deepening knowledge of cultural hybridisation, subsequent research has focused more on issues around art, literature, language and music (Kraidy, 2005) and less on mundane everyday practices related to inter-ethnic couples earning a living and conducting household life (see O'Connor, 2018).

Given the dynamic complexities that often come with everyday inter-ethic marriage and the construction of third spaces, this paper draws on assemblage (DeLanda, 2006/2019; Deleuze & Guattari, 1988) and social practice theories (Blue, 2019; Halkier & Jensen, 2011) to extend existing understandings of everyday cultural hybridity (O'Connor, 2018). Assemblage theory is particularly useful in orientating us towards the dynamic nature of human relations within the context of larger social formations, including cultural traditions. Assemblages can be conceptualised as dynamic social formations or structures, which are made up of various human and non-human elements or entities that often function together metaphorically like instruments within an orchestra (DeLanda, 2006/2019). Foundational to assemblage theory is an orientation towards the social world as

an emerging or contingent formation that exists in a dynamic state of becoming. Accordingly, assemblages have been conceptualised as "the provisional holding together of a group of entities across differences and a continuous process of movement and transformation as relations and terms change" (Anderson et al., 2012, p. 177). From this perspective, the social worlds occupied by all of us are constituted through numerous assemblages that make up a socially contingent reality ontologically, which is reproduced through ongoing social practices and interactions.

Assemblage theory affords a useful perspective for thinking about cultures as dynamic social formations that feature key elements, including shared languages, worldviews, belief systems, associated, and ways-of-being and interacting with others. Particular ethnic or cultural groups are entangled within these dynamic formations (assemblages), cohere and re-assemble through the conduct of everyday life (Hodgetts et al., 2020a). These cultural assemblages are coherent in their own right. They can also influence one another, particularly through ongoing interactions between group members, such as when Javanese and Chinese Indonesians marry and build lives together. These unions feature ongoing interactions that extend beyond the partners to the broader familial and community networks from which each emerges. Assemblage theory orientates us towards investigating how different elements, including people, values, beliefs, places, practices and traditions are interwoven in the co-construction of inter-ethnic marriages as relational mosaics. Our core focus is not simply on the properties of the discrete elements that are invoked in the accounts of the research participants. It is on the orchestral coming together of these elements in the co-creation of marriage spaces in which both partners can be comfortable culturally (see DeLanda, 2006/2019). It is through the re-assembling of key elements from both cultures as the couples go about conducting their everyday lives together (Schraube & Højholt, 2016) that the newly formed marriages take shape as culturally hybrid third spaces.

To recap, we approach inter-ethic marriages as hybrid third spaces that take form between the larger cultural community assemblages from which each partner emerges. Central to these marriage spaces are processes of 'de-territorialisation' and 're-territorialisation' (see DeLanda, 2006/2019) whereby particular entities are drawn from a cultural assemblage and re-combined with elements from another cultural assemblage and re-situated or re-assembled within the creation of a third space, that of the marriage relationship. As we will show, this re-territorialisation or re-situating of elements is central to processes of cultural hybridisation and the combining and reworking of cultural objects and practices that is central to the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages. We are particularly interested in how inter-ethnic marriages compose third spaces for cultural re-assemblage that are comprised of elements from two distinct cultural assemblages that are brought into a 'collective alliance' (Hillier & Abrahams, 2013). Briefly, assemblage theory is used to orientate us towards dynamic processes of cultural hybridity, which are often central to the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages as third spaces of inter-cultural exchange within Indonesian society today.

Our research focus also reflects contemporary developments in cross-cultural research whereby some scholars have begun to draw on assemblage theory to extend knowledge of the complexities and asymmetries of inter-cultural married life (Collins, 2018; Price-Robertson & Duff, 2019). Reflecting some of the dynamics involved, Domic and Philaretou (2007) document how Greek Cypriot women who marry Eastern European men often must simultaneously navigate gender expectations from their own and their partners' cultures. As such, it is useful to position such marriages as encounter spaces that give rise to culturally hybrid, agentive and adaptive everyday practices. These practices allow people to navigate everyday differences by re-territorialising key elements from their own and their partners' cultures. Such practices offer a means for couples to respond to different cultural expectations and to manage associated tensions in everyday life.

More conceptually, social practices can be approached as the creative, thoughtful and routinised actions that allow people to reproduce their culturally derived and shared ways of being, often in modified or hybridised forms (Hodgetts et al., 2020). These practices have their origins in particular cultural formations, elements of which take on new life when re-territorialised within the third spaces of inter-ethnic marriages. Such social practices are recognised as being central to the dynamic everyday reproduction of the traditions of particular groups, communities and cultures (see Blue, 2019; Hodgetts, et al., 2020b). Correspondingly, our focus extends outwards from the micro level conduct of particular practices to the macro level reproduction of the broader cultural assemblages from which particular practices originate. An important consideration here is that social practices are implicated in both the stable reproduction of cultural traditions and the dynamic re-articulation of elements of aspects of these traditions. As we will demonstrate, mundane practices in the context of inter-ethnic marriages may be woven into new combinations that are functional within the context of the inter-personal dynamic of particular unions. For example, the practice of cooking a particular Chinese dish is generally subject to particular ingredients and cooking processes that have become routinised in terms of the cultural calendar of Chinese Indonesians. When a Javanese wife cooks such Chinese dishes, she may adjust the ingredients and cooking process in keeping with her own 'Javanese style' of cooking. Through the act of cooking the 'same' dish elements aspects of both Chinese and Javanese cuisine become intertwined in the production of the dish, which is now implicated in both the reproduction of the Chinese tradition and production of a new culturally hybrid version of the dish. Before we consider further exemplars of such hybridised inter-ethnic practices, let us briefly outline the research context and project from which this article emerged.

The present study: Context and approach

By way of historical context, it is important to acknowledge the complex relationships and conflicts between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians. For example, Carey (1984) documents tensions during the Java War of 1840 in which the Javanese army attacked Chinese communities in Ngawi. Scholars also highlight the more recent 1965 (Cribb, 2001) and 1998 anti-Chinese violence (Purdey, 2006) as important markers of ongoing inter-ethnic tensions. The rise of anti-Chinese rhetoric during the 2017 Jakarta election and in the blasphemy case of Ahok (Chinese Jakarta Governor) also suggest that considerable tensions remain between *pribumi* (indigenous/native of the soil, such as Javanese) and non-*pribumi* Indonesians (Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020). For example, a recent Indonesian National Survey (Setijadi, 2017) asked Indonesian '*pribumi*' to react to the statement, "It is inappropriate for native Indonesians to practice inter-ethnic marriage with Chinese Indonesians'. Of the 1,620 respondents, 33.7 percent agreed, 35.8 percent disagreed, with 30.6 percent neither agreed nor disagreed. Such survey results suggest that public opinion regarding inter-ethnic marriage within Indonesian society is divided.

Today, Indonesia remains a multicultural country that is home to more than 630 ethnic groups (Arifin et al., 2015), and where despite ongoing inter-group tensions, inter-ethnic marriages have become a prominent feature of urban life (Utomo & McDonald, 2016). It has been estimated that approximately 10.7 per cent of the 47 million marriages in Indonesia are now inter-ethnic (Utomo & McDonald, 2016). This number is expected to rise in the coming years along with increasingly positive attitudes towards inter-ethnic marriages among younger generations of Indonesians (Lyn et al., 2014). Given the broader inter-group tensions noted above, it is important to note that the authorship of this article involves Javanese and Chinese scholars, and that the fieldwork and empirical material generated had input from both ethnic groups.

Our approach to the presented research is informed by social practices-orientated scholarship in social psychology on the conduct of everyday life

(Hodgetts et al., 2020a; Schraube & Højholt, 2016). This approach is also in keeping with the conceptual arguments we have posed around the dynamic nature of cultures as assemblages and the intwined and inseparable nature of the personal, inter-personal, inter-group and societal levels of everyday life. That is, the particular (participating marriages) are implicated in the reproduction and shifts in tensions at the general level between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians today. As such we are particularly interested in furthering existing knowledge of how everyday mundane social practices are implicated in the ongoing conduct and renewal of relations between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians. Central to this work is an attempt to conceptualise the dynamics of inter-personal, shared and divergent everyday practices, and how participating couples navigate these in forging their lives together.

In terms of the research setting, the lead author and a Chinese collaborator undertook 10-weeks of fieldwork in his home city of Nganjuk, a city in East Java which encompasses a population of 1,127,963 people. This population is predominantly Javanese Muslim (99%), is governed by a *bupati* (regent), and has the second lowest regional minimum wage. Less than 1% of inhabitants are Chinese Indonesian, mostly non-Muslim and reside in the central business area where many run small businesses and tend to be more affluent than their Javanese counterparts. As such, marriage between a Javanese and Chinese Indonesian often features complex issues of class, religion and gender. This fieldwork encompassed 10 Javanese and Chinese inter-ethnic couples who were recruited through a Kindergarten attended by the children and where parents often socialise in a common room during the day. As the first author is also engaged in an inter-ethnic marriage, spending time with others in this common room helped to establish the groundwork and orientating conversations for this study.

After several weeks building relationships with potential participants, the lead author initiated a series of biographical (n=20), go-along (n=30) and photo-elicitation (n=15) interviews (Hodgetts et al., 2007; Kusenbach, 2003) with 10 couples. These interactions result in over 500 pages of transcript, 70 pages of field

notes and over 360 photographs. Given the size and complexity of this research corpus, in this article we draw on one exemplar each from four of the couples: Indra and Yenyen; Ersa and Lingling; Budi and Maimunah; Hendra and Nitya (pseudonyms). These exemplars reflect reoccurring culturally hybrid practices from across the 10 couples. Participants were aged between 24-58 years, engaged in various occupations, including teacher, small-business person, administrator, radio announcer and insurance broker. The length of participating marriages ranged from 5 to 34 years.

Multiple phases of enhanced interviews that featured photo-elicitation projects, mapping exercises, and go-along conversations enabled participants to take us on tours of their everyday lives (Hodgetts et al., 2007; Hodgetts, et al., 2020a), and with reference to what we have come to think of as elements of their cultural assemblages. In particular, the photographs and drawings exercises produced memetic objects that feature participant's culturally-patterned relationships with other people, situations and particular practices that, through processes of abduction became central to our analysis or the conceptual impressions we derived from participant accounts (see Hodgetts et al., 2021).

The transcripts, fieldnotes, maps and photographs were analysed iteratively, categorically, and interpretively (Hodgetts et al., 2020b) through the application of abductive reasoning (Brinkmann, 2014) and in keeping with an orientation towards qualitative inquiry as impressionistic (Hodgetts et al., 2022) bricolage (Levi-Strauss, 1966). Initially, this involved reading, re-reading and discussing the empirical materials for each case. We examined the particularities of each case and the couple's experiences of the everyday inter-ethnic aspects of the conduct of their marriages. Once the initial case analyses were completed, we then contrasted and integrated insights from across the cases to produce the interpretation presented below. Throughout this process, we leveraged the power of the case to facilitate detailed explorations of situated experiences (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2012), which through processes of referential and theoretical generalization can speak to broader trends in society (Hodgetts et al., 2020b).

The analysis process conceptualised above resulted in two previous publications (Yulianto, et al., 2022b; Yulianto, et al., 2022c), focused on how participants adapt to their new lives together materially and psychologically, and navigate cultural, gendered and classed tensions. As we completed these articles we became increasingly interested in issues of cultural hybridity in the conduct of these marriages. We then went back to the empirical materials for each household again and pulled out all the material related to various aspects of hybridity and read these in conjunction with relevant literature. Participants articulated how they drew on various elements from their cultures of origin and combined these in forging their lives together. After collating and describing these aspects of the participant's accounts we then moved to the level of interpretation and theory. Central here was the decision to inductively employ insights from scholarship on cultural hybridity and assemblage theory as anchor points for deepening our interpretation of participant accounts. In applying assemblage theory empirically (Müller, 2015), we identified a number of relevant elements, including material objects, cultural beliefs and practices that constitute key features of hybridity within the everyday lives of participating couples. These foci were then discussed at length as a means of refining our focus through dialogue that was informed by our independent engagements with the research corpus (Hodgetts et al., 2021). We then worked through the empirical materials to categorise relevant materials in relation to instances where participants invoked their relationships with the extended families as cultural hubs, religious expectations, and employment and culinary practices. We focused on these issues as they were prominent across all ten cases and exemplified processes of hybridity, re-assemblage, and human agency. It was at this point that we reaffirmed the utility of the focus of this article on the everyday dynamics of cultural hybridity. We then opted to draw on four prominent exemplars, one from each of the four cases that we had not drawn on in the previous two publications. As is in keeping with the impressionistic approach (Hodgetts et al., 2022), what we have produced is an impression of the

participants' dynamic everyday conduct of their lives together, which is not definitive, and which like all qualitative analyses is open to further interpretation.

Key elements in the assemblage of inter-ethnic marriages

Participants shared a wide range of insights into how they bring various elements from their own cultures, and ways-of-being into the everyday conduct of their marriages. This analysis is structured around four exemplars of prominent practices, including respecting parents, negotiating religious traditions, combing work traditions, and fusion cooking. Focusing on these practices enables us to offer insights into the complex and dynamic nature of cultural hybridisation within participating marriages, and in relation to the broader context of Javanese and Chinese Indonesian relations. All four exemplars illustrate how different couples rework particular elements from both Javanese and Chinese cultural assemblages to create hybridised relational third spaces within which they live together in relative harmony.

Respect parents

In making sense of the conduct of their marriages, participants discussed their pragmatic orientations towards observing some ethnic practices and not others. Both Javanese and Chinese Indonesian cultures share the core value of respecting parents (Geertz, 1961; Hoon, 2013), but enact this value differently. Our first exemplar comes from Indra and Yenyen who have adapted to the expectations of both cultures by re-assembling several practices from their cultures into a hybrid form for observing elder respect. Below, Indra reflects on the kinds of inter-cultural negotiations that are central to this couple forging a harmonious relationship with older members of their familial networks. Central to the exemplar below is how different elements from the two cultures, such as the use of particular linguistic protocols, embodied gestures (bowing), and material practices of incense worship, and associated values (e.g., respect to

parents) are consciously re-negotiated and articulated within the marriage. As Indra states:

> I was raised in a conservative Javanese family. I speak *krama* (the highest linguistic style in the Javanese language) to my parents. I practice gestures to respect elders, such as taking a bow when passing by my parents who are conversing to other elders. Yenyen comes from a traditional Chinese family, which also practices ancestor worship with incense and speaks Mandarin to her family members every day. But when we entered our marriage, we agreed to select which practices we will still do or not do. If it is easy to do, let's do it. But if it is not, let's just leave it… If I forced her and my children to speak Javanese *krama* to me and my parents, I would feel sorry for them. If she forced me to hold incense to do such worship every day, I would feel sorry for myself… Now, more important is the value behind these cultural practices. I know that holding incense is showing our respect to our passing parents and ancestors. Let me show my respect using different ways. If my children are not bowing themselves when passing to their grandparents conversing, it doesn't mean that they are not respectful. But I still speak (casual) Javanese to my wife and children. My wife also teaches our children to speak Mandarin sometimes to be able to understand when my wife's family are conversing.

This extract reflects how this couple actively draws in elements from their respective cultural assemblages that they re-territorialised within the conduct of their marriage and the socialisation of their children. This exemplar also raises the crucial role of human agency in the adaptive and flexible combination of particular everyday practices (Hodgetts et al, 2020). By re-interpreting aspects of their cultural assemblages and applying key elements to the conduct of their marriages, the couple actively considers which cultural practices they will and will not adopt, and in doing so re-think the expediency of different practices in particular familial situations. It is worth noting here that whilst all participating couples voiced a

sense of obligation to act in specific ways that are central to the cultural systems from which they originate, they also foregrounded how agentive they are in adapting key cultural practices to better meet the needs of their inter-cultural lives. This flexibility is important as a pragmatic means of navigating overlapping cultural expectations to demonstrate respect for elderly relatives from both sides of the family (Geertz, 1961; Hoon, 2013). What results is an adaptive hybridised set of ways for showing respect into which they socialise their own children. This extract also points to the dynamics of stability and flux in the adaptation of particular cultural practices (Hillier & Abrahams, 2013). Such adaptation extends to the re-articulation of particular cultural and religious practices.

Negotiating religious expectations and tensions

Religion is often a point of negotiation between partners in inter-ethnic marriages where different faith systems are in play. These negotiations often involve members of the extended family and respective community networks. For example, Islam is the dominant religion and a core element of Javanese culture today (Geertz, 1961). Islam is not a prominent aspect of Chinese culture in Indonesia. This means that part of the negotiation of these marriages involves the negotiation of tensions that can come with having one partner, but not the other subscribing to this faith. For example, Budi and Maimunah talked about having to negotiate elements of Islam faith, particularly when engaged with their broader kinship networks. Maimunah (Javanese) recounts the story of how she did not initially engage in the practice of wearing the *hijab* prior to their marriage. Subsequently, the couple moved in with Budi's Chinese parents. Despite Maimunah experiencing considerable cultural tensions when living with her in-laws, she built an excellent relationship with them, especially with her mother-in-law who taught her how to cook Chinese dishes. After 15 years living in the Chinese household, Maimunah and Budi successfully purchased their new house. It was at this point that Maimunah began wearing the *hijab,* a spiritual practice of utmost importance to her. Throughout our interviews, Maimunah disclosed that wearing

the *hijab* was "a must for a mature Muslim woman, and once you wear it, you are supposed to wear it for the rest of your life". She also added that she wears the *hijab* to respect her Muslim relatives, demonstrating that such material practices are of central importance to Muslim family life and the observance of Islamic faith. However, this practice led to new tensions between Maimunah and her mother in-law. In relation to Figure 3, Maimunah talked about a tense incident where her Javanese Muslim relatives were invited to a Chinese family dinner with her in-laws:

Figure 3. Maimunah on the right of frame wearing a stylish hijab and greeting her Javanese Muslim relatives

This photograph is really memorable for me. This photo is taken in a family dinner held by my Chinese father-in-law. We usually do it in his place, but this was held in a local restaurant because they wanted to invite my Javanese relatives. But my mother in-law said she doesn't want to see me wearing *hijab.* "You were married to my son when you didn't wear the *hijab"*, she said angrily. Well, I understood her request, but I also have my Muslim

relatives that I have to respect, too! In the day, I decided to modify the way I wear the *hijab* into a more stylish one. Gosh, I was so relieved that my mother-in-law was fine and my relatives were also fine with this. This is so interesting, yet surprising for me because my mother-in-law was only mad at me wearing conventional *hijab,* but was okay when seeing my relatives wearing conventional *hijab.* But overall, I am glad that the moment went well.

Combined, the photograph in Figure 3 and photo-elicitation interview extract demonstrate how cultural practices, such as wearing a *hijab* can raise inter-cultural tensions within extended inter-cultural families. However, in order to respect the values and expectations of both cultures, Maimunah adapts the practice of wearing *hijab* so as to both respect her own family's faith and the expectations of her in-laws. In re-articulating the practice of hijab Maimunah manages an important point of tension with her in-laws. This was particularly important to Maimunah who repeatedly emphasised her love for her Chinese mother-in-law and respect for her worldview. This so called *'stylish hijab'* functions materially and symbolically to render Maimunah's relationship with her in-laws more harmonious. The adoption of the *stylish hijab* constitutes a practice that communicates affective signals of respect and a willingness to compromise from Maimunah to members of both her Javanese Muslim and Chinese Christian families. By wearing the *stylish hijab*, Maimunah notes that she is able to work on "the most important thing in life", which she identifies as "to see your broader families from both cultures living in harmony" (see Magnis-Suseno, 1984). The cultivation of such harmony is often achieved through the re-territorialising and cultural hybridising of particular elements from both cultural assemblages. Such adaptive practices are particularly prominent in relation to observances of core values from both cultures, particularly when these overlap at a conceptual level, but differ in terms of their articulation. Our interpretation of such instances of cultural adaptation and hybridity draws upon Hall and colleagues' (2016) concept of articulation (Hall et al., 2016). The concept of articulation speaks to how

connections between these elements (e.g., food ingredients, cooking practices, ways-of-being, beliefs, and so forth) are contingent and may be re-articulated across space and time in different ways or through divergent practices (Hall et al., 2016). Below, we consider these adaptive practices in relation to elements such as work and food.

Combining work traditions

Both Chinese and Javanese Indonesian cultures emphasise the importance of both partners engaging in paid work as a central aspect of developing a financially independent marriage. Though how this overlapping value is articulated does tend to diverge in terms of its occupational articulation. In discussing work-related practices, the participants also emphasised the importance of fostering cooperative inter-generational relationships cross-culturally and learning from older relatives. As well as meeting the expectations of one's in-laws, this also includes re-articulating one's own occupational traditions that have been handed down across generations (Wang & Brockmeier, 2002). For example, in discussing the photograph of her kiosk in Figure 4, Lingling reflects that the practice of running this business as a reflection of her Chinese or more specifically Hakka[8] culture of origin. In the extracts below, Ersa then replies by relating Lingling's work to his own and in doing so deepens the account of the two families' paid employment practices and how the marriage has been enrichened by both work traditions:

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[8] Mostly residing in Northern China, Hakka is a Chinese sub-group of the Han Dynasty (Constable, 2005). They came to Indonesia as traders in several waves of migration in 19th and 20th century. In Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore, Hakka people are commonly known as '*Khek*' (Stenberg, 2015).

Figure 4. Lingling's kiosk in a main road in the city

Lingling: After we got married, my parents and all of my older siblings often remind us as a couple to be financially independent. We should receive no financial support from the family anymore. My mother suggested to me to run a kiosk just like her. Well, no problem! I am pretty experienced as a seller. When I was in Elementary School, my classes were conducted from noon. So, mum asked me to sell cakes before school and the money I earned was given as my pocket money. Even my grandparent is *Khek* (Hakka) who immigrated from Mainland China to Indonesia as a trader. That is why I am pretty good in managing money in my own household with Ersa.

Ersa: I am a civil servant and therefore my salary is quite low. So it is
good to have additional efforts to increase our family income… So, we
need to work diligently to be able to eat. My family and I have never
run a business nor been a seller before. All of them are civil servants
like me. Running a business, therefore, is a new thing but it is good for
us. After returning from work, I help Lingling to assist the buyers. Learn
how to service people, how to manage money properly, and how to
have a business mindset.

The couple's efforts to make a living are populated by occupational elements from both partners' cultural traditions and familial practices. The Kiosk is constructed as a key element from the Hakka Chinese tradition (Constable, 2005) that has been adapted to work within the new inter-cultural space of this marriage. In extending Lingling's account, Ersa explains the importance of the kiosk with reference to Javanese values and practices of hard work that are associated with his familial tradition of civil service. Both occupations function as key elements in enabling the family to cooperate not only for everyday survival, but also to thrive independently. Ersa's assertion 'to learn to manage money' also reflects the re-articulation of a traditional Javanese gender role whereby women manage the household's money (Brenner, 1995). This exemplar also reflects how work practices and occupations from both cultures can be brought into concert or what assemblage theorists refer to as 'connective alliance' (Hillier & Abrahams, 2013, p. 19). Such connective alliances between elements from the two cultures are also evident on smaller scale in terms of the combination of both Javanese and Chinese Indonesian cooking practices.

Fusion cooking

In Javanese and Chinese cultures, cuisine is a foundational element in cultural reproduction, which manifests through various everyday practices. Food is implicated in people how people articulate who they are, where they are from, and what they value (Lévi-Strauss, 1983). Cooking practices offer moments of re-

articulation within these marriages whereby different ingredients and techniques from the two cuisines are brought agentively into dialogue as key elements within the everyday adulterated dishes that are often produced within these marriages. These practices of adaptation implicated in the re-territorialisation of particular Javanese and Chinese dishes offer insights into the mundanity of cultural fusion that is central to the everyday conduct of these marriages. For example, during a cook-along interview involving the first author helping Nitya (Javanese) prepare a meal, she talked at length about how their household cooking practices reflect key similarities and differences between Javanese and Chinese Indonesian cultures:

> Nitya: We need to boil this meat (see Figure 5). Then, you [first author] need to *gongso* (fry without oil) the ginger and garlic.
>
> First author: How about the soy sauce?
>
> Nitya: No. I don't use that. I usually use the salt. A Chinese cook usually uses soy sauce to give salty taste. But I like the salty from the salt. I know this is 'not too Chinese'. I apply the Javanese method here [both laugh]. In Hendra's Chinese family, they usually boil vegetables with water and after that they use the boiled water to be included in the further steps. I don't like to do so. We [Nitya and Hendra] have high blood pressure. But at least I use oyster sauce (see Figure 5) and sesame oil to make it 'taste Chinese'. This also applies when we cook noodles. In Hendra's family, his mum uses Kim Ling Noodles. I just use Selon Noodles that, you know, we often use to cook Javanese noodles.

Figure 5. Boiling meat to make a Chinese dish the 'Javanese way' using oyster sauce

The exemplar above speaks to processes of the mundane re-territorialisation of a 'Chinese' dish, which is cooked in a Javanese way. The cooking practice being demonstrated in this interview extract and Figure 5 reflects a hybridised practice that draws from both Chinese and Javanese traditions. Nitya literally marries up key elements from the respective cultural assemblages into the creation of something old that is also new. In the process, such dishes reflect the importance and practicalities of both preserving some continuity in traditional cuisine as well as adapting it to suit the new marriage context. This is a process of cultural adaption and fusion that is also not lost on Hendra. In a subsequent 'eat-along interview', Hendra acknowledges that Nitya's cooking is "equally delicious, but different from what my mother's cooked for me in the past". In consuming such dishes, Hendra and Nitya (re)produce elements of what it means to be both a Chinese and Javanese Indonesian. For such participants, cooking does not simply involve frying, boiling or adding ingredients according to a recipe. Cooking also stems from preparing the main ingredients, the practice of selecting and processing the ingredients (what ingredients to use, to cut into particular shapes, what spices and elements to use, how many times to cook) (Lévi-Strauss, 1983).

Also implicated are practices for serving the food (using a plate or bowl, quantity, and so forth), and the practices, values and relationships that are reproduced through the mundane act of cooking particular meals. In sum, both the food and related practices emerge as re-articulations of shared elements of both cultural assemblages (see Hall et al., 2016). Chinese dishes cooked in a Javanese style offer material exemplars for how people engaged in inter-ethnic marriages exceed existing culinary traditions in ways that can appease the tastes and traditions of both partners and subsequent generations.

Discussion

To recap, scholars have investigated a range issues central to inter-ethnic marriages (Leslie & Young, 2015; Sweeney, 2017; Utomo, 2020), cultural hybridity (see Bhabha, 1994; Chong, 2020) and the accommodation of difference (Ida Bagus, 2008), as well as the material, spatial and relational aspects of everyday life (Hodgetts et al., 2017; Klocker & Tindale, 2021). These existing literatures served as the departure point for our exploration of inter-ethnic marriages as spaces for re-assemblage wherein different elements are re-articulated through the conduct of everyday life. As such, this article comprises the first exploration of issues of cultural hybridity and re-assemblage within the everyday lives of inter-ethnic couples. Correspondingly, we contribute a dynamic and exemplified conceptual understanding of inter-ethnic marriages as sites for cross-cultural re-assemblage and hybridity. In doing so, we have investigated some of the everyday practices (Blue, 2020; Halkier & Jensen, 2011) that populate inter-ethnic marriages as smaller scale sites for re-assemblage that emerge as intercultural encounter spaces between the larger cultural assemblages from which each partner emerges.

The exemplars provided in the analysis above illustrate different agentive aspects of how participants respond to the everyday complexities and tensions that come with their inter-ethnic relationships. All exemplify participants' efforts to ensure harmony between their families and cultures by observing, reproducing

and adapting different elements from their cultures of origin, and in doing so produced somewhat fluid and pragmatic marriage spaces. Central to these exemplars is how micro level inter-ethnic marriages comprise hybridised third spaces that reflect the re-territorialising of the macro level assemblages that are brought into concert within these spaces. With regards to this latter point, the concept of articulation (Hall et al., 2016) proved useful in extending our understanding of connections between overlapping values and heterogeneous practices for enacting these values or elements from contributing cultures.

This article also contributes to the extension of scholarship into cultural hybridity (Bhabha, 1994), which has tended to focuses on macro level asymmetrical power relations between colonizing and colonised cultures and the deconstruction of various artistic, linguistic and musical forms (Kraidy, 2005). Extending this literature, we have focused on everyday relational concerns that speak to how couples from different cultural assemblages forge and inhabit shared lives together. Embracing the eclectic concept of bricolage (Levi-Strauss, 1966), we have demonstrated the utility of combining aspects of post-colonial (Bhabha, 1994), assemblage (DeLanda, 2006/2019; Deleuze & Guattari, 1988) and social practice theories (Blue, 2020; Halkier & Jensen, 2011) in documenting and interpreting the everyday dynamics and agentive practices that are central to how participating couples conduct their lives together. We found particular utility in how these theories combine orientations towards the influence of dynamic social structures, whilst also emphasising the need to focus on human agency. We have also drawn on aspects of these theories to extend our inquiry out beyond the experiences of particular human actors and to emphasise the importance of material or non-human elements. These elements include the *hijab*, kiosk and cooking ingredients that are implicated in the culturally-hybrid conduct of inter-ethnic marriages. As such, the conceptual lens or bricolage we have developed in this article offers a useful vantage point for how multiple layers of human and non-human relational elements that are interwoven within these marriages. Our analysis supports the assertion that although human relationships play a crucial

role in the construction of marriage spaces, non-human (material) elements play important parts in how couples navigate inter-cultural tensions and strive to promote harmony within the relational networks (in-laws and communities) that also populate these marriages. Conceptualising inter-ethnic marriages as third spaces for re-assemblage that are brought into life through various social practices also enables us to better understand how key elements in the two cultural assemblages are de-territorialised (taken from one cultural context) and then re-territorialised (embedded) within the new inter-ethnic context.

For some readers from Indonesia our focus on inter-ethnic marriages between Chinese and Javanese Indonesians might be somewhat affronting (Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020; Setijadi, 2017). This is due to historical and ongoing inter-group tensions and violence that features in relations between these groups (Purdey, 2006). We contend that the present focus on the micro level interactions and everyday practices of participating Indonesians is important in furthering knowledge of how members of these groups can engage in efforts to build productive lives together that value aspects of both cultures. Additionally, participating couples were cognizant of the inter-group tensions that surround their marriages (Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020) and in response emphasised their own efforts to learn from, adapt to and accommodate their cultural differences, and in doing so also emphasised points of commonality, intersection, and adaptation. This is where the core focus in the social psychological study of the conduct of everyday life (Schraube & Højholt, 2016) and associated social practices (Blue, 2019) becomes particularly useful. Scholars from these related traditions emphasise the need to consider how macro level inter-group tensions are not simply reproduced verbatim or in a deterministic manner within micro level interactions. Cultural reproduction within the everyday conduct of participating marriages is contingent. It often features practical innovations via which aspects of existing inter-group structures and divisions can be rethought and re-articulated into new patterns of relationality (Hodgetts et al., 2020).

Finally, despite prolonged historical tensions between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians, our participants demonstrate micro level efforts to cooperate and building more harmonious lives together, at least in part, by the integrating elements from their both cultures of origin. Central to this article is the amount of effort that these participants put into understanding the other culturally and finding compromises or workarounds that enable them to manage or accommodate cultural differences. Our research demonstrates that while Javanese and Chinese Indonesians are often divided politically at the macro level, at least some persons can find ways to live more harmoniously together. If we accept the idea that as spaces of hybridity or re-assemblage inter-ethnic marriages are in the state of becoming, then we have modest grounds to suggest that there is hope for healing larger scale inter-group relations between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians. However, much more research is required to assess the extent of any shifts towards more harmonious relations and how practices and trends documented in this research are played out across different contexts. There are a number of options in regard to future research in this area. In particular, the micro-practices that we articulated with respect to the assemblage of work traditions from an inter-ethnic marriage bringing two families together financially through the materiality of something as small (but as widespread) as a kiosk could become a focal point of future research. Examining these assemblages with new case studies in the interpretive context of daily economic exchanges and relationship formation between ethnic Javanese and ethnic Chinese in society at large (that have challenged Indonesia for years) could shed light on subtle ways forward that less nuanced approaches have missed. Future research in this area also should investigate further the processes and practices explored in this article with larger samples and across different geographical locations. The next phase of research should also focus on the lived experiences of broad family and members, including the in-laws and the children of inter-ethnic couples from a range of ethnic groups.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE RELATION-SCAPE OF INTER-ETHNIC MARRIAGES

In this chapter, I present the second empirical publication included in this thesis (Yulianto, et al., 2022b). This article invites us to follow participant-guided tours of their relational landscapes, which comprise the various locales that are important to the couples. Drawing on the literature regarding urban mobilities (Cresswell, 2006), the conduct of everyday life (Hodgetts, Sonn, et al., 2020; Schraube & Højholt, 2016) and social practice theory (Blue, 2019; Halkier & Jensen, 2011), this article explores how couples navigate everyday inter-cultural tensions and realise harmony through various agentive everyday practices.

As I demonstrate, central to couples' efforts to cultivate cooperative practices are the ways they draw together aspects from both their cultures. Whilst the couples understand that cultural differences are inevitable, they demonstrate efforts to adapt their everyday practices to serve the needs of both their familial networks and the cultures these families represent. This cultural hybridising involves the use of mundane objects, such as lipstick, to show deference to one's own and one's partners' elders (Liu, 2015). This publication documents some of the everyday complexities involved for participants navigating points of tension and finding harmony through not only cognitive, but also relational and material acts. Further, this publication also shows that navigating points of tension to find harmony involves not only the couples, but also their broader kinship networks.

Chapter Four offers a spatial orientation for exploring how couples repurpose particular locales to serve their specific relational needs. Journeys to various locales can be rich, in the sense that these journeys provide a space for reflection for further agentive practices. As I demonstrate in this chapter, the efforts in managing tensions are not only within the domestic dwellings, but also involve various locales. This publication contributes to the centrality of place, mobility and social practices in research into inter-ethnic marriages.

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Navigating tensions in inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia: Cultural, relational, spatial and material considerations

Abstract

Despite histories of considerable conflict between particular ethnic groups in Indonesia, inter-ethnic marriages are increasingly commonplace. This article explores how Javanese and Chinese couples conduct their everyday lives together and manage various intercultural tensions within and across various locales, and with reference to particular material objects and adapted cultural practices. We draw on fieldwork conducted over a 10-week period with four inter-ethnic married couples in the city of Nganjuk in East Java, which was subsequently extended through further online interactions. To interpret the resulting qualitative materials, we draw insights from the social psychology of place, urban mobilities, the conduct of everyday life, social practice theory, and cultural hybridity. We begin with a tour of the key sites (e.g., domestic dwellings, schools, workplaces, markets, churches, streets) *that participants weave together through various socio-cultural practices into their own relation-scape. We then explore their mobile practices that span particular places and the ways in which couple's manage the inter-cultural tensions that can emerge from broader familial relations and competing cultural expectations. This article demonstrates the utility of a spatial-orientated analysis for psychological research into inter-ethnic marriage in general, and in particular how inter-cultural tensions can be managed through mundane and material spatial practices.*

Key words: inter-ethnic marriage, urban mobilities, everyday life, relation-scape, Indonesia

There is growing scholarly interest in inter-ethnic marriages internationally. Recent journal special issues have explored such unions in particular settings, such as the United States (Gaines et al., 2015) and focused on concerns around social integration (Törngren et al., 2016) and social boundaries (Moses & Woesthoff, 2019). Such collections reflect the prevalence of two primary research traditions in inter-ethnic marriage internationally. The first is quantitative and explores issues such as predictors of marital happiness (Fu et al., 2001), marital satisfaction (Cheng, 2010), interdependence (Clark et al., 2015), parental approval (Wachter & de Valk, 2020), and issues of identity (Afful et al., 2015). The second is more qualitative and explores a broad range of inter-cultural issues, including how couples navigate competing cultural imperatives and how macro level inter-ethnic relations shape micro-level inter-ethnic marriages (Lomsky-Feder & Leibovitz, 2009; McKenzie & Xiong, 2021). What has not been considered in prior research is how these relationships and associated cross-cultural tensions are played out within and across various everyday settings via which couples develop their inter-cultural lives together.

Growing research interest reflects how inter-ethnic marriages have become prominent features of contemporary urban life in heavily populated countries, such as Indonesia where this study of Javanese and Chinese couples is located. Although still contentious for older Indonesians, approximately 10.7 percent of the 47 million marriages in Indonesia are inter-ethnic (Utomo & McDonald, 2016). For example, Setijadi (2017) asked Indonesian 'pribumi' (indigenous/children of the soil) if they thought inter-ethnic marriage with Chinese Indonesians was inappropriate. Of the 1,620 respondents, 33.7 percent agreed, 35.8 percent disagreed, with 30.6 percent neither disagreeing nor agreeing. The number of inter-ethnic marriages is expected to rise further with the growth of more positive perceptions towards this among younger generations of Indonesians (Lyn et al., 2014).

Such marriages also need to be seen in the historical context of serious conflicts and violence between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians (Utomo et al.,

2019), which predate Dutch colonisation (Carey, 1984) and include the opening months of the Java War in 1825. This conflict resulted in the eradication of the entire Chinese community in the city of Ngawi (East Java). Furthermore, the assimilation policy introduced in the New Order epoch (1966-1998) also marked a period of heightened discrimination against Chinese Indonesians. For example, all Chinese-language schools were closed and the national Cabinet Presidium required that Chinese names be changed to indigenous Indonesian names (Coppel, 2002). Chinese Indonesian scholars have highlighted instances of large-scale anti-Chinese violence in 1965 (Cribb, 2001) and 1998 (Purdey, 2006) as important contextual exemplars for understanding contemporary relations between the politically dominant '*pribumi*' (encompassing Javanese people) and Chinese Indonesians (Meyer & Waskitho, 2021). Stories of this violence live on in the collective memories of both groups (Kusno, 2003). For example, many Chinese Indonesian parents allow their children to forge friendships with non-Chinese Indonesians, but strongly discourage them from developing romantic relationships outside of their ethnic group. Such within-group imperatives contribute to pessimistic views towards Javanese and Chinese marriages among many members of both groups (Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020).

The growing number of people engaged in inter-ethnic marriages constitutes a significant shift towards increased intimate relations and cooperation between ethnicities in Indonesia. What is missing from the literature are detailed accounts of the everyday conduct of such marriages and how inter-cultural tensions are managed. This paper explores how, despite their differences, Javanese and Chinese Indonesian couples navigate everyday tensions and create inter-cultural spaces of intimacy and harmony. We have approached this topic eclectically because the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages is often dynamic, multifaceted, fundamentally emplaced, and not reducible to any one theoretical perspective. As such, we have opted to piece together various concepts and insights from relevant literatures to orientate this investigation (see next section). More specifically, we draw insights from the social psychology of

place (Hodgetts et al., 2020), the conduct of everyday life (Schraube & Højholt, 2016), urban mobilities (Cresswell, 2006; Murray & Upstone, 2014), and social practice theory (Blue, 2019).

Conceptualising the present study

Let us begin with the issue of place. Inter-ethnic marriages occur within and across particular locations, which function as more than backdrops or activity settings (Hodgetts et al., 2020). The places within and across which people conduct their lives together matter psychologically because within these locales people make sense of their relationships in the context of broader inter-group meanings and relations (see Dixon & Durrheim, 2004). Such locales are implicated in couples' efforts to create lives together that span their various cultural backgrounds and differences. Through processes of habitation and social interaction, these everyday physical locations are socially reconstructed and transformed to better meet their needs as couples (Massey, 2005) and the cultural traditions and practices that they bring to their marriages (Lefebvre, 1974/1991). Each of these locations, be it a workplace, domestic dwelling, school, market, church, street, park or car, do not exist in isolation and are combined into a larger-scale landscape that each couple creates for themselves as they forge lives together. Similar to recent work on city-scapes (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2016), the resulting relation-scapes that each couple creates denotes the emplaced, material, relational and functional features of their everyday lives (de Certeau, 1984). Similarly, when reflecting on the inhabited malleability of urban landscapes, Raban (1974) noted how the city "invites you to remake it, to consolidate it into a shape you can live in" (p. 2).

To develop our notion of the relation-scape further, we draw on Raban's (1974) seminal distinction between the hard and soft city. The hard city refers to physical structures, including buildings, roads, bridges and parks that are located on maps. Contemporary urban environments also encompass soft cities that are as numerous as the number of urbanites or occupants. These soft cities can overlap in terms of particular locations from which they are comprised. These are

also somewhat unique to each person and/or couple. The soft city is also subjective and malleable and comes into existence for urbanites as they navigate their everyday lives (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2016). Soft cities include subjective mental maps of the hard city (De Alba, 2011; Milgram, 1982) and are comprised of not only the physical spaces in which people dwell (homes), but also their movements or the routes people adapt to connect with others. This includes regularly visiting elderly relatives and engaging in the multiculturalism of the local market. In other words, there are geometries of non-Euclidian distance between locations in social space (Latané & Liu, 1996). As we will illustrate in the present article, conceptualising the soft city as a shared relation-scape provides a useful orientation towards the spatial dynamics that are central to the conduct of contemporary inter-ethnic marriages.

While what occurs within particular places identified by our participants is important, contemporary scholarship on urban mobilities (Cresswell, 2006; Murray & Upstone, 2014) also points to the importance of journeys taken between such locations for experiences of city life. Many of the inter-cultural dynamics of these relationships are played out both within and across particular locales. Correspondingly, this research is informed by Cresswell's (2006) conceptualisation of mobilities as meaningful movements across places that emerge through social relationships and the everyday conduct of urban life. Along the way people can repurpose particular spaces like roads from being transitory (Moss, 1997) or socially empty spaces to mobile sites that encompass important social psychological processes (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2016). Such mobilities are also central to how people personally and collectively transform physical places, or aspects of the hard city into more habitable elements of the soft city. As will be demonstrate in this article, such movements between spaces often enable couples to weave various sites into larger scale relation-scapes across which they encounter and strive to manage inter-ethnic tensions.

Building on the conceptualisation of relation-scapes above, let us briefly review scholarship on the conduct of everyday life (Schraube & Højholt, 2016) and

social practices (Hodgetts et al., 2017). Scholarship from these overlapping areas of social psychology is useful for understanding how people agentively create lives together and in doing so reproduce their cultural traditions, often in concert with others who may come from different traditions. Correspondingly, these traditions assert that human experience and everyday actions exist simultaneously at both personal and collective levels of life (Hodgetts et al., 2020; Schraube & Højholt, 2019). Human beings, the places we inhabit and the objects we use every day are bearers of shared social formations and cultures, which are reproduced through everyday social practices, such as visiting one's parents, as not just a social interaction, but a way of meeting one's obligations towards filial piety (see Hodgetts, Sonn, et al., 2020; Liu et al., 2000). In fact, Holzkamp (1995/2016) initiated this tradition to bridge the gap in psychological research between the local (personal) and general (cultural) levels of human existence. This involves interpreting abductively everyday relationships, events and actions within the context of broader cultural and societal structures. A core focus is on how micro ways of being contribute to the broader macro reproduction of cultural traditions and collective everyday activity structures (Schraube & Højholt, 2019).

Social practice theory increasingly informs research into the conduct of everyday life and offers further insights into how the habitation of urban spaces creates inter-cultural spaces for participating couples that are then woven together through urban mobilities (Halkier & Jensen, 2011). A foundational assertion is that everyday life is often conducted through mundane performative acts that reflect and reproduce a dynamic web of socio-cultural expectations (Blue, 2019; Halkier & Jensen, 2011; Hodgetts et al., 2017). As such, personal acts are implicated in activity structures or routine modes of living (cultures) that often involve the use of particular material objects within and across various settings. Particular objects (a wok) in particular places (kitchen set up for Chinese cooking) are particularly important because these material aspects of everyday life enable the reproduction of routines and aspects of cultures, or particular dishes (see Daanen & Sammut, 2012). As such, these objects also become central to the

everyday emplaced conduct of inter-ethnic marriages. It is also important to note that tensions can emerge when certain cultural practices or routines foundational to the cultural ways of conducting everyday life of one partner are considered incompatible by the other partners in terms of their own traditions. As we will demonstrate in relation to the red lipstick worn by a Javanese wife, tensions can also occur in relation to such simple material objects that are imbued with incompatible meanings for Javanese and Chinese Indonesians.

The dynamic complexities of the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages lead us to approach the topic eclectically as *bricoleur,* piecing together insights from across compatible theoretical orientations to inform our efforts to interpret the spatial aspects of participants' efforts to forge lives together inter-culturally (Lévi-Strauss, 1962). Previously, psychologists have investigated how people negotiate their everyday experiences in multicultural environments (Ward et al., 2018). The present article explores the ways in which couples conduct their everyday lives across a range of locales by taking a tour (de Certeau, 1984) through aspects of the relation-scape they create together. A focus on relation-scapes orientates us to how couples become embroiled both within and across particular locations (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2016) through their participation in particular social practices that render their inter-cultural environments more habitable and harmonious. We are particularly interested in how practices that occur in settings such as journeys to drop children at school offer spaces for couples to resolve inter-cultural tensions that emerge in related spaces such as the home of the in-laws. This paper offers a novel orientation for this journal by considering the spatial elements of inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia.

The present study

By combining verbal, visual, and observational qualitative methods, the lead author conducted a 10-week-period of fieldwork in his home city of Nganjuk in East Java. This included home visits, go-along discussions, and photo-elicitation projects, which were supported with online interactions. Participants were

recruited through a kindergarten where a number of inter-ethnic couples sent their children and socialised, sharing insights organically regarding issues relating to the conduct of their marriages. The first author is also engaged in such a marriage and was able to quickly establish meaningful relationships with potential participants using snowball sampling; whereby the parents, teachers, and principal of the kindergarten facilitated our access to other participants. After taking our time in establishing and building these relationships, the lead author conducted a series of biographical interviews (n=20), go-along interviews (n=25) and photo-elicitation sessions (n=10) to collect the empirical materials presented within this article (see Hodgetts, Chamberlain, & Radley, 2007; Kusenbach, 2003).

Our participating inter-ethnic married couples included four Javanese and Chinese Indonesian couples, Denny and Fang's household, Mike and Yani's household, Budi and Maimunah's household, and Brian and Ningsih's household. Given the broader inter-ethnic tensions at play between these groups, it is important to note that the authors of this article also include Javanese and Chinese scholars, and that the fieldwork and empirical materials gathered had input from both ethnicities. Participating couples were aged between 28 and 56 years with varied occupations, ranging from small-scale business owners, civil servants, business administrators, and a kindergarten teacher. The length of participating marriages ranged from 5 to 34 years.

In being asked to picture their everyday lives and aspects of their relationships that are important to them in photo-elicitation projects, our participants traversed and documented key locations in their relation-scapes, the use of various material objects of relational significance to them, and key journeys between locales. In follow up photo-elicitation interviews, the first author conversed with participants on the content of these photographs (Radley et al., 2010; Stolte & Hodgetts, 2016). Through these interactions, participants emplaced themselves and their relationships, whilst rendering particular settings, objects and practices that are central to the everyday conduct and rhythm of their marriages a little more visible to us as researchers (Hodgetts et al., 2021). As

memetic objects, the resulting photographs mimic, recreate, and embellish experiences of inter-ethnic marriage and accounts of places, relationships and events that are never fully graspable, and which require dialogue and interpretation (Hodgetts, Chamberlain & Groot, 2020). These research participants were able to step back a little from their lives to consider what they had pictured and in doing so became relationship commentators who pictured key features of their situated lives.

The empirical materials produced through engagements with these four couples are comprised of over 200 pages of interview transcripts, 18 pages of field notes, and 128 photographs. We employed abductive reasoning to make sense of these empirical materials and to draw logical inferences, plausible conclusions and pose the best available interpretation of participant accounts (Brinkmann, 2014). Such reasoning is foundational to impressionistic inquiry (Hodgetts, Andriolo, et al., 2022) and is enacted through an iterative process. We started this process with participant photographs, engaging in simple gridding exercises (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2014) to note the location, people, activity and object. We then clumped the photographs by location and practices such as visiting parents, shopping, cooking, attending Church services, and so forth. Next, we read participant explanations of each image, comparing and contrasting these and identifying issues that seemed particularly interesting and relevant. At this point, we started considering issues of place and mobility, and how particular practices populated particular photographs or depicted scenes. Next we identified exemplars of key trends for further analysis and moved further from the level of clumping, categorizing and describing to interpreting and theorising the broader processes at play. Throughout, the task was not to simply code and describe photographs, but to then make sense of, interpret and theorise what participants were showing and telling us in the interviews about the conduct of their relationships. Our impressionistic inquiry has been developed to present readers with accounts of aspects of everyday life from the perspectives of the inhabitants for such lives.

The resulting analysis presented below focusses first on participant city-scapes in general and then zooming into particular locales of note to participants. We then explore issues of mobility through which such places are woven together as couples navigate the inter-cultural complexities of their relation-scapes.

A guided tour through inter-ethnic relation-scape

The inter-ethnic relation-scapes of participating couples encompass enactments or features from both cultures that are navigated as couples seek to create and inhabit harmonious lives together. This orientation is reflected in the Javanese saying, *rukun agawe santoso, crah agawe bubrah*, which can be translated as maintaining harmony with all people makes your life peaceful, while conflicts can break relationships. This section offers a tour across key locales within the couple's relation-scapes. Following De Certeau (1984), we offer a tour as a useful structuring device to orientate us towards the ways in which people navigate, connect, and render different spaces meaningful within their everyday lives. The tour offers insights into how various places are woven together by couples through engagements in various socio-cultural practices. The places identified by participants include domestic dwellings, schools, workplaces, markets, churches, streets, and vehicles used to move between these other locales. Some of these spaces are predominantly Javanese, others Chinese, and many hybridised.

When discussing her marriage in a photo-elicitation interview after several previous occasions, Fang presented a photograph of her kitchen (see Figure 6) as her "most favourite place at home". In doing so, she emplaced her relationship within this location as a key site for the couple's everyday life together. Fang also pictured objects and aspects of the kitchen that were particularly significant to her experience of inter-ethnic marriage:

This is the second picture, the picture of our kitchen. We can see a stove for cooking, a washing machine, and there is a box of dirty clothes

next to it that is not in the frame. This kitchen in particular and house in general is a place where we are equally the same. I feel that this is a place where my husband is willing to help me to do domestic things. This house is where Denny is willing to wash the plates or clean up the dirty clothes, that is quite different to the gender role in my parents' dwelling where women are the ones responsible for doing domestic things. In this house, we create our own rules together. (Fang)

Figure 6. Fang and Denny's kitchen

In this captioned picture the couple are presented as co-inhibitors who work together in this space to conduct a harmonious everyday existence. Through engaging in shared domestic practices this couple create a culturally hybrid space featuring newly negotiated rules that can be contrasted to their parents' houses and the traditional Javanese gender roles that texture contrasting spaces. Rather than homogenising space, which has been noted in investigations of publicly shared spaces used by many (Liu & Sibley, 2004), these practices inscribe complementary and role-based practices that have been negotiated between two people.

Denny replied to Fang and in doing so extended the account above with reference to the home as a space for respite and recovery within the broader landscape, and in which the couple can exercise shared autonomy and control. Denny's parents' Javanese home used to serve these homing purposes within his culture of origin. Whereas his new domestic life with a Chinese wife requires negotiated hybridity to ensure harmony. In the couple's own dwelling the two cultural traditions are spatially brought into dialogue. In the process, their own gendered practices emerge in a form that allows both partners to gain respite where the new home becomes an enclave for their new shared and hybrid subjectivity as an inter-ethnic couple:

> This house is like an energising charger for me. The place where you can gain your energy after you use it outside. My Javanese parents' dwelling used to be that kind of charger for me when I was single. After getting married, my parents' dwelling is not like a home anymore. Going to my parents' dwelling in Yogyakarta (see Figure 7) is more like visiting, rather than coming home.

Figure 7. Denny's parents' dwelling in Yogyakarta

In discussing the photographs of their dwelling, Denny and Fang work to give meaning to the home they have created together as an enclave of stability in which they can work out a shared way of co-habiting together as an agentive inter-ethnic married couple who develop nuanced inter-cultural life. By mentioning everyday social practices within Denny's parents' dwelling, Fang recognises Javanese cultural expectations that she engages in domestic acts associated with the good or subservient wife (Geertz, 1961). This exemplar also reflects how mundane acts that Denny also engages in within the dwelling, such as washing the dirty plates and clothes, are vital for them to create a shared space that offers a sense of control and ontological security for both (Pink, 2012). This dwelling becomes more than just a static fixed building or an activity setting. It is an active space that is transformed into a primary site for their dynamic relationship to grow in ways that are not always possible for couples who dwell with their in-laws and cannot

exercise this kind of control (Manzo, 2003). Briefly, by telling the stories about the changing meaning of his parents' dwelling for him, Denny's reflects in contrast on how the couples' own dwelling is a place where ethnicities, selves, gender norms, a physical site, and couples' affection are woven together to construct the sense of self as an inter-ethnic couple.

Participants repeatedly talked about their relationships as relationally dynamic (Holdsworth, 2013) and encompassing broader familial ties and practices, such as visiting or living with their own parents. In explaining a weekly visit to her parents' house, for example, Fang also raised the importance of maintaining core cultural values relating to caring for one's parents and transmitting knowledge and practices (manners) across the generations to their own son, and to ensure that Denny also knows how to conduct himself respectfully around older Chinese people:

> We often go to visit my parents every week. Visiting them is very important as this is a time when we can gather together as a big family and as an opportunity to take care of them… This is also a moment for my parents to check if we have taught our son some Chinese manners. For my parents and grandmother who live with them, being good parents means not only when your son can do math well, but also when they can do some cultural acts such as *jia-jia* (fist and palm hand gesture to greet Chinese people). My granny often gets mad at me if I don't visit her for two weeks. I remember when we came to visit them for the first time. Denny did *salim* (Javanese hand gesture to greet older people) when he met my oldest Aunty. She said no, no, no! Don't *salim* to me! You have to learn *jia-jia* now.

The excerpt above speaks about how visits often involve social practices that (re)produce inter-generational relationships of Fang's Chinese family, and which also enculturate Denny as a Javanese person. By visiting and engaging with older generations, Fang, Denny and their son demonstrate their acceptance of filial piety as a core Chinese value (Yang, 2006). By asking if the son can do *jia-jia,* Fang's older

relatives are asserting that despite being married to or parented by a Javanese person, they expect their younger generations (Fang and her son) to maintain core Chinese values and respectful practices.

Fang's parents' dwelling can be seen as a Chinese cultural space within a society dominated by Javanese cultural practices, and this in part explains the emphasis being placed here on preserving Chinese traditions (see Massey, 2005; Schraube & Højholt, 2016). Older family members' efforts 'to teach' Denny to practice *jia-jia,* rather than *salim* when interacting with them can also be seen as an inclusive statement. By marrying Fang, Denny is now part of a Chinese family. From Denny's perspective, to visits Fang's parents is to enter a place that is textured by different cultural values and practices, as well as expectations towards conformity. In discussing why he was willing to practice *jia-jia*, Denny recalled the Javanese proverb of *empan papan, which* means that we need to emplace *(papan)* ourselves to act according to the local norms and exercise manners appropriate for particular settings. In practicing *jia-jia,* Denny (re)produces what it means to be a good polite Indonesian from a Chinese perspective. The underlying common custom of displaying respect for elders could be seen as part of cultural collectivism, involving age-based relational hierarchies (Liu, 2015). Simultaneously, he also maintains his Javanese understanding of the importance of adapting to emplaced cultural norms and expectations so as to cultivate and maintain harmonious relationships. As we will show in the following section, such inter-cultural interactions are not always as harmonious.

It is important to note that not all inter-ethnic couples are able to live in their own dwellings. Rather than visiting, these couples actually live with one of the sets of in-laws. Several participating couples exercised their filial responsibilities to look after ageing parents by living with them (Jarrett, 1994). In these shared domestic dwellings inter-ethnic tensions often arise, particularly for the partners from the 'othered' culture. These partners often report finding themselves in an intensively strange cultural setting with little respite or control. In response, they often develop alternative spaces and tactics that enable them to gain respite. For

example, in discussing her children's education during a go-along interview, Maimunah (Javanese) provides an example of inter-ethnic tension and need for cultural compromises as an ethnic minority within the context of a Chinese multi-generational household:

> I have been living with my mother-in-law for 15 years and during the period, I always do my best, being obedient, and avoiding conflicts. I respect her as my husband's mother. I can cook all Chinese foods. I am a Muslim, yet I can cook pork. My mother-in-law asked me to cook it and that moment was so tough for me. Imagine this, pork is forbidden for you, but you have to be obedient. My mother in law saw me being obedient and I think that's what makes her like me. Sometimes conflicts happen and every time I feel stress, I take time to go out. I register my children to join children's competitions at school or somewhere else. I also join the school committee so that I can gather with parents, teachers, and the principal. This is really effective to heal the stress at home. If you only stayed at home, even when you are tired, you will find it uncomfortable even to take a quick nap, given that your mother-in-law is at home, too.

This excerpt reflects how participants develop space-based tactics for managing inter-cultural tensions that can arise when living with one's in-laws. Maimunah explains her everyday life of living together with in laws can be complex, in part because inter-ethnic tensions she experiences overlap with inter-religious tensions. The concept of a house or a room as a space of stability is not working for her. In response, she opts to engage with others outside the home through the school as a space for respite and stress release (Moss, 1997).

Moving further out beyond domestic dwellings, participants invoked further emplaced and dynamic aspects of inter-cultural relationships with reference to workplaces. For example, within Javanese culture the workplace and how people present themselves there is often taken as a reflection of the quality of their marriages and home life. When people are engaged in inter-ethnic marriages with

Chinese Indonesians, they can be rendered suspect or the quality of their relationships are brought into question. Corresponding with these added pressures, in a photo-elicitation interview to discuss her marriage Yani presents her workplace as a setting in which she is at pains to present herself as a professional person through the material practice of dressing well. Doing so constitutes an embodied and emplaced public statement about the success of their marriage:

> In Javanese teaching, there is a shared belief that if a husband succeeds or fails, that is the success or failure of the wife as well. By seeing how professional we are and how well we perform at work, people will see how I succeed or fail in managing my marriage. While I often encourage Mike to achieve something at work, I often push myself, too. In the office, I work as an administrative staff member. Although it is not a high position, I am really concerned about how I can successfully achieve the goal. I also strongly consider the way I present myself, especially the way I dress (see Figure 8). The good dress I wear is a reminder for me that my job is important. (Yani)

Figure 8. Yani in her workplace

This excerpt exemplifies how different locations within a couple's relation-scape are interdependent in the everyday conduct of their marriages. Yani presents herself as a career woman who has a high sense of purpose and achievement in the workplace, which is supported by her home life. By also stating that she encourages Mike to also strive professionally, Yani simultaneously presents herself in a culturally normative Javanese gendered manner or supportive partner who shares aspects of the world of work and success with her husband.

Beyond domestic dwellings, schools and workplaces, participating couples also pictured spaces such as pasar, the Javanese traditional market where their lives as inter-ethnic couples are also played out in public. Generally, *pasar* has functioned as a place for trading, and inter-cultural interactions (Riyanti, 2013). In recounting their activities in this space, the couples often raised its function as a kind of encounter space that often featured cross-cultural cooperation both within their inter-ethnic families and beyond. In relation to a photograph of her stall at

the market (discussed during a photo-elicitation interview), Ningsih (Javanese) recounts how:

> I went to *pasar* because my mother in law (Chinese Indonesian) gave me a stall there to manage. We rented that stall out to a *martabak* (pan-fried pancake) seller (see Figure 9). I and my mother in-law also have a peer-to-peer lending business and the clients are mostly the sellers at that *pasar*. That is why I always go to *pasar* every day early morning to collect the money.

Figure 9. Ningsih's stall in front side of local Javanese traditional market

This act of familial inter-ethnic support manifested as a result of a Chinese Indonesian mother in law seeing potential in her Javanese daughter in law as a means of further supporting the family more broadly. In relation to Figure 9 and

related captioned exemplars, Ningsih, emphasises her harmonious and mutually supportive relationship with her mother in-law. The cooperative act recounted here also takes place within a key market site in the city where many groups come together to trade and interact. Hence, there is a widely understood common metric of the marketplace that binds the cultural specificity of Chinese and Javanese together (see Henrich et al., 2010). Other couples also raised the importance of this space in terms of Javanese daughter in laws purchasing sesame oil and other spices for use in cooperative cooking practices with their Chinese mother in-laws, particularly Chinese-cooking lessons.

Above, we have documented how couples weave these locales together into relation-scapes of inter-ethnic marriage. Taking a tour of key sites within the couple's relation-scapes offers insights into how their marriages are conducted dynamically and spatially within the context of broader familial relations and cultural expectations. Below, we explore issues of mobility more specially and in relation to how couples manage inter-cultural tensions that emerge within their relation-scapes, and how this relates to culturally-imbued everyday material objects.

The significance of journeys between spaces for managing tensions

Participating couples often pictured and talked at length about the importance of their movements beyond the core relational spaces considered above. Their movements between such spaces often afford opportunities for participants to reflect on, debrief about, and create harmonious responses to inter-cultural tensions. When engaging in such mobile spatial practices, participants appear to construct mobile therapeutic enclaves (Moss, 1997) in which they also supplant tensions and frustrations with more pleasurable experiences of time spent together and respite. These mobile spaces are constructed out of the necessity of the journey, but also feature important emotional labour and relational work. Although all couples raised the importance of such enclaves, these were particularly pronounced in the picturing practices of

couples who lived with their in-laws. For example, in discussing the photographs of her car (see Figure 10) in a photo-elicitation interview, Maimunah talked in an animated manner about the respite and pleasures driving affords her:

> Driving is kind of therapeutic act for me. It efficiently heals my frustrations with living at in-laws' house. By driving, I get a sense of independence. I can go to places I want via the route I like. I also encourage Budi and my children… But above all, it helps (to manage) your stress. I said that the school is where I often escape to, but actually the driving itself helps to calm me. Simply choose the far route if you want to drive longer [laughs]. Prepare your playlist, the list of your favourite songs. Sometimes I think that my car is much more comfortable than my room, but I hope my husband doesn't feel offended [laughs].

Figure 10. Maimunah's family car

This extract reflects the practice of this couple of using their car journeys to create a space within which to deal with Maimunah's frustrations and the misunderstandings and conflicts that can emerge from her having to dwell cross-culturally with the in-laws. As such, the daily trip to school constitutes more than

a dead space. It affords this couple important opportunities to maintain their relational bonds amidst the ongoing tensions that are played out at the in-laws' house. Driving to escape tensions, misunderstandings and conflicts for a time, reflects how simple everyday practices such as driving constitute "more than a car and the road" (Borden, 2013). The journey to school manifests not only from the practical necessity of delivering children, but also relational practices for managing tensions across locales within everyday life (Cresswell, 2006). In the context of her inter-cultural relationships with the in-laws, Maimunah uses the car and journey to regain a sense of everyday control or agency through the simple act of choosing to listen to her favourite songs that flood the space. The use of music to create enclaves of agency and care with navigating the city has been found to facilitate not only smoother transitions between urban settings, but also a sense of personal agency, safety and control (Hodgetts et al., 2010). In escaping for a time into the journey and music, Maimunah makes sense of or gives meaning to the car enclave inter-spatially in relation to their bedroom within the in-laws' house and inter-personally in not wanting to offend her husband by her sometimes feeling more comfortable in the car.

For other participants who live separately from their in-laws, mobile practices between particular locales also emerged as important considerations in the conduct of their relationships. Taking a related yet different tack, Yani pictured and talked about how the couple's visits to her in-laws often precipitated interactions that carried the risk of cultural misunderstandings and offense. Rather than referring to the actual journey Yani referred to a particular object, which carries different cultural associations for Javanese and Chinese Indonesians or in different cultural settings. Reference to this object was used to invoke an example of a recent negative interaction with her father-in-law who took offense at the colour of her lipstick:

> At Mike's (her husband's) Chinese Indonesian family dinner, Mike's
> father made a comment to me that my use of red lipstick made me like
> a *wanita murahan* (cheap woman or sex worker). "Wow, wow, wow".

I was so angry and personally offended! In Java, the use of red lipstick means that you are the queen in the family. Historically speaking, many Javanese families in the past had many wives in the household. The main wife is the one who used the light-coloured clothes and red lipstick. If you wear the red lipstick and light-coloured clothes, you signal to people that you are the ultimate wife. This is what the philosophy behind the importance of use red colour lipstick. I decided not to visit my in-laws for two months. Those tensions made me reflect why I really like red lipstick? It is because my mother and grandmother always use a red lipstick.

Objects such as the lipstick carry particular meanings and function to convey different senses of who a woman is across Javanese and Chinese cultures. This Javanese wife's use of lipstick becomes a marker of difference and source of inter-cultural conflict within the space of the Chinese parent-in laws' house where the object carries alternative connotations. The woman wearing red lipstick is deemed out of place within a respectful Chinese household. As a result, by abstaining from re-entering the space for two months, Yani makes a spatial and material statement that she was offended by the incident that transgresses the Javanese embodied tradition of wearing red lipstick with pride.

It is often when relationships with such objects are problematised – or associated cultural practices are disrupted – that people reformulate their understandings or use of such objects through conscious consideration (Daanen & Sammut, 2012). In this case, Yani diversified her use of red lipstick across Chinese and Javanese imbued spaces, so as to defuse inter-cultural tensions and promote harmony within the extend family. This occurred during the couple's first 'spontaneous' visit to Mike's parent's house since the dinner, and in a manner that again presents the car as a key transitional space:

Mike and I often go somewhere with our car and Mike often suddenly told me that we will visit his father and mother. Wow, I suddenly re-member the tensions I have experienced. But, I have my own ways to

deal with it. If I am visiting the parents-in-laws' house, I won't use the red lipstick. This is vital to avoid tensions. If I am going to visit my (Javanese) mother at home, I use the red lipstick. So, I keep some lipsticks with different colours with me in my bag (see Figure 11). I have my tissue in my car to remove the red lipstick and quickly change into the mute-coloured lipstick. I often use the small mirror in the car to use the lipstick. So, the car is like a mobile dressing room [laugh] (Yani)

Figure 11. Yani's lipstiks, a colour for each for the cultural space she moves across

Although particular moments of tension can emerge through everyday cross-cultural interactions, our participants also worked to resolve these, in part, by adapting various agentive social practices that often involve the use of particular objects. Yani spoke about the tactics she employs in navigating inter-cultural tensions that comes with the use of red lipstick. Her account offers insights into

how a journey provides a mobile space where she can prepare herself to act in accordance with the cultural aspirations of her Chinese Indonesian family in relation with the use of particular objects.

Discussion

From the accounts explored in this article, it appears that couples weave culturally hybrid lives together across of range of locales that constitute what we term the relation-scape of inter-ethnic marriage. Following participant accounts of their marriages across these relation-scapes provides further insights into the everyday conduct of these inter-cultural unions in ways that manage cross-cultural expectations and tensions. We have documented how various people, places and material objects (e.g., car, lipstick, handbag) are interwoven through the everyday conduct of these marriages into dynamic and culturally-hybrid relation-scapes. Psycho-materially, the emplaced objects in use function as key elements in a network of social actors (Latour, 2005) that enable participants to maintain dynamic familial relationships with both Chinese and Javanese relatives in ways that avoid further conflicts, manage cross-cultural tensions, and promote harmony. As such, inter-cultural tensions experienced in the past are rendered temporary disruptions to harmony, rather than permanent conflicts that re-emerge in the future. This is important because striving for harmony is an important value both in Javanese and Chinese Indonesian cultures (Li, 2006; Magnis-Suseno, 1984).

In the context of ongoing, though softening tensions between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians, participants in this research demonstrate everyday efforts to build more harmonious relationships through the cultivation of cooperative practices that draw together aspects from both cultures. Participants realise that cultural differences remain (Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020), but are willing to adapt their everyday practices and use of space to meet the needs of both their broader familial networks. This is particularly evident, for example, in how both ethnicities recognise age-based relational hierarchies and associated expectations to show

deference to one's own and one's partners elders (Liu, 2015). What is demonstrated through such adaptive practices is the potential in participants taking opportunities to understand each other cross-culturally. This extends to cross-cultural cooperation in managing emergent tensions through compromise and processes of agentive adaptation of some cultural practices. Adaptation extends to a willingness to modify the use of mundane everyday objects (e.g., red lipstick), which carry cultural meanings that may be incompatible between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians. When such objects are problematized due to the different cultural meanings, their use is adjusted to defuse tensions. Managing tensions is not only dialogical and cognitive, but also material process.

There is a substantial body of research into inter-ethnic marriages that explores the significance of broader kinship networks (e.g., Utomo, 2020; Wachter & de Valk, 2020). Scholars have also documented how inter-ethnic married couples engage in simple escapist acts, often involving shared leisure, shopping or cooking to navigate these tensions (e.g., Sharaievska, Kim, & Stodolska, 2017). These practices were also evident in our participant's accounts. Also extending previous research into social practices in inter-ethnic marriages, we have documented some of the spatial, mobile and dynamic social practices employed in the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia. Our analysis documents the importance of a spatial orientation for investigating how people repurpose particular locales and objects agentively to serve their relational needs and manage points of tension and conflict (see Stolte & Hodgetts, 2016). In doing so, we have demonstrated the utility of spatially-orientated theoretical concepts (Dixon & Durrheim, 2014), such as the soft city (Raban, 1974) and urban mobilities (Cresswell, 2006) in deepening our understandings of the everyday conduct (Schraube & Højholt, 2016) and management of inter-cultural tensions within inter-ethnic marriages.

In taking us on tours of their relation-scapes, participating couples offer glimpses into how they traverse a range of locales that invoke different inter-personal and inter-cultural dynamics. While raising the tensions that can arise

within particular spaces, participants also highlight the space-based tactics (de Certeau, 1984) they have developed to ease inter-cultural tensions that manifest within, across and in between particular locales. They also foreground how movement between spaces across their relation-scapes can offer opportunities for reflection, respite and the contemplating of further agentive responses. They literally navigate relational tensions both within and across time and space. For example, inter-cultural tensions become particularly pronounced for couples living with one set of in-laws. It would be a mistake to look solely within such domestic settings as a basis for developing our interpretation of how tensions are raised and managed. This article foregrounds the utility of situating such domestic settings and associated tensions within broader relational-scapes whereby couples can escape to alternative locales to de-escalate tensions. For example, a car journey to drop children at school provides a mobile therapeutic enclave of respite (Moss, 1997) within which tensions and conflicts located within the domestic space can be addressed.

Of central importance to our analysis is how partners work to accommodate various cultural differences and associated tensions to promote harmony not only within their marriages, but also within the broader relational networks that surround these unions. This results in the agentive creation of everyday, culturally-hybrid 'third spaces', which feature modified elements from both Javanese and Chinese Indonesian traditions (Bhabha, 1994; Chong, 2020). In engaging with issues of everyday hybridity, we have also contributed to the extension of scholarship on cultural hybridity. Research on this topic tends to replicate Bhabha's (1994) focus on macro level inter-group relations and to situate hybridity as a hegemonic construction that serves the interests of dominant or colonising groups (Kraidy, 2005). Our focus is on more egalitarian everyday efforts by couples to achieve more harmonious hybrid third spaces within which both partners feel comfortable. This more micro level focus is crucial if we are to extend present knowledge of everyday efforts to thrive and co-exist in more harmonious ways within multi-cultural societies (O'Connor, 2018). We have also extended such

research with a focus on the hybridising or dynamic adaptation of material objects, such as particular dishes, lipstick, and related everyday practices.

Our focus on place and objects also supports the idea that relationships that are foundational to the construction of harmonious marriage spaces and extend beyond the inter-personal and into non-human or material dimensions. As has been recognised by social psychologists in relation to notions of inter-objective relations (Daanen & Sammut, 2012; Hodgetts et al., 2020), strict distinctions between passive material objects and active people are often blurred. As people conduct many aspects of their lives using particular objects that carry meanings, they also reproduce aspects of their cultures, sense of self, relationships and associated tensions (Jóhannesson & Bærenholdt, 2009). In talking about such objects, participants surface aspects of their inter-cultural interactions, frustrations, and acts of accommodation. These psychological phenomena become anchored in the use of particular objects and associated socio-political geometries (Latour, 2005), thus linking the micro and the macro-levels of human existence (Schraube & Højholt, 2016).

We recognise that for many readers from Indonesia our focus on intimate relationships between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians may be affronting (Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020; Setijadi, 2017) given the prolonged historical inter-group tensions and violence that have punctuated relations between these two ethnic groups (Carey, 1984; Cribb, 2001; Purdey, 2006). We would argue that looking at the micro level at inter-ethnic marriages between members of these groups enables us to begin to explore the ways in which people can come together, engage in simple agentive practices to manage tensions and build harmony (Li, 2006; Magnis-Suseno, 1984) despite cultural differences. Further, all participating couples were aware of the macro-level tensions between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians, but repeatedly foregrounded their efforts to learn about each other's cultures. Politically there is division between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians, but culturally there are emerging points of accommodation, commonality and intersection.

Finally, to consider such everyday efforts towards building harmonious lives in inter-ethnic together, we drew eclectically on theory and scholarship on the conduct of everyday life (Schraube & Højholt, 2016), the social psychology of place (Hodgetts et al., 2020), urban mobilities (Cresswell, 2006), social practices (Reckwitz, 2002) and cultural hybridity (Bhabha, 1994; Chong, 2020). Scholarship across these distinct domains shares a common interest in the importance of realising that macro level inter-group tensions are not simply reproduced in a determinist way within micro level interactions. Everyday life is far too contingent and complex for that to be the case. Further, investigating micro level relationships offers encouraging insights into how inter-cultural differences between groups with violent histories and associated macro level tension can be diffused and managed through everyday micro level interactions as people build lives together. While the study provides some new insights into the centrality of place, mobilities and social practices in the conduct of inter-ethnic marriages between partners from two ethnic groups with a history of conflict and violence, this study has some limitations. For example, our focus was on a small sample of couples from one city. We did not extend our empirical work to include the children of these couples or members of the extended family who are clearly influential in the conduct of these marriages. Future research is necessary to address these limitations.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE 'SMALL MONEY', 'BIG MONEY', 'LOST MONEY' AND 'SHARED MONEY'

In the previous chapter, we took a tour through the relation-scapes of the participating couples. In this chapter, I invite readers to delve deeper into particular locales in the relation-scapes of all the participating couples, namely the home where they conduct the key activities of their inter-ethnic marriages. This chapter contributes to my understanding of the everyday material practices engaged in by participants as they conduct their lives together. Of central concern is how couples manage money. As I have discussed in Chapter One, the predominant approaches in socio-psychological research into inter-ethnic marriage tend to overlook such everyday material objects and related practices.

This chapter draws insights from the scholarship of social practice-orientated theories, together with Javanese and Chinese literature on everyday monetary life. These conceptual resources offer insights into how memory objects such as money and related household artefacts are central to how participants negotiate shared lifeworlds that feature aspects of both Javanese and Chinese Indonesian cultures (Yulianto et al., 2022c).

Through the focus on money, household objects and related practices, I can draw connections between culture and socioeconomic status as couples demonstrate adaptive strategies to defuse inter-cultural tensions. I also demonstrate how couples are willing to develop agentive and adaptive practices to navigate the tensions that emerge in their relationships and to serve their needs. In particular, Javanese and Confucian scholarship on harmony is central to deepening my understanding of how tensions can be managed, without necessarily being fully resolved.

This chapter contributes to the scholarship on inter-ethnic marriage, by focusing on the roles of material objects and related practices to understand

everyday inter-ethnic marriages. As I demonstrate, this focus enables us to explore the mundane aspect of cultural hybridity.

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Money, memory objects and material practices in the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia

Abstract

In the context of historical and ongoing tensions between different ethnic groups, inter-ethnic marriages are increasingly prevalent in Indonesia today. This article explores the social materiality of memory objects (money and related household items) in the negotiation of shared lifeworlds within two inter-ethnic marriages between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians. The research is based on detailed fieldwork conducted face-to-face in East Java over a 10 week period, and supported with further online interactions with participating couples. We demonstrate how a focus on money and related material practices can offer new understandings of how couples respond agentively to inter-cultural tensions in their marriages and strive towards harmony. In doing so we demonstrate how values of cooperation and prudence are articulated through things and related practices, and in the process are harnessed to support couples efforts to build mutually supportive lives together. In the process we document how objects, including money, an onion peeling machine and food emerge in these relationships as both practical things and objects of care, cooperation and affection. This research demonstrates that whilst still of crucial importance, a focus on inter-cultural tensions and the conflicts these can cause can be complimented with a focus on couple's agentive efforts to manage and contain such tensions as they build culturally hybrid lives together.

Key words: Money, inter-ethnic marriage, materiality, objects, Indonesia

Reflecting Simmel's (1900/1978) seminal scholarship on the complex social functions of money and related monetary practices in human relationships, recent international research documents how cultural differences that surface in inter-

ethnic marriages not only contribute to conflicts, but can also lead to agentive efforts to cultivate a shared sense of affection and mutual responsibility (Lapanun, 2020), and support efforts to meet different cultural expectations (Sha, 2020). Money and its everyday materialities have been implicated in human beings forging particular ways-of-being and relationships with others (Kuchler, 2021; Lapanun, 2020; Sha, 2020; Simmel, 1900/1978). Building on this emerging scholarship, this article approaches money as a multifaceted everyday mimetic object[9] that is implicated in the conduct of inter-ethnic marriages. Of central concern is how money, related objects and practices are often implicated in the inter-cultural relational dynamics, tensions and culturally hybrid practices that emerge when persons cooperate to forge new lives together across their culturally-patterned and gendered differences (Mauss, 1950/2002; Sha, 2020; Yulianto et al., 2022a, 2022b). Through the classification of money, as a dynamic and multifaceted mimetic object that serves various particularised functions, including domestic-purposed money, recreational money and gift money (Zelizer, 1989), we extend previous explorations of the subjective meanings, tensions, and negotiative practices that are central to the conduct of inter-ethnic marriages (Yulianto et al., 2022a; Yulianto et al., 2022b). Exploring the everyday use of money with research participants using various ethnographic and visual techniques also informs our understanding of the instrumental role of material objects in invoking meanings and feelings that are often difficult to articulate in words alone (Hodgetts et al., 2020).

It has been argued for some time that particular 'things' serve as everyday memory objects that elicit recollections of specific moments and feelings of nostalgic, anchor ritualistic practices, and can provide a renewed sense of love and attachment (Avieli, 2009). When considering artefacts of everyday life such as money, it is important to note that the entire meaning of such objects is not simply

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[9] We use the term 'mimetic objects' to refer to how money and related household objects re-present the relational dynamics, tensions, and hybrid practices in inter-ethnic marriage.

abstracts and also include elements that emerge from the use of objects in everyday life. Correspondingly, stable meanings are not always encoded or inscribed into artefacts and as such cannot simply be decoded or excavated by researchers without interaction with the people who involve such objects in the conduct of their everyday lives. As such, the meaning of things is both ontological and epistemological (Cohen et al., 1997; Henare et al., 2007; Marschall, 2019). When adopting this perspective to research the experiences and recovery of tsunami survivor families in Sri Lanka, Cassim and colleagues (2015) document how particular materials objects, such as the dress that was worn by a daughter when the waves took her helped a surviving parent to re-member and maintain a strong sense of affective connection with her child. Such affective connections with things (Miller, 1998) also reflect how everyday household items can carry particular significance for particular people and represent aspects of the endogeneous being of householders. Congruently, theorists such as Latour (2005) have argued that everyday objects are not simply static or inannimate and can function as dynamic actors in inter-personal relationships, related social practices, and the rythms of everyday life (Blue, 2019).

This research is particularly pertinent to Indonesia as a culturally diverse society that encompasses more than 364 ethnicities and features over 600 dialects and local languages (Arifin et al., 2015). Adding further cultural complexities and nuances into everyday life, it is estimated that approximately 10.7 per cent of the 47 million marriages in Indonesia are inter-ethnic (Utomo & McDonald, 2016). Althougth these marriages have not been the subject of much research in Indonesia (Ida Bagus, 2008; Utomo, 2019), there are two main research traditions into inter-ethnic marriage internationally that remain pertinent to this study (see Gaines et al., 2015). The first is primarily quantitative and features a focus on the demographics and correlates/predictors of marital satisfaction and longevity. The second is more qualitative in orientation and explores the reasons why some persons enter inter-ethnic marriages and the opportunities and issues that affords them and their families. This article explores two detailed case exemplars of inter-

ethnic marriage between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians in order to explore some of the cultural and material complexities involved. The locating of this exploration primarily within the second, qualitative, research tradition facilitates our focus on materiality and the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriage (see Marschall, 2019).

By way of further background, research from the first quantitative tradition tends to focus on how normatively, societies often depict inter-ethnic marriages in negative terms as being inappropriate (Duck & VanderVoort, 2002), prohibited (Roncarati et al., 2009), unstable (Bratter & King, 2008), problematic (Troy et al., 2016) and overly constraining (Choi & Tienda, 2017). The main findings of the research in this tradition are that inter-ethnic marriage is characterised by lower marital satisfaction compared to same-ethnicity couples because of such factors as lower values similarity (Hohmann-Marriott & Amato, 2008), lack of social support (Bell & Hastings, 2015), and higher rates of marital distress (Bratter and Eschbach, 2006). These clearly are important considerations for researchers trying to make sense of quantitative aspects of the complex relationships involving persons from different ethnic groups. However, many inter-ethnic marriages thrive and we would argue that researchers need to also focus more fully on the positive potential that comes with cultural diversity in intimate relationships.

A key issue with research from the first approach is also the preoccupation with trying to quantify problems experienced by couples. For example, the *marital assimilation measurement* (Qian & Lichter, 2001) was developed in an attempt "to capture" cultural assimilation in inter-ethnic marriage. In doing so, these authors reduce complex and dynamic socio-cultural phenomenon, such as 'nativity' to a collection of variables. As useful as such measurement efforts may be in bringing our attention to key problems that can occur within inter-ethnic marriages, what is offered is an overly restrictive orientation that has been associated with justifications for the subordination of some cultures to others (Kim, 2007).

What is also missing in the first approach are more holistic explorations of the everyday, dynamic, often messy, material and paradoxical conduct of inter-

ethnic marriages. Scholars such as Holzkamp (2016) have argued that such top-down, quantitative and abstract approaches to investigating relationships often offer limited perspectives on everyday relational experiences, and how people make sense of and adjust themselves to their inter-personal situations. We need to find out more about how people come to navigate the complexities involved in inter-cultural unions, and how key tensions and cultural negotiations manifest every day through the use of particular material objects in general and/or memory objects in particular (Marschall, 2019; Sha, 2020). Such a focus is important for documenting and extending present understandings of how people from different cultures can co-create lives for themselves and their children. This brings us into the domain of the second approach to researching inter-ethnic marriage.

The second tradition of research into inter-ethnic marriage began with two seminal papers, which employed ethnographic approaches to documenting reasons for such unions, including love and attraction (Porterfield, 1978; Rosenblatt et al., 1995). More recent research also foregrounds the importance of both tensions and conflict (Yulianto et al., 2022a, 2022b) and positively orientated explorations of participant experiences and narratives of love, compassion, and mutual care (Kuramoto, 2017; Lapanun, 2020). In also exploring such issues, our research is informed by social psychological scholarship on the conduct of everyday life, which explores how mundane and banal everyday social practices comprise acts of cultural re-membering[10] that reproduce particular ways of being with others (Hodgetts et al., 2020). From this perspective, everyday life is approached as a domain of relational encounters within which culturally patterned social practices are re-enacted, re-produced, modified, adapted, or changed. The everyday is where inter-ethnic couples come together to re-assemble their lives as inter-connected and enculturated beings who reproduce

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[10] We use the term of 're-membering' (using hyphen) to signal the reconstructive nature of the memory and to distinguish our orientation from the classic understanding of memory within cognitive psychology that tend to reduce human memory to cognitive processes. Re-membering refers to the mental and material practices through which people participate in and in doing so reproduce aspects of their cultural traditions.

and innovate upon their familial traditions, often with recourse to various material objects (see Hodgetts et al., 2016; Yulianto et al., 2022a; Yulianto et al, 2022b).

To recap, this article focuses on money and related relational household objects employing Simmel's (1910/1970) *principle of emergence* to contribute to present understandings of how specific metonymic objects[11] and related material practices, reproduce aspects of the larger cultural traditions that partners bring into their unions. Our primary focus on money as an emergent memory object and much more, enables us to extend research into the social materiality of everyday objects and related practices in the everdyay conduct and management of tensions in inter-ethnic marriages.

The present study

In terms of the research setting, it is important to consider the broader histories of engagement and tensions between *pribumi* (indigenous), such as Javanese, and Chinese Indonesian people now increasingly engaged in inter-ethnic marriage. Historically there have been considerable tensions between the Javanese majority and the Chinese minority, which have periodically resulted in particularly violent consequences. For example, in 1965 anti-Chinese violence emerged with the collapse of the Sukarno regime and anti-communist forces (the army and Islamic group) associated Chinese Indonesians with Maoism and they were subject to considerable violence (Cribb, 2001). This anti-Chinese violence led to the deaths of more than 500,000 people, many also consisting of indigenous Indonesian members and alleged supporters of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) (Cribb, 2001). Further, the 1998 anti-Chinese violence on the resignation of the Soeharto regime also led to violent attacks and sexual assaults on Chinese Indonesian women (Purdey, 2006), demonstrating that *pribumi* and non-*pribumi* conflictual

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[11] The term 'metonymy' enables us to use a part of aspect of experience to represent the whole experience. Particular objects, such as paintings and photographs can elicit memories and feelings. In this paper, money and related household objects are metonymic objects because these objects reproduce aspects of the larger cultural traditions that partners bring into the marriage.

sentiments could easily be ignited. Although not as extreme today, these tensions remain part of the national psyche and offer an important context for understanding the experiences of Indonesians from these groups who choose to forge lives with each other across what has historically been an ethnic divide (Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020). For example, a recent Indonesia National Survey Project (Setijadi, 2017) asked Indonesian *pribumi* participants to respond to the following statement: "it is inappropriate for native Indonesians to practice inter-ethnic marriage with the Chinese-Indonesian". Of the 1,620 respondents 35.8 per cent disagreed, 30.6 per cent neither agreed or disagreed, and 33.7 agreed with the statement. These results reflect continued tensions between some Indonesians from these groups.

Given these tensions, it was important that we also included Javanese and Chinese scholars, and that the fieldwork for this project had input from both cultural groups. The lead author, a Javanese male, conducted the fieldwork for this project in the city of Nganjuk (1,046 million population) in East Java over a 10 week period with 10 inter-ethnic married couples. He was assisted in the fieldwork with a Chinese Indonesian colleague and the authorships for this paper also include a senior Chinese scholar. The fieldwork for this project involved considerable face time establishing relationships with participating couples in accordance with both Javanese and Chinese cultural practices. Participating couples were recruited through a local Kindergarten whose roll featured a high number of inter-ethnic children.

Given the rich and complex nature of the materials produced from this fieldwork, this paper is based on our engagements with two couples whose accounts and experiences resonated with the remaining eight participating couples. The first couple is the Bing (55 years old Chinese Indonesian husband) and Giatun (47 years old Javanese wife) household and the second is the Elly (53 years old Chinese Indonesian wife) and Jayadi (56 years old Javanese husband). These couples were selected for this article because of their lower socio-economic status and the emphasis they placed on monetary issues and related memory objects

when narrating their relationships. The chosen households from such a background are foundational as the concept of hybridity often seen as esteemed, stylish, utopian, and associated to elite cosmopolitans and transnationals (Werbner, 1997).

These couples took part in multiple informal conversations and home visits with the first author and his Chinese Indonesian colleague prior to taking part in four enhanced formal interviews that encompassed biographical, go-along, and photo-elicitation techniques (Kusenbach, 2018). The first author also wrote 32 pages of fieldnotes that were also drawn upon in the analysis. Whilst the formal interviews were predominantly conducted with both partners in order to capture aspects of the ongoing negotiation of their relationships, the partners were also interviewed separately to discuss photographs that they had taken and that they considered more personal to themselves. Briefly, the fieldwork with these two couples generated 67 pages of transcripts written in Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia languages, more than 84 photographs, two photo albums containing more than 400 personal photographs, 4 genograms, and 32 pages of fieldnotes. Reflecting the importance of the research topic to participants, at the completion of the 10 week fieldwork period, these participants wanted to keep our engagements going. When the first author returned to New Zealand to complete his PhD, participants continued to send updates in the form of email reflections, photographs, revised genograms and engaged the first author in online chats. We remain in contact in order to further discuss this research as it evolves, reflecting the importance of co-constructing knowledge with participants through immersive research engagements (Hodgetts et al., 2020).

Through an iterative and abductive process of engaging with the couples and the materials produced with them for the purposes of this research (Brinkmann, 2014), the research team approached each couple as a unique exemplar or case that spoke to broader issues of inter-ethnic marriage between these two ethnic groups (Hodgetts and Stolte, 2012). Constructing each case involved the process of *bricolage* (Levi-Strauss, 1966) by which field observations, notes, transcripts,

photographs, genograms, drawings, comments from the Chinese-Indonesian colleagues, conversation with a cultural elder and further correspondence with the couples were inter-connected as key features. By emplacing all the materials as inter-connected elements within each case, we were able to consider the use of money and related material objects (e.g., jar for holding money, onion processing machine) within the context of the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriage within particular household settings. We also positioned such key objects that foregrounded tensions and cooperation as orientating points for exploring key inter-ethnic dynamics in these households and moving interpretively beyond the walls outwards to explore the broader conduct of these relationships and aspects of the participating cultures. This interpretive process has been referred to in resrach into the conduct of everyday life as a form of *referential generalisation* (Hodgetts et al., 2020) which draws insights from Horkheimer (1941) who noted that, "The general contents is thus not dissolved into a multitude of empirical facts but is concretised in a theoretical analysis in a given social configuration and related to the whole of the historical process of which it is an insovable parts" (p. 22). The metaphor of climbing a rock face may be useful for some readers in further conceptualising how we made sense of the materials generated with the participants with recourse to the broader historical context, existing empirical literature on inter-ethnic marriages by also drawing on various conceptual insights into the material conduct of everyday life. For example, previous research and theory offered recognisable conceptual hand holds for us to latch onto as we scaled the wall or developed our interpretation of these inter-ethnic marriages. As such, we worked with these abductively (Brinkmann, 2014) to document participant experiences and to generate an interpretation that contributed to existing knowledge.

Money as key material objects related to other objects and relations in the marriage

Money is a significant object in marriages that is embrioled within everyday economic, psychological, relational and cultural practices (Simmel, 1910/1970) and associated meanings (Marschall, 2019; Henare et al., 2007). Money is an object that participating households found difficult to obtain and which functioned as a focal point for key inter-ethnic tensions in the negotiation of the shared marriage space. As such, money is an important object through which to explore aspects of the dynamics of inter-ethnic marriages. As we will show, striving to obtain and use money wisely encourages innovation. Couples strive to cooperate and attempt to cultivate a sustainable life together that allows for participation in key cultural events, such as Chinese New Year. Money is also linked to obtaining other material objects that feature in participant's everyday lives, such as onion processing machine, food and even houses.

In the following analysis we document the articulation and materialisation of the Chinese value of prudence in turning 'small money' into 'big money' in everyday household practices. We document how from the Chinese Indonesian cultural perspective, Javanese patriachal practices associated with gifting money to build solidarity and support within the broader community is associated with 'imprudence'. We then document how an onion processing machine manufactured through Chinese 'prudence' is employed somewhat harmoniously within the household to support a Javanese cooking business and cultural obligations of 'imprudence' to support the broader community. This leads to an exploration of how Javanese prudence in purchasing cheaper cuts of pork contributes to a couples ability to cook *Bak Kut Teh* (a Chinese Indonesian dish) and participate in the correct observance of Chinese New Year. These three sections document how seemingly contradictory cultural values and associated tensions can be brought into harmony through the emergent meanings experienced through the use of particular material objects in the conduct of their everyday lives together.

Small money in a can

In the Jayadi and Elly household, money offers a focal point for cultivating a sense of purpose in the marriage. Cooperation around money is also central to the couple being able to observe particular cultural practices that each partner brings to their union and for demonstrating their affection and love for one another (Miller, 1998). More than just a routine, the practice of saving in this family reproduces Chinese cultural values of being prudent, determined and entrepreneurial that are employed to support the Javanese cultural value of gifting surplus money to the broader community.

Elly shared her experiences on how to manage money from a Chinese Indonesian perspective in a particularly excited and animated manner (Fieldnotes, January 3rd, 2020), repeatedly stating that the Chinese understanding and associated saving practice was one of the key lessons she had brought with her into the marriage with a partner who did not necessarily share this orientation. In the extract below, Elly begins by conveying her understanding of 'small money' and how the concept can be used to set in motion a chain of actions that generates more money and enables the couple to purchase important items, such as a freezer for their ice business. Elly then contrasts her Chinese approach to saving 'small money' and training her mind to think that she has no savings with the concept of 'lost money'. Central to the account is the importance of saving 'small money' to accumulate it into 'big money', rather than spending it as she asserts Javanese people do. Through the account Chinese people are presented as being prudent with money in contrast with Javanese people who are presented as being 'imprudent':

> The way I manage the money is by setting my mind on 'the lost
> money'. That is, if you get 100 rupiahs, what you can use is 25.
> The remaining of 75, save it and keep in mind that you do not
> have that money.

Elly then continues by outlining how this practice allows the couple to purchase particular objects:

From the accumulated 'small money', I purchased a freezer to make ice cubes. Then, you can sell the ice cubes. Save the money again. I can save until 8.5 million rupiahs from selling ice cubes to buy car wheels. For me, if I have money, I do not want to lose it. I will work to turn it into something real. If in a day I can get 20,000 rupiahs from the ice cubes, I can save the small money to buy something real… Do not ever use the *babon* (capital). You need to keep thinking that the *babon* is zero. You're only allowed to spend using some of the profit... I know that this is overly rigid. But, what is rigid is what makes you succeed. I even make a list of my spending on a used piece of paper. I put it in my wallet (Figure 12). I can check if my notes and my actual money in the wallet is the same. I still keep the bank receipt every time I take some money from the Automated Teller Machine. This is different from a Javanese family that often has 50 rupiahs and spend all of the 50. In Chinese family, no! You should have a happy old life because you work hard since you are young and save the small money. From 'small money' it can become 'big money'. I even save all the coins I get from selling mineral water in a can (See Figure 13). I save 400,000 rupiahs from that.

Researcher: Is it different from what Jayadi (her husband) does?

Elly: Different? He is too imprudent! When he goes to Warung (traditional Javanese coffee shop), he treats all of his [Javanese] friends for solidarity. But the thing is the money runs out. This is why he did not succeed with his previous marriage. Jayadi was not able to buy a house. Only when he married me, we could buy a house.
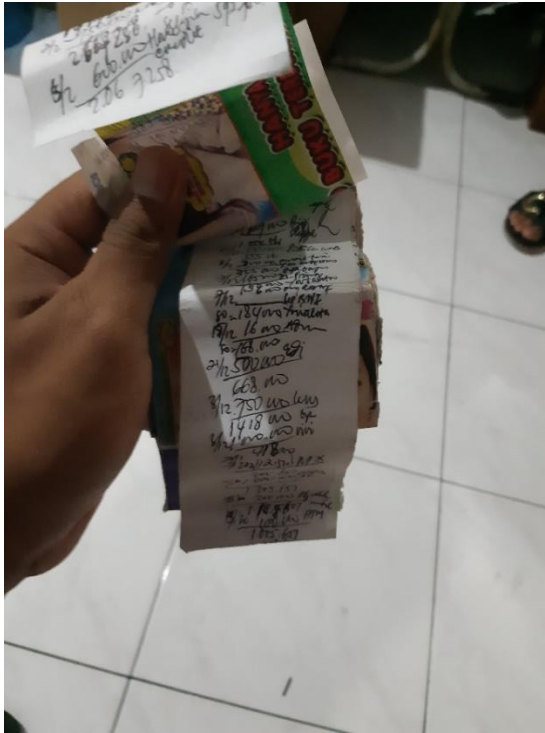
Figure 12. The note of daily expenses kept in Elly's wallet.

Figure 13. Saving small money in a can (400.000 rupiahs)

Elly repeatedly invokes the Chinese cultural construct of 'small money'*(xiaoqian),* referring to how she has employed this understanding of money to accumulate enough to realise the couple's aspirations. In the midst of the interview, Elly showed the first author a can of newly saved coins (See Figure 13) and referred to these as saved 'small money' that when accumulated transforms into 'big money' *(daqian)* for purchasing large items, exemplifying the Chinese saying, "now it is a drop of water, but in the end, there will be a day when it is a bowl of water" *(xianzai shi yidi shui, danzong hui you yitian shi yian shui)* (McDonald & Dan, 2020).

In this account saved 'small and large money' is presented as Chinese money culturally and in contrast to the 'small money' that becomes 'lost money' when in the hands of her Javanese husband. We can see how money manifests key cultural and gendered differences that both partners recognise and have learned to adjust to in realising their aspirations as a couple to own a home. There are inter-cultural tensions here associated with the use of money that have been rendered more harmonious through the saving and sharing practices of this couple (Li, 2006; Magnis-Suseno, 1984). The Chinese wife sees money shared with the community as 'lost money' whereas the Javanese husband still maintains that this 'shared money' is important for maintaining community solidarity. In navigating this tension to achieve some harmony, the couple have agreed to transform 'small money' into 'large money' so that they can also share more with the community and purchase a house.

This exemplar can also be interpreted as illustrating how, as a material object, the meaning of money is negotiated inter-culturally as an object of both tension and cooperation within the dynamics of this relationship (Marschall, 2019). Some readers may also interpret this exemplar as an illustration of how a Javanese husband has simple given in or complied with the cultural practices of a Chinese wife, and that this does not resolve the inter-cultural tensions around money. There is some plausibility to this interpretation, at least initially. It is also important to note that people live with tensions in their relationships all the time

and engage in some practices to which they are not fully committed psychologically. In this case these tensions were managed by the husband receiving an allowance and over time coming to appreciate the benefits of the wife's careful money management, which has enabled the couple to gain some financial security.

More broadly, this exemplar also reflects Simmel's (1910/1970) observation that money is integrated within human interactions as a focal point for negotiating tensions in the conduct of everyday relationships. Hence, to accumulate coins in cans also encompasses the accumulation of a sense of shared purpose over time and a contribution to the couple reaching their aspirations together (see Noble, 2004). What we also see here is how couples can work together in ways that enable one partner to convince another about the wisdom of their particular approach to money. The result is a more harmonious relationship, whereby according to both Confucian and Javanese teachings such harmony does not equate to sameness or absolute agreement (Li, 2008; Magnis-Suseno, 1984). Rather, we refer here to harmony is a process of working through differences and reaching mutual acceptance in ways that are functional for the couple, despite their ongoing cultural differences.

The key cultural difference and point of tension and some residual contradiction between these Chinese and Javanese partners raised by Elly is worth considering a little more. For Jayadi (Javanese), money is an instrumental tool for socialising, strengthening community relationships, and as Elly notes is used to demonstrate solidarity and a willingness to share, maintain relationships, and support others. This practice is exemplified in the Javanese proverb, *Tuna Sathak Bathi Sanak*, which means that it is no problem to lose a certain amount of money as long as we get new relatives and friends. As Jayadi states:

> If I meet my close friends in a *warung*, I often pay for their coffee and snacks. Treating friends is just normal for me. It is simply the way to show care, kindness and how to maintain our friendships… Yes, we end up spending more, but this is for our relationships.

The different perspectives voiced by Jayadi and Elly in managing money exemplify how money can have different meanings and serve culturally different purposes (Zelizer, 1989) simultaneously in a relationship. Here, money can be a source of tension that requires negotiation that is navigated materially and psychologically as couples strive to understand and cooperate across their differences. In this case, Elly has convinced Jayadi of the utility of her approach in that they are able to afford a fridge for selling ice and to sucessfully purchase a home, and with it gain more dignity as a household. This is particularly important for Elly as this house is bought with Jayadi and literally materialises their sense of shared accomplishment as a couple. It does not mean that Jayadi has abandoned his cultural values towards sharing money, but has curtailed the material enactment of these in order for the couple to realise their cooperative goals.

Briefly, from Elly's (Chinese Indonesian) somewhat instrumental perspective, tracking their daily expenses and keeping notes in her wallet enables her to gain a sense of progress and purpose towards reaching larger financial goals. In accounting for money in the relationship, Elly is able to enact a sense of herself as a good Chinese wife who exercises restraint, self-discipline, and responsibility (see The Chinese Culture Connection, 1987, for an overview on 40 Chinese Cultural values). Through using money in culturally expected ways, Elly reproduces herself as a Chinese Indonesian person and brings Chinese cultural aspects into the running of the household in a country that is dominated by Javanese cultural practices. This runs counter to research into inter-ethnic marriage that suggests that people from such minoritised ethnic communities will be assimilated and subordinated by the dominant culture (Qian & Lichter, 2001; Kim, 2007). By repeatedly saying "I want to have something real", Elly invokes her personal agency in the relationship and emphasises how money is not real until you generate something tangible from it. In the process, Elly's cultural monetary practices are also manifested in the relationship in a manner complementary to Jayadi realising his cultural responsibilities to host, share and care for friends, and

neighbours. Jayadi is also aware that once the household have gained further financial security he will be able to do more for others.

Narrating a shared response to financial hardship

In this section, we focus on how Bing and Giatun respond to financial hardship by using what money they have to purchase components that enable them to repair and manufacture devices that support their efforts to earn more money. In doing so, we document how money is interwoven in the obtaining, repair and use of other material objects that enable the family to not only get by, but to also to cultivate a more harmonious and prosperous life together. In exploring these material practices we extend our account of how inter-ethnic married couples can maintain cultural traditions, whilst also creating hybrid relational spaces of synergy and cooperation.

Both Bing and Giatun talked at length about the significance of their past experiences of financial hardship and how they have learned to cooperate to cultivate a more secure financial future for themselves and their children. For example, experiencing financial hardship has led Bing to also emphasise financial prudence and the need to learn to make do with what one has to hand. Bing understands and articulates his Chinese prudence and ability to repair objects and in doing so save money in relation to particular objects:

> It was a long time ago. Maybe 20 years ago… I really wanted to have a tool to help me harvest the rice paddy. But our financial situation as a couple was hard and we sold that again. I wanted to repair it by myself, but I did not have enough money… I also remember that I had a motorcycle. It did not work, and I brought it to the service centre. I had to pay a very expensive amount of money and it made me upset. I came from a poor family. I was angry and decided to disassemble my motorcycle again to see how it worked, and I gradually picked it up. From then, I promised to learn everything by myself.

Bing went on to talk about how negative experiences, such as not having enough money or the knowledge to repair a crucial machine, can force someone to pick up new skills as a means of realising one's sense of self as an innovative provider. Much of his account of building a life with Giatun focused on the need to manufacture objects and engage in associated practices in order to make things work, save and generate more money. For example, Bing talked about the need to priorities the purchase of a key artisanal object to support Giatun's work selling traditional Javanese onion dishes at a local food stand and efforts to feed less fortunate members of the community:

> Oh, now I have a hand-made tool. An onion processing machine. This is not perfect. I made these by myself. Giatun often gets orders to make fried onions and help the cooking for community meal. I will show you how this machine works (see Figure 14).

From the outside we might interpret Bing's onion processing machine in terms of its function to peel and cut onions. For Bing the machine holds this meaning and much more (see Henare et al., 2007; Marschall, 2019). It is an object of affection and cooperation that binds him and Giatun within the income generating practice of selling food. The onion cutter is invoked in the extract above and Figure 14 to manifest Bing's sense of cooperation and teamwork that Giatun also expressed throughout our interactions. Creating the device offered an instrumental way for Bing to demonstrate materially his assertion that "I am here to support your (Giatun's) attempts in selling fried onions". In talking to his partner in the interview about what the machine meant to him he also asserted that "we might not have money to buy a brand-new onion cutter, but I can create one for you". The machine became, in part, an expression of inter-cultural cooperation and affection whereby this Chinese husband supported the Javanese cooking practices and sharing values of a Javanese wife.

Figure 14. Bing demonstrates how the onion processing machine works

The machine has also become integrated into Giatun's sense of self as a Javanese fried onion seller enacting a traditional gendered entrepreneurial role of cooking particular dishes for sale and sharing, and as being in a supportive and caring relationship with Bing. As Giatun states:

Actually, I used to cut onions by myself manually. Then we reflected, this is just painful. We thought we want to buy peeled onions, but that is way too expensive. We won't get much profit… Actually, if I had money, I want to buy a new tool. It is okay to me to access credit, but Bing refused. He insisted we save and only buy things with cash. No debt. As we know, being a woman, I need to be efficient. Making and selling fried onion is the way I contribute to the family… This is why Bing created the artisanal onion cutting machine for me.

Here, we see Chinese 'financial prudence' from Bing not wanting to access credit being juxtaposed with Giatun wanting to invest in the productivity of the business. Again, the tension is navigated by the couple reaching a shared strategy that also reflects their efforts to cooperate and support one another. Reflecting the multifaceted nature of everyday practices (Blue, 2019), it is important to note here the prominent gendering of money management practices in Indonesia (Brenner, 1995). For example, within Javanese households, finances are traditionally managed skillfully by women because Javanese men can be a little too relaxed in spending money (Geertz, 1961). Traditionally, women gathered all the household's money, where prominent in entrepreneurial efforts to support the household (Brenner, 1995). As such, Giatun's efforts have a basis in Javanese entrepreneurial gender roles.

In discussing the onion processing machine and its relationship to saving and generating money was extended through a discussion of other related objects. For example, Figure 15 depicts used items and parts that Bing stores in a corner within the house. Making and fixing machines using these items is associated with not only saving money, but also the cultivation of a shared sense of satisfaction for this couple. This material practice of making machines to aid the generation of income through the use of recycled objects is ongoing:

> The price of making this onion processing machine by ourselves
> is much cheaper compared to buying a brand new one. In
> working, my principle is that you must pay a little to get many... I
> learned how to make this tool from Youtube... It is not perfect...
> I got a used pipe and I want to make another machine. So the
> onions go through this way and out through that way [pointing
> to the object]... This is simple. I love to make all things handmade,
> by myself. It is efficient. We can save the energy, but also save
> money... I feel really comfortable every time I visit the used goods

market... I can look carefully at what kind of things I can buy to combine with other things and create a new thing.
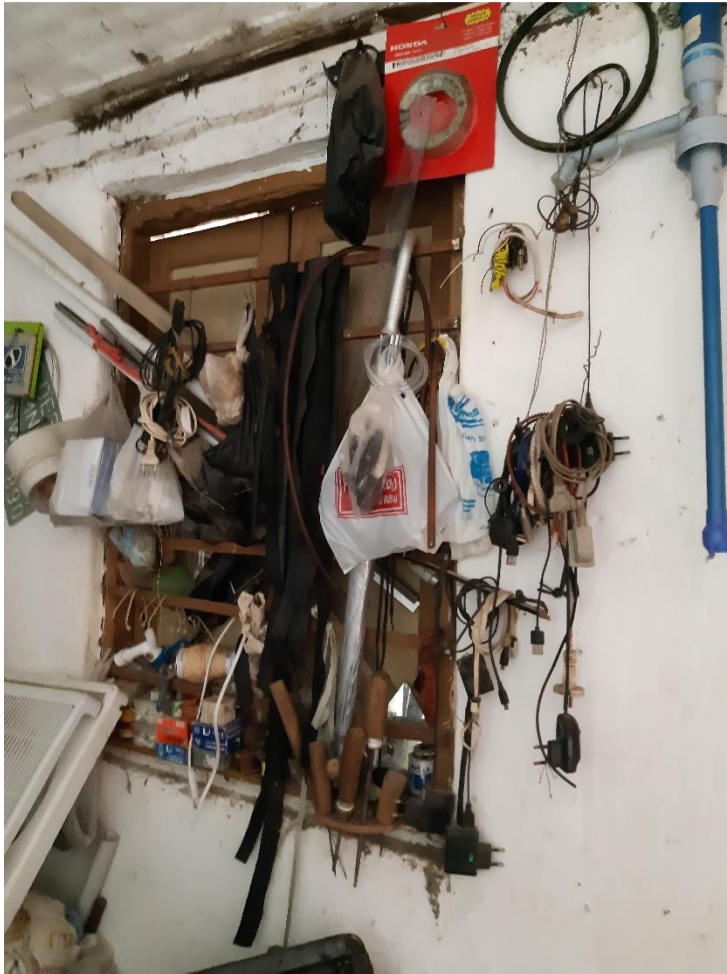
Figure 15. Used objects for making and repairing machines

Limited financial resources have led Bing to obtain used items and store these around the house to support his self-taught efforts to produce machines as artefacts of his efforts to be a responsible Chinese Indonesian husband who meets the material needs of the household. The couple refer to the stored objects (see Figure 15) as their "old stuff library", which also contributes to Giatun's efforts to contribute financially to the household. Their cooperation extends to Bing helping Giatun cook the community meal. As such, cooking fried onions has become a key focal point of cooperative connection for Bing and Giatun that allows them to recognise each other's

efforts in the joint venture of generating not only money for the household, but also a stronger sense of solidarity within the broader community. Bing's Chinese Indonesian prudence and industrious self-reliance (Koning, 2007) also enables Giatun to engage in traditional Javanese gendered entrepreneurship to support community care practices around sharing resources with less fortunate neighbours and friends. Accounts of what should be bought and how to finance key purchases offers insights into the mental accounting that is deeply connected to the broader socio-cultural systems that participants bring into their marriages (see Kirchler et al., 2008). We can see here that the creation of a deceptively simple object in the form of an onion processing machine is implicated in much broader inter-cultural dynamics of everyday life both within the household and broader community.

The Bak Kut Teh

As is evident in the sections above, in managing limited financial resources, household members strive to be as efficient and restrained as possible. Participants develop and employ shared and well-honed practices to get the best prices possible for goods and to preserve their resources. As well as meeting household needs, these practices also refract broader socio-cultural structures whereby one's situation in society necessitates agentive ways of making do (de Certeau, 1984; Hodgetts et al., 2020). These practices became particularly apparent as central in discussions of making food for special occasions and observing key cultural traditions (Lefebvre, 1991). For example, it is common for Chinese Indonesian families to invite the extended family to share specialist dishes during the Chinese New Year. These include *Bak Kut Teh* (pork ribs with salted vegetables), *Tjap Cai* (vegan dish containing 10 types of vegetables), and various fresh fruits (e.g. oranges and apples).

In relation preparing for and enacting such aspects of divergent cultural heritages, tensions can emerge between partners and are also negotiated. In the

process, couples discuss how engaging in particular cultural traditions often requires a significant amount of money (Carroll, 2018). For example, Giatun talked about being reluctant to cook and eat Chinese Indonesian dishes at such times. Giatun realised how important these dishes are to Bing and repeatedly stated that Chinese Indonesian dishes were just too expensive. In evidencing or materialising this claim, she compares the cost of Chinese dishes with Javanese dishes, which she presented as being much simpler to make and better value for money. In this moment assertions of Chinese cultural prudence and Javanese imprudence are inverted:

> Chinese food is fancy because the ingredients are expensive. The meat is expensive. The spices are expensive. The liquid herbs are expensive. The cooking wine is expensive. The oyster sauce is expensive… The budget in making Chinese food is expensive. Now let's say that you want to make a Chinese noodle. You should use the special noodle, shrimp, pork and the specific sauce. Let us compare to Javanese noodles. You only need a soy sauce and garlic. Done.

By repeatedly stating that Chinese dishes are expensive, Giatun voices the benefits of her own cultural food tradition as more prudent and appropriate for their household. Giatun also positions food and the appropriateness of dishes as a social status issue. Through such extracts, we can also see how material objects or ingredients and associated cooking practices can function as metonymic objects for lived cultures that in this account are counter-posed and used to differentiate the appropriateness of divergent traditions that populate such households.

In contrast to Giatun, Chinese New Year is special to Bing and an event that should be marked with the appropriate dishes. In justifying the expenditure and rehearsing ongoing negotiations with Giatun during the interview, Bing points out that he does not observe other Chinese Indonesian cultural events. As he notes, these include Cheng Beng (the tomb sweeping day) and so he should be able to enjoy special dishes, such *Bak Kut Teh* at New Year. Their ongoing deliberations do include considerable effort towards reaching practical compromises within the

resource restraints that populate in their life together. This includes the Giatun's suggestion that they cook this dish during an alternative week when the meat and other ingredients come down in price due to reduced demand. In a subsequent interaction the first author followed up on whether or not this suggested compromise would be put into action. Giatun states:

> I have made an order to the pork seller. We will meet him in front of the church. I prefer to see him in person, rather than in the shop. Bing will accompany me. I usually buy pork from Roma's mom. It cost us 80 thousand rupiahs per kg. But tomorrow we only need to pay 70 thousand rupiahs. Way cheaper.

After further negotiations it was decided to not move the date for cooking *Bak Kut Teh*, but rather to opt for cheaper ingredients. Purchasing the pork was subsequently reframed as a shared event for the couple to treat themselves and their extended family in a kind of hybridised observance of Chinese New Year. In the process, a point of tension for this couple was transformed into a shared moment of cooperation and inclusion.

The first author witnessed the purchasing event and noted that Giatun asked to buy pork's ears (see Figure 16). The pork seller, who is actually from another indigenous Indonesian ethnic group (Batak) understood the significance of Chinese people purchasing pork at this time of year and outlined that Giatun could pay as much or little as she wanted for the ears. Giatun paid only 10 thousand rupiahs (1 dollar) for a pair of pork ears (Fieldnote, 22 December 2019).

Figure 16. Meeting the pork seller on the street to buy cheap cuts

Through such interactions, it becomes apparent that these couples often strive to reach inter-cultural compromises that ensure that their traditions are not lost. Cultural events and practices can be observed in modified or adaptive ways for a more reasonable price with which they are both comfortable. In the example above, money is positioned as a means for Giatun to acknowledge Bing's Chinese-ness and need to participate in key cultural events. Bing is willing to compromise by not observing all such events and by modifying the ingredients for key dishes in order to reach agreement with Giatun. This exemplar also resonates with Miller's (1998) observation regarding love as a material practice that often comes with obligations and responsibilities. This couple's efforts to negotiate when to cook the *Bak Kut Teh* and what to buy from the Batak seller can be seen as expressions of how they care for each other, which have consequences for what they purchase (Miller, 1998). The joint activity in planning the meal and sourcing specific ingredients for a lower price enables the couple to share in and enjoy this cultural

event in a manner that is not undermined by inter-cultural tensions. In such situations we can witness how money becomes more multifaceted socially. It is no longer simply an object for transaction. Money becomes a celebratory object that can nurture these marriages.

Discussion

The analysis presented above documents how a focus on particular household objects can inform our understanding of everyday monetary life in two inter-ethnic marriages. Our analysis supports the view that inter-ethnic marriages comprise liminal or encounter spaces for cultural hybridity for participating human beings as they grapple with the material aspects of everyday life as well as their shared hopes, dreams and at times differing cultural expectations. These two cases reveal some of the complexities of money and related objects within the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia today. We have centralised the importance of considering a nexus of contextual concerns relating to culture and socio-economic status. These households, and the others participating in this study that we have not discussed here, varied in terms of their material adaptive strategies of inter-cultural compromise in building lives together. However, all shared an underlying process of defusing tensions as they cultivated lives together by developing particular practices. The articulation of these processes differed across households, but not the underlying willingness to care and share itself. Such instances of complementarity and tension diffusion are important as inter-ethnic marriages are often explored through the lens of ethnic difference feeding conflict and a lack of compromise (see Childs, 2014). Our analysis foregrounds some of the ways in which money as a dynamic socio-material object can be used within the everyday negotiation of inter-ethnic and religious priorities. For example, the account of purchasing pork suggests that although money can be a source of marital strife, it also provides a means of celebrating a partner's cultural tradition and nurturing the marriage (Miller, 1998).

Although everyday monetary practices are culturally informed, having cultural values that are seemingly contradictory and likely to create tensions between inter-ethnic married couples, does not necessarily result in intractable conflict. It can be a source of exploration and efforts to understand, accommodate differences, cooperate, and reach some resolution. Along the way, adaptive or hybrid cultural practices can emerge. For example, the concepts of 'small money', 'big money', 'lost money' and 'shared money' can become entwined within couple's conduct of everyday life. That is, by adopting the Chinese practice of saving 'small money' to transform it into 'big money' a couple are then able to more fully realise the Javanese practice of cultivating community solidarity by sharing with the broader community. Chinese Indonesian means can be used to meet Javanese culture ends; just as Javanese means can be employed to meet Chinese Indonesian ends.

This research suggests that key cultural differences can be rendered more harmonious and become woven together in the conduct of participant's everyday lives together (Kim, 2016; Latour, 2005; Lewis, 2018). In relation to the emphasis we place on harmony in this article, it is necessary to point out that just because some tensions can be managed and accommodated, does not necessarily mean that these are fully resolved. Correspondingly, we do not understand harmony as an absolute state devoid of tension or conflict. Our position reflects aspects of both Chinese and Javanese scholarly literatures (Li, 2006; Magnis-Suseno, 1984). According to Confucianists, for example, harmony does not require perfect agreement or equate to sameness (Li, 2006), but rather harmony is a process cultivated through mutual respect and a willingness to cooperate across differences. Whilst trying to achieve some degree of harmony, participating couples demonstrate deep understandings of their cultural and gendered differences, and a willingness to cooperate and find ways to work around key tensions in order to make their marriages work.

Finally, this paper also speaks to the importance of a focus on material objects and practices to understand the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic

marriages. Relatedly, our research demonstrates that money is a vital and highly indicative aspect of inter-cultural familial dynamics. Investigating domestic micro-economics and associated material practices offers new understandings of the wider social phenomena of tension management and success in inter-ethnic marriage. Further, we have demonstrated how household items can function as objects of commitment, compromise, cooperation and affection that help the couples articulate feelings of affection and care, and realise shared aspirations (Bell & Spikins, 2018). Also contributing to the extension of scholarship on cultural hybridity (Werbner, 1997), we have offered a more mundane and localised exploration of the culturally patterned use of everyday objects, including an onion processing machine. We have also considered some of the ways in which the participating couples demonstrate their efforts to address shared concerns such as their financial hardship by developing new hybrid responses. References to such household material practices and objects that populate these inter-ethnic marriages help participants to articulate some of the dynamics of the conduct of their relationships and cultivation of shared ways of being and practices of togetherness. These material practices also enable these couples to share personal memories and traditions from their pasts and cultivate new shared imaginations for their futures together (Parrott, 2005).

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

As I have argued throughout this thesis, inter-ethnic marriage is a pressing research topic in culturally diverse countries such as Indonesia. I have demonstrated how marriages between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians are situated within the context of often tense histories between indigenous *(pribumi)* and non-indigenous ethnic groups (Carey, 1984; Dahana, 2004; Herlijanto, 2019; Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020; Setijadi, 2017). While acknowledging and embracing these complexities, the aim of this thesis was to explore how Javanese and Chinese Indonesian couples conduct their inter-ethnic marriages day-to-day in the context of broader societal shifts in Indonesian society. By employing a culturally immersive approach to the interactions with the 10 couples in the city of Nganjuk in East Java, I was able to explore the ways in which inter-ethnic couples create hybrid spaces for the conduct of their inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia. The series of three publications that form the core of this thesis (Yulianto et al., 2022a, 2022b, 2022c) are informed by both Javanese and Chinese Indonesian cultural concepts and practices.

This chapter ties together all key arguments presented in the previous three chapters as well as ending the thesis with some concluding remarks. First, I discuss key insights from all three publications and consider the broader implications of this research. In particular, I pay attention to how this research contributes to the existing body of knowledge about inter-ethnic marriage. In the second section, I address the contributions of my research to disciplinary knowledge in psychology. Specifically, I discuss the utilisation of an eclectic theoretical framework which encompasses the conduct of everyday life (Hodgetts et al., 2020; Schraube & Højholt, 2016), social practice (Blue, 2019; Halkier & Jensen, 2011), and assemblage theory (DeLanda, 2006/2019; Deleuze & Guattari, 1988). This framework was enacted empirically through the adoption of a culturally informed methodology (Guimarães, 2020; Jahoda et al., 1933/1971) to document some of the key aspects of the complex, dynamic and multifaceted interactions involved in

the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia. The chapter concludes with reflections on some of the key points as concluding remarks, as well as recommendations for future research. I also reflect on further steps that I plan to take to develop my scholarship, following the submission of this thesis.

Insights from the three publications

In this section, I reflect on and combine the key insights from the three publications that form the core of this thesis (Yulianto et al., 2022a, 2022b, 2022c). In doing so, I discuss each publication in the order it is presented in this thesis and describe how each contributes to existing knowledge about inter-ethnic marriage.

Chapter Three offers a contribution to the contemporary broadening out of research into inter-ethnic marriage from the specifics of dyadic relationships between partners to how the lives and experiences of inter-ethnic couples take shape within broader community, cultural and societal contexts. My article presented in Chapter Three (Yulianto et al., 2022a) contributes to the extension of Bhabha's (1994) conceptualisation of the 'third space'. This concept comprises an important theoretical steppingstone for deepening knowledge of cultural hybridisation beyond the previous focus on cultural forms such as art, literature, language and music (Kraidy, 2005) and into mundane everyday practices such as earning a living and the conduct of life in inter-ethnic households. Drawing on the scholarship of assemblage (DeLanda, 2006/2019; Deleuze & Guattari, 1988) and social practice theory (Blue, 2019; Halkier & Jensen, 2011), I approach inter-ethnic marriages as hybrid third spaces that take form between the larger cultural community assemblages from which each partner emerges. In doing so, I consider processes of 'de-territorialisation' and 're-territorialisation' (see DeLanda, 2006/2019) whereby particular entities are drawn from a cultural assemblage and recombined with elements from another cultural assemblage and resituated or reassembled within the creation of a third marriage space as a site for inter-cultural hybridity. Correspondingly, central to this third article is a focus on how,

in the context of inter-ethnic marriage, mundane practices may be woven into new combinations that are functional within the context of the inter-personal dynamic of particular unions (Yulianto et al., 2022a).

Chapter Three also further illustrates different agentive aspects of how participants respond to the everyday complexities and tensions that come with their inter-ethnic relationships. My analysis supports the assertion that although human relationships play a crucial role in the construction of marriage spaces, non-human (material) elements play important parts in the ways couples navigate inter-cultural tensions and strive to promote harmony within the relational networks (in-laws and communities) that also populate these marriages. Conceptualising inter-ethnic marriages as third spaces for inter-cultural re-assemblage through various agentive social practices also enables us to better understand how key elements from the two participating cultural assemblages are de-territorialised (taken from one cultural context) and then re-territorialised (embedded) within the new inter-ethnic context. Chapter Three also provides insights into how the combination of assemblage (DeLanda, 2006/2019; Deleuze & Guattari, 1988) and social practice theory (Blue, 2019; Halkier & Jensen, 2011) enables us to consider inter-ethnic marriages as in the state of becoming. This suggests that there is hope for healing larger scale inter-group tensions between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians.

Moving forward, Chapter Four (Yulianto et al., 2022b) extends the conventional focus of research into inter-ethnic marriage that tends to overlook the centrality of various locales or socio-spatial settings within which the couples conduct their marriages (see Sha, 2020; Sharaievska et al., 2017). Building on recent scholarship in the social psychology of place (Hodgetts et al., 2020), I document how these relationships and associated inter-cultural tensions are played out within and across various locales that make up what I have termed *the relation-scape*. This publication enabled me to extend the existing body of knowledge about inter-ethnic marriage by offering further consideration of the spatial, cultural, material and relational dimensions of such marriages. A central

insight here is how inter-cultural tensions in the conduct of inter-ethnic marriages can be managed through mundane spatial and material practices that contribute to the socio-cultural construction of various locales, across which couples forge their lives together. As discussed in Chapter Four, managing inter-cultural tensions in such marriages is not only a cognitive, but also a material process.

More specifically, Chapter Four offers a way to approach socio-psychological research into inter-ethnic marriage by paying attention to the mobile and dynamic nature of the relationships of inter-ethnic married couples in Indonesia. By taking guided tours led by the participating couples across their relation-scape, I was able to document how culturally informed everyday social practices, including cooking, going to the traditional market, visiting parents, and driving children to school, can become foundational in shaping the everyday conduct of participants' marriages. The simple acts of driving, listening to music, and conversing with one's partner are instrumental in the everyday negotiation of inter-ethnic tensions and for constructing dynamic shared marriage spaces within which partners reflect upon, plan for, and manage their lives together. In the process, they negotiate and reproduce aspects of what it means to be Javanese and Chinese Indonesians who are cultivating shared lives together. As I argue in Chapter Four, the locales and mobilities between these sites, are interwoven with material practices, such as the use of red lipstick, texturing everyday relationships and associated tensions, enabling participants to manage relationships with broader familial networks and promote relational harmony. Couples' mobilities across locales enable them to repurpose particular sites or locales and spaces in-between to serve their relational needs, including the creation of moments of opportunity to navigate points of tension and cultivate harmony (Stolte & Hodgetts, 2015). This article also demonstrates how journeys between particular locales are not dead or meaningless spaces or times, but rather are instrumental in the conduct of participants' marriages. These journeys are integral parts of the conduct of inter-ethnic marriages in everyday life.

Moving on from the specific focus on the various locales in which inter-ethnic couples develop their relation-scapes, Chapter Five offers a more detailed understanding of how couples develop their marriages within a particular locale. Drawing on observations of two households, Chapter Five (Yulianto et al., 2022c) describes the conduct of everyday life within the couples' domestic dwellings. Central here is how a focus on money and related material practices that occur within this setting and beyond can offer new understandings of how couples respond agentively to inter-cultural tensions in their marriages, whilst striving towards inter-cultural harmony. Of central concern in Chapter Five (Yulianto et al., 2022c) is how money and related objects and practices are often implicated in the inter-cultural relational dynamics, tensions and culturally hybrid practices that emerge when persons from different cultural backgrounds cooperate to forge new lives together with their culturally patterned and gendered differences. In doing so, I demonstrate how values of cooperation and prudence are articulated through material objects and related practices, and in the process are harnessed to support couples' efforts to build mutually supportive lives together. I have also documented how objects, including money, an onion peeling machine and food, emerge within these relationships as both practical things and objects of care, cooperation and affection. Article Three (Yulianto et al., 2022c) highlights that inter-ethnic marriages comprise liminal or encounter spaces for cultural hybridity as the couples grapple agentively with material practices through which they enact and craft their lives together. Such insights further the discussion in prior research of liminal spaces (Gennep, 1909/1960; Noussia & Lyons, 2009; Turner, 1987) and contact zones (Hermans, 2001). My thesis contributes to scholarly discussions of liminal encounter spaces with a focus on social practices as agentive practices, which enact couples' shared hopes and dreams, and also their different cultural expectations (Yulianto et al, 2022c). In other words, the art of everyday life as inter-ethnic couples is the art of making do (see de Certeau, 1984).

Further foregrounded in Chapter Five is a central finding from the previous article, that key cultural differences can be rendered more harmonious and

become woven together in the creation of something new through the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages. Whilst tensions can be managed and accommodated, I also acknowledge that these tensions are not necessarily fully resolved. Rather, they are rendered manageable through inter-cultural negotiation and processes of cultural hybridisation. It is also important to note here that harmony is not understood in both Javanese and Chinese culture as a state absolutely devoid of tension or conflict (Li, 2006; Magnis-Suseno, 1984). According to Confucianists, for example, harmony does not require perfect agreement or equate to sameness, but rather harmony is a process cultivated through mutual respect, dialogue and a willingness to cooperate across differences (Hwang, 2012; Li, 2006). Whilst striving for harmony, participating couples demonstrate deep understandings of their cultural and gendered differences, and a willingness to cooperate and find ways to work around key tensions in order to make their marriages work (Yulianto et al., 2022c). This conceptualisation of harmony as a process is particularly important for my thesis for moving beyond the fixation on thematic lists of the positive and negative aspects of inter-ethnic marriage that dominate previous research (Kuramoto, 2017; Yun, 2017). By approaching inter-ethnic marriages as inter-cultural processes of everyday engagement, I was able to document how couples' lived experiences in working together to promote harmony reveal rich and agentive practices of negotiation that are not reducible to binary distinctions between the tensions (negative) and harmonious (positive) features of these marriages (Kuramoto, 2017; Yun, 2017).

Reflecting on my findings from across all three publications against the backdrop of social structures in Indonesia, I believe that my body of work offers an orientation that is important for the study of the conduct of everyday life (Schraube & Hojholt, 2016) by showing how exploring local everyday interactions can offer insights into broader societal shifts regarding inter-group relations in Indonesia. In other words, my research bridges the gap between local experiences of conducting inter-ethnic marriages and broader societal shifts by showing how

members of Javanese and Chinese Indonesian cultural groups can strive agentively to cultivate more harmonious lives together in Indonesian society (see Dreier, 2016). To elaborate further on this point, in the next section I discuss the broader implications of my theoretical framing of this research and culturally informed approach and method for the discipline of psychology.

Research contributions

This section discusses the ways this thesis contributes to the discipline of psychology. I highlight the centrality of approaching inter-ethnic marriages between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians as intimate and socio-structural processes that need to be understood within the broader context of historical inter-group relations and colonisation (Carey, 1984), as well as contemporary national-level politics (Cribb, 2001; Dahana, 2004; Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020; Purdey, 2006; Setijadi, 2017). This section also discusses the theoretical contribution of this thesis by combining insights from the general orientation of the conduct of everyday life (Hodgetts et al., 2020; Schraube & Højholt, 2016), social practice theory (Blue, 2019; Halkier & Jensen, 2011), and the concept of cultural assemblage as derived from assemblage theory (DeLanda, 2006/2019; Deleuze & Guattari, 1988) to advance knowledge about inter-ethnic marriage in Indonesia. Also central to my thesis are efforts to centralise Javanese (Koentjaraningrat, 1985) and Chinese cultural values (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987) which I bring into dialogue with global scholarship regarding the importance of relational ethics (Hodgetts, Rua, et al., 2021; Hopner & Liu, 2021; Levinas, 1979) to ensuring that local cultural considerations are central to the design, conduct and use of research (King, Hodgetts & Guimarães, 2021; Guimarães, 2020).

My thesis contributes to psychology by offering new insights into the ways in which Javanese and Chinese Indonesians' ways of being and engaging shape the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages (see Schraube & Højholt, 2016). In the preceding chapters, I explored particular practices that are central to how couples

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forge lives together which are embedded within and informed by broader social relations and cultural traditions and structures (Dreier, 2016). I compiled this eclectic conceptual approach because everyday life is complex, dynamic and multifaceted, and as such, I needed a conceptual orientation that would help me think through what makes the participants' marriages work for them, despite their differences and the inter-cultural tensions they face. This orientation also allows me to extend current knowledge about these issues by looking beyond the more individualistic perspective taken by the first cluster of research on couples in isolation from their society that dominated the first research tradition outlined in Chapter One (Bell et al., 2018; Fu et al., 2001; Lee et al., 2017). To remind readers, this tradition, central to the first cluster, emphasises the role of personal attributes in the selection of partners and the conduct of the marriages. This orientation pays less attention to the broader social and cultural contexts in which couples develop their marriages. What I offer is more of a focus on couples within broader cultural assemblages and societal structures that not only contextualise these unions, but which the couples also reproduce and innovated upon through the conduct of their lives together. As I discuss in Chapter One, in the second cluster of research, scholars documented the importance of structural considerations such as global migration, policies and inter-ethnic tensions (de Guzman & Nishina, 2017; Hill, 2018; Ware et al., 2015; Yeung & Mu, 2020). My focus on the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages, however, is not simply determined by structural factors (Schraube & Hojholt, 2016). My analysis requires me to acknowledge the historical context within which the two ethnic groups are situated, couples' everyday lived experiences and their culturally informed ways of being, doing and thinking (Carey, 1984; Koentjaraningrat, 1985; Li, 2006; Skinner, 1961), whilst still considering couples' agency in conducting their marriages within the context of wider socio-cultural systems. Here, my research contributes more directly to the third research tradition outlined in Chapter One (Klocker & Tindale, 2021; Raghunathan, 2021; Stevens & O'Hanlon, 2018). Briefly, what is offered by the conceptual framework I have developed for this study is an orientation towards both human agency and

socio-cultural structures in the documentation of how Javanese and Chinese Indonesian couples develop hybrid practices and ways of being that are instrumental in the conduct of their unions.

By taking an eclectic approach that combines several conceptual framework with enhanced interview methods, I was able to better document and interpret various agentive practices the participating couples demonstrate to navigate points of tension and cultivate harmony within their everyday lives. I was also able to think about these practices within the context of broader cultural structures and how aspects of these larger collective and dynamic formations are appropriated into and innovated upon within the conduct of participants' marriages. This kind of eclectic work drawing on these particular theories and methods is an innovation on previous research into inter-ethnic marriage. Across the three publications, my interpretations of the accounts of participating couples include vivid annotated exemplars of their efforts to work together to make their marriages work (Yulianto et al., 2022a, 2022b, 2022c). For example, in Chapter Three, Maimunah modifies her hijab to be able to meet her Chinese Christian relatives' expectations without transgressing her Muslim faith and identity (Yulianto et al., 2022a). In Chapter Four, we witness Yani's efforts to respect both her Javanese mother and Chinese Indonesian father-in-law by using a different colour of lipstick and developing the practice of shifting the shade of her lipstick to meet the differing cultural imperatives in settings that are textured predominantly as Javanese or Chinese Indonesian (Yulianto et al., 2022b). In Chapter Five, Bing and Giatun agree to cook Bak Kut Teh with cheap cuts instead of pork ribs to be able to have dinner together as a family in order to observe *Sincia* (Chinese New Year) in the way that Bing learnt to do with his extended Chinese Indonesian family (Yulianto et al., 2022c). By exploring such exemplars, I am able to contribute to research in psychology that explores the importance of personal agency and the use of particular objects within and across particular settings in the reproduction and evolution of cultural systems in everyday life (Hodgetts et al., 2017).

Methodologically, I have demonstrated the benefits of taking the time to get to know research participants and to work *with* them, rather than do research *on* them, in order to extend psychological knowledge (Guimarães, 2020; Jahoda et al., 1933/1971). By immersing myself in the parent community of the kindergarten and negotiating participation in this research in an open and inclusive manner, for example, I was able to establish the necessary familiarity for participants to open up their lives to me and involve me in various activities that they felt were crucial for my understanding of the everyday conduct of their inter-ethnic marriages. I have also learned a lot about practical ways to cultivate fruitful relationships with both Javanese and Chinese Indonesian participants and conduct 'research *with*' simultaneously with representatives of both groups. I also learned the importance of engaging community participants in research in a manner that is familiar to them culturally or which is germane to my participants. For example, by initially engaging with Javanese elders using *Krama Inggil* (the highest linguistic style in the Javanese language), I situated myself within Javanese ways of being and engaging respectfully with others. By spending time together with the couples by visiting them on several informal visits *(dolan)*, I reproduced my habitus as a Javanese person and enabled participants to get to know me prior to producing empirical materials together (Bourdieu, 2000). By inviting a Chinese Indonesian colleague to assist with the initial interviews, I was able to develop a more balanced interview with the Chinese colleague assisting me to explain the issue of alterity (Guimarães, 2020) by including Chinese values, norms, traditions and relational practices. In keeping with the notion of dialogical multiplication (Guimarães, 2020), adopting culturally immersive research and inter-cultural collaboration with my Chinese Indonesian colleagues I was able to navigate the power dynamics and social distancing that can occur between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians (Dahana, 2004; Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020; Setijadi, 2017).

In terms of the enhanced interview engagements, the use of visual techniques was invaluable in orienting me to step back from the events, locales, objects and relationships that I encountered with each couple during the initial

fieldwork (Hodgetts et al., 2017). I was also able to work with the photographs as a means of establishing patterns across the everyday lives of different couples. For example, Bing and Giatun produced a set of photographs that is very similar to Elly and Jayadi's, in terms of the emphasis placed on financial insecurity, as exemplified in pictures of cheap cuts of meat, ATM (Automated Teller Machine) receipts, coins, and recycled objects. The accounts of these households were also somewhat different from those of Mike and Yani, Hendra and Nitya, and Brian and Ningsih due to the class positioning of different couples. These later couples were more affluent and as such were less concerned with financial survival and their relation-scapes extended out beyond the pictures by the first two couples to include dinner in restaurants, family cars, expensive office clothing, and so forth. Furthermore, religion also featured in the pictures of some couples more than others. For example, Maimunah and Budi as well as Denny and Fang provided more religiously orientated pictures, including churches and hijabs, as sources of inter-religious tensions within their marriages that did not feature in the marriages of couples from the same faith. Briefly, the use of visual-based and cook-along interview techniques enabled participants to both show and tell me about their marriages and key points of tension and cultural hybridity (see Hodgetts, Andriolo, et al., 2021).

To recap, I have demonstrated the utility of adopting an eclectic, culturally informed and immersive approach to researching inter-ethnic marriages within which participants can feel comfortable and familiar enough to disclose personal insights into the everyday conduct of their lives together. Prior research into inter-ethnic marriage has largely overlooked how couples respond to the complex inter-cultural tensions that often accompany such marriages. Furthermore, scholarship investigating inter-ethnic marriages generally does not seem to see the need to explain how they overcome etic and emic tensions in their fieldwork activities (Craig-Henderson & Lewis, 2015). I have outlined an effective strategy that involves embracing my own cultural traditions and what are considered respectful relational practices within this tradition and then working with a cultural advisor

familiar with Chinese Indonesian culture as a means of ensuring the cultural appropriateness of my actions for this group as well.

Concluding remarks

Inter-ethnic marriage is a global phenomenon that has been studied extensively across disciplines and national contexts, from the countries of the Global North countries, such as the United States (Gaines et al., 2015) and the United Kingdom (Hanneman & Kulu, 2015), to the countries of the Global South, such as Indonesia (Utomo, 2019), Thailand (Lapanun, 2020) and sub-Saharan African countries (Bandyopadhyay, 2021). Contextually for Indonesia, inter-ethnic marriage between people from Javanese and Chinese Indonesian ethnic groups is particularly important as these marriages are situated at the crossroads of inter-personal relations and inter-group relations between *pribumi* (indigenous) and non-*pribumi* ethnic groups. Relations between these groups have been identified as an important focus for research in the post-authoritarian Indonesian epoch alongside efforts to foster increased harmony between these communities (Dahana, 2004; Herlijanto, 2019; Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020; Meyer & Waskitho, 2021; Setijadi, 2017). Exploring the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages involving these two ethnic groups has enabled me to extend knowledge about how members of these groups can cultivate harmonious lives together.

This thesis also contributes to various domains of scholarship on inter-ethnic marriage in general and in Indonesia in particular (Gaines et al., 2015; Yun, 2015). Drawing on recent scholarship on the social psychology of everyday life (Hodgetts et al., 2020), my thesis offers a useful example of the cross-cultural and relational elements of everyday agency. My thesis contributes to discussions of cultural hybridity (Bhabha, 1994) and responds to calls for an increased focus on the everyday and mundane creation of hybrid cultural spaces, practices (Ang, 2001; Kraidy, 2005; O'Connor, 2011, 2018; Werbner, 1997; Wise & Velayutham, 2009), and everyday intimacies of inter-ethnic relationships (Raghunathan, 2021). My research also contributes to an emergent literature on inter-ethnic marriage in

Indonesia (Ida Bagus, 2008; Lyn et al., 2014; Pompe, 1988; Utomo, 2019; Utomo & McDonald, 2016). Central here is my use of a culturally informed approach that draws on both Javanese and Chinese Indonesian cultural concepts and practices to engage with and interpret the accounts of participating couples (Guimarães, 2020).

Whilst the exemplars presented in this thesis derive from 10 couples, my interactions with these households did not extend to engaging directly with the related experiences of their children or extended families (parents, in-laws, uncles, aunties, nieces and nephews) or the neighbours. The couples' dynamic relationships with these familial stakeholders are also crucial in shaping the conduct of such marriages and should be the focus of future research. Such a project would contribute to a growing body of literature on the inter-ethnic socialisation of children (Ayón et al., 2020; Stokes et al., 2021), as well as extending this literature with a focus on additional relatives and community members. Future research with these groups will add further nuance to current knowledge about the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages and the wider implications.

This thesis also speaks to the complexities of inter-ethnic relations between groups with histories of conflict. Although politically divisions remain between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians in general, there are important points of commonality and accommodation between these groups. Future research also needs to consider further the dynamics of how such tensions are negotiated across a range of regions within Indonesia and different countries. It is important to continue documenting and learning from the agentive efforts of different couples and communities to work together to learn from each other and extend their inter-cultural understandings as a basis for establishing more harmonious reflections between groups in urban settings (Tindale et al., 2014).

As well as publishing the three articles contained in this thesis document, I have also begun to engage in further dissemination activities (see Appendix Nine). For example, I collaborated with a popular newspaper, *The Jakarta Post,* on a special edition to celebrate the 2022 Chinese New Year in Indonesia (January 30th,

2022, available online from thejakartapost.com). This work constitutes a collaborative research-based effort to contribute to public deliberations regarding relations between Chinese and other ethnic groups in Indonesia. Additionally, I have worked with my Chinese collaborator, Agnes Christina (Chiang Ru Ping) and two participating couples to produce a graphic novel about the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians. A draft of this graphic novel has been submitted to several national and international publishers.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE: STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION FORM (DRC-16)

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

GRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOOL

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION
DOCTORATE WITH PUBLICATIONS/MANUSCRIPTS

We, the candidate and the candidate's Primary Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of candidate:	Jony Eko Yulianto
Name/title of Primary Supervisor:	Professor Darrin Hodgetts
In which chapter is the manuscript /published work:	3

Please select one of the following three options:

(●) The manuscript/published work is published or in press

- Please provide the full reference of the Research Output:

Yulianto, J.E., Hodgetts, D., King, P., & Liu, J.H. (2021). The assemblage of inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia. Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2587

( ) The manuscript is currently under review for publication – please indicate:

- The name of the journal:

Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology

- The percentage of the manuscript/published work that was contributed by the candidate: 70.00

- Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the manuscript/published work:

Candidate conducted all original research, drafted the article, and was completely involved in the collective editing, re-drafting, and re-writing processes during the completion of this article.

( ) It is intended that the manuscript will be published, but it has not yet been submitted to a journal

Candidate's Signature:	Jony Eko Yulianto Digitally signed by Jony Eko Yulianto Date: 2022.04.29 11:52:43 +12'00'
Date:	02-May-2022
Primary Supervisor's Signature:	Darrin Hodgetts Digitally signed by Darrin Hodgetts Date: 2022.05.02 11:45:10 +12'00'
Date:	2-May-2022

This form should appear at the end of each thesis chapter/section/appendix submitted as a manuscript/ publication or collected as an appendix at the end of the thesis.

GRS Version 5 – 13 December 2019
DRC 19/09/10

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION
DOCTORATE WITH PUBLICATIONS/MANUSCRIPTS

We, the candidate and the candidate's Primary Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of candidate:	Jony Eko Yulianto
Name/title of Primary Supervisor:	Professor Darrin Hodgetts
In which chapter is the manuscript /published work:	4

Please select one of the following three options:

◉ The manuscript/published work is published or in press

- Please provide the full reference of the Research Output:

Yulianto, J.E., Hodgetts, D., Pita, K., & Liu., J.H. (2022). Navigating tensions in inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia: Cultural, relational, spatial and material consideration. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 86, 227-239. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2021.12.008

○ The manuscript is currently under review for publication – please indicate:

- The name of the journal:

International Journal of Intercultural Relations

- The percentage of the manuscript/published work that was contributed by the candidate: 80.00

- Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the manuscript/published work:

Candidate conducted all original research, drafted the article, and was completely involved in the collective editing, re-drafting, and re-writing processes during the completion of this article.

○ It is intended that the manuscript will be published, but it has not yet been submitted to a journal

Candidate's Signature:	Jony Eko Yulianto Digitally signed by Jony Eko Yulianto Date: 2022.04.29 11:55:29 +12'00'
Date:	02-May-2022
Primary Supervisor's Signature:	Darrin Hodgetts Digitally signed by Darrin Hodgetts Date: 2022.05.02 11:46:29 +12'00'
Date:	2-May-2022

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MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

GRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOOL

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION
DOCTORATE WITH PUBLICATIONS/MANUSCRIPTS

We, the candidate and the candidate's Primary Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of candidate:	Jony Eko Yulianto
Name/title of Primary Supervisor:	Professor Darrin Hodgetts

In which chapter is the manuscript /published work:	5

Please select one of the following three options:

⦿ The manuscript/published work is published or in press

- Please provide the full reference of the Research Output:

Yulianto, J.E., Hodgetts, D., King, P., & Liu., J.H. (2022). Money, material objects and material practices in the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia. Journal of Material Culture. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177%2F13591835221086862

◯ The manuscript is currently under review for publication – please indicate:

- The name of the journal:

Journal of Material Culture

- The percentage of the manuscript/published work that was contributed by the candidate: 85.00

- Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the manuscript/published work:

Candidate conducted all original research, drafted the article, and was completely involved in the collective editing, re-drafting, and re-writing processes during the completion of this article.

◯ It is intended that the manuscript will be published, but it has not yet been submitted to a journal

Candidate's Signature:	Jony Eko Yulianto *Digitally signed by Jony Eko Yulianto Date: 2022.04.29 11:57:36 +12'00'*
Date:	02-May-2022
Primary Supervisor's Signature:	Darrin Hodgetts *Digitally signed by Darrin Hodgetts Date: 2022.05.02 11:45:53 +12'00'*
Date:	2-May-2022

This form should appear at the end of each thesis chapter/section/appendix submitted as a manuscript/ publication or collected as an appendix at the end of the thesis.

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APPENDIX TWO: INFORMATION SHEET (BAHASA INDONESIA AND ENGLISH VERSIONS)

Pengalaman Kehidupan Sehari-hari Pasangan Pernikahan Beda Etnis Jawa dan Tionghoa di Indonesia

LEMBAR INFORMASI

Tentang Peneliti

Nama saya Jony Eko Yulianto. Saya adalah seorang mahasiswa doktoral dari Fakultas Psikologi Massey Massey University, Albany, Selandia Baru. Dokumen yang saat ini sedang Bapak dan Ibu sedang baca merupakan lembar informasi pelaksanaan penelitian. Penelitian ini merupakan bagian dari aktivitas akademik saya untuk memperoleh gelar doktor di bidang psikologi dari Massey University, Albany, Selandia Baru. Penelitian ini memiliki tujuan untuk memahami bagaimana pasangan beda etnis di Indonesia menjalani kehidupan pernikahan sehari-hari.

Deskripsi Penelitian dan Undangan Berpartisipasi

- Penelitian ini meneliti tentang kehidupan sehari-hari perkawinan pasangan Jawa dan Tionghoa di Indonesia. Fokus penelitian ini adalah untuk memahami bagaimana pasangan-pasangan ini mengatasi perbedaan-perbedaan yang dimiliki untuk membangun kehidupan perkawinan yang harmonis. Penelitian ini merupakan studi kasus pada 10 pasangan yang memiliki latar belakang etnis Jawa dan Tionghoa di Indonesia. Peneliti ingin mengeksplorasi bagaimana pasangan menciptakan ruang untuk dirinya sendiri. Peneliti tertarik untuk melihat bagaimana kebiasaan dan rutinitas keseharian merepresentasikan tradisi sosial dan membentuk peluang untuk menciptakan kehidupan perkawinan yang harmonis sehari-hari.
- Saya mengundang Bapak dan Ibu untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini. Sebelum Bapak dan Ibu memutuskan kesediaan untuk mengikuti penelitian ini, Saya akan memberikan beberapa informasi dasar terkait penelitian ini. Bapak dan Ibu dapat mengambil waktu sejenak untuk membaca, memahami, dan jika perlu mendiskusikannya dengan pasangan. Bapak dan Ibu juga diperkenankan untuk menanyakan apapun jika ada hal-hal yang membutuhkan klarifikasi atau penjelasan lebih lanjut. Saya mengapresiasi waktu yang Anda berikan untuk mempertimbangkan ikut serta dalam penelitian ini.

Identifikasi dan Rekruitmen Partisipan

Penelitian ini akan melibatkan 10 pasangan suami-istri Jawa dan Tionghoa di Indonesia sebagai partisipan penelitian. Penelitian ini dapat diikuti oleh berbagai formasi etnis pasangan (relevan untuk suami Tionghoa-Istri Jawa maupun suami Jawa-istri Tionghoa), berbagai formasi agama pasangan (relevan untuk pasangan seagama maupun beda agama), dan pasangan dengan berbagai usia perkawinan. Variasi tersebut akan bermanfaat untuk memahami dinamika dalam pasangan beda etnis.

Prosedur Penelitian

Penelitian ini memiliki unsur auto-etnografi yang memungkinkan peneliti untuk terlibat dalam kehidupan keseharian pasangan. Maka, pelaksanaan penelitian akan ditentukan dari waktu dan aktivitas pasangan. Fase perkenalan dan obrolan semi-formal di awal penelitian merupakan bagian dari penelitian itu sendiri. Penelitian ini akan berisi aktivitas-aktivitas ilmiah seperti wawancara, pengambilan foto, dan observasi. Akan ada 3 wawancara utama, yakni terkait biografi, terkait aktivitas sehari-hari dan wawancara berbasis fotografi. Di akhir penelitian, Bapak dan Ibu akan mendapatkan souvenir sebagai ucapan terima kasih karena telah mengikuti penelitian ini.

Manajemen Materi Empiris

Bapak dan Ibu akan dilibatkan dalam proses pengolahan dan interpretasi data. Alasan di balik hal ini adalah untuk memberikan hak kepada Bapak dan Ibu untuk mengetahui proses secara transparan, dan memberikan otoritas kepada Bapak dan Ibu untuk menentukan interpretasi dari berbagai materi yang telah dikumpulkan oleh peneliti. Selama proses interpretasi, semua materi empiris akan dikonsultasikan kepada pembimbing akademik (Profesor Darrin Hodgetts, Profesor James H. Liu, dan Dr Pita King) untuk kepentingan akademik. Di akhir pelaksanaan penelitian, Bapak dan Ibu dapat mendapatkan rangkuman hasil temuan, jika membutuhkannya.

Hak-Hak Partisipan

Bapak dan Ibu tidak memiliki kewajiban untuk menerima undangan ini. Jika Bapak dan Ibu memutuskan untuk menerima, Bapak dan Ibu berhak untuk:

- Menolak menjawab pertanyaan tertentu yang membuat Anda merasa tidak nyaman.
- Membatalkan keikutsertaan studi.
- Menanyakan hal-hal yang tidak jelas selama pelaksanaan penelitian
- Mendapatkan jaminan kerahasiaan identitas.
- Mendapatkan akses rangkuman hasil penelitian.
- Mendapatkan hak untuk merekam atau tidak merekam wawancara.
- Menonaktifkan rekaman saat wawancara berlangsung

Kontak

Bapak dan Ibu diperkenankan untuk menanyakan hal-hal terkait penelitian ini kepada:

Jony Eko Yulianto (Peneliti)
Ponsel: +6285200251234
Email: jony.eko@ciputra.ac.id

Professor James H. Liu (Ko-Promotor)
Email: j.h.liu@massey.ac.nz

Professor Darrin Hodgetts (Promotor)
Email: d.j.hodgetts@massey.ac.nz

Dr Pita King (Ko-Promotor)
Email: p.r.w.king@massey.ac.nz

Penelitian ini telah diperiksa dan disetujui oleh Komite Etik Universitas Massey Kampus Albany, dengan Nomor Aplikasi 4000020958. Jika And memiliki pertanyaan terkait etik, Anda dapat mengubungi Profesor David Tappin sebagai Ketua Komite Etik Universitas Massey Kampus Albany. Telepon: 09 414 0800 x 43384, *email* humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz.

Notifikasi risiko rendah

Penelitian ini telah dievaluasi oleh kolega sejawat dan dianggap sebagai penelitian dengan risiko rendah. Sebagai konsekuensi, penelitian ini tidak memerlukan review dari Komite Etik Universitas. Peneliti yang namanya tercantum di atas bertanggung jawab atas isu etik dalam pelaksanaan penelitian ini.

Jika Anda memiliki pertanyaan lain terkait penelitian ini dan ingin menayakan hal-hal lain kepada orang lain selain peneliti, Anda dapat menghubungi Profesor Craig Johnson, Direktur Etik dalam Penelitian. Telepon 06 356 9099 x 85271, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz"

The everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia

INFORMATION SHEET

Researcher Introduction

My name is Jony Eko Yulianto and I am a PhD student from the School of Psychology at Massey University, Albany, New Zealand. The document you are reading is an information sheet for a research project. The research is being conducted to fulfil the requirements for the degree of PhD in Psychology from Massey University, Albany, New Zealand. The purpose of the research is to understand the lived experiences of inter-ethnic couples in Indonesia.

Project Description and Invitation

- This research investigates the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages between Javanese and Chinese Indonesians. Using a case-based inquiry method anchored in Javanese culture, this research documents how 10 inter-ethnic couples in Indonesia negotiate shared familial memories, practices and ways of being together in the context of broader shifts in society. Particular attention is paid to how ordinary, typical, repetitive and mundane activities in the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages can reproduce broader socio-cultural traditions as well as open up opportunities to develop shared marital spaces in which participating couples can forge lives together.
- You are cordially invited to take part in this research. Before you decide, I would like you to understand how the research will be carried out. I am therefore providing you with the following information. Please take time to read it carefully and discuss it with your spouse if you wish. Do not hesitate to ask me if there is anything that is not clear or you would like more information. Thank you for taking the time to read this.

Participant Identification and Recruitment

The present research involves 10 Javanese and Chinese Indonesian couples in Indonesia as the participants. Couples who have been contacted may also nominate other couples who they know. Ten couples are required to obtain sufficient information for cross-case comparison. All Javanese and Chinese Indonesian couples of any and all religious affiliation are eligible to participate. This includes Javanese husband with Chinese Indonesian wives and Javanese wives and Chinese Indonesian husbands. Couples may share a religion or follow different religions. Couples may have been married for any length of time. Variation is helpful to understand the dynamics of inter-ethnic marriages.

Project Procedures

The nature of this research is auto-ethnographic as the researcher will be immersed in the daily activity of the participants. As such, the primary activities of the research will be arranged to suit the participants' schedules and everyday life activities. It is important to understand that relationship building during the initial research is an important part of the research. The main activities of this research include semiformal and formal interviews, taking photographs, and observation. In the interviews, the questions being asked are related to daily activities. There are three main interviews in the research, involving biographical, go-along, and photo-elicitation interviews. All participating couples will be given a souvenir as a sign of appreciation for supporting this research.

Empirical Materials Management

The participants will also be involved in the empirical material analysis. The reasons behind this are that the participants have the right to know the processes involved and to make sure that the participants' voices are considered in the interpretation of the empirical material generated from the interviews. During the processes of interpretation, the empirical materials will only be circulated among the supervisors (Professor Darrin Hodgetts, Professor James H. Liu, and Dr Pita King), for academic consultation purposes only. At the end of the study, participating couples may access a summary of the results of the research.

Participant's Rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- *decline to answer any particular question*
- *withdraw from the study*
- *ask any questions about the study at any time during your participation*
- *provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher*
- *be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded*
- *ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interviews*

Project Contacts

Any inquiries related to the research can be addressed to:

Jony Eko Yulianto (researcher)
Mobile: +6285200251234
Email: jony.eko@ciputra.ac.id

Professor James H. Liu (co-supervisor)
Email: j.h.liu@massey.ac.nz

Professor Darrin Hodgetts (primary supervisor)
Email: d.j.hodgetts@massey.ac.nz

Dr Pita King (co-supervisor)
Email: p.r.w.king@massey.ac.nz

Low-risk notification

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Prof Craig Johnson, Director, Research Ethics, telephone 06 356 9099 x 85271, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz.

APPENDIX THREE: INFORMED CONSENT (BAHASA INDONESIA AND ENGLISH VERSIONS)

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

Pengalaman Kehidupan Sehari-hari Pasangan Pernikahan Beda Etnis Jawa dan Tionghoa di Indonesia

FORMULIR KESEDIAAN BERPARTISIPASI

Saya telah membaca dan saya memahami informasi yang telah diberikan dalam lembar informasi. Saya telah mengerti detail studi yang akan dijelaskan kepada saya. Semua pertanyaan yang saya ajukan telah dijelaskan oleh peneliti dengan tuntas dan memuaskan dan saya memahami bahwa saya dapat bertanya kapanpun. Saya telah diberikan waktu yang cukup untuk mempertimbangkan terlibat dalam penelitian ini. Saya dengan sukarela mengikuti penelitian ini dan memahami bahwa saya dapat mengundurkan diri kapanpun.

1. Saya setuju/tidak setuju untuk merekam wawancara.
2. Saya setuju/tidak setuju untuk mengambil gambar pelaksanaan wawancara.
3. Saya ingin/tidak ingin mendapatkan rekaman wawancara yang telah dilakukan.
4. Saya ingin/tidak ingin mendapatkan semua data yang telah dikumpulkan oleh peneliti.
5. Saya setuju untuk mengikuti penelitian dengan catatan sesuai dengan informasi yang telah dijelaskan dalam Lembar Informasi.

Deklarasi Persetujuan Partisipan:

Saya, _____ setuju untuk ikut berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini.

Tanda Tangan: _____   Tanggal: _____

The everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

I have read, or have had read to me in my first language, and understood the Information Sheet. I have had the details of the study explained to me, any questions I had have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time. I have been given sufficient time to consider whether to participate in this study and I understand participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw from the study at any time.

1. I agree/do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.
2. I agree/do not agree to the interview being image recorded.
3. I wish/do not wish to have my recordings returned to me.
4. I wish/do not wish to have my data placed in an official archive.
5. I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Declaration by Participant:

I _____ hereby consent to take part in this study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX FOUR: INTERVIEW CHECKLISTS (BAHASA INDONESIA AND ENGLISH VERSION)

Pengalaman Kehidupan Sehari-hari Pasangan Pernikahan Beda Etnis Jawa dan Tionghoa di Indonesia

POIN-POIN DISKUSI

Pendahuluan

- Ucapkan terima kasih pada partisipan atas kesediaan berpartisipasi
- Perkenalan diri secara singkat
- Jelaskan kembali penelitian ini secara singkat
- Tanyakan: Apakah ada yang ingin ditanyakan?
- Berikan lembar informasi penelitian dan kesediaan berpartisipasi
- Tanyakan: Apakah partisipan bersedia jika wawancara ini direkam

Wawancara 1: Biografi

Pernikahan

- Bagaimana cerita Bapak dan Ibu bertemu?
- Kapan menikah dan mengapa memutuskan menikah?
- Apa peristiwa atau periode penting dalam pernikahan?
- Apa yang sama/berbeda sebelum dan setelah menikah?

Latar belakang diri dan keluarga besar

- Bagaimana latar belakang keluarga dan keluarga besar Bapak/Ibu?
- Apa pekerjaan orangtua?
- Seberapa orangtua merasa diri mereka Jawa atau Tionghoa?
- Apakah ada aktivitas kultural dalam keluarga dan keluarga besar yang rutin dilakukan?
- Bagaimana keadaan mereka sekarang?

- Apakah Bapak/Ibu masih memiliki tanggungjawab spesifik kepada orangtua?

Pekerjaan

- Apa pekerjaan Bapak dan Ibu?
- Bagaimana deskripsi aktivitasnya?
- Mengapa pekerjaan ini penting?
- Apakah ada pekerjaan sampingan yang membantu menambah penghasilan?

Rutinitas harian

- Bagaimana ritme aktivitas rutin Bapak dan Ibu sehari-hari?
- Siapa saja pihak/objek yang membantu rutinitas ini berlangsung dengan baik?
- Adakah hari-hari tertentu dimana aktivitas rutin ini berbeda dari biasanya?
- Adakah pembagian tugas untuk bidang tertentu?
- Bagaimana membuat waktu luang dan liburan?

***

Tindak lanjut:

- Tanyakan: Apakah ada komentar atau pertanyaan tentang wawancara sebelumnya?

Wawancara 2: Go-alongs

Aktivitas

- Apa aktivitas yang sedang dilakukan?
- Bagaimana deskripsi aktivitasnya?
- Mengapa aktivitas ini penting?
- Apa yang terjadi jika Bapak/Ibu tidak melakukan aktivitas ini?

Aktor

- Siapa saja yang terlibat dalam aktivitas ini?
- Apa peran mereka?
- Bagaimana jika kehadiran mereka tidak ada?

Lokasi

- Di mana lokasi aktivitas ini dilakukan?
- Apakah aktivitas ini memungkinkan untuk dilakukan di lokasi lain?
- Bagaimana cara Bapak/Ibu mengakses lokasi ini?

Objek/alat

- Adakah penggunaan objek untuk melakukan aktivitas ini?
- Bagaimana cara menggunakan objek ini?
- Mengapa objek ini penting untuk Bapak/Ibu?
- Apa yang terjadi jika objek ini tidak ada? Apakah ada pengganti?

Waktu

- Kapan aktivitas ini dilakukan?
- Apakah aktivitas ini memungkinkan dilakukan di waktu yang lain (misal siang menjadi malam)?
- Berapa lama waktu yang dibutuhkan untuk menyelesaikan aktivitas ini?

Taktik

- Adakah taktik khusus yang Bapak/Ibu miliki untuk mendapatkan hasil yang baik?
- Bagaimana proses Bapak/Ibu mempelajari taktik ini?
- Adakah tips lainnya untuk menyelesaikan aktivitas ini dengan baik?

Instruksi persiapan wawancara berbasis fotografi

Ambillah foto yang menggambarkan kehidupan keseharian pernikahan Bapak/Ibu. Pengambilan foto tidak harus estetis. Semua hasil foto adalah benar selama menggambarkan aspek penting dari pernikahan Bapak/Ibu. Objek fotografi bisa tentang manusia, lokasi, benda, aktivitas, dan sebagainya.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

Tindak lanjut:

Tanyakan: Apakah ada komentar atau pertanyaan tentang wawancara sebelumnya?

<p style="text-align:center">**Wawancara 3: Photo-elicitation interview**</p>

Fotografi

- Foto apa ini?
- Mengapa mengambil foto ini?
- Apa cerita dibalik foto ini?
- Apa keterkaitan dengan pernikahan Bapak/Ibu?

Fotografi yang tidak terpotret

- Adakah objek fotografi yang ingin diambil namun tidak sempat atau tidak memungkinkan?
- Mengapa tidak sempat atau tidak memungkinkan?
- Mengapa hal tersebut penting?

The everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia

DISCUSSION CHECKLISTS

Introduction

- Express gratitude for the participants' willingness to participate in the study
- Introduce yourself briefly
- Re-explain the research briefly
- **Ask:** Do participants have questions?
- Give the information sheet and informed consent form to the participants
- **Ask**: Do participants give permission for you to record the interview

Interview 1: Biography

Marriage

- How did you meet each other?
- When did you marry and what made you decide to marry?
- Could you draw a timeline of some of the important times or notable events in your marriages?
- What is different before and after marriage?

Family

- Can you please tell me about your Javanese and Chinese families?
- What are the occupations of your parents?
- How strongly do your parents identify themselves as Javanese or Chinese and affiliate themselves with the Javanese or Chinese communities?
- Are there any cultural practices that are practiced regularly?
- Where and how are they at the moment?
- Do you still have specific family commitments to parents?

Occupation

- What is your occupation?
- What is the main activity?
- Why is this job important?
- Do you have secondary employment for extra income?

Routines

- What are your regular daily activities?
- Who helps you to do these things? Are there any objects that are used?
- Do you have any days where the activities are different to other days?
- Are there any arrangements for particular areas of responsibility in the household?
- How do you make time for leisure and holidays?

<div align="center">***</div>

Follow-up:

- **Ask**: Do you have comments or questions regarding our previous interview?

<div align="center">

Interview 2: Go-alongs

</div>

Activities

- What activity or activities are/is the couples/partner currently doing?
- What is the description of the activity?
- Why is the activity important?
- What will happen if you do not perform this activity?

Actors

- Who is involved in this activity?
- What is their role?
- What is the effect if they are absent?

Locations

- Where is the activity located?
- Is it possible to do it in other places?
- How do you access the location?

Objects/tools

- Do you need a particular object to do the activity?
- How do you use the object?

- Why is it important?
- What is the effect if the object is absent? Can you replace it with another?

Times

- When is the activity practiced?
- Would it be possible to do it at other time (e.g., change from noon to evening)?
- How long does it take to complete the activity?

Tactics

- Do you have a specific tactic to get the intended result?
- How did you learn this tactic?
- Do you have any other tricks or tips to do it well?

Photo-elicitation interview preparation

Take some photographs that reflect the everyday conduct of your marriage. The photographs do not have to be works of art or aesthetically pleasing. All photographs are acceptable as long as they reflect the everyday conduct of your marriage. The objects of photography can include people, locations, objects, activities, and so forth.

***

Interview 3: Photo-elicitation interview

Photographs taken

- What is this photograph?
- Why is this important?
- What is the story behind this photo?
- How does this relate to your marriage?

Photographs not taken

- Is there anything you would like to photograph but are unable to?
- Why are you unable to photograph it?
- Why is that important?

APPENDIX FIVE: THE PARTICIPATING COUPLES

House hold	Name	Age	Year of Marriage	Occupation
#1	Bing (Chinese) Giatun (Javanese)	50-ish	1994	An electrical or plumbing job and an onion seller
#2	Jayadi (Javanese) Elly (Chinese)	40-ish	2008	A retired civil servant and retired banker
#3	Brian (Chinese) Ningsih (Javanese)	20-ish	2014	Money-lending business owners
#4	Ersa (Javanese) Lingling (Chinese)	30-ish	2011	A civil servant and a shop owner
#5	Indro (Javanese) Yenyen (Chinese)	40-ish	1995	An admin at a publishing company and a cake seller
#6	Denny (Javanese) Fang (Chinese)	20-ish	2016	A lecturer and a housewife
#7	Mike (Chinese) Yani (Javanese)	30-ish	2007	A graphic designer and an admin
#8	Hendra (Chinese) Nitya (Javanese)	30-ish	2010	Admins
#9	Budhi (Chinese) Maimunah (Javanese)	50-ish	1992	An admin and an insurance broker
#10	Yoto (Javanese) Li (Chinese)	50-ish	1992	A retired civil servant and a housewife

APPENDIX SIX: ETHICS DOCUMENT

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

Date: 29 April 2019

Dear Jony Yulianto

Re: Ethics Notification - **4000020958 - Dialogicality of Family Memory in Interethnic Marriage: A Case-Based Narrative Approach of Javanese and Chinese Indonesian Couples in Indonesia**

Thank you for your notification which you have assessed as Low Risk.

Your project has been recorded in our system which is reported in the Annual Report of the Massey University Human Ethics Committee.

The low risk notification for this project is valid for a maximum of three years.

If situations subsequently occur which cause you to reconsider your ethical analysis, please contact a Research Ethics Administrator.

Please note that travel undertaken by students must be approved by the supervisor and the relevant Pro Vice-Chancellor and be in accordance with the Policy and Procedures for Course-Related Student Travel Overseas. In addition, the supervisor must advise the University's Insurance Officer.

A reminder to include the following statement on all public documents:
"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named in this document are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor Craig Johnson, Director - Ethics, telephone 06 3569099 ext 85271, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz."

Please note, if a sponsoring organisation, funding authority or a journal in which you wish to publish requires evidence of committee approval (with an approval number), you will have to complete the application form again, answering "yes" to the publication question to provide more information for one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. You should also note that such an approval can only be provided prior to the commencement of the research.

Yours sincerely

Human Ethics Low Risk notification

Professor Craig Johnson
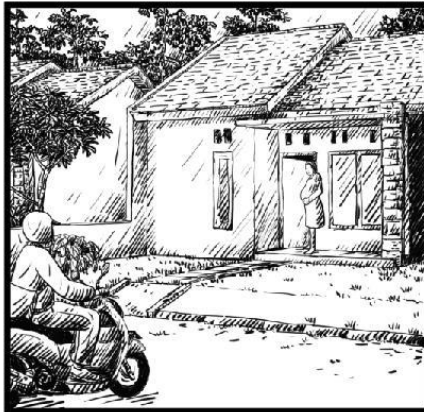Chair. Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and Director (Research Ethics)
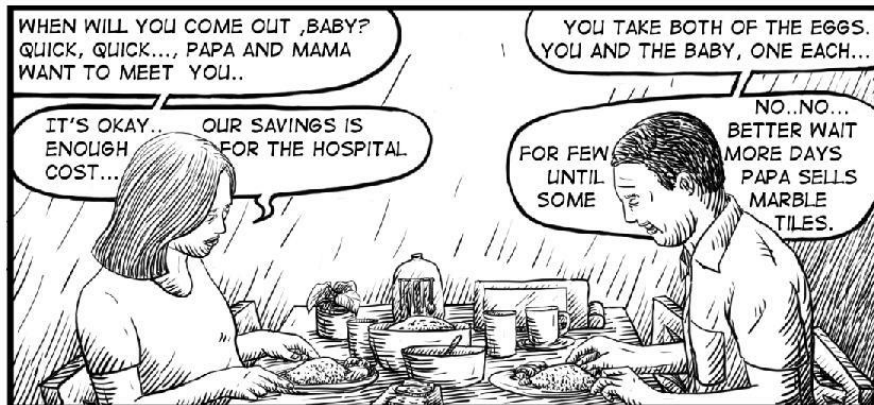
APPENDIX EIGHT: EXAMPLE OF PHOTOGRAPH GRIDDING TABLE

Photograph Grid for Bing and Giatun's Household

Photographs Taken

Bing (Chinese Indonesian)

	People	Places	Objects	Activities
Primary Javanese Space	Giatun's mother (1)	Giatun parents' house (1)		
Primary Chinese Space		Chinese groceries shop (1)	Groceries items (1)	
Mixed Space	Couples' photo (2)	Old stuff market (1) Old stuff corner (2)	Mineral water (2) Onion-processing machine (5) Old stuff decorating lamp (1) Old stuff vase (1) Old stuff broom (1) Medicine (1) Giatun's cook (1)	Fixing a machine (1) Peeling shallot (1) Giatun cooks (1)
Transitory Settings	Pork Seller (1)	Road (1) Church (3)		Buying meat (1)

Giatun (Javanese)

	People	Places	Objects	Activities
Primary Javanese Space	Giatun's children (2)	Parents' house (1) Javanese traditional market (2)	Medicine (2) Oyster sauce (1) Pork (1) Papaya leaves dish (1) Food for community meal (3)	

	People	Places	Objects	Activities
			In-glass mineral water (1) Fried onions (1)	
Primary Chinese Space				Visiting Chinese cultural festival (1)
Mixed Space	Couple photo (3)	House (3) Living Room (1) Kitchen (1) Garden (1)	Jacket (1)	Bing operates onion processing machine (4) Helping community meal (3) Bing watching TV (1) Making gifts for kindy students (1) Vacating to tourism places (5) Wedding (1) Selfie with Bing and son (4)
Transitory Settings	Pork seller (1)	Road (1) Supermarket (1) Church (2) City hall (1)	Salted vegetables (1) Tofu (1)	Celebrating Christmas (1)

Photographs Never Taken

Bing (Chinese Indonesian)

	People	Places	Objects	Activities
Primary Javanese Space	Neighbours	Neighbours houses	Food Motorcycle Broken lamps Broken dishwashing machine	Repairing broken items
Primary Chinese Space	Chinese family members	Home's dinner table Parents' house	Old stuffs in the market Mum's food	Buying old-stuffs

Mixed Space	Niece and nephews	Couple's old boarding house		Helping Giatun to prepare a community meal Riding a motorcycle to customers' house Visiting relatives
Transitory Settings		Church Road	Used stuff market in the city of Surabaya and Malang	Searching free wi-fi

Giatun (Javanese)

	People	Places	Objects	Activities
Primary Javanese Space	Onion farmer	Virtual space (Whatsapp, Instagram) Javanese traditional market	Javanese food	Purchasing spices and herbs Cooking
Primary Chinese Space	Chinese customers		Roasted pork belly	Chinese dinner meeting
Mixed Space		Church Kindergarten	Fried shallot	
Transitory Settings		Supermarket Radio station		

APPENDIX NINE: LIST OF RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS AND DISSEMINATIONS

Peer Reviewed Articles

1. **Yulianto, J.E.**, Hodgetts, D., King, P., & Liu., J.H. (2022c). Money, material objects and material practices in the everyday conduct of inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia. *Journal of Material Culture,* 1-24 [early view]*.* DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177%2F13591835221086862

2. **Yulianto, J.E.**, Hodgetts, D., Pita, K., & Liu., J.H. (2022b). Navigating tensions in inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia: Cultural, relational, spatial and material consideration. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 86,* 227-239*.* DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2021.12.008

3. **Yulianto, J.E**., Hodgetts, D., King, P., & Liu, J.H. (2022a). The assemblage of inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology, 32*(4), 706-720*.* DOI: https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2587

International Conferences

1. **Yulianto, J.E.** (2022, June 16-18th). Reconsidering qualitative inquiry in indigenous communities: Insights from the Global South [a roundtable discussion with Pita King, Danilo Guimaraes, Luciano Sewaybricker, Mohi Rua, Darrin Hodgetts, Shiloh Groot, Chris Sonn, Nuke Martiarini, Ahnya Martin and Tycho Vanderburg]. Society for Qualitative Inquiry in Psychology Virtual Conference, Massachussets, USA https://www.clarku.edu/sqip-annual-conference/

2. **Yulianto, J.E.** (2021, June 12nd). Inter-ethnic marriages, everyday monetary life and household objects [oral presentation]. 2*021 International Conference on Chinese Indonesian Cultural Heritage*, Center for Chinese Indonesian Studies, Petra Christian University, Surabaya, Indonesia. https://ic-cich.petra.ac.id/

3. **Yulianto, J.E.** (2020, June 16-28th). Culturally informed solidarity and engagement: Working within and across boundaries [an invited symposium with Pita King and Ahnya Martin]. *8th International Conference on Community Psychology,* Victoria University, Melbourne, Australia. https://www.vu.edu.au/about-vu/news-events/events/8th-international-conference-of-community-psychology-iccp-2020

4. **Yulianto, J.E.**, Hodgetts, D., & Liu, J.H. (2019, October 1-3rd). Dialogicality of family memory in inter-ethnic marriage: A case-based narrative approach on Javanese and Chinese Indonesian couples in Indonesia [oral presentation]. *Chinese Indonesians: Identities and History.* Herb Feith Centre, Monash University Clayton Campus, Melbourne, Australia. https://www.monash.edu/arts/Herb-Feith-Indonesian-Engagement/news-and-events/articles/chinese-indonesians-identities-and-histories

Media Coverage

1. The Jakarta Post, January 30rd, 2022, Marrying into Chinese Indonesian families: Stories of inter-ethnic relationships. Accessed from https://www.thejakartapost.com/culture/2022/01/30/marrying-into-chinese-indonesian-families-stories-of-interethnic-relationships.html

Internal talks and lectures

1. **Yulianto, J.E.** (2022, April 5th). *Social psychology and place*, A lecture for Social Psychology (175.201), School of Psychology, Massey University, Albany, New Zealand.
2. **Yulianto, J.E.** (2021, December 2nd-3rd). *Case studies in community research and actions,* Universitas Ciputra Surabaya, Surabaya, Indonesia.
3. **Yulianto, J.E.** (2021, September 30th). *Everyday inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia*, A lecture for Integrative Psychology, School of Psychology, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
4. **Yulianto, J.E.** (2021, August 19th). *Social psychology and place*, A lecture for Social Psychology (175.201), School of Psychology, Massey University, Albany, New Zealand.
5. **Yulianto, J.E.** (2021, June 30th) *Tensions in inter-ethnic marriages in Indonesia today*, Culture and Community Symposium, School of Psychology, Massey University, Albany, New Zealand.
6. **Yulianto, J.E.** & Hodgetts, D. (2020, August 25th). *Social psychology and place*, A lecture for Social Psychology (175.201), School of Psychology, Massey University, Albany, New Zealand.
7. **Yulianto, J.E.** (2020, August 15th). *Towards a culturally responsive and relationally ethical approach to researching the conduct of everyday inter-ethnic marriage in Indonesia,* Te Rau Puawai, School of Psychology, Massey University, Albany, New Zealand.
8. **Yulianto, J.E.** (2019, October 13th). *Everyday inter-ethnic married life: A case-based narrative research of Javanese and Chinese Indonesian couples*, A lecture for Regional Ethnographic: Asia (146.302), School of Anthropology, Massey University, Albany, New Zealand.