

Preserving Cultural Identity in Intercultural Marriage Between Chinese Indonesian and Javanese Couple During Suharto Era

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ABSTRACT

The researcher intends to find out how the culture of the husband, which is a Chinese Indonesian can affect or change his wife's cultural identity as a Javanese amidst the oppression from the Suharto's government. Cultural theories related to cultural identity will be used to analyse the findings from the respondent. The research will be conducted in semi-structured interview to gain the data from the respondent. The findings suggest that the respondent's cultural identity as a Javanese develops and shifts. Even though she still has some Javanese culture aspects, the husband indeed influenced the respondent's identity by his actions and made the respondent embrace some Chinese values like hardworking and discipline.

Keywords: intercultural marriage; cultural identity; Chinese Indonesian; Javanese; culture

INTRODUCTION

Intercultural marriage is not a new thing in this world. Intercultural or cross-cultural marriage is defined as marriage between people who come from two different cultural backgrounds (Grewal, 2018). In Indonesia, intercultural marriage has existed in Indonesia since the colonial era. The proof is the existence of *Regeling op de Gemengde Huwelijken*, the famous law used by Dutch to regulate intercultural marriage in Dutch East Indies and it was created around 1890s (Allagan, 2009, p. 179). Up until now, intercultural marriage is still pretty popular in Indonesia. The recent data from Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) shows that 27.975.612 people in Indonesia are doing lifetime migration, meaning that they live in another province and left their hometown. From this data, we can see indirectly that Indonesia may has a high rate of intercultural marriage since the number of lifetime migrants are so high. The reason why we cannot see the exact data of those who married interculturally since the data is not complete yet, and Lembaga Masyarakat Perkawinan Campuran Indonesia (Perca) also expressed their concern about this problem (Amin, 2015).

Intercultural marriage looks like a good thing, but for Chinese Indonesians during Suharto era, maybe it is another story. After the incident of G30S/PKI in 1965, the Chinese Indonesian community became the target of racism because there was an assumption that China supported that incident. The locals were generalizing anything that has the connection with China, including the Chinese Indonesians because at that time, they were considered as outsiders and immigrants from China (Isnaeni, 2010, as cited in Pertiwi, 2019). The hatred grew even worse when Suharto issued Instruksi Presiden No. 14 tahun 1967 which banned everything related to Chinese culture. The presidential instruction practically banned the Chinese Indonesian to perform their religion, culture, and customs. Aside from that, there was Surat Edaran No.06/Preskab/6/67 that instructed Chinese Indonesians to change their Chinese name to the Indonesian ones to maintain Indonesian nationalism, for example, Liem Sioe Liong to Sudono Salim (Kristiantoro, 2018, p. 40-41, as cited in Pertiwi, 2019). Suharto not only issued those two laws, but a lot of rules that discriminate the Chinese Indonesian community and forced them to assimilate with the locals. That is why during Suharto era, the Chinese Indonesians were treated like second class citizen.

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Based on the aforementioned context, the researcher wants to know more about the locals who married to Chinese Indonesians during Suharto's regime, especially the wife. The researcher will interview Bu Yuli, a Javanese widow, who married to a Chinese Indonesian during Suharto era. The researcher believes that Bu Yuli the right respondent because she married with a person who is culturally different than her during Suharto era, and she has married with him for a long time, so the researcher believes that her experience is plentiful. Most cultures in Indonesia like Javanese, Batakese, and Chinese Indonesian are patriarchal, so the husband has the most dominant role in the family and most of the times, only the husband can pass his family name to his children. The wife is viewed by these cultures as the husband's partner, and she must follow his husband's culture and customs. The researcher is interested in how the husband's culture affected the wife's cultural identity as a Javanese. The researcher also wants to know what her view on Chinese Indonesians at that time and how her husband influences her to embrace his culture during Suharto era.

By looking at the problem stated above, the research intends to find out what is the respondent's view of Chinese Indonesian culture during Suharto era, how her husband influences her to embrace Chinese Indonesian culture during Suharto era, and how the Chinese culture affected her cultural identity.

The researcher hopes that this research will benefit the academic world, the intercultural couples and the researcher himself. First, this research will be useful for intercultural couples because this research can give insight for them about how the importance of cultural identity. Second, this research will also be useful for academic world because this research will contribute in the field of socio-culture and history. Last, this research will be useful for the researcher himself because the researcher can gain some knowledge and eventually widen his view about this world.

The researcher will use theories related to the field of culture because the research will be mainly about cultural identity of a Javanese wife who married with a Chinese Indonesian husband during Suharto's regime. The researcher will limit the timeline only during the Suharto era because it is the focus of this research.

To do the research, the respondent must be a woman who lived under Suharto's regime and married to a Chinese Indonesian man. From those criterions mentioned above, the researcher chooses Mrs. Yuli, a Javanese widow, who married with a Chinese Indonesian during Suharto era. The researcher believes that she is the right respondent because she married with a person who is culturally different (Chinese Indonesian) than her during Suharto era, and she has married with him for a long time, so the researcher believes that her experience is plentiful.

METHOD

The research will be conducted in a period of five months. This research will use qualitative approach, an approach that involves collecting and analyzing non-numerical data to understand concepts, opinions, and experiences. The interview will be held online via telephone call due to the pandemic situation and the respondent's preference. First, the researcher uses purposive sampling for the sampling method to find the best informant for the research. The researcher will interview Bu Yuli, a Javanese widow, who married to a Chinese Indonesian during Suharto era. The researcher believes that she is the right respondent because she married with a person who is culturally different than her during Suharto era, and she has married with him for a long time, so the researcher believes that her experience is plentiful.

Second, to gain the data, the researcher will use semi-structured interview and it will be done multiple times. With semi-structured interview, the researcher hopes to be engaged more with

the informant through discussion and dialogue so the data will be gained comprehensively. Third, the gained data will be categorized in a matrix so the researcher can analyze the data thoroughly and conclude the result of the research.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this section, the researcher will report all the findings found in the interview with Mrs. Yuli. Since it is a qualitative research, it is the best to know more about the respondent's basic information for better understanding. Then, the findings and analysis will be shown afterwards.

Background Information

The respondent is Mrs. Yuli, a Javanese widow who was back then, married to a Chinese Indonesian man named Mr. Hadi (Mr. Tan). Mrs. Yuli was born in Mojokerto, Eastern Java, while Mr. Hadi was born in Jakarta. From their marriage, they got three sons and one daughter. The couple married in 1968 on Surabaya. Their age disparities were pretty distant. Mr. Hadi was 33 years old, and Mrs. Yuli was only 19 years old back then. Before and after the marriage, Mr. Hadi ran his family business, which was a dairy enterprise, and Mrs. Yuli acted as the housewife who did the house chores. After his parents passed away, Mr. Hadi decided to sell his dairy enterprise and moved to Mojokerto along with his wife and children. He passed away in 2003 in Surabaya due to colon cancer. After her husband passed away, Mrs. Yuli now lives in Negara, Bali with her sons and relatives who live there.

Living Under Suharto's Rule

About Marriage

To put some context, it is the best to see Mr. Hadi's life during Suharto's regime. Under Suharto's rule, the Chinese Indonesian community had a hard time during that era. Suharto issued some rules that later causes Chinese Indonesians to change their name to prove their nationality and limit the performance of their customs only in private area like family. Mr. Hadi was also the victim of Suharto's policy. He changed his name from Mr. Tan to Mr. Hadi to obey the government's rules. In terms of marriage, they held it in Christian and Confucianist way. The reason why they held the marriage in Christian is because Mrs. Yuli's family was a Christian. There was not any reception at that time, so it was only the marriage blessing and they ate together after that. After they held the marriage on a church in Tandes, they were going to be blessed in Confucianist way. Normally, they will bring the couple to kelenteng, however because of Suharto's policy, they did not perform the blessing on kelenteng, but on Mr. Hadi parent's house. There they prayed for Mr. Hadi and Mrs. Yuli marriage in Confucianist way, and this is explained by this excerpt:

Y: ... Cuman, setelah selesai, dibawalah ke rumahnya engkong itu. Kan papanya engkong kan masih Konghucu, gitu. Jadi ada sembahyang-sembahyangan gitu. Kan emak nggak ngerti apa-apa. Jadi diem aja disitu, jadi mereka semua sembahyang, ya nggak ngerti emak, diem aja.

[Y:... After it is done, we were brought to his house. Because his father was still a Confucianist, so there were prayers there. I did not understand anything, so I just being quiet there. So, all of them were praying, I do not understand, so I just being quiet there.]

From the explanation, we can see that Suharto's policy affected Chinese Indonesians' life, in this case, they could not perform religious blessing for their marriage, so they had to rely on other religion or held the blessing privately without following the original customs.

Respected by the Locals

Another thing to look is how Chinese Indonesians are being prejudiced at that time. After G30S/PKI, the Chinese Indonesian community became the target of racism because there was an assumption that China supported that incident. The locals were generalizing anything that has the connection with China, including the Chinese Indonesians because at that time, they were considered as outsiders and immigrants from China (Isnaeni, 2010, as cited in Pertiwi,

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2019). However, for Mr. Hadi, it was a different story. Instead of getting racialized he was respected by people around him, this is what Mrs. Yuli told in the interview:

Y: *Tapi sangat dihormati kalo engkong disana itu. (R: Oh, sangat dihormati?) Dihormati disana, nggak tau masalah apa. Kaya juga enggak, tapi engkong itu kan bawaannya orang2 supel, ramah. Jadi baik pemuda atau orang2 tua itu suka sama engkong. Kalo manggil itu papi disana itu. Orang2 itu manggil papi (ketawa). Nggak peduli orang tua, anak muda, anak kecil, papi kalo manggil. Ada lagi yang ndoro tuan gitu. Orang tua, orang miskin sekali, ndoro tuan kalo manggil, emak sampe geli juga ndengerinnya (ketawa) Memang engkong itu ramah, di Kalimantan juga semuanya buanyak. Orang kalo setiap jalan semua orang ditegur (disapa). Kenal tidak kenal ditegur engkong itu. "Mari pak", "Mari buk". Jadi orang semua suka jadinya itu. Di perunas juga gitu, temannya banyak, di jalan2 juga banyak teman. [Y: But he is highly respected there. (R: Oh, highly respected?) Yes, he was respected there, I do not know why. He is not rich, but his innate was a sociable and friendly person. So even youngsters or elders liked him. They called him "papi" there. Those people called him "papi" (laughs). No matter if they are elders, youngsters, children, they called him "papi". Someone actually called him "ndoro tuan". There was an elder, very poor, he called him "ndoro tuan", I was amused hearing about that (laughs). Indeed, he is friendly, in Kalimantan, he also has (a lot of friends). Every time he went out, he greeted everyone. Acquainted or not, he greeted all of them. "Mari pak", "Mari bu". So, everyone liked that. Also like that in perunas, he has a lot of friends, in the streets it was just the same.]*

The reason why he was so respected by the locals is because he was fully assimilated with the society. This can be seen from his attitude towards the locals. He always greeted them, no matter if he knew the person or not and he greeted them in their local language. It is unclear what kind of language he used when he was in Kalimantan, however when he was in Java, he often greeted them using Javanese greetings like, "Mari pak", "Mari bu". Javanese, who are the biggest ethnic in Indonesia, is famous with their living values, which is modesty and respecting others (Rochayanti, Pujiastuti, & Warsiki, 2012). What Mr. Hadi did is suitable with Urietta's argument that cultural identity's understanding is formed by learning the ways of knowing and participating in collective, cultural community with different degrees of involvement and competence that develop and change over time (Urrieta, 2013, as cited in Urrieta, 2018). In this case, he tried to create a cultural identity, which is Indonesian, to convince the society that he is a true Indonesian. Aside from greeting others, the fact that he married Mrs. Yuli at that time also proved that he was fully assimilated with the locals. After G30S incident, many Chinese Indonesian thought that it would be easier to be accepted in society if the assimilation reached to their private realm. They changed their religion, married the locals, and changed their names (Eriyanti, 2006). The fact that Mr. Hadi married Mrs. Yuli during that perilous era implied that he realized the need to assimilate with the society in order to ensure his safety and to convince the society that he is not the "foreign" Chinese, but an Indonesian citizen. The researcher also thought that his marriage with Mrs. Yuli made some locals proud because marrying the Chinese is considered superior by the locals. This kind of thought can be traced back during the colonial era when the Dutch positioned *inlander* or the locals to be lower than the Chinese and the remains of that hierarchy can be felt until today (Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020).

In conclusion, living as a Chinese Indonesian during Suharto era was hard. There were so many laws that forced them to abandon their identity in order to be accepted in society. They could not perform their customs like marriage in the public and they were forced to change their names, so the government did not suspect them as "communists". Aside from the government, they also lived in prejudice among the society. Although some were lucky like Mr. Hadi, for others, they might not be that lucky. This later will be changed after the fall of Suharto, with the government no longer restricted the Chinese Indonesians and they live like what they are today.

Chinese Values Learned from Her Husband

Hardworking

To answer the first question about how her husband influences her to embrace Chinese Indonesian culture, we can see what values she learned from her husband. This also answers the third question about how Chinese Indonesian culture affects her cultural identity as a Javanese. First is the value of hardworking. Hardworking is one of the living values which are owned by Chinese people. Tough, tenacious, discipline, hardworking, and frugal are none other than Confucianist teachings which are still held by Chinese people today (Kartoadmojo, 1990, as cited in Basti, 2007). In Mrs. Yuli's case, as a Javanese, she also worked hard for her family. She has experiences in working on a lot of sectors and this can be seen from this excerpt:

Y: *Nah, disana engkong usaha itu, sementara emak njahit. Njahit disana, di Kalimantan.* [Y: Then, he worked there, while I was sewing. Sewing... there, in Kalimantan]

Y: *Terus akhirnya kan taun berapa gitu engkong sakit, eh sebelum sakit emak dibawa ke Kupang, NTT. Kerja disana cari haisom.* [Y: Then finally around what year is it he fell ill, before he was ill, I was taken to Kupang, NTT. Worked there looking for sea cucumbers.]

Y: *Kerja iya, berdua. Berdua bawa mobil itu emak jualan baju, baju konveksi gitu yang kulakannya ke Pasar Turi. Lak engkong jualan rokok sama sembako gitu. Jadi mobil itu berisi sembako sama rokok sama baju2nya emak itu, ya keliling.* [Y: Yes, working, both of us. Both of us brought our car and I sold some clothes in Pasar Turi. Meanwhile, he sold smokes and groceries. So that car was filled by groceries, smokes, and my clothes. Well, we go around.]

Y: *Paginya ngajar TK, terus siangnya ngajar di SD....* [Y: In the morning I taught in kindergarten, then in the noon I taught in elementary school...]

This is pretty unique considering the patriarchal nature of Javanese culture that sees the women as the one who only do household jobs like cooking, cleaning, nurturing kids, and many others. The situation was getting harder for women in Suharto's era because Kowani (Konges Wanita Indonesia) stated that women must be men's loyal partner, future generation shaper, educator and adviser for children, household regulator, and useful society members. This caused women to only take part in family realm, and not in public realm (Nuri & Machdalena, 2020). However, in Mrs. Yuli's case, she worked hard for her family even though her husband is working hard too. This can be possible because of few things; First, his husband was a tolerant person, so he let his wife to work even though she has house chores to do. This can be seen too from cultural perspective. Being born from original Chinese parents, he was a Chinese Totok. However, because of assimilation policy during Suharto's regime, most of this kind of Chinese went through "peranakanisasi" which forced them to assimilate and blend in with locals to survive (Mukhaer, 2021). Mr. Hadi is definitely one of those Chinese people. Letting his wife to work outside household is tolerated in Peranakan society and it is not taboo anymore (Suliyati, 2002). This is stated in the excerpt below:

Y: *Jadi engkong kan orangnya sabar, jadi ya nerima aja gitu.* [Y: So, he is a tolerant person, so he just accepted it]

Second, his husband's nature as a hard worker inspired her to work as well, especially after they left Surabaya and started to live in Mojokerto. Look at this excerpt:

R: *...abis ngeliat engkong kerja keras gitu berarti emak juga ikut mbantu gitu ya...* [R:...so after looking him work hard like that, you decided to help him too?]

Y: *Iya, ya sama2 berdua kerja* [Y: Yes, we worked, both of us.]

Y: *Mbah buyut dibawa juga ke Mojokerto. Nah, akhirnya kan emak disana kan di Mojokerto itu ngajar.* [Y: Grandma was also taken to Mojokerto. Finally, there I taught in a school.]

So, Mr. Hadi influenced Mrs. Yuli to be a hard worker just like him by his actions. He did not tell or force his wife to work hard, but his actions seem to move her heart and then she decided

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to help him too in working, something that is unique considering the patriarchal nature of Javanese culture.

Discipline in Parenting

Second is the value of discipline, but it will be specified in parenting. Discipline is one of the Confucianist teachings that are still held by Chinese people until today (Kartoadmojo, 1990, as cited in Basti, 2007). Discipline is defined as “training that corrects, molds, or perfects the mental faculties or moral character” (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). As a Chinese Indonesian, Mr. Hadi taught all his children to be discipline in by setting schedules for them. He set how many hours and at what time his children can play, study, take a nap, and others. Interestingly, Mr. Hadi was also discipline about religious affairs. He once was angry to two of his children because they did not go to the church, even though at that time he was still not a Christian. From the interview, it seems Mrs. Yuli supported this kind of teaching, not because Mr. Hadi forced her to teach her children to be discipline, but because she realized that discipline is objectively is a good value for children. Mrs. Yuli in this case, acted like a supervisor for her children. She supervised them whenever they study, play, and sleep to make sure they follow the schedule. Mrs. Yuli in the interview admitted that she is proud of her children because they grow up to be disciplined people and they uphold their parents’ teaching.

In conclusion, Mr. Hadi successfully influenced Mrs. Yuli to embrace Chinese values, in this case, hardworking and discipline. Both come from Confucianist teaching and still embraced by Chinese people until now. To influence his wife, Mr. Hadi did not use force to make her embrace Chinese values, but instead, show her through real action. Identity is always exteriorly shaped (Urrieta, 2018), and in this case, Mrs. Yuli’s identity was shaped by Mr. Hadi to accept some Chinese values. Of course, this does not turn Mrs. Yuli totally into a Chinese because she has some factors that prove her identity as a Javanese.

From Negative to Positive

To answer the second question: how she viewed Chinese Indonesians during Suharto era, we must look at how she viewed the Chinese Indonesians at that time. At first, Mrs. Yuli viewed Chinese Indonesians in a negative way. She admitted that she did not like the Chinese Indonesian when he heard about Mr. Hadi who wanted to go out with her. This is conveyed through this excerpt:

E: *Tapi kan saya kan... emak kan bilang sama ibunya emak ini, “Kok Cino tah bu?” gitu, “Gapapa toh wong Cino itu?”, mak bilang gitu. “Ya terserah kamu mau apa nggak” (ini ibunya Bu Yuli yg berbicara). “Ah gak mau” itu mulanya.* [E: But I...I told my mother this, “Why Chinese, mom?” like that. “Is it okay if I go out with that Chinese?”, I said that. “Well, it is up to you whether you want it or not” (this is Mrs. Yuli’s mother who is talking). “Ah, nope. I don’t want”, that was the beginning.]

To understand why Mrs. Yuli acted like this, it is better to look back to the history. Chinese Indonesians have been racially discriminated and it only got worse after Suharto came to presidency. A lot of locals associate Chinese Indonesians of being the communist sympathizers and consider them as migrants who left their hometown to work here, even though there are a lot of Chinese Indonesians who were actually born in Indonesia (Pertiwi, 2019). In short, Chinese Indonesians at that time lived with prejudices and stereotypes attached to them. The one who also viewed them with prejudices was Mrs. Yuli. The prejudices were still strong at that time because the setting is in 1968, when it is only one year after Suharto issued the infamous Presidential Instruction that banned a lot of elements of Chinese culture such as religion, language, arts, etc. This is why Mrs. Yuli initially rejected Mr. Hadi because she viewed him with prejudices.

However, Mr. Hadi was a person who is so persistent and patient. These attitudes that eventually won Mrs. Yuli's heart and she agreed to start dating with him. She found that Mr. Hadi was a tolerant person, one of the examples is when they went out for eating. At first, he brought Mrs. Yuli to a Chinese restaurant, but Mrs. Yuli, who usually eats Javanese foods cannot eat those kinds of food due to the palate difference. Eventually, she asked how about eating some satay and Mr. Hadi agreed without hesitation. From this part, they fell for each other and decided to hold a marriage.

After they married, Mrs. Yuli began to see the hardworking characteristics of Mr. Hadi. He ran a dairy enterprise with his father and mother, and he worked tirelessly. He worked every day (including Sunday) from 2 A.M. to 5 P.M. He usually the one who is doing the accounting and helping milk the cows. Mrs. Yuli described his husband as a cheerful one and she also described him as a man who never thought about working burdens. Hard working is usually one of the positive characteristics that are attached to Chinese Indonesians and looks like Mr. Hadi has that kind of characteristics, and this attitude is also the reason why Mrs. Yuli viewed him in a more positive way.

The conclusion is, no matter how strong the prejudices are, if that person who usually views others with racial stereotypes form a relationship with those who are stereotyped, that person eventually will see their other side and maybe his/her view of the others will be shifted. Just like Mrs. Yuli and Mr. Hadi. At first, she did not like him because of the prejudices from the society, however, when she formed a relationship with him, she soon started to see the other sides of him that she may have never thought about. So, in the end, to eliminate racial stereotypes/prejudices, we need to form a relationship or friendship with the prejudiced so we can know them better.

Cultural Affinity

Even though Mrs. Yuli lived with her husband who was a Chinese Indonesian, it does not mean that she has fully embraced Chinese Indonesian culture. There are some cultural aspects that she kept in order to maintain her identity as a Javanese.

Cuisine Preference

First is about cuisine. At first, she did not want to eat Chinese food because she usually eats Javanese food. When Mr. Hadi and Mrs. Yuli went out looking for food, they usually ended up eating Javanese food like satay and pecel because Mrs. Yuli cannot eat Chinese cuisine. This is pretty normal because Chinese and Javanese cuisine have different taste. Javanese food is slightly sweeter because when cooking, they tend to put sweet ingredients like palm sugar, coconut, and sweet soy sauce (Monique, n.d.). In other hand, Chinese cuisine usually has tendency to harmonize salty, spicy, sour, sweet, and bitter because it is considered good for the taste of the food itself and the health aspects of the food (Song, 2021). In the interview, she admitted that she can eat Chinese food after she married to Mr. Hadi, however, when the researcher asked her about what food she ate in the beginning of the interview, she answered that she eats *pepes* or *sayur asem* with pindang. This proves that in terms of cuisine, she still prefers Javanese cuisine rather than Chinese cuisine, implying that she's still a Javanese.

Language Used

Second is about the language. During the interview, Mrs. Yuli spoke mostly Indonesians combined with some Javanese. This is called code-switching and it usually happens in informal conversation. This is because the conversation involves casual, familiar, and informal language that surround the conversation (Kurniati, Wuryanigrum, and Widjajanti, 2013). This is pretty normal considering she is a Javanese, and because the researcher conducted the interview in informal and casual way. Sometimes the code-switching happens during the interview. For

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example: “Kalo dia duduk itu medingkrang gitu”, “...waktu itu dibawa ke Jakarta lagi, udah agak gede...”. To refer her relatives, she uses different terms according to their cultural identity. For example, she called her mother with *buyut*, while for her Chinese Indonesian relatives, she uses Chinese-Indonesian terms like *engkong*, *koko*, *cece*, *koh mbing*, *kongco*, *makco*, etc. From the way she speaks, looks like years of marriage do not change her language pretty much. However, she can refer some of her relatives using Chinese Indonesian terms. The main factor is she did not want to learn Chinese language because she considered the language was hard. The external factor is probably because of the banning of Chinese language during Suharto era, so she cannot learn Mandarin as a language, and that is why she often use Indonesian mixed with some Javanese.

Parenting Style

Third is about parenting. If Mr. Hadi taught his children to be more discipline, Mrs. Yuli also taught her children about something else. From the interview, she stated that she taught her children to get along with each other and obedient to their parents. This is suitable with Geertz's research about values in Javanese society. Two of those values are *kaidah kerukunan* (conflict avoidance) and *kaidah hormat* (obedience) (Geertz, 1983, as cited in Idrus, 2012). *Rukun* is defined as “to be in a state of harmony”, peace and tranquility”, and “united in a way to help each other” (Mulder, 1986, as cited in Idrus, 2012). *Hormat* is defined as the need for everyone to respect other people in accordance with the status or level (Idrus, 2012). However, it is important to note that obedience to parents is not limited only in Javanese culture. The Chinese culture also has this kind of value called “filial piety”. It is believed that if the children do not obey their parents, then misfortune will come over them (Sulistio, 2016). The researcher could see that her parenting style is matched with Javanese values when she told the researcher that she was very angry to her children when they fought over a toy. To quote, “*Mami nggak suka, anaknya sampe bertengkar gini. Apa yang dipertengkarkan? Jadi saudara itu harus rukun, berbagi, ada apa2 dibagi.*” [I do not like the fact that all of you are fighting like this. You are siblings, then all of you must get along. Learn to share, if you have something, then share it with others.] From the excerpt, we can see that she taught her children to avoid conflict and get along with each other. About the value of *hormat*, she did not tell the researcher how she taught her children about that value, however she told that one of her children boasts to his son about the fact that he is the one who was the most obedient child in the family at that time. The fact that one of her children is so proud about being so obedient to his parents is the proof that her children respect their parents in accordance with the Javanese value. In the end, she stated that she was happy to see her children can get along with each other and become the children to be proud of.

In the end, she still maintains her Javanese cultural identity even though she has married with Mr. Hadi, a Chinese Indonesian for a long time. Her identity matches with Urietta's definition that identity shifts and develops over time (Urietta, 2018). Even though she is still a Javanese from her food preference, the language she uses, and what values she teaches to her children. In the end, her identity is a Javanese, while holding some of Chinese values with her.

CONCLUSION

Intercultural marriage involves 2 different cultures and has existed in Indonesia for a long time. In a patriarchal culture like Javanese and Chinese, a wife is expected to follow her husband's culture and the researcher is interested whether it can affect the wife's cultural identity or not, especially during oppressive times. During the interview with Mrs. Yuli, a Javanese who married to a Chinese Indonesian named Mr. Hadi during Suharto's regime, the researcher finds that it is Mr. Hadi who had to change his identity from Chinese to Indonesian due to the government's assimilation policy. As for Mrs. Yuli, at first, she viewed Chinese Indonesians with prejudices and stereotypes, however when she married Mr. Hadi, she starts to know more

about Chinese Indonesians character, and she saw that the stereotypes and prejudices did not apply to her husband. Therefore, she started to view Chinese Indonesians not based on stereotype and shifted her view towards them. The researcher also finds that she embraced some Chinese values like hardworking and discipline because her husband influenced her through actions and deeds. So, it matches with Urietta's argument that identity shifts and develops over time (Urietta, 2018). In the end, her identity is a Javanese mixed with some Chinese characteristics.

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