The Role of Inter Ethnic Marriage
on Trustworthy and Caution

Faturochman[1]
Sri Kurnianingsih[2]
Irine Kurniastuti[3]
Nur Shaleh Fathoni

Faculty of Psychology
Universitas Gadjah Mada

Abstrak

Kepercayaan sangat penting dalam relasi sosial. Ketidakpercayaan akan menjadi berba-haya bila tidak dikelola atau ditransformasi untuk menjadi kepercayaan. Oleh karena itu, perlu ada upaya-upaya untuk meminimalisasi ketidakpercayaan dan meningkatkan kepercayaan. Secara teoritis, persilangan kategori berpotensi mengurangi ketidakpercayaan dan diharapkan dapat meningkatkan kepercayaan. Untuk membuktikan teori dan harapan tersebut, penelitian ini diarahkan untuk membuktikan peran persilangan kategori, dalam bentuk perkawinan antar etnis, terhadap kepercayaan dan ketidakpercayaan. Survei dilakukan dengan sampel siswa SMA, mahasiswa, dan pekerja. Kategori etnis ayah dan ibu dari responden (Jawa – Non Jawa) dipersilangkan sehingga diperoleh dua kategori non persilangan dan dua kategori persilangan. Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa persilangan kategori anak, sebagai hasil perkawinan antar suku, mengindikasikan tingkat kepercayaan yang lebih tinggi dibandingkan mereka yang bukan persilangan. Pada sisi lain, efek persilangan terhadap ketidakpercayaan ternyata tidak signifikan.

Keywords : trustworthiness, caution, crossed category, mixed marriage

There is an indication that Indonesians have low level of trust; the society is considered as low trust society (Fukuyama, 1995). Is it true? To describe the condition of contemporary Indonesian society, this indication can be justified. On the other side, the cultural values tend to be conflicting. Almost all cultures in Indonesia build trust in developing their societies

(Faturochman, 2008). Thus the issue may not rely on the high-low levels of trust but more on how to explain the meaning of trust from many aspects. One aspect explains that trust is careful or cautious attitude (Miller & Mitamura, 2003). This attitude can be interpreted as distrust, but can also be interpreted as part to develop trust. As an example, inquiries to an anonymous guest's visit such as name, address, purposes and other questions can be interpreted as distrust. It can be understood if the host feels suspicious or distrust in the good intention of the guest. Another example, bank loan will not be approved

without collateral. This apparently shows that lender does not immediately trust so trust will eventually be built in giving loan safeguarded by cautiousness.

Many studies (Glanville & Paxton, 2007; Levin et al., 2006; Miller & Mitamura, 2003) have mentioned that people generally talk trust while they refer to trust. Focus of this study is trust rather than trustworthiness. Thus, in the following explanation we use trust interchange with generalized trust.

Trust has correlation with identity (Voci, 2006). People with similar identities tend to trust each other. Will multi-ethnic society such as in Indonesia tend to have low level of trust? Several researches (see Dividio, 2009) showed that identity differences can easily create prejudice. Although prejudice is not the opposite of trust, it suggests that plural society with low cohesiveness tend to have low trust. On the other side, cautiousness and distrust tend to be high.

How to overcome this matter? Social psychology experts (Crisp & Hewstone, 2006; Dividio, 2003; Petigrew, 1998; Urban & Miller, 1998) suggested several attempts through contacts, double-identity development, and crossing category. Contacts have proven declining prejudice among individuals and groups (Pettigrew, 1998). Double identity and crossing category can happen simultaneously and more natural. For example, a child from a mixed marriage.

This child clearly owns double identity, although socially and personally might have identified herself/himself to one ethnic, from either father or mother. Apart from social identity, social category is more apparent and operational. In this case, the child owns AB or BA category, not only A (mother's race) or B (father's race), and

does not have detail definition as explained in social identity.

So far crossing category has been proven reducing prejudice in groups with crossing categories (AB and BA) (Crisp & Hewstone, 2006; Urban & Miller, 1998), but will this issue increase trust? On the other hand, will trust suggest lower in those whose categories are not crossed (AA and BB). This questions came out and at the same time stimulate researchers to further develop influencing factors in trust and caution besides other factors which are being studied (Glanville & Paxton, 2007). On the other side, the answer to this question can widen studies in crossing category being developed in social psychology researches.

In general this research aims to develop trust and reduce caution. Purpose can be detailed as follows:

1. To describe levels of trust and caution in general and based on different social categories.

2. To examine the role of crossing category towards trust and caution.

By obtaining clear picture of levels of trust in the society, result of this research can be used as basic for improvements, if necessary. Besides, if the role of crossing category can be verified and proven to increase trust and decrease caution, the theory development and the benefits of crossing category can be utilize to increase trust and decrease caution.

Faith is believed to have positive role in social relations and society life in general. Without faith social relation becomes mechanical and awkward. Without trust cooperation will not materialize. Social solidarity will be difficult to develop without trust. On the other hand, with high trust complexity in social relations will be more uncomplicated.

So far, the study of trust is mostly defined in psychological evaluation scope and belief. Yamagishi (1994) defined trust as belief in one's good deeds that he or she will not harm, will appreciate, and will perform his/her duty.

Consequently, trusting others can mean taking risks on the trust given, especially if the trust is materialized in behavior. For example, lending money or goods based on – one of many - trust. If money or goods are not returned, the trust giver will suffer losses. So caution is needed. The latter, at the same time, can be used as the basic in consideration to take risks. Taking idea from Yamagishi, Igarashi (2008) mentioned that trust needs guarantee. The form of guarantee is similar to caution.

Trust can be differed into two groups; those are generalized and specific trust. Generalized trust is commonly termed as trustworthy while specific trust refers to person, organization, or committee that used to be formulated as trust in X. In this study both trust will be coincidental analyzed however social relationship with close persons will be more emphasized in specific trust. Generalized trust includes judgment in honesty, ability, caring, and sustainability. On the other hand, alert relates with cautious of denial, disgrace, interest, inconsistency, and rule violation. While specific trust will be focused in vertical relationship (trust to father and mother) and horizontal relationship (friend and stranger).

The understanding about trust depends greatly on the theory that serves as a basis for it. Trust that is developed based on various calculations rather inclined to social exchange theory. There is also times when trust is mainly developed by the understanding of the trustor. This heuristic model directs to normative trust. Other model is identity-based trust. Same identity

with other encourages a person to trust completely than to others (see Faturochman, 2000; Lewicki & Bunker, 1996).

In general there are two factors that affect trust, object's characteristic and relationship between trustor and trustee (Hu, 2007). Subjects with positive characters tend to be trusted as well as those with quite close relationship. Honest, helpful, and generous are characters that are associated with trustworthy person. Persons with good relationship, broad social networking, and widely well-known are more trusted. Characteristic will not be analyzed in this study while social relationship will be further researched.

Flanagan (2003) argued that basis of trust is formative experiences. Trust and caution engagement in family will expand to friend, peers, to stranger. Generalized trust is formed by family, friend, and peers. This opinion is supported by social learning theory in trust development proved by Glanville and Paxton (2007).

Trust development with family basis is in line with identity-based trust model. Therefore trust depends also on the identity development dynamics. A study by Weaver (2006) found out the indication that acculturation had a potency to influence trust and caution. Those 'full-blooded' are likely have low trust compare to generation who is recognize many cultures. For that reason, trust and identity are correlated in this study.

Identity has been conferred in quite many theories. From various development of concept of identity, there is a tendency to conclude that identity is plural than sole, constructed, relative and unstable than absolute and steady. This argument is rooted on reality that the development process is very fluid and dynamic; identity

is always contextual either in social and cultural meanings.

Recently multi- identity development is increasingly more and unavoidable align with the globalization in live evolution. Interaction among countries, ethnicities, and cultures encourage involved persons to form new groups consist of members with various backgrounds. Those new groups are the ones who shape and add up the individual identity. Interaction experience between cultural and ethnicity actually has been acquired by Indonesia citizen who had declared as plural nations since long time ago. With the increasing interaction among countries, this multicultural interaction experience is more intensive.

A real example of inclusivism is a married between different ethnicity. Couple from two different ethnicity means each person has possessed doubles identity. In other words, instead of having origin ethnicity, they also have the ethnic identity of spouses although this is a bit different if this identity is given by birth. If those couples have children, the children will have double identities that differ to their parents. Those children will both possess their fathers and mothers ethnicity. Double identity of those children are more fit to be situated as cross-category (see Crisp et.al., 2006; Muller et.al, 2001; Urban and Miller, 1998), or in our daily conversation it is named as 'blasteran' (mixed).

Crossing category is defined as an intersection between two independent categories that each of it has a dichotomy dimension (Mullen et.al, 2001). Father and mother ethnicity of a child is two independent categories. If father and mother ethnicities are simplified to two categories (dichotomy) which are Java and non Java, this will structure crossing category of the child.

Table 1

Mixed Parents of Children Crossing Category Based on Parents' Ethnicity

Father's Ethnicity	Mother's Ethnicity	
	Java	Non Java
Java	Java-Java	Java-Non Java
Non Java	Non Java-Java	Non Java-Non Java

Crossed category that is structured from marriage has stronger characteristic compared to crossed category that is developed by other factor such as cooperation, new developed teamwork, and two or more alliance groups. Some of the different characteristics are emotion (love) that is intensively involved in marriage and custom and religion tied in the development process. As a result negative attitude such as prejudice and caution are assumed as lower. This lower negative attitude of is predicted more appeared in the off springs of between ethnicity marriage. On the other side, children of those marriage are more welcome to others and is assumed as having higher trust compared to those with one ethnicity parents

Thus, two hypotheses are proposed. First, those experiences of crossed categories (parents are coming from different ethnicity), have higher trust compared to them without such experiences. Second, those experiencse of crossed category, their caution are lower than those without such experiences.

Method

Part of respondent of this study is taken from the available data that has been collected by Center for Indigenous and Cultural Psychology, Fakultas Psikologi, Universitas Gadjah Mada in Trust project. This study is dissimilar to researches and publications done by team of Center for

Indigenous and Cultural Psychology because it is focused on generalized trust and cautions. Whereas other researchers concentrated on specific trust such as father (Lestari & Yuniarti, 2010) and trust to stranger (Indrayanti et.al, 2010i)

From the available data resources, respondents of this study are high school and university students. This study is intended to expand the research's scope by adding more respondents from worker group to represent society. From other side, since high school and university students are groups from education sector, additional respondents were targeted to worker from education sector who are teachers. Consequently, society that is represented in this study is society of education sector.

Likely the non-random sampling method that has been used in choosing sample of high school and university students, sampling for additional respondents was also done in this fashion. Teachers that will be sampled are participants of workshops or trainings. They come from various areas. Practicality is not mainly reason in choosing this way, it is also to obtain respondents with or without crossing category, then each category will be represented (Kerlinger & Lee, 1986). In accordance with the idea, additional number or respondents is planned to be equal with the number of high school and university students those are 500 respondents.

There are four variables that will be analyzed in this study. Two independent variables which are father identity and mother identity will be applied to form crossing category, and two independent variables which are trust and caution.

a. Father's ethnicity identity is name of father ethnicity identified by respondent (child) and written in the questioner. The question to expose ethnicity identity is: *"What is your father cultural or ethnic background?"* The answers are categorized into Java and Non-Java.

b. Mother's ethnicity identity is name of father ethnicity identified by respondent (child) and written in the questioner. The question to expose ethnicity identity is: *"What is your mother cultural or ethnic background?"* The answers are categorized into Java and Non-Java.

c. Trust or trust is a confident that most people are trustworthy. This variable will be measured by Generalized Trust Scale. Level of trust will be reflected from the answer's score. Higher score indicates higher level of trust.

d. Caution is a confident that basically people have negative characters or interest only in their own welfare so trusting them can be risky. This variable will be measured with Caution Scale. Level of cautious will be displayed from the answer's score. Higher score indicates higher level of caution.

As a psychological construct measurement, generalized trust and caution has been vastly developing. Result of Miller and Mitamura's analysis (2003) concluded that both variables can be simply measured; each variable is only stand by one factor, therefore many items are unnecessary in comprising the scale, but the validity is high. Accordingly, this study develops 5 items of generalized trust and 4 items of caution using previous scale that has been used by other researchers (such as Igarashi et.al, 2008) by firstly translating the language (translate it into Indonesian language and back translation into English). Reliability of the scales are moderate (Cronbach's Alpha: .72 for trust and .76 for caution)

For both scales, instruction and general question are the some, it is: *"How much do you agree with the following statement? Please*

mark V in appropriate ( )". Example of item and choice of answers in trust measurement as follows:

Most people are trustworthy.
( ) Very much
( ) Much
( ) Somewhat
( ) Little
( ) Not at all

Whereas example of item and choice of answers in caution scale is:
There are many hypocrites in this society.
( ) Very much
( ) Much
( ) Somewhat
( ) Little
( ) Not at all

Result

Independent variable data will be simply classified into Java and non Java ethnicity for both father and mother of respondents. This simple categorization is being done since in the core research about trust was not intended to examine crossed category in the first place. In other words, simplifying the categorization is merely for the analysis. After re-categorization, it is expected to find out means score as can be seen in Table 2 or Figure 1. From Figure 1, it is easly observed that mixed marriage as indicated by crossed category of children tend to have higher score of trust. But, when two ways Anova were applied to examine the hypothesis, the result shows that 2 X 2 Anova is not significant (F=1.95; p>.05), the main effect of Father's and Mothers are not significant.

Table 2
Means Score of Trust by Parents Crossing Ethnicity

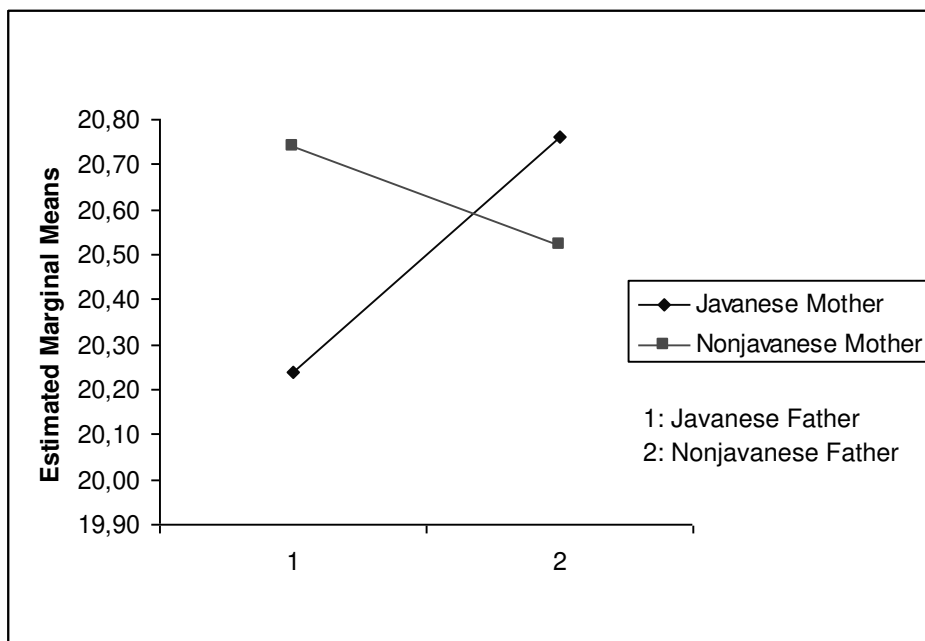| Father's Ethnicity	Mother's Ethnicity		Total
	Java	Non-Java	
Java	20.24	20.74	20.28
Non-Java	20.76	20.52	20.57
Total	20.28	20.57	20.35

Figure 1: Estimated Marginal Means of Trustworthy

Further analyses to compare between cells of those four categories also show no mean differences. These are understandable since mean and variance differences between two different categories are not so distinc. For instance, the biggest mean difference is between Java-Java (20.24) and NonJava-Java (20.76). When this difference is tested, the result is not significant (t= 1.27; p >.05).

For caution, analysis of 2 X 2 Anova shows significance (F=9.60; p<.001). The effect of Father's is significant (F=4.41; p<.05), while the effect of Mother's is not significant (F=2.42; p>.0.05). Children of mixed parents tend to be less cautious compare to children of non Javanese parents (see Figure 2). By contrasting between cells of these four categories, the significant differences were found between NonJava-NonJava contrast to Java-Java, Java-NonJava, as well as NonJava-Java. These findings imply that cross categorization lead to be more cautious and the most edged category that makes differences are father's and non Javanese category, e.g. mother and father are not Javanese. The crossed-categories has shifted the tendency of cautious to be less cautious.

Discussion

This study uses collected data from Center for Indigenous and Cultural Psychology without any intention to compare ethnic groups for many reasons. The reseachers found some probable analyses including crossed categorization effect on trust and caution, but there were no detailed understanding of various ethnic groups of non Javanese. So, crossed categorization model was not fully tested in this study. Since the characteristics of mixed family have similities with its of mixed identities in crossed category, the advantage of this group to be more open their minds and easily contact the others can lead their trust higher, and their caution lower, than those of single ethnic family.

Table 3

Means Score of Caution by Parents Crossing Ethnicity

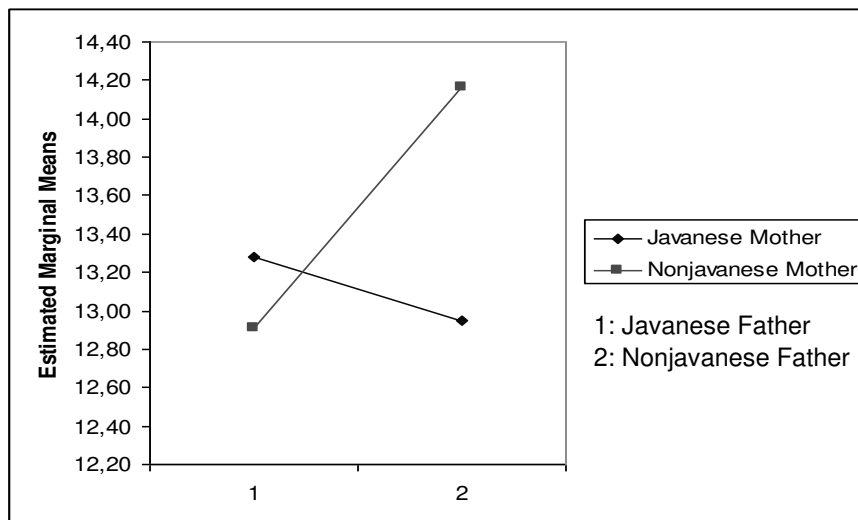| Father's Ethnicity	Mother's Ethnicity		Total
	Java	Non-Java	
Java	13.28	12.91	13.37
Non-Java	12.95	14.16	13.96
Total	13.31	13.92	13.47

Figure 2. Estimated Marginal Means of Caution

The cross categorization model is not the only explanation of mixed family. The concept of aculturation (Bery et al., 1989) can also be applied since mixed married is a kind of integration model of aculturation. Children of mixed marriage sought to acculturate by being involved with both their heritage cultures. They live in bicultural way that engaging in both cultures including preferences, identities, languages, social engagements with both ethnic peers, and relationships with their extended families. Again, these experiences can lead them to easily contact others with trust as basis of their relations.

The tendency of crossed-categories to be closer to Non-Javanese category on trust on one hand and to be closes to Javanese category on caution on the other hand implies differences role of structural relations between superordinate and subgroups (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). Non-Javanese becomes superodinate to increase trust that makes crossed-categories closer. In contrast, Javanese seems to pull cross-categories to be closer on cautious. Despite this study does not distinguish those rules clearly as proven by statistics, the tendency has positive direction. The findings show that crossed-categories as a subgroup follow the superordinates, e.g. Non-Javanese with highest trust and Javanese with lowest caution.

Conclusion and Implication

Two main conclusion are drawn from this study. First, children that experience of crossed categories (parents are coming from different ethnicity), have not differences of trust compared to them without such experiences. Second, experience of crossed category leads to lower caution than that of non Javanese children without such experience.

The basic idea of intergroup contact has been proven meaningfully in many studies as well as in this study. To create advantage at individual, group, or societal level, making contact is a must. However, many people still choose inclusiveness as an important way in their lives. Social psychology becomes more important recently if it pays more attention on intergroup issues in developing studies. A country that has many ethnics and cultures such as Indonesia is an ideal area to make such studies progressive.

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