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Inter-Religious Mate Selection Negotiating Process Relationship in Indonesia

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Abstract

This research explores the process of inter-religious mate selection and the important role of third parties as social forces in the process among individuals in urban areas in Indonesia. The scope is sociology of family using hybrid typology for the process and Kalmijn (1998) for the third parties. The article enriches those elaborated by Netting (2010), Tsutsui (2013) and Casier et al. (2013) on combination of traditional and love mate selection process, and Kalmijn (1998), Connolly (2009), Yahya and Boag (2014) on the third parties in intermarriage. A qualitative field research with snowball method by doing retrospective interviews in greater Jakarta is conducted among 4 individuals from Islam and Christian. The period of research is from the year 2018-2021. It is revealed that all of the individuals going through the hybrid mate selection process which starts from the love typology and ends in the traditional typology. The process begins with individual choosing his/her mate on his/her own and in the end only able to get married by approval of his/her family. It is revealed individuals' capability to negotiate his/her standpoint to preserve the relationship until succeed to marry, with several and multilayer third parties specially his/her conjugal family and the state. The process reflects the existence of inter-religious tolerance. A mate selection theoretical contribution on how hybrid process and negotiating with the third parties as social forces also applies in inter-religious context, are also elaborated.

Keywords: Mate Selection, Social Forces, Third Parties, Inter-Religious, Inter-Religious Mate Selection, Relationship, Islam, Christian

1. Introduction

Mate Selection is an important process towards marriage or other forms of partnership because it is become the baseline of a permanent, loving, and supportive relationship (Lamanna & Riedmann, 2009, 2012). Choosing a mate from the same religion can show the tendency of the endogamy of the group. On the other hand, choosing a mate from different religion can show interaction between different religious groups and also show how far the social acceptance between different religious groups exist, without seeing the other group more high or low compared to their group (Kalmijn, 1998).

Indonesia has characteristics of multi religions (Badan Pusat Statistik [BPS] Census, 2010). The composition is Islam followers 87,1%, Christian Protestant 6,9%, Catholic 2,9%, Hindu 1,7%, Buddha 0,7%, Confucian 0,1%

and other religion is 0,1% (<http://sp2010.bps.go.id>, 2016). The follower of Islam and Christian religions have become the two biggest percentages in Indonesia based on 2010 Indonesia census data.

Religion is essential for Indonesian people (*Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies [CRCS]*, 2008; Alvara Research Center, 2017; Grim, 2014; tempo.co, 30 January 2017). CSRS report shows that religion has become important aspect for Indonesian people (CRCS, 2008). Alvara Research Center also show 95% Islam follower in Indonesia believe religion has important role in their daily lives (Alvara Research Center, 2017).

The variety of the religion in Indonesia makes it possible to have an interaction between people from different religions. Choosing a mate from different religion is not advice and prohibited, but still there are people who have inter-religious relationships ranging from friends, mates, until marriages (Parker, Hoon dan Raihani 2014; Yahya dan Boag 2014). Mate selection and marriage in Indonesia generally desire with the same religion (Kardha, 2002; Parker, Hoon and Raihani, 2014), meanwhile Indonesian people common to against, disapprove and often cause pro and cons on inter-religious mate selection and marriage (Nurcholish dan Baso (Ed), 2010; Affan & Franciska, 2015).

Indonesia marriage law stated that marriage is legal in Indonesia if it is performs based on each religion law and believes (Undang-Undang Pokok Perkawinan, 1996). The law gives an important role to the religion institution to legalize the marriage. The implication of this law is, the marriage from the couple who has the same religion can be legalize by the religion institution, but on the other way around, when couple has different religion then many religions do not want to legalize the marriage (Nurcholish and Baso (Ed), 2010)

1.1. Literature Review

Previous studies on the process of mate selection have shown there are three typologies. First arranged or traditional, second love or free will and third hybrid or combination. The scope of arranged or traditional typology is a gradations mate selection form entirely depending on the family specially the parents or third parties to be able to marry, until only the necessary or the obligation of getting approval from the family (parents). The love or free will typology is a process where form of mate selection entirely depends on the individual (couples). The last, scope of hybrid or combination typology is a blend or combination form of mate selection between arranged or traditional and love or free will. Practically, the typologies can be classified into two categories. First category is dichotomies between arranged or traditional and love or free will (Winch dan Ktsanes, 1954; Kerckhoff and Davis, 1962; Murstein, 1980; Sprecher dan Hatfield, 2017). Second category is combination of arranged or traditional and love or free will (Lee and Stones, 1980; Murstein 1980; Netting 2010; Tsutsui, 2013; Casier dkk, 2013).

The previous studies show that the conceptual framework of the mate selection process was changing from the earlier time seeing it as dichotomies between traditional and love, and then become the combination of them in the recent years. Several previous recent studies shown that in the context of Asia society, the typology of mate selection process tend to be in the form of combination between love and traditional with the characteristic of the subject is tend to be general. Therefore, the mate selection process in the context of Indonesia society specially on inter-religious relationship still need exploration.

Furthermore, previous studies state there are many intermarriage research conducted because this type of research can help people to find the answers to several questions about social life inside one group or between groups like race, religion, citizenship, and the origin of a group (Cretser and Leon, 1985; Kaljmin, 1998; Parker, Hoon and Raihani, 2014). Several intermarriage studies are being focused only on the process aspect (Marcson, 1951; Cavan, 1970; Cavan, 1971; Parker, Hoon and Raihani, 2014). On the other hands there are also intermarriage researches that cover not only the process aspect but also the role of the factors in the intermarriage (Kaljmin, 1998; Connolly, 2009; Yahya dan Boag, 2014).

Previous studies about intermarriage cover many aspects such as race, religion, citizenship, etc. but in the context of Indonesia society that has characteristic seeing religion as important aspect in their daily life in the recent studies, then it is become important to explore about how the process of inter-religious mate selection relationship occur and how is the roles of social forces shapes the process of the relationship. The social forces in this context refer to the third parties. Any type of a group outside the couple relationship that has interest to keep their internal cohesion and homogeneity of a group is call the third parties (Kalmijn, 1998). The third parties tend to direct or encourage individuals to marry endogamy.

Base on elaboration above, exploration and explanation on mate selection process and the roles of third parties in the context of inter-religious relationships in Indonesia are still limited. This article is filling the lack of this area studies. Therefore, the research question of this article is how the process of inter-religious mate selection happen and how is the roles of third parties play their part in the process specially on Moslem and Christian individuals in urban areas. Mate selection process in this study is limited to heterosexual dating relationship period when looking for a husband or wife until they are success marry inter-religiously. In this case specifically individuals who follow Islam and Christian religion who live in urban areas during the time of the research.

2. Method

This article is based on research that being conducted from 2018-2021. The research uses qualitative approach (Creswell, 2003; Creswell, 2007). There are two main reasons behind the using of this approach. First, the topic of this article is considered a sensitive issue where there are not many people who want to disclose their experiences. Second, qualitative approach is suitable to be used to capture the process comprehensively.

Interview is being held on individuals who undergo inter-religious mate selection until successful marriage inter-religious between Moslem and Christian. The type of the interview is retrospective to be able to capture the whole process comprehensively. Informant is found using snowball method through researcher network. The total number of informants is four individuals consist of two informants from Islam religion and the other two informants are from Christian Religion. There is one male and female informant on each of religion group.

Primary data on this research is based on interviews of the informants. Researcher also used secondary data to complete the primary data and to support literature review and conceptual framework (Neuman, 2014). The form of secondary data among others are photos, documents and relevant reports that has relevant connection with the research to complete the primary data; and also include books, article, journal, research reports to support literature review and conceptual framework.

This research has limitation. It is only limited to study inter-religious mate selection on Islam and Christian informants. Therefore, this study only covers two religions although Indonesia has multiple religions. The reason behind this limitation is Islam and Christian are two religions that have two biggest followers in Indonesia cover 96,9% of Indonesian population.

3. Results and Discussion

This research is involving four informants. The general characteristics of the four informants are presenting below,

Table 1: Informant General Characteristics

Informant	Ti	Sh	Al	Se
Sex	Man	Woman	Man	Woman
Religion	Islam	Islam	Catholic	Catholic
Last Education	Undergraduate	Undergraduate	Undergraduate	Undergraduate

Source: Kardha, 2022

The process of the informants' mate selection begins with individual attractiveness and compatibility to the potential mate until they agree to become a couple and dating exclusively as the boyfriend or the girlfriend. For informants, religion is not an issue or they are ignoring it at this phase. Like informant Al stated,

"I like smart woman. I met her at campus. I still a bachelor student at that time. I also worked as assistant lecturer. I am class of 94 and she is class of 98. Very simple, I very easy to fall in love with smart woman. I feel connect with her, we have many the same logic and believe." (Interview with Catholic man Al, November 11, 2018)

After the relationship starts and grow along the way, the relationship begins to become more and more serious. After reaching this phase, then religion becomes an issue that likes it or not informants have to deal with it in order to progress the relationship into marriage. Like informant Ti stated,

"I talked to my father and told him I have a girlfriend from different religion. I am planning to be more serious with her and marry her. My father hasn't immediately said yes (agree). Because of that, then I repeated many times, over and over again, tell him about my intention and my planning (to marry my girlfriend). and then, I also told my girlfriend about the situation. Make sure if she wanted to continue the relationship, then we will find the solution together. In the end, at that time, we decided to talk to each of our families." (Interview with Moslem man Ti, October 19, 2018).

Informants are facing the challenges from the family relating to the religion differences along the mate selection process. Family approval especially the parents become important in this period. Like informant Ti stated,

I was asking for my father permission (blessing) over and over again. what I want in my life, it is my choice and it will become my consequences, but for me, the most important thing is parents blessing. I don't care if everybody talks about me." (Interview with Moslem man Ti, October 19, 2018)

Some of informants' parents are against informant relationship, other have more subtle stand points to approve informant's relationship. the religion value in the conjugal family especially the parents can be either support or against inter-religious mate selection and marriage. But as long as the parents believe that inter-religious mate selection and marriage is not against sacred text in the holy book, in the end they all willing to give their approval for their son or daughter relationship.

Family is the first challenge that informants and his/her mates have to face. Other challenges are people around the informants' circle. The challenge come from informant's extended families and friends. Some of the extended families and friends disapprove of informant relationship, but others have more subtle stand point either they tend to disapprove, be neutral or approve the relationship. Like the statement of informant Se about her boyfriend's extended family,

His cousin being asked to separate me and D (my boyfriend). So, we don't date, not continue our relationship, not marry inter-religious. So, it is like a trial (for my boyfriend), why my boyfriend chooses me, as if there is no one else from the same religion (Interview with Catholic woman Se, November 22, 2018).

also, like informant Sh statement about her friends,

Our friends are supportive. So.... I talked to my friends, chat, share my stories; and then I told my friend about our problem. They helped. They helped us find the information, such as "I think at that place you can find this...." So, we have many sources, and many solutions to be honest (Interview with Moslem woman Sh November 4, 2018).

Although extended families and friends influences on informants are not that strong compared to informant's parents but their opinions and stand point matter for the informants in the context it can become a support for the informants to overcome the obstacle of his/her relationship when they tend to have neutral or approve stand point. Meanwhile, Informants tend to disregard opinions from their extended families and friends who are against informant's relationship. Informants also feel that they have support from their friends who succeed to get married inter-religious in the context they are not alone who has to deal with this challenge and also it is possible for them to be able to get married inter-religious in Indonesia. Like informant Sh stated,

"We met with my friend that has just married inter-religious. We talked.... and then at that time we said "that's it. We just copy them (their way). That's it. We just copy them, because from the

beginning we were dating, from the first until third years, we were looking for a way out (to be able marry inter-religious). So, we were not just dating. The whole three years being used to find a way out.” (Interview with Moslem woman Sh November 4, 2018).

The next challenge is from the religion institution including the individuals that are related to it. According to Indonesian marriage law, Individuals who want to get married has to do religious ceremony with religion institution to be able to get married legally in Indonesia. Religion institution is an authorized institution by the state to perform a marriage and issue a marriage certificate. Individuals only able to register their marriage to the state after they have marriage certificate from religion institution. The problem is almost all religion institutions the facto is disapproved of inter-religious marriage although it is not written literally but become more common consensus.

Informant’s journey to find a way to be able to get married inter-religious will have to face with this situation. Informants have to face that it is impossible to be able to get married if it is fully based on the regulation, therefore informants actively searching for alternative ways to overcome this obstacle. Informants searching for individuals who relate with the religious institution to explore the possibilities to be able to get married inter-religious, especially the person who is neutral or approve of inter-religious marriage. Parallel with this quest, informants also looking for foundation from their religious values to support their relationship and their plan to marry inter-religious. They are actively searching this information of religious values from individuals that have relations with religion institutions especially from those who approve of inter-religious marriage. These individuals such as priest and *ustad* can be considered religious leaders although they are not the one that have mainstream thought relating to inter-religious marriage. All the informants find information that basically inter-religious marriage is not against their religion values and also, they can perform inter-religious marriage in Indonesia based on their encounter with these individuals. This information later becomes one of informant’s tools to persuade and negotiate their situation with their parents so the family eventually will approve their plan to get married. This information also become their tools to deal with other third parties.

It needs to be noted that there are informants that have encounters with individuals who oppose the inter-religious marriage. For this experience, informants tend to gather only the information but disregard it. Like informant Ti stated,

“When someone in the position disagree with me, I am considering them as we have different ways of thinking. Not in the context of disapprove, because they don’t have any right to talk about approval or disapproval. there is small amount of (my) friend from the office and university that has not so good respond (about my inter-religious relationship).” (Interview with Moslem man Ti, October 19, 2018)

Furthermore, few informants tend to make some space or do not continue the interaction with these types of individuals.

As soon as informants have found one or few ways to get married inter-religious and found certain individuals who will be able to help them processing inter-religious marriage, then the challenge can almost be overcome. The key to being able to go further to apply inter-religious marriage is approval from Informant’s parents, therefore as long as informants already have their parents’ approval, they can execute the process of marriage. The process of persuading and negotiating with the parents is not something that is easy to be done. Like informant Sh stated,

“We bring data to the family about how to marriage inter-religious (in Singapore). My boyfriend talks to his family about he wants to do the marriage this way, but turn out his proposal still resulted in pro and cons in the family. Why only do civil marriage? Why there is no certificate from the church, why this, why that. So.... at that time, the problem is still existed. (Then we) search again (the way out). From my family, my parents hope that if I will marry using Christian marriage ceremony, then I should also do Islam marriage ceremony. So.... finally (we) met someone from P (institution). “Oh.... I can marry you. I already held many inter-religious couple marriages.” Ok, finally (we) married in S (city). In S (city) there are two wedding ceremonies, Christian ceremony and then Islam ceremony. Those

ceremony is being witness and attend by both our families.” (Interview with Moslem woman Sh November 4, 2018).

On this phase, it becomes important for informants to have adequate information relating to inter-religious mate selection, inter-religious marriage dan religion values relating to inter-religious relationships. This is where the information from some extended families, some friends, certain individuals relating to religious institutions, and other information from various sources become important to informants as their tools to discuss and persuade their parents. From the four cases, it is revealed that in the end all of the informants are able to persuade and negotiate the situation with their parents. As soon as informants have the family approval, the next step is more to execution of the inter-religious marriage plan and administrative procedures relating to legalize marriage in Indonesia.

Table 2: Informant Interaction with The Mate and Third Parties

Interaction Informant with	Ti	Sh	Al	Se
The Mate	Relationship-based on compatibility: similarity and complementary	Relationship based on compatibility: similarity and complementary	Relationship based on compatibility: similarity and complementary	Relationship based on compatibility: similarity and complementary
Conjugal Family (The Parents/Parent)	Religion is not a problem because suit with religious value that Moslem man is able to marry Christian woman In the beginning father disapprove of inter-religious mate selection and marriage, until at certain point give in for the happiness of his son. Ti asking for approval repeatedly. Note: Mother has passed away	Religion is not a problem because suit with religion value that Islam is not against inter-religious marriage In the beginning mother disapprove in subtle way of inter-religious marriage and father is more flexible, but slowly they become approve Sh’s plan to get marriage inter-religious. slowly parents are seeing that inter-religious marriage is not against their religion values.	Religion is not a problem because religion institution allows to legalized inter-religious marriages In the beginning mother disapprove in subtle way of inter-religious marriage, but father approve it. Slowly mother become approve Al’s plan to get marriage inter-religious.	Religion is not a problem because religion institution allows to legalized inter-religious marriages Mother not against inter-religious mate selection and marriage. Note: Father has passed away
Extended Family	Many extended families have similar position with Ti’s father which is disapprove inter-religious marriage. There is extended family that have neutral dan support position.	Many of extended families disapprove of inter-religious marriage.	Many of extended family have neutral or support on inter-religious marriage. Few extended families tend to disapprove, but in the end they are not against it.	Se extended families not against inter-religious marriage.
Friends	Close friends support Ti. Few friends from the office and university not support	Friends support Sh. Many Sh friends are having inter-religious marriage.	Al basically ignores friends’ opinions. Many of his friends not against inter-	Few of Se friends regret why Se choose to marry inter-religious.

Interaction Informant with	Ti	Sh	Al	Se
	Ti		religious relationship and marriage	Close friends not against inter-religious marriage.
Individuals related to religion institution	Ti find individual from independent institution who can help him to apply inter-religious marriage in Indonesia.	Sh find individuals from independent institution who can help her to apply inter-religious marriage in Indonesia.	Al knows some individuals from independent institution who can help him to apply inter-religious marriage in Indonesia.	Se find individuals from independent institution who can help her to apply inter-religious marriage in Indonesia.
State	Marriage registers in State Civil Registration office as Christian Marriage	Marriage registers in State Civil Registration office as Christian Marriage	Marriage registers in State Civil Registration office as Catholic Marriage	Marriage registers in State Civil Registration office as Catholic Marriage

Source: Kardha, 2022

Based on four cases, this research supports the hybrid (combination) typology mate selection in the context of inter-religious mate selection relationship in urban area Indonesia. All the four cases going through similar process where in the beginning Informants develop romantic relationship based only on informants' preferences on similarity and complementary traits on their mate. On this period, religion issue is not a problem or at first informants ignore it. When the relationship begins to become more serious, then religion issue become an issue that like it or not informants have to deal with it.

As the relationship develops to marriage oriented, informants have to deal with several and multi layers third parties along the way. This research also reveals that challenges from the multiple and layers third parties have important roles in setting the path of the informant's relationship. The first one is conjugal family especially the parents, the second is the extended families and or friends, the third is religion institution including individuals who related to it, and in the end the state.

The first third party is the conjugal family especially the parents. The blessing from informants' parents is important and essential for the informants to take the first step into the phase of marriage. Parents become play an important role in informants' relationship. Parents have power to give the approval or disapproval of the inter-religious relationship based on religious values they believe. Dealing with this situation, it doesn't mean informants don't have capability to discuss and negotiate with the condition. The dynamic interaction in discussing and negotiating informants' relationship between informants and their family especially their parents is able to soften the stand point of their parents so informants are able to apply inter-religious marriage with the approval of their family. The research confirms that hybrid mate selection typology not only exist in general mate selection cases but also exist in inter-religious one. This research support and enriches Netting (2010), Tsutsui (2013) and Casier et al. (2013) point of views about the process of combination mate selection between love and traditional typology specially in inter-religious context.

The second third parties are the possibility challenges from the extended families and friends. Extended families and friends also can shape either directly or indirectly informants inter-religious mate selection relationship by having either pro or cons about inter-religious mate selection and marriage. They can have supportive, neutral or against point of view about inter-religious mate selection and marriage. Their point of view become the consideration for informants to maintain their relationships.

The next challenge is the third party from religion institution including individuals who related to the institution. informants look for an alternative way out relating to religion institution since religion marriage ceremony is a

requirement to be able legally marry in Indonesia. Their journey have made them found individuals who related to the religion institution that can help them to get married in Indonesia legally. On the other hand, there is possibility informants can also meet with the one who against inter-religious marriage so they don't want to help. Informants also possible meet with the one who has more subtle or neutral position so they also cannot help because they bound with the regulation of religion institution.

The last challenge is from the state. Informants will taking care administrative procedure require by the state only after informants already can cope with all other challenges. It is because to register the marriage to the state require a marriage certificate from religion institution. The challenges from this last third party relatively manageable as long as challenges from the other third parties are already resolved.

Each of the party has certain role that can be either support, neutral or against inter-religious mate selection and marriage, but one of the most crucial third party is conjugal family specially the parents. The four cases support and enrich Kalmijn (1998), Connolly (2009), Yahya and Boag (2014) on the important of the third parties in intermarriage relationship. The success of inter-religious mate selection process becoming an inter-religious marriage at the end mainly is depending on the couple negotiation, parent's approval and the religion values in the conjugal family.

4. Conclusion

This article adding the new understanding about inter-religious mate selection process and the roles of several third parties in the process specially between Islam and Christian in urban area Indonesia. Base on the result of the research, inter-religious mate selection process of the four informants is all having hybrid typology. In the beginning of the process, it appears in the form of love typology between informant and their mate, but in the end the process being closed by traditional typology in the form of the important of family approval especially the parents to be able to move forward to the marriage.

The research also reveals the important of several and multilayer third parties' roles in the inter-religious mate selection process. They all in certain level shaped the form of informant's inter-religious relationship. The first third party that has to be encounter is the family specially the parents. The second one is the possibility of the roles from the extended families and/or friends. The third is religion institution including individuals who has been consider possess deeper knowledge about the religion. The last third party is the state who has the authority to legalize marriage in Indonesia. From several third parties, approval from the family especially the parents and religion values in the family who support inter-religious mate selection and marriage become crucial aspect to be able to success marry inter-religious. In the end it is mainly depending on the couple negotiation, parent's approval and the religion values in the family. All the third parties have become social forces in the inter-religious mate selection relationship of the informants.

This context reveal that it is a complicated and challenging process to form inter-religious mate selection relationship in Indonesia. Although it is challenging but this reality reveals the existence of tolerance between religion in one of the intimate dan romantic relationship forms. One of the forms that build a family as one of the core institutions in the society.

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Appendix

Few Informants Transcripts

Moslem Man Ti (free translation):

“She was one of my friends. Playmate friends. So... she is not someone that I just know. Before I was his boyfriend, we were playmate friends. At that time, we didn't really make the dating relationship officially on verbal. We just live it. Along the way and then we just think and realizing it that we were having a serious dating relationship. But in the beginning, we were just friends.” (Interview with Moslem man Ti, October 19, 2018).

“In my family is more complex. Both of them (father and late mother) have strong faith so the respond is we kind of have a fight. They expect me to find a girlfriend from the same religion. The normal things” (Interview with Islam man Ti, October 19, 2018)

Moslem female Sh (free translation):

“The first time I meet him it was an accident. I was meeting my friend S in PIM. When I arrived, I saw my friend was with him. So.... My friend was introducing me to him. Turn out my friend and him is friends. After the meeting, turn out he called my friend to asked for my phone number. At that time, I didn't give him my phone number because I feel it is not right to give my phone number to the person I just know. One year later, we got connected again because of the social media. Turn out he was still asking for my phone number. So... finally we meet. At first, we met the three of us, me, my friend s and him. After that we become closed and more closed until finally, we are dating exclusively.” (Interview with Moslem woman Sh, November 4, 2018)

So... we gathered all the data (about inter-religious marriage). After got all the data than we start to have the courage to talk to each of our family. We gathered the data from his priest, my priest, and also our friends study case that successfully marriage inter-religious. To be honest, it was not easy. In the beginning the family not really approve our relationship. But after we talk and having a discussion with them slowly, they can accept us. But in the beginning, it is very-very difficult.” (Interview with Moslem woman Sh, November 4, 2018).

Catholic Man Al (free translation):

I like smart woman. I met her at campus. I still a bachelor student at that time. I also worked as assistant lecturer. I am class of 94 and she is class of 98. Very simple, I very easy to fall in love with smart woman. I feel connect with her, we have many the same logic and and believe.” (Interview with Catholic man Al, November 11, 2018)

“My dad is laissez faire. For him it is the same (any religion). There is no different. My mom is different. She believes her son should be married with Catholic, but she never closed any door to everybody.” (Interview with Catholic man Al, November 11, 2018)

Catholic Woman Se (free translation):

“In the beginning I was his boss in event division on P radio. Suddenly I got many crews from broadcast division including him. So.... When I trained the crews, I was though on them and many of them cannot stand it and left. Only him and few feminine guys who can able to deal with me. so... during those time, every day he drove me home. After few months, in the end we were dating exclusively.” (I like him) because of his Mr right. First of all, I like him physically. He is handsome. Since I was teenager, I never have boyfriend. I only have “sleeping buddy”. So.... I never experience romance. When I met him, he is very caring at me.” (Interview with Catholic woman Se, November 22, 2018)

“When I was dating him, for my mom, inter-religious differences are not a problem, but his divorced parents are a concern to her because in my family, there is no divorced cases.” (Interview with Catholic woman Se, November 22, 2018)