

Adaptation Strategies and Habituation of Traditions: Chinese Ethnic Death Rituals within the Framework of Javanese Syncretism

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Abstract: *Death traditions are arguably one of the most preserved cultural aspects of the Chinese ethnic group. Surakarta City has a significant Chinese population, making their funerary traditions an integral part of the city's cultural landscape. However, in Surakarta, these practices undergo unique dynamics due to intense interaction with local culture. The phenomenon of Javanese-Chinese syncretism has emerged as a sign of a complex identity negotiation process. This study aims to explore socio-cultural adaptation strategies and the process of habituation in Chinese ethnic death traditions that have undergone syncretism with local Javanese values. This phenomenon is compelling to study because death traditions, which are fundamentally sacred and rigid, have proven capable of transforming into a fluid space for identity negotiation [1]. This research employs a qualitative method with a phenomenological approach [2]. Data were sourced from cemetery observations, in-depth interviews, and documentary studies of the Chinese community's history in Surakarta. This study dissects how traditional Chinese elements (such as ancestral veneration and the use of ritual symbols) blend with Javanese traditions (tahlilan or death feasts in the context of Peranakan Chinese). The adaptation strategies of the Chinese ethnic group in Surakarta are evident in three main stages: (1) ritual compromise, (2) symbol reinterpretation, and (3) spatial habituation. Syncretism serves not only as a form of cultural preservation but also as a social defense mechanism to minimize ethnic exclusivity. Consequently, this study concludes that the habituation of death traditions based on syncretism serves as strong evidence of cultural integration that transcends theological boundaries, creating a new, inclusive identity known as "Chinese-Javanese".*

Keywords: *Adaptation Strategy, Habituation, Death Tradition, Javanese Syncretism, Chinese Ethnicity*

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1. INTRODUCTION

A lengthy narrative about the negotiation of identity, cultural resilience, and the search for harmony in a complex socio-cultural space gives rise to the existence of the Chinese Ethnic in the City of Surakarta [3]. The city of Surakarta, known as a center of Javanese culture marked by the traditions of the Kasunanan Palace and Mangkunegaran Palace, has become an arena for the cultural practices of newcomers in osmosis with local values [4]. History records that identity negotiation is also a strategy for adaptation for the Chinese ethnicity in the city of Surakarta, attached to the dynamics of national politics which often place the Chinese ethnic group in a vulnerable position. The events of the Chinese Massacre (Geger Pecinan) in 1740-1742 and the May 1998 riots played a significant role as deep trauma for the Chinese ethnic group, which then encouraged the Chinese to adapt more and integrate. [5]. In the context of the Chinese ethnic group in the city of Surakarta itself, in May 1998 it paradoxically brought positive values in the form of renewed social interaction at the most basic level, namely in the village areas. Awareness of true protection arising from the closeness between neighbors became an encouragement for the Chinese ethnic group to become increasingly involved in village activities, including indigenous traditional ceremonies. The Indonesian government policy during the New Order under the leadership of Soeharto had a systemic influence on the Chinese ethnic group in expressing the traditions they possessed. Through Presidential Instruction No. 14 of 1967, it became the main pillar of the forced assimilation policy which prohibited Chinese religious and traditional celebrations in public spaces. [6]. It was this political pressure

that then created a situation where the Chinese ethnic group had to obscure their cultural identity to appear identical to Javanese culture. They had to be willing to choose one of the religions registered in Indonesia just to gain administrative recognition. However, this did not automatically eliminate the habitus that had been ingrained in the Chinese ethnic group; on the contrary, what happened was syncretism in rituals, where a ritual procession did not demand adherence to a certain religion but instead maintained essential elements of Chinese tradition while being adjusted to Javanese culture. The emergence of cultural feedback between the Javanese and the Chinese ethnic group strengthened the legitimacy of syncretic practices. Among the many cultural practices that exist, death traditions become one of the deepest manifestations of this process. This is because the death tradition is considered a phase of transition which, from a sociological perspective, is seen as the preservation of collective memory and a critical moment for social integration [7]. How the Chinese ethnic group adapts is not something instant or superficial; it occurs due to a deep habituation process in which the Javanese-Chinese syncretism practice becomes part of a mental structure that has been internalized from generation to generation.

Death traditions for the Chinese ethnic group are not merely mourning ceremonies; they carry a deeper cultural meaning. Death for the Chinese can be said to be a journey of transitioning to another realm that requires continuous respect through the concept of *Laku Bakti* or *Hao*. [8]. This concept then intersects with the Javanese philosophy of *Sangkan Paraning Dumadi*, which emphasizes that humans return to their origin through a series of *selamatan* traditions. The meeting of these two belief systems creates a unique syncretism, in which Chinese rituals of *Jib Bok* and *Sang Cong* are aligned with Javanese cultural values through the use of batons and the presentation of offerings full of traditional symbolic meaning. Through this habituation, syncretism is no longer seen as a defensive strategy against political pressure, but as part of the social logic that defines the identity of the Surakarta Chinese Peranakan as an inseparable part of the local Solo community. This is of course also influenced by historical records as well as ontological interpretations.

Ontological interpretations of death are influenced by three major teachings or *San Jiao* (Tridharma), namely: Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, which can also be referred to as *Sam Kauw*. [8]. The main teachings, especially Confucianism, emphasize the patrilineal relationship and the child's obligation to support their parents both in worldly matters and after their parents have passed away. Through this death ritual, it can become the main means for the eldest son to manifest the intended filial devotion. [9]. These obligations are considered sacred duties that determine the continuity and honor of the family's lineage. If proper ritual ceremonies are not conducted, the ancestral spirits are feared to suffer in the afterlife or become restless spirits and may then bring misfortune to the surviving family members [10]. In this case, Javanese culture has a belief system that is very open and accommodating to the existence of external cultures. The elements present in those external cultures are accepted when they contain aspects that can be accumulated or harmonized with cosmic harmony. The Javanese view death as a social event that can involve the participation of family, neighbors, and the surrounding community to send prayers and alms through the *selamatan* ritual [11]. This ritual is expected to be able to create a space of 'sincerity' and the courage to release entities so that they can return to their origin without any disturbance. The Tonghoa ethnic group living in the city of Surakarta then brought this death tradition into an environment rich in traditions of mutual cooperation, harmony, and close-knit relationships. The impact is an intensive process of borrowing cultural elements from each other, in which the mourning elements of the Chinese ethnic gradually begin to adopt Javanese symbolism to gain social validation. In its course, of course, the adaptation carried out by the Chinese ethnic requires a precise strategy up to the present.

To examine this adaptation strategy more deeply, Pierre Bourdieu's practice theory provides analytical instruments that are considered appropriate. *Habitus* can be defined as a mental concept that is inherent in individuals, which is acquired from the learning process of the surrounding environment that takes place over a long historical period [12]. The Chinese ethnic group in the city of Surakarta has a habitus formed by daily interactions with the Javanese majority, in which they consciously and unconsciously absorb schemes of perception, thought, and action that are in harmony with local life. The Chinese ethnic group is in a social arena (field) [13]. It refers to the field of struggle when the actors contend with each other to determine their social positions [14]. The arena of grief in funeral rituals in the City of Surakarta becomes an important site where economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital are negotiated. Habituation can occur when syncretic practices are carried out repeatedly and consistently until they become a persistent character. During the New Order era, syncretism began with awareness of discrimination against the Chinese ethnic group, but through a subtle process of internalization that occurred over decades, this practice is now considered something normal and natural for the Peranakan Chinese community in the City of Surakarta [15]. This practical logic

allows them to navigate unequal social environments again, and to transform social structural pressures into cultural creativity that strengthens social cohesion.

Syncretism that occurs among the Chinese ethnic group becomes an important illustration of how a tradition can still survive, yet also harmonize with the more dominant culture without abandoning the original cultural elements. Based on previous research on the Chinese ethnic group and the syncretism that occurs, it is as follows: *Resolusi Konflik Berbasis Budaya Tionghoa dan Jawa di Surakarta* by Annisa Istiqomah dan Delfiyan Widiyanto (2020) [3] This research contains information regarding the existence of a conflict resolution among the Chinese ethnic group in Surakarta City, which is relevant to the focus of this research problem related to the Chinese ethnic group in Surakarta City and the surrounding dynamics. The following article is *Tata Letak Dan Bentuk Pemakaman Masyarakat Etnis Tionghoa Menurut Ƴfēngshuǐ Di Kawasan Sentong Raya Wonorejo-Lawang* by Alvia Fatnaniatus Sokhifah (2018)[16] contains information about how the form and layout of Chinese ethnic meals are considered to have an influence on the luck of surviving family members, this study is relevant to the focus of this research which is that there is a part of death tradition that is also still related to the surviving family as well as the stigmas that arise. Another study with the title *Integrasi Sosial Budaya antar Etnis Tioghoa dan Masyarakat Jawa (Studi Kasus Wilayah Kelurahan Jagalan, Gandekan dan Sudiroprajan Surakarta)* by Fauzan Zarkasyi dan Yanti Haryanti (2024) It contains information about the social and cultural integration of the Chinese ethnic group and the Javanese community living side by side in the Sudirorajan area of Surakarta. Of course, this research is relevant with the focus of this study being the Chinese ethnic group living alongside the Javanese community while still maintaining and being closely connected to their own traditions and culture. From the existing literature studies, the adaptation strategies carried out by the Chinese ethnic group have already been widely studied. However, studies on adaptation strategies and habituation of Chinese ethnic funeral traditions within the framework of Javanese syncretism have not been widely examined. Therefore, it becomes interesting when it is possible to analyze in depth the forms of manifestations of adaptation strategies of the Chinese ethnic group framed within Javanese cultural syncretism. This phenomenon becomes interesting to study through a phenomenological approach.

2. METHOD

The method used in this study employs a qualitative research method with a phenomenological approach. The phenomenological approach was chosen because it is suitable for deeply exploring individuals' subjective experiences of a particular phenomenon in the context of real life. [17]. Data was obtained using semi-structured in-depth interview techniques to provide space for informants to describe their experiences without rigid limitations, as well as support from participatory observation and documentation studies to enrich data collection. Informants in this study were determined using purposive sampling with the snowball sampling technique. The number of informants will continue to develop to enrich data collection but still within the scope of the study. Key informants come from one of the Chinese ethnic religious leaders, namely a daily administrator of the Surakarta Community Association (PMS). Data analysis used FDA analysis. This analysis was used because it allowed for intersubjective perception between the researcher and the participants by postponing the researcher's prejudice toward the phenomenon being studied as it is [18]. The analysis consists of five stages: the stage of bracketing prejudices (epoche), textual description of what is experienced, creating clusters and writing about consistent expressions, validating those expressions, and structural description of how the phenomenology is experienced. These stages are carried out in order to find the essential meaning or key themes that emerge from the informants' narratives [19]. The validity of the data used in this study employed triangulation techniques. The triangulation techniques used were source triangulation and member checking, in which the results of the transcripts or findings were re-validated with the informants to ensure the accuracy and credibility of the researchers' interpretations.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

One of the most visible cultural adaptations carried out by the Chinese ethnic group is in death rituals. These death traditions then began to blend and harmonize with Javanese culture. This Javanese-Chinese syncretism then manifests in three forms, namely:

1. Compromise Ritual

- a. Preparation Stage and Jib Bok (Placing the Deceased into the Coffin)

The stages begin with the cleansing of the corpse, which in practice in the city of Surakarta often adopts elements of *jaman*, commonly referred to as the purification of sacred objects in Javanese tradition. The stage starts with bathing the corpse with water infused with five kinds of flowers, which is sometimes also mixed with white alcohol. This indicates a cultural acculturation that combines elements of Javanese sacredness with Chinese medical tradition. The use of cloth coverings with floral or batik patterns also shows the influence of strong local aesthetics in corpse care. [20]. The covering with the cloth indirectly shows that this is also included as one of the adaptation strategies carried out by the Chinese ethnic group.

The *Jib Bok* ceremony tradition itself is full of the symbolic meaning of protection. The coffin is closed with four nails that are prayed over, each of which has its own meaning. These meanings are: *im tian teng* means increased ability, *jit tian cai* means increased fortune, *sam tian hok* means increased luck, and *sut tiam ban liam bu kui* means family appreciation [21]. The next stage is the closing of the coffin. After the coffin is closed, what is done is the replacement of the candle color from red to white and the incense stick handle from red to green or white. This signifies the family's transition into the formal mourning period, commonly referred to as *moi song*. This color change is a cultural code that is then understood by the people of Surakarta as a sign of respectful mourning [7]. This then indicates that the syncretism occurring in the Chinese ethnic death rituals has begun to be interpreted by the local community through the existing markers.

b. Brobosan Ritual and Symbolic Communication

The *brobosan* ritual is very closely associated with Javanese culture. *Brobosan* itself is a Javanese word that means to bow or to pass under something above it. This ritual is carried out before the deceased is sent to their final resting place [21]. This is a Javanese tradition that has been widely adopted by the Chinese ethnic group in Surakarta without losing its meaning. This ritual is carried out with core family members crawling or bowing to pass under a coffin that is held high three times, and the direction is clockwise [1]. This tradition is a powerful symbolic communication regarding the final respect of the descendants to their ancestors, with the hidden hope that the values of those good deeds can permeate into themselves.



Figure 1. Burned *Gin Coa*

In the implementation of the *brobosan* ritual, especially in the city of Surakarta, *brobosan* is often acculturated with Chinese mourning elements. Its forms are as follows; the use of paper umbrellas often referred to as *pasung* in Javanese culture and paper money that is burned or called *gin coa* [22]. The acculturation that occurred between Chinese ethnic culture and Javanese culture created a new ritual aesthetic. This new ritual is visualized as a syncretism that shows the identity of Chinese *Peranakan* who are proud of their ancestral roots, yet fully fluent in Javanese etiquette

[7]. On the other hand, this ritual also serves to strengthen social solidarity and affirm cultural identity, where every element, from the order of family members performing the brobosan to the accompanying prayers, becomes a visual sign that communicates the concept of origin and purpose of creation as well as a sincere acceptance of the human life cycle within the framework of harmonious Javanese culture.

2. Reinterpretation of Symbols

a. Javanese Calculations in Scheduling Mourning Rituals

One of the most fundamental adaptations in the framework of Javanese-Chinese syncretism is the use of the numerology system. The Chinese ethnic group in the city of Surakarta has internalized Javanese schemes such as Lusaru which means three days, tusaro which means seven days, masarma which means forty days, and rosarma which means one hundred days [23]. These calculations were then adopted into the ritual schedule of the Chinese ethnic group. This happened based on the functional belief that alignment with the Javanese calendar would help perfect the joints of human life. The meaning is the elements believed in by the Chinese ethnic belief, namely earth, fire, wind, and water.

b. Symbolism of Food and Ritual Materials in Syncretism

The rituals carried out are certainly not separate from the material needs involved in them. The ritual materials used in Chinese ethnic traditional ceremonies serve as a means of communicating intentions, adaptation, and harmony. Through the use of objects, which are certainly also present in Javanese cultural traditions, a process of familiarization occurs that facilitates social integration. The use of apem cakes in selamatan ceremonies is not only used in the context of Javanese cultural traditions but is also adopted by Chinese culture. This shows an interesting syncretism. Etymologically, the word apem itself comes from the Arabic word afufun, which means to ask for forgiveness [24]. In Javanese culture, apem is served with the hope that all the sins of a deceased person can be forgiven. The offering of apem carried out by the Chinese ethnic group is done by presenting the apem cake in their mourning feast. Its presentation is often paired with traditional Chinese cakes such as steamed buns or 'kue mangkok.' The presence of apem on the mourning table is understood as a spiritual bridge recognized by both the Chinese ethnic group itself and the Javanese community attending the funeral.

c. Formalization of Religion and Purity of Belief

The increasing trend towards a more rigid formalization of religion can sometimes oppose syncretic practices that are considered not authentic when viewed from the perspective of certain dogmas. [20]. Some followers of formal religions may feel doubtful or even see no need to incorporate elements of cultural tradition into their mourning rituals. This happens because of the assumption that cultural syncretism is no longer necessary due to reliance on a formalized religion. Nevertheless, in the context of Surakarta City, social pressure to maintain harmony and concord often outweighs the push for ritual purification. Mourning syncretism continues to exist because of its function as a tool for social integration that has become habituated far beyond its merely theological function.

3. Space Habituation

a. Space Habituation Site: Thiong Ting Funeral Home and PMS

The Thiong Ting funeral home located in the Jebres area has become a physical icon of the harmonious Javanese-Chinese relationship in Surakarta. In its history, it is recorded that initially the land and buildings of Thiong Ting were gifts from Sunan Pakubuwono VII to the 19th-century Chinese community [25]. This shows a historical fact that provides a very significant symbolic capital to the Chinese ethnic group. The close historical relationship with the Keraton makes Thiong Ting not only a funeral home but also an institution respected by the entire community of Surakarta

City. The architecture of Thiong Ting itself explicitly reflects aesthetic syncretism. This is marked by the implementation of a Chinese-style gate which is then combined with ornaments familiar in the context of Javanese culture [26]. Facilities are provided to serve mourners from various religious backgrounds including Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism, with extraordinary flexibility of space. In the Thiong Ting area, ritual habituation occurs almost every day, where this is manifested by Chinese families practicing their mourning in very controlled and socially recognized public spaces.



Figure 2. Thiong Ting Funeral Home

As for the organization that serves as a bridge for the assimilation of Javanese and Chinese cultures, it is known as the Surakarta Community Association (PMS). PMS was founded on October 10, 1958, as a transformation of the Chuan Min Kung Hui association that had existed since 1932 [27]. The main focus of this PMS organization is to facilitate the assimilation and blending of Chinese and indigenous ethnicities through various fields. These fields can include local culture, such as incorporating lion dance performances into Javanese cultural shows at relevant scenes. In the realm of death, PMS has a role as a coordinator who ensures that Chinese residents receive proper condolences while still respecting the local culture present in the City of Surakarta [28]. PMS also then provided a space for the community to interact with local authorities as well as the Keraton, so that major events of the Chinese ethnic group, including mourning rituals for important figures, received legitimacy from the traditional local power structure.

b. Social Dimensions and Culture-Based Conflict Resolution

The adaptation strategy through habituation that occurs then has very broad sociological implications. It is primarily in creating mechanisms for conflict resolution that are organic in the City of Surakarta. The practice of syncretism in mourning rituals acts as a social lubricant that minimizes friction between ethnic groups, considering the history that has occurred [7]. In areas such as Kampung Balong or the Sudiroprajan sub-district, social interactions between the Chinese and Javanese ethnic groups during mourning activities have reached a stage where cultural differences are no longer an issue. The principle of 'ora mangan ora kumpul' is interpreted as the active presence of residents in every mourning gathering, which then motivates them to maintain the security and harmony of the environment [3]. Conflict resolution approaches based on culture are considered effective because they work on deep emotional, psychological, and spiritual levels, namely empathy during tragic events. Another factor that accelerates the habituation of syncretism is the process of mixed marriage (amalgamation) [29]. In Javanese-Chinese families, of course, the

process of syncretism proceeds more quickly and intensively, where children are raised with a habitus disposition that naturally combines both traditions. A new identity as “Peranakan Solo” emerges and becomes attached as an indicator of the success of adaptation strategies, where the uniqueness of each culture is still valued, but can be seen within the framework of inclusive harmony and concord [15].

c. Modernization and Rationalization of Rituals

On the Chinese plains, modernization has greatly changed mourning behavior, where long and expensive traditions are beginning to be replaced by cremation, which is practical and professionally managed. A similar trend is also beginning to appear among the young Chinese generation in the city of Surakarta, who are now more cosmopolitan [30]. The factor of cemetery land efficiency as well as the practicality of living in urban areas sometimes leads to some detailed aspects in offerings or rituals to be simplified. In this context, cultural rituals are still carried out but in a simpler and more modern style. Nevertheless, resilience toward this tradition remains strong thanks to the role of related institutions, such as PMS and Thiong Ting Funeral Home, which continue to maintain basic ritual standards in the presentation of the service packages provided. In addition, the need for meaning amid the currents of globalization often becomes a motivation for individuals to return to ancestral mourning traditions, which provide a sense of security and an identity inherent as Chinese Indonesians.

4. CONCLUSION

Using Bourdieu's theory of practice-action scheme, it can be concluded that the realm of contestation in the direction of actors' actions in the death traditions of the Chinese ethnic group is able to strengthen the accumulation of habitus and the four types of capital owned by the actors. The four types of capital referred to are distributed into findings regarding the practice of Javanese-Chinese syncretism in the context of the Chinese ethnic death tradition in Surakarta City as a modern adaptation strategy. This adaptation strategy then operates through a mechanism of deep socio-cultural habituation. This habituation is not merely an adjustment of external aesthetics, but also a transformation of the cognitive structure of the Peranakan Chinese to align themselves with the rhythm of social life of the more dominant Javanese society. Symbolic integration is manifested through offerings and apem, time synchronization through the adoption of Javanese petungan, as well as institutional legitimacy from Thiong Ting, PMS, and the Surakarta Palace, which creates a deeply rooted and strong cultural resilience. This strategy not only ensures the continuity of ancestral mourning practices amid past political pressures, but also makes a significant contribution to social stability and interethnic peace in the City of Surakarta. The future of this tradition will greatly depend on the ability of the people of Surakarta to continue transmitting a syncretic habitus to the next generation while still paying attention to, preserving, and upholding the values of kasinh saying towards elders (Hao) and the desire to achieve collective cosmic safety (Selamatan). The cultural practices displayed will continue to dynamically transform, which proves that cultural identity is not something fixed, but a narrative that is continuously rewritten for the harmony of communal life.

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