

# Constructing National Identities and Ethnic Identities to Their Children: A Study case of Chinese Indonesian Parents in Surabaya, Indonesia

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# **Constructing National Identities and Ethnic Identities to Their Children: A Study case of Chinese Indonesian Parents in Surabaya, Indonesia**

## ***Konstruksi Identitas Nasional dan Identitas Etnis kepada anak-anak mereka: Studi Kasus Orangtua Tionghoa di Surabaya, Indonesia***

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### **Abstract**

This study examined the characteristics of Chinese Indonesian parents in constructing National identity and Chinese identity for their children. The approach used was a qualitative method using thematic analysis to analyze the data. This research used the purposive sampling strategy involving 20 participants from Chinese Indonesian parents, aged 30 to 45 years, who have children aged 8 to 13 years, living in Surabaya, Indonesia. The results of the study show that all participants have a national identity, no one has a transnational identity. However, they do not structurally construct this national identity for their children because they feel that these children will automatically get a national identity from school.

The results of the construction of national identity and Chinese identity can go hand in hand without harming either identity. None of the participants opposed their children to having Chinese identities. They came from two different groups: those allowing the construction process to occur naturally and those carrying them deliberately. The number of participants who deliberately wanted to construct was more significant than those who allowed it naturally.

**Keywords:** Chinese Indonesian; parenting; Chinese identity; National identity; Transnational identity; Indonesia

### **Abstrak**

Penelitian ini bertujuan mempelajari karakteristik orang tua Tionghoa dalam melakukan konstruksi identitas nasional dan identitas ke-Tionghoa-an kepada anak-anak mereka. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif sedangkan analisis tematik digunakan untuk menganalisis data. Partisipan dalam penelitian ini adalah 20 orang tua Tionghoa Indonesia, berusia 30 hingga 45 tahun yang memiliki anak berusia 8 hingga 13 tahun, yang tinggal di Surabaya, Indonesia, yang diperoleh dengan menggunakan *purposive sampling strategies*.

Hasil studi menunjukkan bahwa semua partisipan memiliki identitas nasional, tidak seorangpun yang memiliki identitas transnational. Namun demikian, mereka tidak secara terstruktur mengkonstruksikan identitas nasional ini kepada anak-anak mereka karena merasa secara otomatis anak-anak tersebut akan mendapatkan identitas nasional dari sekolah.

Hasil konstruksi identitas nasional and identitas ke-Tionghoa-an dapat berjalan berdampingan tanpa merugikan salah satu identitas. Tidak ada satupun partisipan yang menentang anak-anak mereka untuk memiliki identitas ke-Tionghoa-an karena merasa tidak bertentangan dengan menjadi bagian dari Indonesia. Mereka terbagi menjadi dua bagian yaitu yang memberi kebebasan untuk proses konstruksi identitas ke-Tionghoa-an terjadi secara alami dan dengan sengaja melakukan proses konstruksi. Jumlah partisipan yang dengan sengaja ingin mengkonstruksikan jauh lebih besar daripada yang membiarkan terkonstruksi dengan alami.

**Kata Kunci:** Tionghoa; parenting; identitas ke-Tionghoa-an; identitas nasional; identitas transnasional; Indonesia

### **Introduction**

When raising children, as Chao (2011) stated, most Chinese parents will prepare their children for the future by letting them see what they are capable of and arming them with skills, work habits, and inner confidence that no one can ever take away. How to raise children will be greatly influenced by

the cultural identity of the parents because it will affect their general attitudes and specific beliefs, thoughts, and feelings activated during parenting: these have a powerful impact on behavior, even if parents are distressed by or unaware of that impact (Grusec & Danylux 2014).

In addition, these cultural identities frequently strengthen their parenting style. Research by Haslam, Poniman, Filus, Sumargi & Budiman (2020) looking at the influence of parenting style on both an individualist culture (Australia) and a collectivist culture (Indonesia) has shown that children's ability to adapt requires alignment between parenting style and cultural values. This statement showed that parenting style cannot stand alone as the key to success in raising children.

Moreover, parental culture could be reflected in the children's behavior. Parents who can appreciate differences usually make their children also have the ability to appreciate the differences the same way. Research conducted by Jugert, Eckstein, Beelmann & Noack (2016) on the role of parents in influencing their children's attitudes towards ethnic differences strengthens this opinion. An important part of cultural identities is ethnic identity. The development of ethnic identity is often related to one's success. Martinez & Duke (1997) stated that the greater the ethnic identity, the higher the self-esteem, purpose in life and self-confidence.

On the other hand, parents also have national identity that show a sense of pride for the country in which they live. Therefore, national identity refers to the identity of the citizens of a country with their own country's historical and cultural traditions, moral values, ideals, beliefs, national sovereignty, and so on. It is manifested as individuals or groups believe that they belong to a country as a political community (He & Yan 2008).

Conversely, transnational identity means recognizing the multi-geographical nature of immigrants who are from one particular country but live out their lives in another (Esteban-Guitart, Monreal-Bosch, & Vila 2013). Transnational identity considers the country from which they come is more valuable than the country in which they live.

As a result, sometimes when constructing ethnic identity, parents unconsciously increased their transnational identity instead of national identity. Therefore, this study aimed to see how Chinese Indonesian parents construct National identity while constructing Chinese identity for their children. This study only focused on the parents' side so that it did not look at the impact on children of the construction carried out by their parents.

These study results were expected to map out the conditions of Chinese Indonesian parents by their culture, desires, and ways to pass on their national identity and Chinese identity to their children. This map could later be used as a basis for policy making by all parties who need it and further research on this topic in Indonesia. Priwati et al. (2021) also have conducted the same study but for Javanese ethnicity.

There are two main research questions: (1) How do Chinese Indonesian parents construct national identity for their children? (2) How do Chinese Indonesian parents construct Chinese identity for their children?

## Methods

This study used a qualitative research approach where a set of open questions was presented to all participants in face-to-face meetings and conversations over the phone or on the Internet. In oral and written form, all questions and answers are in Indonesian. Data analysis was also carried out in Indonesian to ensure that the original meaning of the data was preserved. The quotes cited in this article were translated into English after the data analysis was completed.

The participants were 20 Chinese Indonesian parents, aged 30 to 45 years, who have children aged 8 to 13 years, living in Surabaya, Indonesia, selected through a purposive sampling strategy. The

sample taken can be categorized as gender balanced consisting of 11 women and 9 men. They were not first generation Chinese immigrants. They were born, married, and had children in Indonesia; thus, they never lived long outside Indonesia.

The questions given consist of two sets according to the research question: those related to national identities and Indonesian Chinese identities. Initially, questions would be given in written form/questionnaires. However, the participants stated that they could not express their opinion at length if it was in written form, so they wanted the answer to be given orally. Questions were first sent to the participants for study. Then according to the agreed schedule, they answered verbally via face to face or over the phone. All answers given by participants were recorded as archives. This data collection was carried out from January to February 2019.

For data analysis, this research used thematic analysis, which is the definition of thematic analysis as "a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Crabtree & Clarke's 2006). This data analysis technique has been proven effective in identifying themes that emerge from qualitative data, such as interview transcripts emphasizing individual understanding experiences in real-life situations (Liu 2015, Liu, Maher, & Sheer 2019).

The first step in conducting the analysis was data immersion. All data was read and understood. Then, the data is coded to mark a particular topic, for instance code: "national" for each data related to national identities.

The second step was code design. Every time a new topic was found, a new code would be added. This process continued until all data had been read and all topics found were coded.

The third step was forming and refining the theme from step 1 and step 2. After all data was coded, each related code would be included in one pattern/theme. This process would be continued until all code was included in a theme. In the process, one theme can be changed into two themes or on the other hand two themes are combined into one theme in order to make it easier to draw conclusions.

To maintain confidentiality, each data will be assigned a number which will be used for the key to access the data instead of based on the participant's name.

## Results and Discussion

The results and discussion of this research are divided into six sections, two sections related to national identity and four sections related to ethnic identity.

### National Identity

All participants felt that they were part of Indonesia and had an Indonesian national identity. They are all proficient in Indonesian, understand the national flag, state symbols, and so on. This all happened because they had all been educated in Indonesia.

There were three themes emerging from the data analyst when explaining why they feel they have an Indonesian national identity, which is the same as the results from Liu (2019).

According to Liu (2019), three factors can make a person feel part of a community: having a sense of belonging, having the freedom to continue passing the Chinese identities to the younger generation, and having family and friends. The results of this study indicated that, in general, these three characteristics were possessed by all participants, although at different levels. Therefore, all participants already feel part of Indonesia.

From these three aspects, all respondents believed that Indonesia had become their home to some extent. Some felt very welcome, but some felt accepted because they could live in Indonesia despite a minor disturbance. The order of aspects starting from dominant to less dominant is having family and

friends, having a sense of belonging, and ending with the freedom to continue passing the Chinese identities to the younger generation.

In terms of having family and friends, all research subjects had never lived abroad for an extended period. Some stayed abroad for only a few weeks because of vacation. Therefore, all of their family and friends were born and raised in Indonesia. However, a small proportion of family members also moved abroad, although not in China. As a result, they perceived Indonesia as a place where their family and friends reside.

In connection with a sense of belonging, all research subjects felt they belonged to Indonesia to some extent. No one felt that they did not belong to Indonesia even though they had unpleasant experiences in Indonesia regarding their Chinese identities. Evidence of this sense of belonging to Indonesia saw that they all continued to support Indonesia when watching a sports match between Indonesia and China. They felt proud when Indonesia won the match. It might be different from parents who support China when there was a sports match between China and Indonesia, especially those who were born in China and came to Indonesia as teenagers. None of the respondents had a transnational identity.

In the matter of seeing traditions passed on, some of the research subjects had unpleasant experiences when they saw Chinese identities and traditions were being inhibited and even tried to eliminate them during the leadership of President Soeharto. However, they tried to accept the experience because they did not have a choice to leave Indonesia. Fortunately, after President Soeharto's era, they felt a significant change in giving space for freedom to pass on their Chinese identities and traditions to the next generation.

On the other hand, some research subjects did not remember the unpleasant experience because they were still children or teenagers. Currently, they feel that Chinese identity and tradition can develop well in Indonesia. They can feel a shift in Chinese identity and tradition, but it all happens naturally and without coercion.

There are many acculturations between the Chinese tradition and the Javanese tradition. All research subjects live in Surabaya, where the largest ethnic group is Javanese, followed by Madurese and a smaller number of ethnic groups such as Chinese, Sundanese, Batak, Papuan, and several others. (BPS City of Surabaya 2021). Fortunately, there are no striking cultural differences between these two cultures in terms of parenting. Van Campen & Russell (2010) stated that "Chinese culture is largely influenced by Confucian philosophy. This philosophy emphasizes respect for authority, devotion to parents, emotional restraint, and the importance of education". Javanese culture in terms of parenting is not too different from Chinese. As a result, the acculturation between these two cultures was not much different, so that the research subjects did not feel that they were culturally different from the majority ones.

### **Constructing National Identities**

Although all parents felt they had a National Identity, they believed there was no need to specifically construct a national identity for their children. Their parents did not try to construct a national identity for them, as well, but they could develop it from school and from their friends. Therefore, they let their children also acquire a strong national identity from other sources.

The results of this study are the same as those produced by Supratiknya (2021) which stated "the majority of participants acknowledged the parents and the extended family as their source of identity, but seemed to fail in contributing to the formation of the youth's national identity".

### **Chinese Identities to Construct**

Questions related to Chinese identities were given without explaining in detail what was included with Chinese identities so that all answers were under the perception of the research subjects. The



study results showed that the Chinese identities they wanted to pass on to their children, based on the order that is considered the most dominant, are mastering the Mandarin language, celebrating Chinese cultural festivals, having a Chinese name, and cultural values.

Firstly, some subjects did not master Mandarin. The main reason for this disability was that they could not freely learn Mandarin when they were children due to the prohibition in the era of President Soeharto. (Setijadi 2015). However, all research subjects wanted their children to have the ability to speak Chinese. They did not demand their children master it fluently because some research subjects could not speak in Mandarin. In addition to maintaining Chinese identities, they considered that having the Mandarin language would provide additional value for their children's chances of success.

Secondly, <sup>12</sup>traditional Chinese festivals are an essential part of Chinese culture. It is a way for people to celebrate together their harvests or show respect for older generations (a big part of Chinese culture). There are commonly eight most popular Chinese festivals that every Chinese celebrates: Chinese New Year, Lantern Festival, Qingming Festival, Dragon Boat Festival, Mid-Autumn Festival, Chongyang Festival, Winter Solstice, and Laba Festival. Of the eight festivals, it turns out that only three were still widely understood by research subjects, namely Chinese New Year, Mid-Autumn Festival, and Qingming Festival. However, they felt that they still had Chinese identities when celebrating at least three types of festivals.

During the leadership of President Soeharto, all Chinese Indonesians were prohibited from celebrating all these festivals. However, the subjects of this study admitted that they still enjoyed this festival with their close family, not in a festive way, but secretly. As a result, they wanted their children to celebrate it continuously as much as possible and pass it on to the next generation. All research subjects saw that the celebration had positive values, especially to get to know the extended family, strengthen relationships, and transmit good values within the family.

Furthermore, all of the research subjects wished to continue the Chinese Cultural Festivals, at least they wanted to continue the celebration of the Chinese New Year. The reason was that most Indonesians, even though they are not Chinese Indonesians, still celebrate Chinese New Year. Thus, they did not feel that they were doing anything different from most other Indonesians.

Thirdly, not all participants had Chinese names—the formal name listed on their identity card is written in Indonesian or a Western name, however, most of them still had Chinese nicknames. As a result, they also gave their children Chinese names, even if they were merely nicknames. Giving the Chinese name is inseparable from the meaning since they were looking for meaningful names for their children's future. This tradition is similar to the research conducted by Lie & Bailey (2017), which stated that Chinese names have an essential meaning in Chinese-Indonesia's existence.

Nevertheless, a small number of participants stated that they did not give Chinese names to their children. There were four reasons behind this action. First, they thought they had given their children a name that had a good meaning even though it was not in Mandarin. Second, they did not have Chinese names, could not speak Mandarin, and had no experts in this language. So, they found it challenging to give Chinese names. Third, they had had unpleasant experiences with a Chinese name, so they did not want their children to have the same experience. Fourth, they read literature about the dire consequences of having a Chinese name; consequently, they did not give their children Chinese names.

Fourthly, many studies have examined the stereotypes of being a Chinese Indonesian. One of them was stated by Kuntjara & Hoon (2020), that the stereotype of Chinese Indonesians is "exclusive of the 'indigenous' social group; hardworking and industrial but frugal; and apolitical or lacking nationalistic spirit towards their 'host country,' Indonesia." The results of this study were in line with the above stereotypes but viewed from the positive side. The five highest values that research subjects wanted to construct for their children were being hard workers, respecting elders, having money management,

making friends with everyone, and daring to voice opinions. The result showed all research subjects taught hard work and respect for older people. The participants considered these two values as the central values that their children should have.

In addition, most research subjects also taught money management to their children, such as saving, buying according to needs and abilities, and some even teaching investment. This value did look close to the frugal stereotype but was not stingy. Almost all of the research subjects who chose to continue the value of money management came from lower-middle-income families or wealthy families but were previously in a state of not having much money. Therefore, they wanted to develop money management skills for their children.

Moreover, some research subjects wanted their children to make friends with everyone because it was one of the keys to success in the business world. However, they still provided a suitable environment for their children to maintain their Chinese identities. These parents usually determined the school according to their preferences. This practice seemed exclusive but hopefully allowed their children to develop to the fullest.

Furthermore, a small number of participants also instilled the courage to voice their opinions, even if their children could play a direct role in politics in the future. Therefore, this is contrary to the stereotypes of Chinese Indonesian that have existed so far. They expressed this courage because they experienced terrible situations and difficulties during the Soeharto era. As a result, they eagerly passed this courage on to their children so that later there would be Chinese Indonesians active in politics. This effort is likely necessary because the times are different, and opportunities are now open that allow Chinese Indonesians to have representatives in the political field. The research subjects intending to construct this value were parents who had dared to be involved in politics or been interested in politics.

Finally, some research subjects felt that passing on these values was not part of their Chinese identities. Their reason was that they considered these values to be universal that everyone, not just Chinese, should share. As a result, they considered that these values could not directly indicate their Chinese identity, so the research subjects placed them as a non-dominant factor.

### **Ethnic Prejudice**

Ethnic prejudice reinforces the desire to pass on Chinese identity to children. Therefore, the ethnic prejudices of all research subjects should be discussed before explaining the desire to build a Chinese identity. The study's results were in line with the results of Pettigrew & Meertens (1995). Two aspects that stood out were the threat and avoidance of close contact. In comparison, the other three aspects: exaggeration of cultural differences, the denial of positive emotion, and the defense of traditional values, did not affect the ethnic prejudice of all research subjects.

Regarding the threat, all research subjects had no fear that ethnic differences would interfere with their economic conditions. These parents were already aware that they had to create a money machine that did not depend on ethnic differences. This phenomenon was in line with the research results by Alonso, Navarro, Garrido, Moreno, and Valor (2020), which stated that there is a relationship between fear of threats to the economy and prosocial behavior. The higher the threat, the person would tend to behave anti-social. All subjects argued that there was no economic threat from different ethnicities.

Instead, they perceived physical threats as more dangerous. They knew that the ethnic majority could pose a physical threat to them. This fear is primarily shared by subjects who have felt threats during the 1998 ethnic riots.

In terms of avoidance of close contact, most participants were not bothered if different ethnic groups seemed reluctant to build closeness with them, particularly those with proper financial conditions. It

happened because they usually had friends and communities; therefore, they did not expect closeness with different ethnicities who did not have the same intention.

A few research subjects would feel disturbed if friends from different ethnicities were reluctant to build closeness because they were Chinese, mainly if they had to work together and communicate intensely on a job. The subjects of this study revealed that they did not mind if people of different ethnicities did not want to be friendly as long as they kept professional and enthusiastic teamwork.

#### **Desire to Construct Chinese Identities for Their children**

The findings showed that the status of the Chinese Indonesian parents was divided into two groups. The first group was the one who let the Chinese values develop naturally without their direct intervention in their children. Secondly, it was the group determined to construct these identities for their children. However, none of the subjects opposed their children having it. They did not make a direct effort to construct it. The number of parents who deliberately wanted to construct was much more significant than those letting it happen naturally.

Parents who did not attempt to directly construct Chinese identities believed it was a personal matter for their children. So, they chose not to direct anything and left it entirely to their children later. This study found four reasons the participants did not want to construct Chinese identities deliberately. First, they felt there was no difference between having Chinese identities and not having one. They could live well in Indonesia with their current condition and have never thought about Chinese identities.

Secondly, they have been having problems with their Chinese identities to some extent until now. They wanted to forbid their children from maintaining it because they did not want them to have the same problems. However, they did not dare forbid it because parts of their lives still maintained their Chinese identities. Consequently, they did nothing to construct their Chinese identities and let their children decide. Thirdly, they had experienced unpleasant problems because of their Chinese identities, but they had overcome them. As a result, they wanted to leave their children alone to decide whether to continue to have it or not. They did nothing until they could explain the advantages and disadvantages and then let their children decide.

Fourthly, they wanted to pass on only a part of their Chinese identities that they thought would not cause problems for their children. For example, they deliberately did not give Chinese names to their children because they felt that having a Chinese name would only bring harm since they had the unpleasant experience of having a Chinese name. However, they did not reject all Chinese identities. They still celebrated Chinese Cultural Festivals.

On the other hand, research subjects deliberately wanting to pass on Chinese identities to their children had five reasons. Firstly, to maintain the Chinese identities because they have received many benefits from owning them. They wanted their children to get the same benefits as they had experienced. For example, they were proficient in Mandarin; hence, they had many advantages by having this ability. As a result, they tried everything, including choosing a formal education for their children with Mandarin as part of the curriculum.

Secondly, they did not have many aspects of Chinese identities, but they knew the benefits of having Chinese identities. Something was likely missing when they did not have many proofs of their Chinese identities. As a result, they constructed them so that their children could get benefits that they could not. For example, these parents were not Mandarin experts, so they could not get many advantages from having these skills. Consequently, they encouraged their children to have Mandarin skills to get benefits that they did not achieve as Chinese.

Thirdly, they taught their children to love Indonesia while still having Chinese identities. They did this to defeat the stereotype that Chinese Indonesians were not interested in the nation or politics.



Therefore, they continued to pass it to their children while instilling a sense of love for Indonesia. Fourthly, they felt proud of their Chinese identities and motivated their children to have the same pride. With China's current economic strength coupled with China's prowess in many existing sports, China could be considered a proud country. As a result, there was a feeling of pride when associated with this country. However, they still wanted to be called Indonesian and embraced as Indonesian citizens. Fifthly, they wanted to continue their Chinese identities as ordered by their parents. Chinese identities were not a problem, so they had to preserve them constantly.

#### **How to Construct Chinese Identities for Their Children**

The subjects of this study constructed Chinese identities inline with the cultural socialization proposed by Aldoney, Kuhns, & Cabrera (2018), namely through teaching, preparation to bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism. In respect of teaching, three factors were taken by research subjects as concrete actions when teaching Chinese identities, namely by teaching directly, being an example, and providing an environment for their children to develop.

In terms of providing direct teaching, most of the research subjects did not do it structured. They only taught when they remember, following Katz (2003), who stated that parents usually do not teach directly about the right way to have cultural identities. On the other hand, parents instilling hatred provided direct lessons about that hatred. One example by Blee (2002) studied how racist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan structurally taught hatred to groups different from them from an early age.

In addition, Katz (2003) suggested that children learn a lot from indirect processes such as modeling and imitation. Children see many attitudes from their parents or adults and then imitate these attitudes. Some research subjects realized the need to be role models in constructing Chinese identities. They had to show behavior by what had been said so that their children would follow voluntarily. Others realized that they were an example, but they did nothing best yet as a role model.

Moreover, parents exert influence on their children when choosing an environment for their children. Katz (2003) explained that parents choose the world to grow for their children as a child, such as their friends and environment, the people they meet, and the TV broadcasts they can watch. In this case, the majority of the research subjects performed at least four actions. First, they invited their children to participate in events related to Chinese identities. The goal was that their children could see directly, not just listen to what they had been saying. Second, they went to Chinese-Indonesian communities in other places to get a different experience. Third, they choose schools with many Chinese students for their children to learn about Chinese identities from their friends. Fourth, they were actively involved in organizations such as their children's schools or Chinese communities to ensure these organizations had activities that supported the development of their children's Chinese identities.

In connection with preparation to bias, most of the research subjects tried to raise their children's awareness about discrimination. They had told several stories of discrimination they experienced. The goal was that their children could prepare themselves to be ready when experiencing discrimination.

Research subjects were feeling discriminated against until now. Unfortunately, their stories to their children stopped the discrimination they had experienced, despite telling their children how they fought them and survived. As a result, their children would feel that this discrimination could be defeated. Therefore, this might worsen children's view of being Chinese Indonesian. Parents should tell the whole story so their children can guide themselves on practical steps to defeat discrimination in similar situations.

Fortunately, most of the research subjects had succeeded in overcoming the discrimination that occurred to guide their children. On the other hand, a small proportion of research subjects still had bias and received intolerant treatments from other ethnicities, making it challenging to prepare their

children to live side-by-side with different ethnicities. Thus, the subjects hoped that their children would learn to deal with discrimination from their surroundings.

With regard to promotion of mistrust, all the subjects of this study taught their children to be alert when interacting with other ethnicities. They prepared their children to face distrust from friends of different ethnicities. The purpose of this action is acceptable, but they can unwittingly reduce their children's trust in other ethnicities.

Most of the study subjects had some good stories about their experiences with other ethnicities, although they also had some unpleasant experiences. This balanced point of view allowed them to tell a balanced story to their children. On the other hand, a small proportion of participants had more unpleasant experiences with other ethnicities; as a result, they were less likely to trust other ethnicities. As a result, they could inadvertently promote distrust of other ethnicities to their children.

Concerning egalitarianism, most research subjects were motivated to look more at a person's individual qualities than the stereotypes attached to certain ethnicities. It might allow their children to look more at their individual qualities than their ethnic stereotypes, where everyone within the ethnicity shares not all ethnic stereotypes. For example, not all Chinese Indonesians are stingy, and not all Javanese unlikely want to work hard. Each individual does have different qualities, regardless of their ethnicity.

In addition, a small number of study subjects avoided discussing ethnic issues with their children. They argued that their children would understand ethnic discrimination by themselves as they grow up. In contrast, most of the study subjects chose to discuss ethnic issues as soon as possible so that their children could prepare themselves immediately.

## **Conclusion**

The results of the study showed that all participants had a national identity, no one had a transnational identity. However, they did not structurally construct this national identity for their children because they felt that these children would automatically get the national identity from their school.

The results of the construction of national identity and Chinese identity can go hand in hand without harming either identity. In addition, none of the participants opposed their children having Chinese identities because they felt it did not conflict with being part of Indonesia. They gave freedom for the construction process of Chinese identities to occur naturally or intentionally to carry out the construction process. The number of participants who deliberately wanted to construct was much larger than those who let construction happen naturally. However, the results of this study did not focus on the results of the construction carried out on their children; therefore, further research is necessary to study the results from the children's point of view.

Understanding how Chinese Indonesian parents construct National identities and Chinese identities to their children may have implications for policymakers. These findings also contribute to the literature on how Chinese Indonesian parents are constructing Chinese identities. For instance, this study also showed that cultural socialization could also be applied to Chinese Indonesian parents. Thus, complementing the results of Aldoney, Kuhns, & Cabrera (2018), which stated that many similar studies only focus on African Americans and Latinos; subsequently, so little was known about cultural socialization in other ethnic groups.

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