

Constructing national identity and ethnic identity to children: A study case of Chinese Indonesian parents in Surabaya, Indonesia

Membangun identitas nasional dan identitas etnis pada anak: Studi kasus orang tua Tionghoa di Surabaya, Indonesia

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Abstract

Parents play an important role in their children's identity development, especially at the age of 8 to 13. Failure to form this identity will cause a negative impact on their children and others. This study examined 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 20 participants from Chinese Indonesian parents, aged 30 to 45 years old, who have children aged 8 to 13, living in Surabaya, Indonesia. The results showed that all participants had a national identity; none of them had a transnational identity. However, they did not structurally construct this identity because they felt their children would get that from school. The construction of national identity and Chinese identity could go conjointly without damaging either identity. None of them opposed their children having Chinese identities. They came from two groups: those allowing the construction to occur naturally and those carrying them deliberately. This study concludes emphasized the importance of parents' active involvement in the process of identity development so that their children could successfully balance themselves between having a national identity and ethnic identity.

Keywords: Chinese Indonesian parents; ethnic identity; national identity

Abstrak

Orang tua berperan penting dalam perkembangan identitas anak, terutama pada usia 8 hingga 13 tahun. Kegagalan pembentukan identitas ini akan berdampak negatif pada anak dan orang lain. Penelitian ini mengkaji orang tua Tionghoa dalam mengkonstruksi identitas nasional dan identitas Tionghoa bagi anak-anaknya. Pendekatan yang digunakan adalah metode kualitatif dengan menggunakan analisis tematik untuk menganalisis data. Penelitian ini menggunakan 20 partisipan dari orang tua Tionghoa, berusia 30 hingga 45 tahun, yang memiliki anak berusia 8 hingga 13 tahun, yang berdomisili di Surabaya, Indonesia. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa semua partisipan memiliki identitas nasional; tak satu pun dari mereka memiliki identitas transnasional. Namun, mereka tidak mengkonstruksi identitas ini secara struktural karena mereka merasa anak-anak mereka akan mendapatkannya dari sekolah. Konstruksi identitas nasional dan identitas Tionghoa dapat berjalan beriringan tanpa merusak kedua identitas tersebut. Tak satu pun dari mereka menentang anak-anak mereka memiliki identitas Tionghoa. Mereka terbagi menjadi dua kelompok: mereka yang membiarkan konstruksi terjadi secara alami dan mereka dengan sengaja melakukan konstruksi. Kesimpulan penelitian ini menekankan pentingnya keterlibatan aktif orang tua dalam proses pengembangan identitas agar anak-anaknya berhasil menyeimbangkan diri antara memiliki identitas nasional dan identitas etnis.

Kata kunci: orang tua Tionghoa; identitas etnis; identitas nasional

Introduction

Not having a sense of nationalism to Indonesian is one of the stereotypes of Chinese Indonesians associated with their ancestors who were considered immigrants. They assumed that Chinese Indonesians just wanted to do business, made profits, and did not think about Indonesia. Therefore, many conflicts occurred with ethnic Chinese Indonesians related to economic competition. Pelu & Purwanta (2020) on the conflict in Solo between the Javanese and the Chinese Indonesian stated that most of the conflicts

were caused by economic competition which resulted in social disappointment and jealousy among the Javanese ethnic groups towards the Chinese Indonesian.

Furthermore, Chinese Indonesian were assumed to firmly maintain their ethnic identities. They tried their best to pass on to their children their Chinese identities. Correspondingly, there was an assumption that Chinese Indonesians were exclusive and seemed to only want to associate with the same ethnicity. Lubis & Buana (2020) who examined the prejudice between the Chinese Indonesian and Muslims in Medan found that conflicts occur because each party still retains its ethnic identities and does not want to understand the culture of other ethnic groups. In addition, Chinese Indonesian parents were also considered to be more dominant in inheriting ethnic identities than national identity so their children seemed exclusive to their ethnicity and had weak national identity.

Parents play an important role in the process of their children's identity development, especially at the age of 8 to 13. Failure to form this identity will cause a negative impact on their children and others. (Pollock & Van Reken 2009, Hoersting & Jenkins 2011). False-negative assumptions about Chinese Indonesian can become a reality if the process of identity development is disrupted. Therefore, parents should be actively involved in forming the identity of their children.

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 identities 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 et al. (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 et al. (2016) on the role of parents in influencing their children's attitudes towards ethnic differences strengthens this opinion.

On the other hand, parents also have a national identity that shows a sense of pride in 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 et al. 2013). Transnational identity considers the country from which they come is more valuable than the country in which they live.

Accordingly, sometimes when constructing ethnic identities, 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 identities for their children. This study only focused on the parents' side so it did not look at the impact on children of the construction carried out by their parents.

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This study addresses two main research questions: (1) How do Chinese Indonesian parents construct a national identity for their children? (2) How do Chinese Indonesian parents construct Chinese identities for their children? This research was conducted to find out that the Chinese Indonesian ethnicity has an Indonesian national identity and not a Chinese one. Moreover, this study explored the parent's efforts to construct Chinese identities for their children. In addition, this study also observed the methods used by Chinese Indonesian parents in passing down their national identity and ethnic identities to their children.

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 identities 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 conducted the same study but for Javanese ethnicity.

Research Method

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. The questions gave 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 the 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.

The participants were Chinese Indonesian parents, aged 30 to 45 years, who have children aged 8 to 13 years, living in Surabaya, Indonesia. This parental age range was chosen because parents at this age usually have children less than 14 years old. Children develop knowledge for cultural identity formation, such as the critical societal rules, norms, and behaviors appropriate to their cultural environment between the ages of 14 and 18 (Phinney 1990). Therefore, it is necessary to know children's perspectives before that age range to strengthen forming cultural identities. In terms of exploration, the number of cultures introduced to children will influence the formation of children's identities. This influence will be negative when these children do not yet have a dominant culture (Pollock & Van Reken 2009). Hoersting and Jenkins (2011) stated that these children could experience "*cultural homelessness*" in multiple cultural frameworks before 14. Correspondingly, this study focused on parents having children aged 8-13 years.

Parents are selected through a purposive and snowball strategy. After 20 participants, there was saturation of data, where additional participants repeated the same answers as the previous one so that the data collection process was stopped. The participants could 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.

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" (Braun & Clarke 2006). This data analysis technique has been proven effective in identifying themes that emerge from qualitative data, such as interview transcripts emphasizing the individual understanding of experiences in real-life situations (Liu 2015, Liu et al. 2019).

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 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 steps 1 and 2. After all of the data was coded, each related code would be included in one pattern/theme. These processes 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 to make it easier to conclude.

To maintain confidentiality, each data will be assigned a number and an initial name, instead of the participant's name, for the key to access.

Results and Discussion

The results and discussion of this research are divided into five sections, one section related to national identity and four sections related to ethnic identities.

National identity

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

There were various discriminatory experiences from the participants. For example, difficulties when dealing with bureaucracy. Some admitted to being asked for more than the written standard. Moreover, some find it difficult to complete administrative tasks if they do it themselves, so they ask for help from insiders. Then, some participants were discriminated against when enrolling in public universities in Surabaya when they were young "Chinese people will not be able to enter public schools".

Furthermore, they were treated unfairly when they made mistakes. When they experience a car crash, people around them attribute their physical characteristics to them and say "You are of Chinese descent, don't run away from it. It's your responsibility". The crowd seemed to want to beat him, even though he wanted to be responsible, not run away. This participant emphasized that Chinese Indonesians should not do anything wrong because if they did something wrong, the punishment would be bigger than usual just because they were Chinese Indonesian.

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However, despite all these unpleasant experiences, all participants still feel like Indonesians. 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 really 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 participants 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 but 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 identities and traditions can develop well in Indonesia. They can feel a shift in Chinese identities and traditions, 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. 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. One of the most prominent is respecting parents and elders. In fact, many believe that listening intently and taking parental advice is a major obligation as a child. Furthermore, children must still respect their parents even though they are adults or even married. "Actually, there is no significant difference between the wishes of Chinese and Javanese parents. Everyone wants to be respected by their children" (Informant HER). Accordingly, the acculturation between these two cultures was not much different, so the research subjects did not feel that they were culturally different from the majority ones.

The results of this study indicated that all participants had a national identity. This result was in line with the research conducted by Suryani et al. (2019) who examined Chinese Indonesian Students in Jakarta and stated that national identity was stronger than ethnic identities among young people.

Although all parents felt they had a national identity, they believed there was no need to specifically construct a national identity for their children. However, some of them admitted that they invited their children to actively support Indonesian athletes who competed for both life and on television. They also gave full support when their children had responsibility for raising the flag at school. In fact, some participants emphasized that one of the considerations in selecting children's schools was the existence of nationalism activities, such as flag ceremonies and singing national songs. Their parents did not try to construct a national identity for them, as well, but children could develop it from school and their friends. Therefore, they also let their children acquire a strong national identity from other sources.

The results of this study are the same as those produced by Supratiknya (2021) who stated that 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 in 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 Mandarin. They did not demand their children to master it fluently because some research subjects could not speak 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. One of the advantages of being able to speak Mandarin is the opportunity to collaborate with foreigners in other countries, not only in China. Moreover, they can study for free in China or Taiwan as well as have many friends from other countries.

Secondly, 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. Correspondingly, 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 Western name, however, most of them still had Chinese nicknames. Resultantly, 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-Indonesian 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.

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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. Accordingly, 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 and that everyone, not just the Chinese, should share. Consequently, they considered that these values could not directly indicate their Chinese identities, so the research subjects placed them as a non-dominant factor.

Ethnic prejudice

Ethnic prejudice reinforces the desire to pass on Chinese identities to children. Therefore, the ethnic prejudices of all research subjects should be discussed before explaining the desire to build Chinese identities. 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. "My experience so far has shown that blessings come from God so no need to fear. As long as we did good things then the money would come and we would lack nothing" (Informant RAT) "Nowadays, we did not see what ethnicity was in making money" (Informant NAN). "It did not matter if we were ethnically different. We did not want to harm other people. Instead, we played a big role in supporting many families" (Informant AGO).

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 et al. (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: “The year 1998 was a dark period for the Chinese Indonesian. My uncle’s shop in Jakarta was looted and burned. There was a family who died too” (Informant HER). “My high school friend died because his shop was burned down” (Informant BEN); “In Surabaya, I saw several shops being looted” (Informant AGO).

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. Here were some examples of reasons provided by the participants: “The relationship goes both ways. Both parties must want to be friends. I have many friends who are Javanese and Muslim” (Informant RIA); “I could not force people who did not want to be my friends just because we were not from the same ethnic” (Informant YON); “It was up to people not wanting to be my friend. Most importantly, I took care not to discriminate against others” (Informant HER).

A few participants would feel disturbed if friends from different ethnicities were reluctant to build closeness because they were Chinese Indonesian, 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

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 it. “It would not be a problem without Chinese identities because we lived in Indonesia. The important thing was to be a good Indonesian citizen” (Informant FEL). “No need to have a Chinese name. It would make us difficult in the future” (Informant YON).

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 it and let their children decide.

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Thirdly, they had experienced unpleasant problems because of their Chinese identities, but they had overcome them. Resultantly, 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. "I have one child who wants to learn Mandarin after I explained the pros and cons of Mandarin proficiency. My other two children were not interested. I did not force children who were not interested in learning it" (Informant JON).

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 it. However, they did not reject all Chinese identities. They still celebrated Chinese Cultural Festivals.

On the other hand, research subjects deliberately wanted 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. Consequently, 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. Accordingly, 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. Correspondingly, 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.

Constructing Chinese identities

The subjects of this study constructed Chinese identities in line with the cultural socialization proposed by Aldoney et al. (2018), namely through teaching, preparation for 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.

"I did not specifically teach it, only at certain times or in special events such as approaching the Lunar New Year celebration. My explanation was usually only 1-2 times of celebration, afterward, the child understood and did not ask again" (Informant BER).

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. "Children usually follow their parents. When parents go to their grandparents' house and celebrate, they automatically will also come" (Informant SUS). "In fact, the children felt happy during the celebration because they met all of their cousins and got red packets from grandparents, aunts, and uncles. Consequently, they looked forward to the following year's celebration" (Informant MIR). Second, they went to some Chinese (Indonesian) communities in other places to get a different experience. "I take my children to other countries to see how other countries celebrate Chinese New Year" (Informant HER).

Third, they choose schools with many Chinese Indonesian students for their children to learn about Chinese identities from their friends. "To be honest, one of my considerations for choosing a school was the number of Mandarin lessons. My children's school had 6 hours of Mandarin lessons. Moreover, the majority of students at that school are Chinese Indonesian so I feel more comfortable" (Informant RIN).

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 for bias, most of the research subjects tried to raise their children's awareness of discrimination. They had told several stories of discrimination that 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 at the discrimination they had experienced, despite telling their children how they fought them and survived. Consequently, 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.

"I set an example for my children to have the courage to speak up and fight it if they are treated unfairly. For example, in 2007, I faced difficulty getting a new ID card when I moved to one place in Surabaya. I was asked for SBKRI even though the document should not be used anymore. I recorded the incident and reported it to the Council Member" (Informant RIA).

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.

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Regarding the 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.

"Once my children asked me why as parents, I didn't give them Mandarin names. Whereas other ethnic groups, such as the Batak, still have names with their Batak clans. I told them the truth. The reason was that Indonesia's political conditions were uncondusive to Chinese Indonesians. Hence, they protested because they felt they were being treated unfairly" (Informant BEN).

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; accordingly, they were less likely to trust other ethnicities. Correspondingly, they could inadvertently promote distrust of other ethnicities in their children. "We did not need to be too close than hurt" (Informant HER).

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. "There were a lot of good people, regardless of their ethnicity" (Informant BER).

"I teach my children to be kind to other people regardless of differences. A simple example is when they are waiting to be served when buying a satay at a stall, try to smile at those who are also queuing there, whoever they are" (Informant JON).

"I have some good female friends who are Javanese and Muslim (wearing the hijab). The first time my kids saw our photos eating together on my Instagram, they asked, 'who are they, why are they wearing headgear' and so on. I explained to them to be friends regardless of differences" (Informant RIA).

Most of the study subjects chose to discuss ethnic issues as soon as possible so that their children could prepare themselves immediately. In contrast, a small number of study subjects avoided discussing ethnic issues with their children. They argued that their children would understand ethnic discrimination themselves as they grow up. "I did not feel qualified to talk about ethnic discrimination with my children" (Informant RAT). "I was afraid I did not have the right answers when my children asked me about ethnic discrimination" (Informant LEE). "I felt my children under 14 were not quite ready to talk about related ethnicity issues" (Informant SUS).

The tendency of parents to delay discussing ethnic issues with their children was in line with the results of a study conducted by Sullivan et al. (2021) which stated that parents often judged that their children were not ready to discuss ethnic issues. Especially for the ethnic minority, parents would immediately discuss it as soon as they felt their children were ready.

Conclusion

Parents have a dominant role in the formation of identity when children are aged 8 to 13 years. On the one hand, some Chinese Indonesian parents are aware of this perspective so they are actively involved in forming national identity and ethnic identities. On the other hand, some others are less aware of their important role so they are more likely not to be involved directly. They seem to give the role of forming these identities to other parties such as the school environment and the circle of friends. This is inseparable from the children who start spending more time at school and in their communities.

This research was different from previous research because it connected the construction of national identity and ethnic identities with parents in Surabaya who have children aged 8-13 years where identity development was taking place. By taking participants from parents who have children aged 8 to 13 years, this study was expected to be able to explore the influence of parents deeply, in the most crucial phase in the children's identity development. The results of this study emphasized the importance of parents' active involvement in the process of identity development so that their children could successfully balance themselves between having a national identity and ethnic identity.

This study's result is expected to be implemented by policymakers to gain a better understanding as well as to strengthen inter-ethnic relations in Surabaya. For example, the result can be used as a basis for providing socialization to parents regarding methods for constructing national identity without eliminating ethnic identities.

Moreover, this result is expected to enrich existing research on Chinese Indonesian and contribute to the literature on how Chinese Indonesian parents are constructing national identity and Chinese identities, especially in Surabaya. However, the results of this study did not focus on the results of the construction carried out on their children; therefore, further research from the children's point of view is necessary to be conducted.

Additionally, further research can be carried out for Chinese Indonesian parents by taking locations in cities other than Surabaya. Furthermore, a similar study can be carried out for research subjects from an ethnic majority such as Javanese in cities in Central Java, Sundanese in cities in West Java, and the like.

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