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Racial Socialization in Two Cultures

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Abstract. The study of racial socialization is important because it expands the scope of past research on African American, Hispanic, or Asian people in the United States. The goal of this paper is to examine the differences of parent racial socialization in Malaysia and Indonesia (especially in Surabaya). The present study investigated whether the practice of four types of parental racial socialization are reflected in a sample of 400 parents (Malay Malaysians, Chinese Malaysians, Javanese in Surabaya, and Chinese in Surabaya). Parent racial socialization was assessed using yes or no answers to questions related to socialization practice in a family. Results indicated that no differences between father's and mother's racial socialization of all subjects. Based on ethnicity, there were significant differences which Malay Malaysia parents have highest score emphasizing racial pride and promotion of mistrust for their children. Implication will be discussed.

Keywords: racial socialization, parent, ethnic.

Abstrak. Studi sosialisasi rasial penting karena meluaskan liputan penelitian terhadap masyarakat Afrika Amerika, Hispanik, atau Asia di Amerika Serikat. Tujuan artikel ini adalah meneliti perbedaan sosialisasi rasial orang tua di Malaysia dan Indonesia (terutama di Surabaya). Studi ini menginvestigasi apakah praktik empat jenis sosialisasi rasial orang tua terefleksi dalam sampel sejumlah 400 orang tua (Melayu Malaysia, China Malaysia, Jawa Surabaya, dan China Surabaya). Sosialisasi rasial orang tua dinilai berdasarkan jawaban ya atau tidak terhadap pertanyaan terkait praktik sosialisasi dalam keluarga. Hasil menunjukkan tak adanya perbedaan antara sosialisasi rasial bapak dan ibudari semua subjek. Berdasarkan etnik, terdapat perbedaan yang bermaknadenagan Melayu Malaysia menunjukkan skor paling tinggi yang menekankan kebanggaan rasial dan promosikecurigaan untuk anaknya. Dibahas implikasi dari hasil temuan ini.

Kata kunci: sosialisasi rasial, orang tua, etnik

According to Coppel (2004), Indonesia's motto (*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*) like that of the United States (*E pluribus unum*), suggests a multicultural unity in diversity appropriate to such a large nation comprising hundreds of ethnic groups (*suku bangsa*). Not every ethnic group has been treated in the same way, however. Ethnic Chinese Indonesians have been classified as people of foreign descent (*keturunan asing*) rather than as a *sukubangsa*, although

many peranakan Chinese families have been settled in Indonesia for centuries and have indigenous as well as Chinese ancestry. Why was it so difficult for peranakan Chinese to gain acceptance as Indonesians? Until this news was written, there were some Chinese in Surabaya, who had problem about citizen's status, they had no Identity Card, so they are called stateless (Apriliananda, 2007). Partha Chatterjee (Coppel, 2004) has written that nationalist thought in the Third World in its attitudes to the ethnic Chinese, has been heavily influenced by the policies and mentality of the Dutch colonial government. Even though Indonesian Chinese speak Indonesian language and are not able to communicate in any Chinese language, Indonesian Chinese are not regarded as one of the ethnic groups in Indonesia, so that Chinese do not feel "at home" in Indonesia. This is different from immigrant of Iban

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ethnic origin in Sarawak Malaysia and Malay origin in Paninsular Malaysia who are in the same position but are not regarded as immigrants. In Malaysia ethnic relations is seen as “coacting rather than interacting” (Yusof, 2006) i.e. Malaysia from all ethnic groups are willing to accept each other but prefer to do their everyday activities within their own ethnic groups, hence the prejudice among various races.

Prejudice, according to Augoustinos, Walker & Donaghue (2006) is a destructive permanent and continuous social problem. Prejudice is a prejudgment about something, persons or things without evidence. A prejudiced person forms his opinion or grade on other persons or things without any experience with those individuals or things.

The definition of prejudice was first proposed by Allport (1954) in his book *The Nature of prejudice*. According to him, “prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole or toward an individual because he is a member of that group” (Allport 1954).

Children become linguistically and culturally competent members of their community through interactions with caregivers and other more competent members of their community (Ochs & Schiefellin, 1984 and Schiefellin & Ochs, 1986, cited in Park, 2003). Through this language socialization, children learn the behaviors that are culturally appropriate in their community. Racial socialization refers to the means through which “parents shape children’s learning about their own race and about relations between ethnic groups” (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). One reason why research on racial socialization is important is because it illuminates the ways in which socio-cultural factors are manifested in the family life of children. Parents not only face child rearing demands that are common to all parents, but also demands that are unique to their socio-cultural group, given its history and position as a disadvantaged minority in the larger social structure. Marshall (Briscoe, 2003) explained that ethnic socialization entails the intergenerational transmission (from parent or guardian to child) of certain messages and patterns that relate to personal and group identity, relationships between and within ethnic groups and the ethnic group identity.

There were many previous studies about racial socialization but limited to minority ethnic, Africa-

Americans (Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor & Allen, 1990; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Quintana, English & Ybarra, 1999; Romero, Cuéllar & Roberts, 2000; Cheng & Kuo, 2000; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Caughy, O’Campo, Randolph & Nickerson, 2002; Briscoe, 2003; Quintana, Chao, Cross, Hughes, Gall, Aboud, Grau, Hudley, Liben, & Vietze, 2006; McHale, Crouter, Kim, Burton, Davis, Dotterer, & Swanson, 2006; Caughy, O’Campo, Nettles, & Lohrfink, 2006; Hughes, Smith, Stevenson, Rodrigues, Johnson, Spicer, 2006). Racial socialization has not yet become a familiar research topic in Malaysia and Indonesia (Surabaya). Although Chinese people’s situation in Malaysia and Indonesia (Surabaya) is different from that of Africa-American people, it is interesting to know about the real condition of racial socialization among Chinese people in Malaysia and Indonesia (Surabaya) The goal of this study is to know racial socialization between parents in Malaysia and Surabaya, especially Malay, Javanese, and Chinese.

Method

Participants

The participants in this study were 400 parents (100 Malay Malaysian parents, 100 Chinese Malaysian parents, 100 Javanese parents in Surabaya, 100 Chinese parents in Surabaya), who have children 5-6 years old or 10-11 years old.

Materials

The questionnaire was developed from Briscoe (2003) which described four areas of content within racial socialization, i.e. (a) Cultural socialization is the most studied aspect of racial socialization. It included the emphasizing of racial pride, traditions, practices, and history. These communications and practices are geared toward maintaining cultural traditions and instilling pride; (b) Egalitarian behavior is promoted through parent’s encouragement of appreciation of values and experiences of all ethnic groups. The goal of this type of racial socialization may be to raise “race neutral children.” (c) The promotion of awareness of racial prejudice and discrim-

mination falls under the category of preparation for bias. This preparation may serve a protective function whereby parents not only warn children of the bias they will encounter but also give them coping strategies to defend themselves from such bias and discrimination; (d) Such promotion of mistrust can be fostered when parents warn a child of prejudice and discrimination but do not incorporate strategies for coping with such bias. Parents may discourage children from interacting with different racial groups, promoting fear, and mistrust of other groups. The questions from the four dimensions are:

Cultural socialization. (a) Do you tell your children about your ethnicity in a daily communication? (b) Do you remind your children of your ethnic tradition? (c) Do you ask your children to be proud of our ethnic? (d) As the children grow, have you ever read books which told about successful people from the same ethnicity? (e) Have you ever asked your children to sing together a song in your ethnic language? (f) In the daily communication, do you use your ethnic language? (g) Do you habituate your children to eat your ethnic food? (h) Do you habituate your children to celebrate your ethnic celebration day? (i) Do you habituate your children to call their relatives with an ethnic name call?

The egalitarian behavior. (a) Have you ever told your children about the other ethnics? (b) Have you ever recognized your children about the other's ethnic tradition? (c) Do you teach your children to respect the other's ethnic tradition? (d) As the children grow, have you ever read books which told about successful people from the other ethnics? (e) Do you habituate your children to eat the other food besides our ethnic food? (f) Do you habituate your children to learn the other language besides our ethnic language?

Preparation for bias. (a) Have you ever told your children that your ethnicity is different from the others, so the children can prepare themselves if they experience a bad case because of their ethnicity? (b) Have you ever talked in your same ethnic group about the other's ethnic specification (bad or good) and you believed that your children heard your communication? (c) Have you ever given information to your children that someday they will experience a bad case with the other ethnic group? (d) Have you ever experienced a bad case with the other ethnic group, so you said a bad word (mention his ethnic) to him in front of your children?

Promotion of mistrust. (a) Have you ever internalized mistrust feeling to the other ethnic? (b) Have you ever inhibited your children to play together with the other ethnic group? (c) Have you ever told your children to be careful if they have to interact with the other ethnic group? (d) Have you ever informed your children not to buy anything at the other's ethnic shop?

This questionnaire was assessed using yes or no answers because in Malaysia and Indonesia (Surabaya), many parents are not accustomed with filling in or answering questions in written format.

Procedure

This study is part of a doctoral research program; hence the researcher is helped by 20 assistants in Malaysia and 20 assistants in Surabaya. Every assistant took one family consisting of a father, a mother, and one son or daughter; only the father and mother became the subjects. The participants came from many areas in Malaysia, i.e. Selangor, Pahang, Kedah, Perak, Johor, Kelantan, Terengganu, and Kota Kinabalu, and from various areas, i.e. northern, southern, eastern, and western parts of Surabaya.

Results

There are no differences in racial socialization between father and mother; on the other hand, significant differences exist between the four ethnic groups, including significant differences for all culture socialization of the four ethnic groups (see Table 1).

There are significant differences for all dimensions of Malay Malaysian and Chinese Malaysians, also Javanese in Surabaya and Chinese in Surabaya (see Table 2).

There are significant differences of all items of Cultural Socialization between ethnic groups (see Table 3). Almost all parents from Malay Malaysian socialize their culture to their children. There are three items (6, 8, & 9) which show no differences between parents from Malay Malaysian with Chinese Malaysian, because usually they use their ethnic language, celebrate their ethnic celebration day, and call their relatives with ethnic name call. On the other hand, parents from Chinese in Surabaya do

Table 1
Anova of Racial Socialization by Racial/Ethnic Group

	Cultural socialization			Egalitarian behavior			Preparation for bias			Promotion of mistrust			Total
	M	SD	F	M	SD	F	M	SD	F	M	SD	F	F
Parent													
Father	6.69	2.10	1.13	4.17	1.50	1.18	2.41	1.3	1.61	3.23	0.97	0.60	4.945
Mother	6.84	1.96		4.28	1.43		2.53	1.22		3.28	0.94		
Ethnic													
MM	8.41	0.89		3.99	1.70		1.95	1.17		2.76	1.13		
JS	6.16	2.05	142.89**	4.10	1.40	6.77	2.80	1.14	20.54	3.58	0.77	29.05	21.01
CM	7.28	1.25		4.20	1.47	**	2.73	1.19	**	3.34	0.82	**	**
CS	5.21	2.06		4.60	1.19		2.41	1.33		3.35	0.88		

**F is significant at 0.01 levels.

MM - Malay Malaysian

JS - Javanese in Surabaya

CM - Chinese Malaysian

CS - Chinese in Surabaya

Table 2
Post Hoc Tests by Racial/Ethnic Group

Ethnic	Cultural socialization	Egalitarian behavior	Preparation for bias	Promotion of mistrust
	Mean difference	Mean difference	Mean difference	Mean difference
MM – CM	1.12*	- 0.21	- 0.79*	- 0.58*
MM – JS	2.25*	- 0.11	- 0.85*	- 0.82*
MM – CS	3.21*	- 0.61*	- 0.46*	- 0.59*
CM – JS	1.13*	0.11	- 0.07	- 0.24*
CM – CS	2.09*	- 0.40*	0.33	- 0.01
JS – CS	0.96*	- 0.51*	0.39*	0.23*

*Significant at 0.05 level, data analyzed using Tamhane’s T2 because equal variances not assumed.

Note: MM – Malay Malaysian; CM – Chinese Malaysian; JS – Javanese in Surabaya; CS – Chinese in Surabaya

not habituate their children to use their ethnic language. Compare with parents from Malaysia (Malay and Chinese), parents from Surabaya (Javanese and Chinese) showed less enthusiasm to socialize their culture to their children.

There are significant differences of all items of Egalitarian Behavior between ethnic groups (see Table 4). Only item number five shows no differences for parents from four ethnic groups. This means almost all parents habituate their children to eat the other food besides their ethnic food.

There are significant differences among three items of Preparation for Bias between ethnic groups (see Table 5). Only item number 4 shows there is no significant difference. This means parents seldom said a bad word to someone from the other ethnic (mention

his ethnic) in front of their children, although they have experienced a bad case with that ethnic. Compared with the other ethnic group, more parents from Malay Malaysian prepare their children for bias, like telling their children that their ethnic is different with the other ethnic, so the children can prepare themselves if they experience a bad case because of their ethnicity. Based on this items there is a significant difference between Javanese in Surabaya parents and Chinese in Surabaya parents.

There are significant differences among three items of Promotion of Mistrust (see Table 6). Almost all parents of four ethnic groups let their children to play together with the other ethnic group. There are no differences in all items in Promotion of Mistrust between parents of Chinese Malaysians

Table 3
Cultural Socialization Item's Response Differences Between Ethnic Groups

		Cultural Socialization's Items																	
		1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9	
F-score		10.81**		15.49**		50.41**		48.67**		35.06**		201.62**		64.14**		19.97**		8.33**	
Post-hoc test (Tamhane's T2)	EG	MD	EG	MD	EG	MD	EG	MD	EG	MD	EG	MD	EG	MD	EG	MD	EG	MD	
	a	-.21*	a	-.11*	a	-.15*	a	-.17*	A	-.38*	A	-.04	a	-.05*	a	-.01	a	-.02	
	b	-.24*	b	-.14*	b	-.36*	b	-.30*	B	-.33*	B	-.33*	b	-.32*	b	-.13*	b	-.11*	
	c	-.19*	c	-.21*	c	-.44*	c	-.54*	C	-.44*	C	-.74*	c	-.43*	c	-.16*	c	-.07*	
	d	-.04	d	-.04*	d	-.21*	d	-.14*	D	.05	D	-.29*	d	-.27*	d	-.12*	d	-.09*	
	e	.02	e	-.10*	e	-.30*	e	-.37*	E	-.06	E	-.7*	e	-.38*	e	-.15*	e	-.05	
	f	.05	f	.04	f	-.09	f	-.24*	F	.11	F	-.41*	f	-.12	f	-.03	f	.04	

Notes

EG Ethnic group a MM – CM c MM – CS e CM – CS
 MD Mean difference b MM – JS d CM – JS f JS – CS

*Significant at 0.05 level

Table 4
Egalitarian Behavior Item's Response Differences Between Ethnic Groups

		Egalitarian Behavior's Items											
		1		2		3		4		5		6	
F-score		11.17**		3.86**		14.24**		4.57**		2.92*		14.68**	
Post-hoc test (Tamhane's T2)	EG	MD	EG	MD	EG	MD	EG	MD	EG	MD	EG	MD	
	a	-0.19*	a	0.09	a	0.19*	a	0.11	a	0.06	A	-0.06	
	b	-0.14*	b	0.04	b	0.12*	b	-0.07	b	0.02	B	0.15*	
	c	0.05	c	0.16*	c	0.21*	c	-0.03	c	0.08	C	-0.15*	
	d	0.05	d	-0.05	d	-0.08*	d	-0.18*	d	-0.05	D	0.21*	
	e	0.24*	e	0.08	e	0.02	e	-0.14*	e	0.02	E	0.21*	
	f	0.19*	f	0.13	f	0.09*	f	0.04	f	0.0	F	0.00	

EG Ethnic group a MM – CM c MM – CS e CM – CS
 b MM – JS d CM – JS f JS – CS

MD Mean difference

*Significant at 0.05 level

also Javanese in Surabaya and Chinese in Surabaya. Only the fourth item shows that many parents from Malay Malaysian said “yes” than the other ethnic groups, i.e. they informed children not to buy something at the other's ethnic shop.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to know the significant differences about racial socialization between four ethnics and the data supported that there are racial

socialization differences in Malay Malaysian, Chinese Malaysian, Javanese in Surabaya, and Chinese in Surabaya. Almost all four ethnic groups deliver cultural socialization for their children, hoping their children could be proud of with their ethnic identity.

Compared with parents from Malaysia (Malay and Chinese), parents from Surabaya (Javanese and Chinese) showed indifference to socialize their culture to their children. As Coppel (2004) said that many Chinese in Surabaya speak Indonesian language and are not able to communicate in any Chinese language; Chinese in Surabaya were not allo-

Table 5
Preparation for Bias Item's Response Differences Between Ethnic Groups

		Preparation for Bias' Items							
		1		2		3		4	
F-score		34.18**		9.10**		11.65**		1.34	
Post-hoc test (Tamhane's T2)	EG	MD	EG	MD	EG	MD	EG	MD	
	a	-.43*	a	-.24*	a	-.15*	a	.02	
	b	-.39*	b	-.20*	b	-.28*	b	.01	
	c	-.33*	c	-.14*	c	-.07	c	.07	
	d	.04	d	.04	d	-.13*	d	-.02	
	e	.10	e	.10	e	.08	e	.05	
	f	.06	f	.06	f	.21*	f	.07	

Notes

EG Ethnic group a MM – CM c MM – CS e CM – CS
 b MM – JS d CM – JS f JS – CS

MD Mean difference

*Significant at 0.05 level

Table 6
Promotion of Mistrust Item's Response Differences Between Ethnic Groups

		Promotion of Mistrust's items							
		1		2		3		4	
F-score		10.80**		1.62		6.47**		75.60**	
Post-hoc test (Tamhane's T2)	EG	MD	EG	MD	EG	MD	EG	MD	
	a	-0.15*	a	-0.02	a	-0.07	a	-0.35*	
	b	-0.19*	b	-0.05	b	-0.21*	b	-0.37*	
	c	-0.11*	c	-0.01	c	-0.09	c	-0.39*	
	d	-0.04	d	-0.04	d	-0.14*	d	-0.03	
	e	0.04	e	0.01	e	0.02	e	-0.05	
	f	0.08	f	0.05	f	0.13	f	-0.02	

Notes

EG Ethnic group a MM – CM c MM – CS e CM – CS
 b MM – JS d CM – JS f JS – CS

MD Mean difference

*Significant at 0.05 level

wed to celebrate Chinese New Year at the Suharto period and they have to use Indonesian names, beside also a citizenship certificate (SBKRI – *Surat Bukti Kewarganegaraan Republik Indonesia*). These conditions are not experienced by Chinese Malaysian i.e. they can adopt Chinese names, speak Chinese language, and have the same position with the other ethnics. Some of the Chinese in Surabaya didn't have Chinese identity, yet they are still con-

fused because they are not accepted completely as Indonesian citizens.

In Indonesia, schools are divided based on private organizations for educational purposes, either by religious organizations such as Islamic, Christian, or Catholic Education Foundation, or the national educational organizations (Pelly, 2004). In Malaysia, schools are divided based on national educational purposes, either by ethnicity such as

Malay, Chinese, or Tamil, or international educational organizations. Based on this reason, in Malaysia, Chinese or Tamil people can develop their ethnic identity and national identity as Malaysia citizens. In Indonesia, especially in schools which are managed by religious organizations such as Christian or Catholic, most of Chinese students only know that they are Indonesian citizens not Chinese.

It is quite interesting that Malay Malaysian parents had more differences than Chinese Malaysian, Javanese in Surabaya, and Chinese in Surabaya to socialize the culture socialization, preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust. It means Malay Malaysian parents more often give racial socialization to their children in order to make their children proud of with their ethnic identity and not easily influenced by the other ethnics. Almost all parents let children play together with children from the other ethnic and habituate their children to eat the other food besides their ethnic food. These results could be used to further research, such as exploring the relation between parental racial socialization and children's prejudice.

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