

Ethnic Identity and Ethnic Prejudice in Children: A Comparative Study of the Three Cities in Indonesia

Dyan Evita Santi¹, Suryanto² and M. G. Bagus Ani Putra²

¹*Faculty of Psychology, University of 17 August 1945 Surabaya*

^{2,3}*Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Airlangga*

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Abstract: This study aims to see the relationship between ethnic identity and children's ethnic prejudice against Chinese in 3 cities Bangkalan, Yogyakarta and Medan. The population in this study comprised children aged 11-14 years. The data was collected in Islamic schools and public schools from a total of 173 children in Bangkalan, 132 in Jogjakarta and 148 in Medan. The results concluded that Bangkalan and Jogjakarta showed similar results in that there was a negative relationship between ethnic identity and a child's ethnic prejudice. This means that the higher the ethnic identity associated with the child's understanding of who he/she is, the stronger the emotional ties and beliefs, and the stronger the commitment to the group, the higher the child's ethnic prejudice and vice versa. While Medan showed different results in that there is no relationship between ethnic identity and a child's ethnic prejudice against Chinese.

1 INTRODUCTION

Almost all societies today are multicultural. Indonesia as the one of the multicultural countries divided into two major groups namely indigenous ethnic groups such as Javanese, Sundanese, Batak, Minang and immigrant ethnic groups such as Indian, Arabic, European (representing Portuguese and Dutch) as well as ethnic Chinese. Especially, the Chinese, after the independence of Indonesian, are classified as one of the tribes within the national scope of Indonesia, in accordance with Article 2 of Law No. 12/2006 regarding the Citizenship of the Republic of Indonesia. According to Lubis (1995), Indonesia as a multicultural country, could potentially lead to disharmony and inter-ethnic conflict. This will lead to disintegration and conflict latency, so it could threaten the unity of the nation.

One of the most frequent ethnic conflicts in Indonesia over the years has particularly occurred with the Chinese in relation to indigenous and non-indigenous dictatorships. In the Dutch colonial period, the indigenous was used as the Malay term for Inlanders, one of the Dutch Indies population groups originating from indigenous tribes of the archipelago. Therefore, Indonesians of Chinese, Indian, Arab, European or mixed descent are often

classified as non-indigenous even though several generations have been born in Indonesia. However, the grouping in practice was often racist, because there was discrimination. Therefore, when Indonesia was led by President BJ Habibie, Presidential Instruction No. 26/1998 was issued which abolished the use of the term indigenous and non-indigenous. In the era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono Presidential Decree no. 12/2014 was issued on the change of the Chinese term to Tionghoa. It was because the Chinese term was considered to have a psychosocial-discriminatory effect on the social relations of Chinese descent. President Yudhoyono assesses that discriminatory views and treatment of a particular person, group, community and/or race, in principle violate the values and principles of human rights protection.

One of the problems in a multicultural life was prejudice. Prejudice can be a time bomb that can erupt at any time, if the diversity was not understood wisely. Psychological studies have also revealed that differences in ethnic, religious, political and socioeconomic status can lead to prejudice. Prejudice is actually something natural in human life. Allport (1954) argued that prejudice is unavoidable in human life. Specifically, this study focuses on children's ethnic prejudice. For decades researchers have tried to understand children's

prejudice. Some researchers assume that prejudice that children showed was not a representation of the actual attitudes that they have, but only as a reflection of the attitudes they imitate from others (Aboud, 2000). So it is assumed that there is no real prejudice in children. Yet others point to the contradictory notion that the real prejudice has occurred in children.

In children at primary school, their understanding of racial stereotypes and prejudice begins to increase; at the age of 10 to 11 years, their awareness of racial stereotypes is widespread (McKown & Weinstein, in Kail, 2010). But at this age the overt prejudice generally begins to decrease. This is because they begin to learn about the norm of not being too open in showing favoritism towards the ingroup beyond any other groups (Rutland, Kail, 2010). However, some studies show that the decrease of overt prejudice does not mean that the implicit prejudice also declines (Kail, 2010). This assumed support by research conducted by Santi (2014) with the subject of Javanese ethnic students aged between 12-14 years. The results of this study indicate that 77% of Javanese children in this study have prejudice against Chinese, who are moderate to high and only about 23% are low. It can be concluded that prejudice has developed so early. According to Bigler and Liben (in Kail, 2010) prejudice develops as a part of a child's efforts in understanding his/her social world, where this understanding leads them to classify individuals based on visible prominent aspects (such as race, gender, age) as well as labels shown by adults against particular groups.

To understand the factors that cause prejudice shown by children was very important because there was anguish that once children or adolescents have shown prejudice against members of a particular group, they keep hold of this attitude to all members of the group. So, these attitudes will carry over to adulthood even down to the next generations. In addition, understanding child prejudice is important because prejudice in adults is very difficult to change, so that intervention will be more effective at the beginning (Aboud and Levy, 2000).

Ethnic prejudice is essentially complex attitudes that must be comprehensively understood. Motivational aspects view prejudice as a result of the development of moral reasoning (Killen, 2007), ingroup identification (Rutland, Killen and Abrams, 2010), as well as threats to one's social identity (Nesdale, et al., 2005; in Costello and Hodson, 2012). Based on this motivational process, a factor that assumed the emergence of ethnic prejudice in

childhood was the ethnic identity of a child. In life, individuals will always identify and define themselves based on their social group (Turner, 1991, Hogg, 1996 in Myers, 1999) resulting in an ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is the individual's understanding of who he/she is, the attachment between the emotional individual and group, the confidence in the group, and the strong commitment to the group and together performing the same customs (Isajiw, 1999). Ethnic identity has proven to be an important aspect of adolescent development, such as dealing with psychological wellbeing (Umaña-Taylor, Diversi and Fine, 2002), academic achievement (Smith, et al., 1999), prejudice and ability to overcome discrimination and racism (Dubow, et al., 2000).

In this study researchers associate ethnic prejudice with ethnic identity. Because ethnic identity is an important part of one's social identity that will affect how one wants to be known in their social life. So it is very interesting to be able to understand how ethnic identity affects ethnic prejudice especially in children of majority ethnics. Some studies assumed that ethnic identity has a positive relationship with ethnic prejudice. This means that the stronger the ethnic identity, the higher the ethnic prejudice and vice versa. Ethnic identity was the individual's understanding of who he/she is, the emotional attachment between individuals with their groups, the confidence in the group, and the strong commitment to the group and together performing the same customs. In some articles it is stated that ethnic identity was defined as an ethnic component in social identity. As defined by Tajfel (1986) it was a part of individual self-concept, derived from knowledge of membership in a certain social group in line with values and emotional aspects that are significantly attached to the membership. Ethnic identity can be defined as a subjective feeling of membership in ethnic groups that involves self-labeling, belonging, group preference, positive evaluation of ethnic groups, ethnic knowledge, and involvement in ethnic group activities (Phinney, 1990, 1996 in Cokley, 2007).

For decades, social psychologists have tried to understand how identification of ingroups influenced both ingroup and outgroup attitudes. This assumption arises from the perspective of social identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) in which individuals who strongly identify themselves with ingroups will tend to show a preference for their ingroup rather than outgroups, compared to individuals whose self-identification of ingroup tends to be weak. This is because ingroups are

psychologically central to self-concept (Brown, 2000 in Yogeeswaran et al., 2014). In the context of national identity, Pehrson et al. in Yogeeswaran, (2014) found that individuals with a national identity tend to have greater prejudice against outgroups. But this depends on how they understand the definition of the nation (Meeus, et al., 2010 in Yogeeswaran et al., 2014). In particular, using two approaches that are cross-sectional and longitudinal, Pehrson et al. (2009) found that individuals who strongly identified themselves with their nations expressed greater prejudice against immigrants and asylum seekers only if they defined their country in ethnic terms, but not if they define a nation in the context of citizenship. In this regard, some researchers argue that there are two factors that tend to influence the attitudes of members of the majority to ethnic groups in the context of pluralistic countries: (a) how ethnic group members openly express their cultural identity and (b) how strongly an individual identifies with their citizenship. These findings suggest that even if one already has ethnic diversity principles, expressing ethnic identity especially in the public sphere can lead to rejection, because it is assumed to threaten the status quo and the peculiarities of being American.

On the other side ethnic identity conceptually can be associated with some psychological aspects such as psychological wellbeing, either directly or indirectly related. But empirical evidence for a direct relationship between ethnic identity and psychological function is often less than convincing. Cross (1991) summarizes 45 studies from 1961 to 1984 that examined directly the relationship between reference group orientation, such as ethnic identity and personal identity indicators including self-esteem, anxiety, introversions, and depression. Only a few studies have reported a very significant relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem (e.g. Stephen and Rosenfield, 1979 in Sellers, 2006), while other studies have reported no significant relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem (e.g. Rosenberg, 1979 in Sellers, 2006). But some psychological literature confirmed that ethnic identity has a positive personal disposition. Identification with larger groups can also provide a sense of belonging and social support. Thus, ethnic identity can provide a sense of strength, competence and self-acceptance to facing a complex social situation (Outten, et al., 2009; Ruiz, 1990 in Smith and Sylva, 2011). By definition, high levels of ethnic identity are generally positively associated with personal wellbeing. A number of studies have found a positive relationship between a strong ethnic

identity with indicators in self-esteem and personal adjustment. For example, a large study (N = 5,423) in adolescents showed a significant positive correlation between ethnic identity and various positive attributes such as problem-solving skills, mastery of a thing, self-esteem and optimism (Roberts, et al., 1999, Sylva, 2011). In general, the results consistently showed a positive relationship between ethnic identity and various aspects of personal welfare among ethnic groups (Phinney, Cantu and Kurtz, 1997 in Smith and Sylva, 2011).

This study used subjects from the dominant ethnic groups in their respective regions. Based on the theory of social dominance proposed by Sidanius, that the stronger the identity of an individual as a member of a majority ethnic group, the higher the prejudice to the members of other ethnic groups. This is supported by studies by Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz and Federico (Wittig, et al., 2007), which conclude that there was a strong positive relationship between the strength of one's ethnic identity and the prejudice of the majority ethnic group. While in minority ethnic groups, showing no relation or having a negative relationship. It can be concluded that the relationship between ethnic identity and ethnic prejudice shows varied results; therefore the researcher is interested in examining the relationship between the two variables, especially in children of the majority ethnic group in Bangkalan, Jogjakarta and Medan. The selection of these three cities was based on the assumption that they have an interesting relationship pattern between local ethnic population and Chinese. Bangkalan was chosen because researchers assumed that in this region the majority held Islamic customs and traditions, which were strong enough so that they were very different from Chinese customs and traditions. Yogyakarta was chosen because this city still applied rules that seem discriminate against Chinese, especially regarding ownership of land rights. Meanwhile Medan was chosen because it was considered a multicultural city, which became a barometer of the existence of inter-ethnic harmony, so this city had a high acceptance of the existence of Chinese.

1.1 Hypothesis

Children's ethnic identity will affect ethnic prejudice against Chinese in Bangkalan, Jogjakarta and Medan.

2 METHODS

The study used a quantitative method with bivariate Spearman correlation analysis using SPSS version 22.

2.1 Operational Definition

The children’s ethnic prejudice against Chinese is the tendency of the child to respond with a disrespectful attitude, having negative evaluation and emotions towards Chinese.

Ethnic identity is the individual's understanding of who he/she is, the emotional attachment between individuals and their groups, the beliefs of being in a group, and a strong commitment to the group and together following the same customs.

2.2 Sample

The population in this study was children aged 11-14 years who live in Bangkalan, Jogjakarta and Medan. Collecting data was conducted in schools. The criteria of the school were public schools and Islamic schools that assumed there weren’t Chinese students. In total 173 children in Bangkalan, 132 in Jogjakarta and 148 in Medan.

2.3 Instruments

Ethnic prejudice. The ethnic prejudice scale was developed from the Pettigrew and Martens scale (1995). The original version of this scale has two dimensions: blatant prejudice and subtle prejudice. Referring to the adaptation of this scale in some countries, the authors assumed that Pettigrew and Meertens’ scale (1995) was unidimensional, so it has blatant and subtle dimensions. So, in this study ethnic prejudice was measured using 6 indicators: perceived economic threat, perceived physical threat, avoidance of close contact, perceived problems in adaptation, exaggeration of cultural differences and the denial of positive emotion. The scale is a 28-item Likert scale with items answered on a four-point scale, from strongly agree to strongly

disagree. This scale has a composite reliability = 0.957; CR ≥ 0.70.

Ethnic identity. The scale of ethnic identity was developed based on the identity theory of Stryker (1987 in Scottham, Sellers and Nguyen, 2008). This ethnic identity scale was originally developed by Sellers et al. (1998 in Byrd, 2011) called Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI). This scale has three dimensions of ethnic identity: Centrality, Regard, and Ideology. The scale is a 20-item Likert scale with items answered on a four-point scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree. This scale has a composite reliability = 0.933; CR ≥ 0.70.

3 RESULTS

The results of the analysis are presented in Table 1 presenting correlation between ethnic identity and ethnic prejudice. Bangkalan showed a negative relation between ethnic identity and ethnic prejudice with $r = -.172$ ($p = .023$; $p < .05$); Yogyakarta showed similar results with $r = -.26$ ($p = .002$; $p < .05$). While at Medan the correlation was $r = -.094$ ($p = .258$; $p > .05$), because the analysis indicated was not significant so it can be concluded that in Medan there is no relationship between ethnic identity and a child’s ethnic prejudice. In addition to the results above, this study also compared the strength of the correlation coefficient between the samples in Bangkalan and Yogyakarta using Fisher’s R to Z transformation. Correlation coefficient in Bangkalan $Z = -0.17$ was stronger than Yogyakarta $Z = -0.27$.

4 DISCUSSION

It is assumed that social conflicts (ethnic, racial and religious) in Indonesia often involve Chinese as one of the minority ethnic groups. In this case, Chinese are often used as scapegoats for the bad situations in Indonesia. The relationship between Chinese and majority ethnics in Indonesia seems like the embers

Table 1: The correlation and descriptive data of the variables

City	Bivariate Correlation	N	Ethnic Identity		Ethnic Prejudice	
			Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Bangkalan	$r = -.172$ ($p = .023$; $p < .05$)	173	65.433	8.586	60.659	6.544
Jogjakarta	$r = -.266$ ($p = .002$; $p < .05$)	132	65.510	6.358	61.690	9.639
Medan	$r = -.094$ ($p = .258$; $p > .05$)	148	62.040	10.360	69.385	7.620

in the chaff even since in the Dutch colonial era. So, it is very interesting to study ethnic prejudice of children who come from the ethnic majority to Chinese in the present time. This study was to explore the relationship between ethnic identity with children's ethnic prejudices against Chinese. First, it must be stressed that the data presented is correlational and consequently cannot address the question of causality.

In line with the concepts, the results of this study also concluded a similar view. More specifically, this study examined the relationship between ethnic identity with children's ethnic prejudice in Bangkalan, Yogyakarta and Medan. The results show slightly different trends but generally show the same results. In Bangkalan and Yogyakarta they showed a significant negative relationship between ethnic identity and ethnic prejudice, while Medan showed a negative relationship but it was not significant. In general, this study concluded that there is a negative relationship between ethnic identity and ethnic prejudice in children. This means that the stronger the ethnic identity of a child, the lower their ethnic prejudice and vice versa. In this context it can be assumed that a person's ethnic identity has a major influence on how they perceive others, their self-esteem, aspirations, motivation and effort expended in various aspects of their lives (Smith, et al., 1999 in Salmeri and Pellerone, 2015). In this case a child with a high ethnic identity will be able to assess the issues related to ethnicity more positively as well. Ethnicity in this case is a series of dynamics derived from history, institutionalized ideas and practices that: (1) enable people to identify or be identified as a group of people who are assumed to have similarities in language, history, nation or region of origin, customs, life, religion, name, physical appearance, and/or genealogy or ancestry; (2) can be a source of meaning, action and identity; and (3) a conferred sense of belonging, pride and motivation (Markus, 2008). So those who have a high ethnic identity will be able to understand the concept of ethnicity, including the ethnicity of other groups. Thus, they are able to demonstrate a positive attitude and appreciate the presence of other ethnics around them, to minimize the attitudes of ethnic prejudice. As explained earlier, ethnic identity can affect both positively and negatively and prejudice depends on several factors. Some of these factors are (a) the strength level of ingroup identity, (b) the threat that outgroups have ingroup identity (called outgroup threats), and (c) social norms in ingroups (Killen & Rutland, 2011, Nesdale, Durkin et al., 2005). The strength of ingroup identity is

important because not all individuals consider membership of a group as important; therefore, the importance of identity for a person varies according to the context (Bennett, 2004, Bennett and Sani, 2008, Steele, Spencer and Aronson, 2002 in Killen et al., 2015).

In addition, developmental researchers concluded that the bias against the group was due to the type of norms applied. If the norm in the group has a morally wrong perspective, as the group acts in an unfair manner, then favoritism towards ingroups will not appear (Killen, et al., 2001 in Killen et al., 2015). In the literature of children and adults, it also shows that to inhibit the occurrence of group bias was often associated with an assessment of group goals and norms that apply in groups (Abrams, et al., 2008, Devine, et al., 2002 in Killen et al., 2015). As another example, if the group norm reflects the attitude of prejudice, then the group members who reject this norm may be considered disloyal to the group but are faithful to the norm of justice or equality. The study of social and developmental perspectives based on social identity theory suggests, when studying the development of intergroup attitudes, it is important to measure the meaning of identity, the power of outside threats and the type of norm (moral, social, psychological) identified to the group in order to understand the emergence of prejudice.

So, based on that theory it may be the subject of this study, especially in Bangkalan and Yogyakarta where they feel that as the majority ethnicity they do not feel threatened by the presence of other ethnics, feeling quite confident that they will be able to deal with any social situation without feeling anxious with the presence of other groups. So, they do not need to show negative attitudes toward other ethnic groups. In addition, the subject of this study may have taught about social norms that refer to moral values in general such as mutual respect and fairness to everyone. This is in line with the opinion of Crocker and Luhtanen (1990 in Masson and Verkuyten, 1993), that prejudice will depend on group norms, so they are not related to how they connect with ethnic minorities but connect with traditions that include prejudice values so that leads to the formation of prejudice. So, the implications of this research are very important to develop strong ethnic identity in children through the indicators of ethnic identity used in this research - centrality, regard and ideology. Therefore, it is important for relevant parties such as in family and school environments as a child's microsystem to develop a positive ethnic identity. Because if schools do not

consistently facilitate the development of a positive identity for all their students, including ethnic/racial identity, then there will be negative consequences (Pellerone, 2012, in Salmeri and Pellerone, 2015).

Researchers chose Yogyakarta because this city still applies rules that tend to be discriminatory about the status of land ownership of Chinese citizens in Yogyakarta. On this rule the Governor of Yogyakarta, Sri Sultan Hamengkubawono XI was once sued in court by one of the ethnic Chinese descendants. In 1975, Paku Alam VIII issued a letter of instruction to the Regents and Mayors not to deliver land titles to non-indigenous citizens. The instruction letter permits the citizens of offspring to own the land with the right to use the building status (HGB), not the property rights (SHM). If the land was previously owned by the indigenous people then it was bought by the descendants, then the land ownership status will be transferred to the state. In the process, a person who has "a face of a descendant" must give birth certificates, marriage certificates and parents' birth certificates to obtain land rights to prove they are not Chinese citizens. The existence of rules that seem discriminative will be vulnerable to trigger of inter-ethnic conflict. Therefore, the researcher assumed that in Yogyakarta acceptance of Chinese is still not complete, in turn this will have an impact on the development of prejudice against Chinese.

Social psychology theories suggest that discrimination is one of the effects of prejudice. Even other theories reveal that discrimination is a form of prejudice. The existence of rules that are considered to be discriminatory for a particular group is the result of prejudice. As previously stated, the regulation that prohibits Chinese from having rights to land in Yogyakarta stems from an attempt to equalize indigenous rights (the term at the time) so as not to be dominated by Chinese who were then considered powerful investors who could master the economy of Yogyakarta. The assumption that Chinese are economic ruling groups should be limited, teaching the next generations that the group could be a source of threat to the survival of indigenous communities. This feeling of being threatened will keep one's distance from the sources that threaten it. The theory of prejudice suggests that most threatened groups are regarded as the most prejudiced group. However, the results of a study showing a negative relationship between ethnic identity and child ethnic prejudices in Yogyakarta showed that although originating from the ethnic majority this does not mean the children show their prejudice to Chinese. Perhaps these discriminatory

implications are regarded as the "legacy" that must be followed without need to understand in depth the history behind the rules. It is also possible that children in Yogyakarta are not aware of the rules, so it can't affect their attitudes towards Chinese.

Meanwhile, a different situation occurred in Bangkalan. At first the researchers assumed that Madura is an island dominated by the Madurese, so there are not many Chinese living on that island. But it turns out that Chinese also live on this island but most of them live in Sumenep. While in Bangkalan there are also areas that include Chinese. The Chinese in Bangkalan live in a village called "Kampung Pecinan Demangan" because in that village the majority are Chinese (Adomatussa and Warsono, 2017). The Chinese and Madurese in this area have a significant difference in terms of religion, culture, economy and lifestyle. However, there conflict between the two ethnic groups in the area was rare. However, the concentration of Chinese in one area illustrates the separation of territories inhabited by the Chinese in Bangkalan.

That condition may have occurred since the Dutch era, where the separation between Chinese and local people is a strategy by the Dutch to create a boundary between the two ethnic groups. Unfortunately, this situation continues to the next generations. This situation is clearly different from that in Surabaya (as a city near to Bangkalan), where Chinese are not concentrated in one area but have spread with local communities in almost all areas of Surabaya. This can continue because Chinese may feel that they have a feeling of the concept of environmental psychology called attachment to the place, which is a condition where one feels attachment to the place of residence so as to feel reluctant to move elsewhere. The concentration of Chinese ultimately made the confounding process only happen in the region, so people in other areas rarely or even never mixed with Chinese. The Madurese are known to have strong and familiar characters. The Madurese have a very distinctive and special culture that makes them unlike other ethnic communities in terms of language, submission, courage and submission to the four main figures in life. The four figures are Buppa', Babbu', Guru, Rato tires (father, mother, teacher and leader in government). Madura is also a largely inhabited island (approximately 97-99%) Muslim. So that Madura appeared characteristic of Islam, especially in the actualization of obedience to the normative teachings of their religion (Adomatussa and Warsono, 2017). The existence of strong adherence to the norms and rules that apply to affect

patterns of relations developed Madurese especially in this case with Chinese. So even though they have a strong ethnic identity, the attitudes of prejudice shown tend to be low. Along with this research results from Adomatussa and Warsono (2017) show that ethnic Madurese openness to Chinese can be seen at the time of religious events, marriages, participation during disasters, congratulation at the holiday and participating in some activity, freedom of worship, tadarrus activity during the month of ramadhan and during the event of the Prophet's mawlid. So, in the city conflict is relatively rare between the two.

Another result of this study concludes that there is no relationship between ethnic identity and children's ethnic prejudice in Medan. Medan is one of the multicultural cities with various ethnic and racial groups (Tionghoa and India). In general, the subjects in this study come from various ethnic groups namely Malay, Batak, Padang and Aceh. Thus, it seems that children in this city are already familiar with the diversity. What is interesting that researchers found in this city was that each ethnic and racial group can co-exist without being disturbed by the presence of each other. This reflected in daily activities, showing that each ethnic and racial group lived life in a way that was taught by their culture without the need to force other ethnic groups to behave similarly to them. For example, Chinese can freely use Mandarin as their everyday language; ethnic Indians can also perform common rituals in their culture without fear of feeling different from other local ethnicities. Again, this proved that in the context of ethnic prejudice, the important factor is not just how much interethnic contact there is, but the main thing is how the prevailing social culture and norms teach positive moral values. Maybe each of these ethnic groups has rare interethnic contact, but this does not necessarily make them feel negative or prejudiced against other ethnic groups. However, it is necessary to be careful in understanding these results. There are two reasons why it is necessary to be careful in understanding the absence of a relationship between ethnic identity and ethnic prejudice in children in Medan. First, it is possible that the conditions present suggest a relatively stable hierarchy of status among groups, so the dominant group may not be openly prejudice (Hogg, Abrams and Patel, 1987 in Masson and Verkuyten, 1993). Secondly, there is a "modern" or "symbolic" approach of racism (McConahay and Hough, 1976 in Masson and Verkuyten, 1993) that it is impossible in a modern era to be prejudiced or express an overt attitude in degrading ethnic

minorities. This is because of the social norm that prohibits them from openly showing negative attitudes toward other ethnic groups. But it is not immediately to assume that prejudice has been lost in the modern era, because ethnic prejudice can present in other ways, in more subtle forms as conceptualized by Meertens and Pettigrew (1995) as a blatant and subtle prejudice.

This study also shows that the correlation between the two variables in the sample in Bangkalan is stronger than the sample in Yogyakarta. The strong ethnic identity of the children in Bangkalan, which has developed with strong cultural and religious backgrounds, has given Bangkalan's children a strong belief in their own ethnic groups. As explained earlier this strong ethnic identity makes individuals develop a more positive perspective on aspects of their lives. This is what makes Bangkalan children have a more positive view of the presence of other ethnic groups, as long as the presence of other ethnic groups does not interfere with religion and honor. Perhaps this was truly understood by the Chinese in their relationship with the Bangkalan community. This gave a positive experience for children in Bangkalan, and later influenced their perceptions of Chinese.

5 CONCLUSION

The study concluded that there is a negative relationship between ethnic identity and a child's ethnic prejudice. A negative relationship between two variables occurred in two cities Bangkalan and Yogyakarta. This means that the stronger the ethnic identity of a child, the lower the ethnic prejudice and vice versa. However, in Medan the results show differently, in other words there is no relationship between ethnic identity and ethnic prejudice. However, in general, the results of this study indicate that one effort to eliminate prejudice, especially in multicultural countries like Indonesia, is by strengthening the ethnic identity of children. This can be done through the process of socialization of the family, school and the environment around the children. In the future, it is hoped that similar research can also be conducted in other areas by considering the weakness of this research. For example, the selection of subjects could be more representative, using a more comprehensive statistical analysis and adding other variables such as parents' ethnic socialization, self-esteem, peers, school climate, group norms, that may affect directly or indirectly the prejudice so that the

picture of the prejudice development will be more comprehensive. The contribution of this research is that to eliminate prejudice in children we need to strengthen their ethnic identity, make them feel proud of the ethnicity they have so they can see the existence of other ethnic groups as more equal.

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