

Ethnic Prejudice in Children: The Role of Ethnic Socialization

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Abstract

The study aims to examine the influence of parent's ethnic socialization, peer's ethnic socialization, and school climate on children's ethnic prejudice. This research was conducted in 3 cities: Bangkalan, Yogyakarta, and Medan. The population of this study was 11-14-year-old children. The data was collected in Islamic and public schools. A total of 453 children were involved in this study, comprising of 173 children from Bangkalan, 132 children from Yogyakarta and 148 children from Medan. The result confirms the hypothesis that parents' ethnic socialization has a negative influence on children's ethnic prejudice. If children perceive that their parent's attempt to propagate ethnicity-related attitude becomes more intensive, then their ethnic prejudice will decrease accordingly. This research also proves that there is an insignificant negative effect of peers' ethnic socialization on children's ethnic prejudice. This means that the presence of peers' ethnic socialization has no impact on children's ethnic prejudice. The study also finds an insignificant negative effect of school climate on children's ethnic prejudice. Further explanation of the result will be discussed in this article.

Keywords: *Ethnic prejudice, children in Indonesia, ethnic socialization*

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Introduction

Prejudice is a problem that continues to exist within multicultural societies. Prejudice is a time bomb that can explode if diversity is not wisely understood and if society is not willing to encourage individual and group participation. Several psychological studies have revealed that differences in ethnic, religious, political beliefs and socio-economic backgrounds can lead to prejudice. Van Houtte et al. (2018) stated that ethnic prejudice in children often occurs due to their tendency to pay too much attention to aspects at the individual level, such as

gender, religion, race, socio-economic status (SES), age, and level of education. Prejudice subsequently creates social distance between groups. Allport (1954) argues that prejudice is considered natural and cannot be avoided within a society. The purpose of this study was to examine the influence of parent's ethnic socialization, peer's ethnic socialization, and school climate on ethnic prejudice in children.

The field of psychology has examined prejudice since 1920-1930 (Rutland et al., 2010). Dovidio & Gaertner (1998) claimed that explicit prejudice began to decline at the end of the 20th century based on the number of psychological research involving adults (as cited in Rutland et al., 2010) but began to increase the 21st century again, as exemplified through prejudice to Muslims in the US and Europe. Likewise, Greenwald & Banji (1995) also found that many implicit prejudices still occur in several parts of the world (as cited in Rutland et al., 2010).

Although there are several forms of prejudice, this research will focus on ethnic prejudice. Ethnic prejudice in a society can be seen through the presence or absence of negative ethnic stereotypes. Negative stereotypes that are attached to certain ethnic groups are a manifestation of prejudice. For example, ethnic Javanese are stereotyped by other ethnic groups as being nice, relaxed, slow, and hypocritical (Lee, 1995) as well as tending to be polygamous or divorced (Ati, 1999). The Madurese (except those from Sumenep) are stereotyped by people of Kalimantan as having a harsh and rude temperament, arrogant, violent, irritable, vengeful, and revengeful (Mustofa et al., 2001). Dayak stereotypes include belief in occult and lack of self-confidence (Trisnadi, 1996). Bugis stereotypes include a stubborn attitude, high solidarity, and a higher tendency to engage in conflict to defend their family and relatives. The Minang are stereotyped as traders, migrants, having high resilience, and cunning. Batak are stereotyped as harsh, rude, and bullies.

These stereotypes often lead individuals to make casual comments on religion or ethnicity. Some people make negative or untrue statements towards a particular religion on social media. For example, there have been cases where people make satires, insults, and blaspheme of other religions on Facebook. The existence of such provocative information can eventually form us vs. them or ingroup vs. outgroup social relation pattern, a pattern

that considers other religious or ethnic people like a *common enemy* to be despised, belittled, trivialized and even fought. Ironically, the perspective/thoughts, attitude, and behavior that is inherent in personality are consciously or unconsciously transmitted genealogically to later generations.

Then what about prejudice in children? Have children developed prejudice? If prejudice is something that emerges during childhood, what is the reason it occurs? If prejudice is learned as a child, there is the possibility that children are vulnerable to ethnic conflicts. For decades researchers attempted to understand children's prejudice. Some researchers assume that the prejudices displayed by children are not representations of their actual attitudes but only a reflection of the attitudes they emulate from others. Thus these researchers assumed that children have no real prejudice. However, other researchers believe the opposite assumption, that is, that children may grow prejudice despite their young age. A study conducted by Aboud (1988) proves that children aged 4-5 can already demonstrate expressions of ethnic prejudice. The existence of conflicting assumptions then triggers the emergence of studies of prejudice in children (Levy et al., 2005). In addition, many researchers who research prejudice in adults rely on retrospective reports of subjects' childhood (Brown, 1995). Although studies prejudice in adults is very useful, prejudice research directly on children is still interesting to do.

One subtopic of studies on children's prejudice is related to the formation and development of children's prejudice. Several studies were conducted to identify the factors that led to the development of prejudice in children/adolescents. As previously explained, children begin to display prejudice during mid-childhood (Costello and Hodson, 2012). Costello and Hodson (2012) proposed that socio-environmental factors (Costello & Hodson, 2012) is a factor that contributes to prejudice in children. Socio-environmental factors assume that the causes of prejudice in children are parents' prejudice (Allport, 1954; Rodriguez-Garcia & Wagner, 2009; Sinclair, Dunn & Lowery, 2005; White & Gleitzman, 2006), social norms (Rutland et al., 2005), internalization of Lay's theory of inter-group relations (Levy, West, & Ramirez, 2005), and inter-ethnic friendship (Feddes, Noack, & Rutland, 2009; as cited in Costello and Hodson, 2012).

As explained by various developmental theories, the behavior displayed by children is often influenced by adults and other people in their social environment. Prejudice is no exception. Children acquire information about race and ethnicity from other people. Children learn about stereotypes and prejudices from the media, their peers, and family members (Biggler, 1999; Tatum, 2004; as cited in Dessel, 2010). This illustrates a process of ethnic socialization or internalization of prejudice in children. Children learn ethnic socialization from their parents, peers, the social environment, or school environment. Research by Duriesz (2011) proved that parents' paternalistic or maternalistic culture significantly influences ethnic prejudice in adolescents.

Over the years, researchers have attempted to understand how parents teach their children about their values and perceptions of race and ethnicity (Hughes et al., 2006). Similar to other psychological development processes, ethnic socialization is a dynamic and interactive process between individuals, context, and time (Brofenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Parents are the main role model for their children's understanding and behavior regarding ethnic socialization, but when children grow to become adolescents and adults, their models change to include peers, teachers, and educational curricula.

Onyekwuluje (1998) also concluded that the attitude and behavior of children or adolescents, especially those related to race / ethnic relations, are closely related to the school structure and the behavior of adults around them (in this case parents and teachers). Dessel (2010) proved that prejudice displayed by children are learned from within the school environment. Research conducted in pluralistic schools shows that teachers are often not ready to teach in a class that involves students who speak different languages, come from different social class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and other sociocultural backgrounds. Hence in order to reduce prejudice in children, teachers and administrative staff must make changes to the school culture and climate. The results of Dessel's (2010) study may also occur in Indonesian schools, both in pluralistic and religious schools. It is not impossible for teachers to instill values that lead to prejudice. For example, there have been cases where religious schools directly or indirectly teach children about the true religion, the highest ethnicity, or even explicitly label certain religious or ethnic groups. This process

leads children to voluntarily *comply*, identify, and even internalize the negative values instilled by the teacher.

Ethnic socialization in children can also be obtained from socializing with or learning from peers. This is evident from research conducted by Nesdale & Lawson (2011), which also concluded that children's attitude to an outgroup reflects the group norms of their reference group. This research is consistent with past research which found that children have the basic need to belong and be accepted (Baumeister & Leary in Nesdale & Lawson, 2011) and membership in a group which in turn is an integral part of their self-concept (Bennet & Sani as cited in Nesdale & Lawson, 2011). Research on adolescents and adults prove that group norms have a significant influence on the behavior of members of the group (Brown, as cited in Nesdale et al., 2005). For example, group norms influence how members perceive their ingroup and outgroup, increasing the tendency to show different attitudes towards the two different groups, for example displaying negative attitude towards outgroup members (Nesdale, 2005).

However, several studies showed that ethnic attitudes displayed by children do not always correlate with their parents' or friends' attitude (Aboud & Doyle, 1996; Branch & Newcomb, 1986; as cited in Dessel, 2010). Researchers have been drawn to the inconsistent research results regarding the relationship between children's ethnic prejudice and their parents' ethnic attitudes. Researchers assume that parents have a significant role in the ethnic prejudice of their children due to their strategic role, which enables the planting of values that lead to negative attitudes directed at other ethnic groups. For example, parents may forbid their children from playing or working with members of ethnic groups that are different from their ethnicity to prohibiting marriage with members of other ethnic groups. A study 1983 study by Patchen (as cited in Levy & Hughes, 2002) showed little overlap between the racial behavior of 14-year old American children living in Europe and the behavior of their American peers. In addition, other studies show that school-age European-Americans generally do not share the same attitude as their peers, despite perceiving that their peers have similar attitudes to themselves (Aboud & Doyle, 1996b; Ritchey & Fishbein, 2001; as cited in Levy & Hughes, 2002). Many have studied the formation and development of prejudice in children, but it seems that not many have researched multi-ethnic countries

such as Indonesia. Prejudice is a complex phenomenon; thus, an approach that considers the culture and context of the research area are needed. For example, Indonesia has indigenous characteristics that influence the development of children's prejudice that may be different from other regions in the world. Therefore, it is necessary to explore variables related to children's prejudice that may be unique to Indonesia. Researchers assume that the history between indigenous and Chinese-Indonesian has been long and grim where the conflict continues until this day. This can be illustrated by the Indonesian proverb "*bagai api dalam sekam*" or "like a fire in the chaff." Such a situation will influence the process of prejudice transmission across generations. To the researcher's knowledge, this topic has yet to be explored in prejudice studies in Indonesia.

Hypothesis

The main hypotheses are as follows: "School climate has a negative effect on ethnic prejudice in children" (Hypothesis 1); "Peers' ethnic socialization has a negative effect on ethnic prejudice in children" (Hypothesis 2); "Parents' ethnic socialization have a negative effect on ethnic prejudice in children" (Hypothesis 3).

Method

Participant

The population of this study was children aged 11-14 years old who live in Bangkalan, Jogjakarta, and Medan. The sampling technique used was purposive sampling. Data collection was conducted in several schools, namely: SMP Hangtuh II Medan, SMP Muhammadiyah II Medan, SMP 2 Ngaglik Sleman, and SMP 4 Bangkalan. The schools had to fulfill the criteria of being either a public or Islamic school. It is assumed that in these schools, there were no students from ethnic Chinese-Indonesian as a target of prejudice in this study. A total of 453 children were involved in this study, comprising of 173 children from Bangkalan, 132 children from Yogyakarta and 148 children from Medan; 240 (53%) of them were male, and 213 (47%) were female.

Measurement

Ethnic prejudice. The instrument to measure ethnic prejudice was developed based on the theory of Pettigrew and Meertens (1995). This study used the original scale, which consists of two dimensions: blatant prejudice and *subtle* prejudice. Referring to the research results of previous studies that adapted this scale and has been used in various countries; this study assumes that the prejudice scale developed by Pettigrew & Meertens (1995) is a unidimensional scale that does not distinguish dimensions of blatant prejudice and subtle prejudice. In this study, ethnic prejudice scale measured six indicators: perceived economic threat, perceived physical threat, avoidance of close contact, perceived problems in adaptation, integration of cultural differences and the denial of positive emotion. The ethnic prejudice scale has a CR value of 0.957; $CR \geq 0.70$, indicating that the scale has good reliability. Based on the loading factor, 28 valid items were obtained (with a validity score that ranges between 0.51 - 0.88). The following are examples of items for each indicator included in the scale: perceived economic threat (e.g., Chinese people try to control the Indonesian economy), perceived physical threat (e.g., many Chinese people commit acts of violence when compared to Indonesians), avoidance of close contact (e.g., Chinese people should not live in Indonesia), perceived problems in adaptation (e.g., many Chinese people do not want to adjust to Indonesian culture), exaggeration of cultural differences (e.g., values held by Chinese people are almost the same as the values of Indonesian society), and the denial of positive emotion (e.g., I often feel amazed by Chinese people because they are hard workers).

School climate. In this study, the school climate scale was developed based on the "What's Happening in This School" (WHITS) scale constructed by Aldridge and Ala'l (2013). This scale consists of 6 indicators, namely: (a) Teacher support or the extent to which teachers in the school provide support and help students; (b) Peer connectedness or the degree to which students feel that there are contact and friendship between students from various cultures and backgrounds at school; (c) School connectedness, defined as the extent to which students feel that they are a part of the school community; (d) Affirming diversity, defined as the extent to which schools recognize and respect students who come from different cultural backgrounds. The existence of clear rules or the extent to which the school applies clear rules and applies to all students to create a sense of security; (f). Ease to

report and seek help, which assesses students' perceptions of the extent to which they are aware of procedures and have confidence in reporting or seeking assistance when there are violations of school rules. The school climate scale has a value of $CR = 0.991$; $CR \geq 0.70$, which indicates good reliability. Based on the loading factor, 44 valid items were obtained (with a validity score that ranges between 0.50 - 0.79). The following are examples of items for each indicator included in the scale: (a) teacher support (e.g., at this school, the teacher is willing to listen to my problems); (b). Peer connectedness (e.g., at this school, I am friends with students from different ethnic groups); (c) school connectedness (e.g., I feel part of this school); (d). Affirming diversity (e.g., at this school I was taught about the cultural and religious background of other people,); (e) rule clarity (e.g., Rules at this school are clear to me); (f) reporting and seeking help (e.g., at this school I am able to talk to a teacher if I am disturbed by a friend).

Peers' ethnic socialization. The scale of peer group socialization used in this study was developed based on The Peer Ethnic Socialization Measure (PESM) constructed by Reinhard (2010). This scale consists of 4 subscales developed from 4 subscales: (a) Promoting pride, in which peers promote pride of their ethnicity; (b) Cultural knowledge, in which peers share knowledge on their ethnic background; (c) Cultural traditions, in which peers teach about their cultural traditions; (d) Promoting awareness of discrimination and helping friends cope with it, through which peers teach awareness of differences between ethnicities and the possibility of discrimination. Analysis of item discrimination on parents' ethnic socialization scale was carried out using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) using LISREL 8.1. If the value of the load factor > 0.50 then it can be concluded that the item is valid. Composite reliability value (CR) above 0.70 indicates good reliability of a construct (Latan, 2012). The peers' ethnic socialization scale has a value of $CR = 0.952$; $CR \geq 0.70$, which indicates that the scale has good reliability. Based on the loading factor, 11 valid items were obtained (with a validity that ranges between 0.50 - 0.80). The following are examples of items for each subscale: (a) promoting pride (e.g., many of my friends are proud of the ethnicity from which we come from); (b) cultural knowledge (e.g., my friends teach me, values and beliefs held by our ethnicity/culture); (c) cultural traditions (e.g., my friends like to wear clothes that reflect our ethnic/cultural background); (d) promoting awareness of discrimination and helping their

friends cope with it (e.g., friends encourage me to get along with children who have the same ethnic/cultural background as me).

Parents' Ethnic socialization. The measurement tool for parent's ethnic socialization is a development and modification of Adolescent Racial and Ethnic Socialization Scale or ARESS (Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007). ARESS measures the following aspects of ethnic socialization: (a) Cultural embeddedness or the extent to which parents educate literary culture and artifacts that are representative of their ethnicity; (b) Teaching history or the extent to which parents teach history about their ethnicity; (c) Teaching heritage or the extent to which parents encourage children to know and love their ethnicity and cultural heritage; (d) Cultural values or the extent to which parents teach values of their ethnicity; (e). Ethnic pride or the extent to which parents encourage children to be proud of their ethnicity. Analysis of item discrimination on parents' ethnic socialization scale was carried out using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) using LISREL 8.1. Parent's ethnic socialization scale has a value of CR = 0.986; $CR \geq 0.70$, meaning that this scale has good reliability. Based on the loading factor, 21 valid items were obtained (with a validity score that ranges between 0.59 - 0.89). The following are examples of items for each aspect: (a) Cultural embeddedness (e.g., my parents have indigenous ethnic art pieces); (b) Teaching history (e.g., my parents encourage me to learn about the history of our ethnicity); (c) Teaching heritage (e.g., my parents celebrate the historical days of our ethnicity); (d) Cultural values (e.g., my parents taught me the importance of helping one another); (e) ethnic pride (e.g., my parents taught me to have pride in our ethnicity).

Data analysis

To analyze the data of this study, Structural Equation Model (SEM) was used to test the hypothesized model. Structural equation modeling was performed using LISREL 8.1.

Results

The following sections describe the test results of each variable. The effect of the exogenous latent variable on the endogenous latent variable is tested by comparing the *t*-statistics obtained from the *t*-test and *t*-table. If the value of *t*-statistics $\geq t$ -table, it means

that there is a significant influence of the exogenous latent variable towards the endogenous latent variable. This study used bidirectional (two-tailed) t-test and a fault tolerance level of = 5%, which translates as t-table value = 1.96.

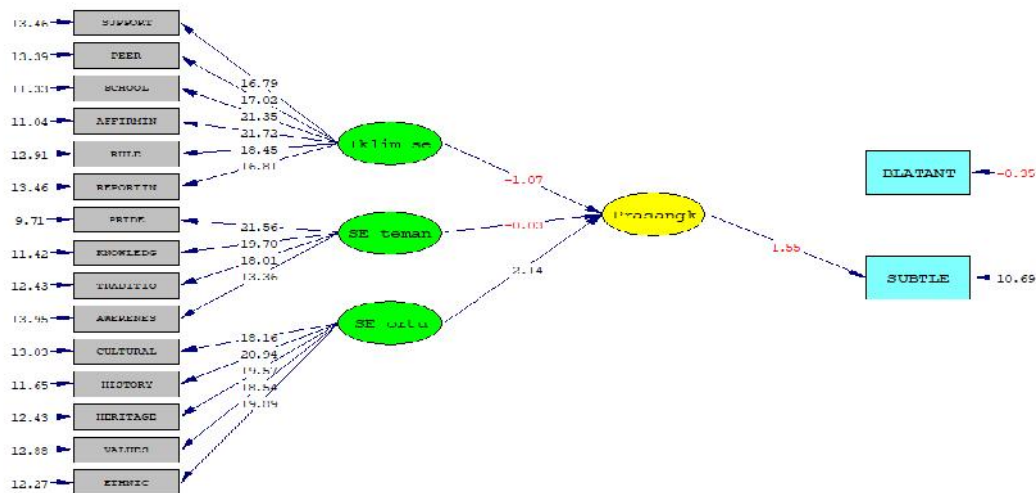


Figure 1. The path of T-values for the model predicting the effect of school climate, peers’ ethnic socialization, parents’ ethnic socialization towards ethnic prejudice in children.

Figure 1 above shows that each of the ethnic socialization (school climate, peers, parents) has varied results toward ethnic prejudice in children, described as follows:

Table 1
Result of Significance Testing of the Influence of Exogenous Latent Variable on Endogenous Variables

No.	Influence of Exogenous Latent Variable on Endogenous Variables	t-statistics	t-table	Conclusion
1.	School climate on ethnic prejudice in children	-1.07	1.96	Insignificant
2.	Peers’ ethnic socialization on ethnic prejudice in children	-0.03	1.96	Insignificant
3.	Parents’ ethnic socialization on ethnic prejudice in children	-2.14	1.96	Significant

Based on table 1, which displays results of significance testing between latent variables, both school climate and peers' ethnic socialization has a negative but insignificant influence on

ethnic prejudice in children. Meanwhile, parents' ethnic socialization has a significant negative influence on ethnic prejudice in children. This means that the more intensive parents attempt to propagate information, values, and perspectives on race or ethnicity to their children, the lower the children's ethnic prejudice.

Discussion

This study aimed to determine whether the development of prejudice in children is influenced by the process of the ethnic socialization of their parents, peers, and school environment. This research showed varied results in which some hypothesis is confirmed while others are different from the findings of past research. In general, this study concluded that prejudice in children could develop without being influenced by parent's socialization. In line with previous theories, this study concludes that parents play an important role in the development of their children's prejudice. The following are further explanations regarding the findings from each hypothesis testing.

The first hypothesis of this study states there is a negative effect of school climate on children's ethnic prejudice: The more positive the school climate, the lower the children's ethnic prejudice. Results of this study do not confirm this first hypothesis. There is a negative yet insignificant effect of school climate on children's ethnic prejudice. This means that a positive or negative evaluation of the school climate, more specifically regarding the quality and individual character developed within the school environment, does not affect children's ethnic prejudice. In other words, school climate does not encourage nor hinder the emergence of ethnic prejudice.

The term climate in organizational literature refers to how the organizational environment influences a person's psychological security, and the extent to which the environment supports a sense of achievement and competence (Glisson & James, 2002). Hoy (as cited in Dessel, 2010) describes school climate as "an enduring quality of school environment that is experienced by participants, affects their behavior, and is based on their collective perceptions." Teachers' perception of school climate is critical and effects students' outcomes (Khmelkov & Hallinan, 1999). For students, school climate can be seen as a way

for schools to create a sense of security and acceptance of the students, which in turn affects their ability to focus on learning tasks.

Hoy (1990) identified three systems that represent the characteristics of school organizational culture: history, icons, and rituals. History is a manner of informal communication and information transmission that can build social knowledge about the environment. Icons are a visual representation of school culture, which may take the form of a flag or logo. Rituals are ceremonies performed by the school members, which may take the form of scheduled activities and events at school. Together this system can be utilized as a medium to implement prejudice reduction interventions. The use of language and curriculum is also a form of school culture. Attention to curriculum and language implies how children are being taught about the diversity that exists among them, along with the norms and expectations of how they should accept these differences. In turn, both curriculum and language can be used as a clue about how school culture should be formed (Pearce & Pearce, 2001).

Besides the explicit curriculum, there is also an implicit curriculum which refers to the key messages transmitted through the teachers' behavior about their beliefs about ethnic diversity, student learning styles, and language. These messages contribute both positively and negatively to intergroup relations in the school environment. In order to understand how schools, contribute to "teaching" racist attitudes or ethnic prejudice, education experts have emphasized the importance of understanding both the visible and hidden learning materials in the curriculum. The researchers suspect that racial stereotype is learned through a hidden curriculum and eventually develops into ethnic prejudice (Noguera, 2008).

Racism can also be learned through the structure that applies in schools. School structures are school policies and practices that have been accepted as a "normal" (Kumashiro, 2008). School structures are related to how students' placement into classes (e.g., based on talent, acceleration, or special education), or how students are grouped in the class itself (high, average, and low achievement) and discipline level. Grouping students based on certain aspects is a form of the hidden curriculum that can lead to racial learning in schools. Research shows that students who belong to the same group have a higher tendency to be

friends relative to students from different groups (Kubitschek & Hallinan, 1998). Therefore, it is essential for teachers to make conscious efforts to embrace a more positive perspective regarding outgroups. Hence if racism can be developed even further in schools, then schools can also be a place to inhibit racism.

Schools should be considered a "ground zero" for negative stereotypes about outgroups that potentially develop into prejudice. Therefore, schools are expected to become a place where students can learn about positive relationship patterns between groups, which is especially essential in multicultural countries like Indonesia. Unfortunately, besides being a place that teaches harmony in multicultural societies, schools can also be a place where students develop negative attitudes towards their outgroup. Subsequently, several works of literature from the field of education, psychology, and sociology have conducted reviews to identify strategies that can be used to improve interethnic relations in schools. Eight strategies have been identified: (a) The need to explicitly and directly overcome issues of racism issues that are aversive and institutionalized; (b) Importance of regarding schools as an agent of change; (c) The importance of leadership in school settings; (d) The need to focus on issues of race and ethnicity; (e) Importance of improving interethnic relations; (f) The importance of increasing students' confidence in improving their abilities; (g) Importance of creating opportunities for students to develop themselves; (h). Importance of creating an atmosphere that allows students to feel that they are connected to both the school and other students through their relationships with peers and teachers.

The schools used in this study generally did not have students who are of Chinese-Indonesian descent; hence, students were not able to develop a relationship with any Chinese-Indonesian at school. Subsequently, the schools in this study have not yet faced situations that require prejudice prevention. Several studies have consistently found that to reduce prejudice, direct contact between ethnic groups should be cultivated to pursue a common goal (Dessel, 2010; Utsey, Ponterotto & Porter, 2008). This solution is considered inconvenient for schools involved in this study who do not have students of Chinese-Indonesian. This situation may lead students to become more focused on their ethnicity and not heed the issues related to ethnic differences, particularly regarding differences with the

Chinese-Indonesian. Thus, in this case, the school environment does not contribute positively or negatively to prejudice.

Generally, research on prejudice tends to focus more on children from minority groups and the negative impact of ethnic prejudice on their mental health, motivation, self-esteem, and achievement (Van Houtte et al., 2018). Thus, there is a tendency to ignore the development of prejudice in children who belong to the ethnic majority. Several studies involving children pay much attention to characteristics on the individual level, such as age, level of education, gender, and socio-economic status (Van Houtte, 2018). Until now, research regarding the influence of school context, teachers, and the importance of organizational structures have been very minimal (Van Houtte, 2018). However, these factors are considered important due to the fact that educators and decision-makers in schools can manipulate features faster than changing student characteristics (Van Houtte, 2018). Various school characteristics have been identified as important predictors of the development of ethnic prejudice in children. Some literature has linked SES and ethnic composition to prejudice in children. Previous research in communities in the United States, Israel, Australia, South Africa and Western Europe indicates that children from the ethnic majority who attend schools where there are social and ethnic differences are less likely to have prejudice towards ethnic minorities (Pettigrew & Tropp 2011; Tropp & Prenovost 2008; Vervaet, Van Houtte, & Stevens 2018; as cited in Van Houtte, 2018).

Blau (as cited in Van Houtte & Stevens, 2009) states that heterogeneity creates limits on patterns of social relations. This conclusion is based on two assumptions: 1) individuals tend to prefer building social relations with their in-group members; 2) individuals prefer to have outgroup members isolated and not get along with anyone. This assumption has an impact on the ability of individuals to understand their choices. Logically, the higher the heterogeneity, the more likely a person will socialize with other group members yet limited physical contact or rare opportunities to meet each other may hinder the positive effects of heterogeneity. Physical closeness can increase the likelihood of intergroup contact (Van Houtte & Stevens, 2009).

Conversely, a racially mixed school allows more intergroup contact where students can befriend people from their outgroups. The schools used in this study are schools that have a

relatively homogenous ethnic composition. Thus, students' contact with other ethnic groups is considered minimal. Subsequently, students are more familiar with their group.

There are several implications as a result of school climate not influence prejudice. In future studies, it is expected to ensure that the school climate in question is in line with the research objectives. Then schools can be used as a medium for developing positive intergroup attitudes. School is an organization that contains both organizational culture and climate, as well as other organizations. The terms culture and climate in organizational literature refer to two different but related constructs. Future researchers need to supplement self-report scales (e.g., WHITS scale) with other data collection techniques (e.g., interviews and observations) to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of school climates. Also, longitudinal research can be conducted to examine changes in student perceptions of school climate and its influence on ethnic prejudice.

In the future, it is hoped that there will be more concrete and sustainable efforts to ensure a positive school environment for children as children generally spend most of their time at school. One effort that needs to be done to harness schools as a medium to socialize anti-prejudicial attitude and behavior is the implementation of the curriculum. According to cognitive science, prejudice is closely related to children's cognitive abilities, which means that schools can contribute to the development of children's cognitive abilities. Socio-cognitive abilities such as empathy and perspective taking, which are assumed to be negatively correlated with prejudice, can be integrated into the curriculum or fostered through extracurricular activities.

School is an auspicious environment for prevention and implementation of interventions that aim to reduce prejudice and other negative group attitudes. Empirical results show that fostering direct contact or indirect contact is an effective way to instill positive attitudes between groups - especially if contact produces inter-group friendship. Additionally, children will also learn to cooperate with members of other groups. The development of positive attitude and cooperation can be realized through creating optimal class conditions based on the findings of Allport (1954), which allows intergroup contact that decreases prejudice. In the context of cooperative learning, students work together in small assignment groups that

are heterogeneous in ethnicity, ability, and gender. Groups will only be deemed successful and get good rewards or marks if all of its members contribute to its completion, which allows the interdependence and accountability of each. An example of a cooperative learning technique is Jigsaw-Program. A study conducted by Aronson found that students from Jigsaw classes showed a significant reduction in prejudices and stereotypes, more confidence, equal or better performance in general achievement tests, had more positive attitudes towards school, and attend school more often compared to students from the control class (Aronson, 2002). Future research may replicate Aronson's (2002) study to harness the school as a place that can eliminate the development of children's prejudice.

The second hypothesis of this study is that there is a negative influence of peers' ethnic socialization on children's ethnic prejudice. The stronger the peer socialization in propagating ethnic-related attitudes, the lower the ethnic prejudice of the child. However, the results of this study indicate that there is a negative yet insignificant effect of peers' ethnic socialization on children's ethnic prejudice. This means that levels of ethnic prejudice in children are not influenced by peers' ethnic socialization.

The theory of social influence assumes that individual attitudes and behaviors are influenced by other individuals and social groups through the process of socialization (Kelman, 1958, 2005; Latané, 1981; Nowak, Szamrej, & Latané, 1990). Cultural socialization refers to the development process by which children learn about cultural history and traditions, gain cultural beliefs and values, and develop positive attitudes towards the said culture (Hughes et al., 2006; Romero, Cuéllar, & Roberts, 2000; Tyler et al., 2008). Socialization generally examines racial/ethnic issues and also relates to other forms of inter-ethnic attitude, such as ingroup bias and egalitarianism. Socialization has consistently been associated with good adjustment in children due to its focus on positive cultural messages (Hughes et al., 2006). Although the benefits of familial, cultural socialization have been well documented in the literature, little is known about cultural socialization, especially those carried out by peer groups (Priest et al., 2014; as cited in Wang et al., 2016).

Friends are an important source of social influence on children. As mentioned previously, Phinney and Chavira (as cited in Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004) explained that ethnic

socialization is the extent to which an individual exposes, discusses, and directly teach other individuals about their ethnic background. Therefore, in this study, peer ethnic socialization is defined as the extent to which a child acquires information about their peers' ethnic background by exposing, discussing, and perhaps direct teaching.

Peer socialization is the effect of social relations that occur during the process of forming social norms. Through socialization, groups accept someone based on shared characteristics (Evans, Powers, Hersey, & Renaud, 2006). To be accepted, someone will have to adopt the attitude and behavior of the group. Peer socialization can be real (e.g., pressure from peers) or perceived (e.g., adolescents change attitudes and behaviors based on perceived group norms, which may or may not be real). Peer socialization is often referred to as peer pressure, a term that indicates direct persuasion of individuals towards their friends to adjust to their behavior.

Group norm theory states that the purpose of connection and self-definition guides individuals to adopt their peer's attitude and behavior - specifically attitude and behavior that represent group identity - as a means of establishing social relationships with the individual's respective groups (Crandall et al., 2002; Kelman, 1958; Sherif & Sherif, 1953; as cited in Paluck, 2011) and avoiding acts of labeling social irregularities (Blanton & Christie, 2003; as cited in Paluck, 2011). This basic goal concludes that peers can influence many types of behavior, ranging from the environment (Schultz, Nolan, Cialdini, Goldstein, & Griskevicius, 2007) to matters related to politics and economics (Nowak & Vallacher, 2001). Peer influence is driven by fundamental human goals and can, in turn, drive individual attitudes and behavior (e.g., from prosocial to antisocial). Thus, it is essential to understand the extent of its influence. The assumption that children the adopt group attitude that their peers adhere to has attracted the attention of social development researchers. However, research using independent assessments of children and peers produced varied findings (Thijs & Verkuyten, 2011). One reason for this inconsistency is that peer roles depend on intergroup contexts.

A consistent and valid research finding has been about similarities in attitude and behavior among children and adolescents towards their friends. Nesdale (2005) found that peer groups have an important role in the development of child prejudice from a very early age.

Peer influence is considered more important than parents and teachers. Nesdale & Lawson (2011) proved that children's attitude towards their outgroup reflect how group norms are referred. This research is consistent with the theory which state that children have the basic need to be accepted and belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995 in Nesdale & Lawson, 2011) and that children's membership in a group will be an integral part of their self-concept (Bennet & Sani, 2008; as cited in Nesdale & Lawson, 2011). Past research on adolescents and adults prove that group norms have a significant influence on the behavior of its members (Brown, as cited in Nesdale et al., 2005). Group norms influence members in how they perceive their ingroup and outgroup and increase the tendency of displaying different attitudes towards each group, for example, by being negative towards outgroup members (Nesdale, 2005).

Peer influences on intergroup prejudice are driven by basic human goals of understanding, establishing social connections, and self-definition and are not caused by blind conformity (Asch, 1956; Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004). The theory of social reality shows that the purpose of understanding and establishing connections is to encourage individuals to verify their experiences with others, and to express attitudes and behaviors that are recognized and appreciated by others (Hardin & Conley, 2000; as cited in Paluck, 2011). The latest findings from research on intergroup relations reveal that the existence of social experiences such as intergroup contact can contribute or reduce intergroup attitudes and biases. Therefore, research on intergroup contact can provide an understanding of how social experiences can influence attitudes between groups. In general, the most significant predictor of prejudice reduction is friendship between groups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; as cited in Killen et al., 2015). This has many implications, given that peer relations and friendship are central to children's development (Killen et al., 2015).

Children aged 10-14 are at important periods of their group identity and intergroup attitude development (Thijs & Verkuyten, 2011). At this age, children also develop knowledge about the social implications of ethnic and racial group differences (Quintana, 1998). This age is characterized by an increase in sensitivity to the norms and ideas of peer groups (Prinstein & Dodge, 2008) an adequate understanding of in-group bias that requires consideration in a social context (Barrett, 2007). Ingroup members provide important descriptive and prescriptive information about social reality (Turner, 1991; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, &

Wetherell, 1987). According to development of social identity theory (Nesdale, 2008) and subjective group dynamics development model (Abrams & Rutland, 2008), children's display of ethnic prejudice depends on the norms held by members of their group (Nesdale, 2008). Reference group theory also argues that groups provide the most important frame of reference, in which individuals are more influenced by ingroup members than by outgroup members (Merton, 1957; Leach & Vliek, 2008).

According to the social learning theory, the children's level of prejudice is also influenced by friends in their environment, including the classroom and home environment (Nelson, 2016). As with research on the parent's influence on children's racial attitudes, the results of studies on peer influence also have varied results. The differences in findings may be due to considerable variation in the context of age and peer groups and the extent to which children discuss race and ethnicity with each other. Aboud & Doyle (as cited in Nelson, 2016) found that children with low prejudice (based on the measurement taken during pretest) who discuss their racial attitudes with friends with high prejudice, were able to reduce the level of the prejudice of their friends.

This study concluded that the peers' ethnic socialization did not correlate with ethnic prejudice. This means higher peer socialization that instills values of own ethnicity does not affect the ethnic prejudices of children. Therefore, it can be concluded that peers do not influence the development of prejudice. Peers' ethnic socialization in this study was measured through a scale that was developed based on the scale of The Peer Ethnic Socialization Measure (PESM) constructed by Reinhard (2010). This scale consists of 14 items developed from 4 subscales: (a) Promoting pride, in which peers promote pride of their ethnicity; (b) Cultural knowledge, in which peers share knowledge on their ethnic background; (c) Cultural traditions, in which peers teach about their cultural traditions; (d) Promoting awareness of discrimination and helping friends cope with it, through which peers teach awareness of differences between ethnicities and the possibility of discrimination. Based on the results of descriptive analysis on the distribution of responses to the PESH subscales for peer's ethnic socialization, it was found that majority of children rated "quite often" for promoting pride indicator at 49%. The similar figure can also be found in other subscales in which the majority of children rated "quite often" for cultural

knowledge, cultural traditions, and promotion awareness subscales with 58.5%, 57.6%, and 56.3%, respectively. Therefore, it can be concluded that the children involved in this study acquired information about ethnicities from their peers quite often.

Unfortunately, these positive messages were unable to guide children to a more balanced evaluation to members of the outgroup. This is because what is transmitted by peers does not have an effect on both the development and the reduction of ethnic prejudice. This finding is in line with previous studies that show that peer groups also adhere to and support their respective families' socialization of cultural heritage, exemplified by talking to friends about the importance of studying cultural heritage, encouraging young people to get along with people from their own racial/ethnic groups, and appreciate other forms of their cultural heritage (Wang et al., 2015). This ethnocentrism has not helped in reducing prejudice. A study that examines contact among peers without judging the content of peer interactions or messages of socialization shows that both inter-ethnic contact and ethnic contact can be associated with the development of ethnic identity in children and adolescents (Umaña-Taylor, 2004; Yip, Seaton, & Seller, 2010). It can also be theoretically concluded that peer socialization around racial/ethnic issues, especially concerning positive messages, tend to encourage teenagers' positive attitudes toward ethnic groups and themselves (Hughes et al., 2011; Yip & Douglass, 2011; as cited in Wang et al., 2016). However, future studies should better understand the influence of peers to see how the patterns of behavior and social norms can develop among children, and how climate or culture social factors may affect the process (Latané, 2000; as cited in Paluck, 2011).

These assumptions might explain why the two variables in this study did not show any positive or negative influences. Longitudinal or experimental research related to ideal socialization must be carried out in the future as socialization is a process that has psychological dynamics. In this case, the success of a socialization process will occur if situations that can affect its success or failure are considered. An example that relates to the context of this study is children's motivation in receiving messages conveyed by peers, the quality of friendship, self-esteem, or other personality aspects. Thus, how the socialization process influences children's attitudes can be understood in a comprehensive manner. In addition, strong attachment to parents and less effect of the message conveyed by peer

groups is possibly due to the subject of this research being individuals who were still in their childhood. According to Bowlby (as cited in DiPentima & Toni, 2009), children's early interaction with their primary caregivers influences the development of social competencies in terms of their ability to build social bonds by both engaging in interpersonal relationships and risk-taking activities. A large number of studies show that during childhood, adolescence, and adulthood, the attachment of security is related to social skills. In childhood, safe relationships with caregivers lead to an ability to experience pleasure or get positive influence from social contact and to develop relational abilities.

Children who feel safe show more self-control and reciprocal behavior than children who feel insecure (Elicker, Englund, & Sroufe, 1992; Gianino, Tronick, 1998). Also, children who feel safe are more competent in socializing with peers and successful in achieving good friendships (Troy, Sroufe, 1987; Vandell, Owen, Wilson, & Henderson, 1988; Grossmann, Grossmann, 1991). Children who are safe in a group context feel more often accepted as friends (Sroufe, Bennett, Englund, Urban, & Shulman, 1993; as cited in Di Pentima & Toni, 2009). The skills of interaction learned during childhood are then applied to new environments to build social relations that tend to be relatively stable until adolescence. Safe teens show greater social ability than adolescents who are insecure in interpersonal relationships (Treboux, Crowell, Owens, Pan, 1994; Weinfield, Ogawa, & Sroufe, 1997; as cited in DiPentima & Toni, 2009). It is possible that children in this study did not have strong attachments with their peer groups. Thus, the messages that delivered in the process of ethnic socialization are not enough to influence the development or reduction of ethnic prejudice.

The third hypothesis in this study is that there is a negative effect of parents' ethnic socialization on children's ethnic prejudice. If children perceive that their parent's attempt to propagate ethnicity-related attitude becomes more intensive, then their ethnic prejudice will decrease accordingly. The results of this study confirm the hypothesis that there is a significant negative effect of parents' ethnic socialization on ethnic prejudice in children. This means that the more intensive parents in enforcing information, values, and perspectives on ethnicity to their children, the lower the children's ethnic prejudice.

Several studies show that the development of intergroup attitude in children is the result of interactions between genetic predisposition, socialization, and situational factors (Miklikowska, 2015). Developmental and social psychology theories emphasize the role of socialization agents: that intergroup attitudes in children are a function of their parents' attitudes through the process of social transmission (Aboud & Amato, 2002; Allport, 1954; Bandura, 1977; Nesdale, 2001; as cited in Miklikowska, 2015). According to the theory of social learning, parents are role models for their offspring (Bandura, 1977). Who seek parental acceptance internalize parents' beliefs and values, which in turn encourages intergenerational correspondence in attitude formation (Acock, 1984; Allport, 1954). Other theorists also argue that secure attachment fosters a child's willingness to accept parental advice while also striving to meet their parents' expectations.

Phinney and Chavira (as cited in Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004) state that familial ethnic socialization is defined as the extent to which family members (e.g., grandparents, parents, siblings, and other relatives) expose, discuss, and directly teach children about their ethnic background. This is in line with Ruggles' (1994) statement that socialization agents in childhood can also be carried out by all core family members such as grandmothers, grandfathers, uncles, or aunts. Although children acquire information about their ethnicity from various sources (e.g., peers, media), researchers agree that families play a central role in this process (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1995; Knight, Bernal, et al., 1993; Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992; as cited in Umana-Taylor & Yazedjian, 2006). Several studies of familial ethnic socialization show that this socialization can be carried out both in secret and out in the open (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). For familial ethnic socialization that is carried out in secret, parents inadvertently try to teach their children about ethnicity through daily activities; for example, by decorating homes with objects from their culture.

Meanwhile, open conduct of familial ethnic socialization refers to family members who intentionally and directly try to teach children about their ethnicity; for example, by buying books about their culture and asking their children to read the books (Umana-Taylor & Yazedjian, 2006). Familial socialization has an important influence on the development of children's social competence (Harrison et al., 1990), among which is ethnic socialization that prepares them for encounters with ethnic differences. In this study, ethnic socialization

focused on parents. Parents' ethnic socialization refers to how parents transmit values, perspectives, and other information about race and ethnicity to their children (Hughes et al., 2006). This information can cover various matters such as the history of their ethnic groups, customs and traditions, ethnic pride, awareness of discrimination, intergroup trust and distrust, and respect for diversity and equality among groups (Seok et al., 2012). The transmission of the values allows children to understand and recognize their ethnicity as well as identify the presence of other ethnicities that are different from themselves. With this, children will perceive that parents have transmitted positive values and attitudes related to intergroup attitudes. Recognizing and accepting ethnic differences and diversity leads children to have low ethnic prejudice. But conversely, if parents do not teach values to ethnicity, children have a difficult time accepting the existence of other ethnicities, which in turn can foster prejudiced attitudes.

The relationship between parents' ethnic socialization and ethnic prejudice obtained varied results. Some studies have concluded that ethnic prejudice in children can develop through modeling of their parents' socialization. On the other hand, parents can play the role of agents who prevent the development of prejudice in children. This study concludes that there is a contradicting effect of parent's ethnic socialization on children's ethnic prejudice. In other words, based on the perspective of children, parents have a positive influence on the inhibition of ethnic prejudice. In this case, parents, both consciously and unconsciously, teach attitudes that illustrate a positive evaluation of Chinese-Indonesian who are usually as a target of prejudice. Although Chinese-Indonesian has often been scapegoats of social problems, parents can counteract such negative information so that their children do not develop negative attitudes towards Chinese-Indonesian.

This research was conducted in three cities on three different islands. The researcher had different reasons for choosing each of the three cities: (a) Bangkalan, located on the island of Madura, was chosen because the researcher assumed that the majority of the population were Muslim, and had very small Chinese-Indonesian population (a majority who are not Muslims). The differences in the religious context lead the assumption that the two ethnic groups are vulnerable to disharmony. (b) Yogyakarta, located on the island of Java, was chosen because the city it still applies discriminatory regulations towards the Chinese-

Indonesian. The discriminative rules are specifically related to land ownership, which states that Chinese residing Yogyakarta does not have land rights. This led the researchers to assume that the relations between the Chinese-Indonesian with inlanders are vulnerable to conflict. (c) Meanwhile, Medan on the island of Sumatra has very different characteristics. The city seems very open to ethnic diversity. As a metropolitan city, Medan does not have a dominant culture which has led each ethnic group to maintain their own culture, which in turn led to the strengthening of a sense of ethnic unity in the community. Each ethnic group has built a new village of which the norms, rules, and traditional ideologies of their respective regions of origin apply. This situation causes the strengthening of primordial bonds within each ethnic group. It is, therefore, assumed that harmonious relations between interethnic groups in this city only occurs on the "surface." However, several aspects that contribute to the vulnerability of interethnic conflicts in Medan do not impact the transmission of negative ethnic values from parents to their children. It is evident that values parents transmit to their children (e.g., cultural embeddedness, history, heritage, cultural values, ethnic pride) do not influence prejudice development.

The results of this study illustrate that ethnic socialization by parents can reduce children's ethnic prejudice. The implication of this finding is that parents are important social agents for the prevention and intervention of ethnic prejudice in children. Parents have the means a power to convey the right cultural messages to their children, particularly regarding maintaining a positive intergroup relationship with other ethnic groups. Therefore, parents should seek insights about cultural diversity, specifically cultural diversity in Indonesia, to transfer positive knowledge, values, and attitudes related to interethnic relations to their children. Due to their duty as their children's role model, parents also need to build an open-minded mindset to be able to see social situations more objectively. Parents have to provide understanding to their children that being part of a majority group does mean superiority over minority groups. This teaching should also be accompanied by the development of children's attitude that reflects the spirit of the Pancasila. Emphasis on Indonesia's national slogan "Unity in Diversity" should also allow individuals to see issues related to ethnic differences more objectively and proportionally. Also, parents also need to identify and recognize with whom their children are getting along. It is expected that parents can guide children to befriend people who bring positive changes. Parents play a key role

because, in childhood and adolescence, they are considered one of the most important significant other. These studies results illustrate that a relationship between parents' attitudes and children's attitudes is in line with ecological theory by Bronfenbrenner (as cited in Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013) who argued that developmental processes and outcomes of the development are the results of interaction between individuals and their environment thus that the results of this study confirm findings of Bronfenbrenner.

Conclusion

This study found evidence that there was a significant negative effect between parents' ethnic socialization and ethnic prejudice in children. The more intensive parents' attempt to communicate ethnicity-related attitudes (based on the children's perspective), the lower the ethnic prejudice. The results of this study illustrate that ethnic socialization by parents can decrease children's ethnic prejudice. This shows that parents have an important role in inhibiting the development of prejudice in children. Parents can become agents who instill positive intergroup attitudes. Therefore, parents must be able to provide balanced information regarding negative issues related to inter-group relations. This finding implies that parents need to be more active yet also careful concerning their ethnic socialization to not produce counter-productive outcomes. Parents need to be careful in conveying cultural messages, especially those related to other ethnic groups. This research also proved that there was an insignificant negative relationship between peers' ethnic socialization and children's ethnic prejudice. This means that the presence of peers' ethnic socialization has no impact on children's ethnic prejudice. The results of this study also show that there was an insignificant negative relationship between the school climate and children's ethnic prejudice. This means that school climate, or more specifically quality and character developed in the school environment, has no impact on children's ethnic prejudice. In other words, school climate did not contribute as a medium in inhibiting the development of ethnic prejudice in children. Hence there needs to be more a concrete effort so that schools can serve as a medium in disseminating positive intergroup attitudes to children. This is because children generally spend more time at school. Overall the results of this study proved that ethnic socialization carried out by socialization agents such as parents, peers, and the school climate can influence whether ethnic prejudice in children

can be developed or not. However, there is still a need to further investigate ethnic socialization related topics. It is expected that agents be more active and careful in providing information related to ethnicity in the future for ethnic socialization to have a positive impact. In the future, it is hoped that similar research can also be conducted in other areas by considering the limitations of this research, such as including a more representative selection of subjects, using a more comprehensive statistical analysis and adding other variables that may directly or indirectly affect prejudice, hence achieving a more comprehensive picture of prejudice development in children.

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