

**Acculturation, identification and hybridity:  
Cultural identity negotiation  
among young Australians of Indonesian origin**

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## Dedication

I solemnly dedicate this thesis to my late father **Abah Aning** and my grandmother **Emu Ratna** who dropped me at the airport when my family and I left for Melbourne, Australia, but did not have a chance to pick us up again to cherish this accomplishment. May you both be placed in His highest paradise.

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## Abstract

This urban ethnographic study seeks to investigate different ways by which twelve young Australians of Indonesian origin identify with Indonesia, the home country of their parents, and with Australia, their current country of settlement.

Making use of semi-structured interviews, photo discussion, and observation at cultural events, the study is based on acculturation attitudes (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 2006; Ward, 2001) and social-cultural identity theory (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Giddens, 1991; Vygotsky, 1968). Dimensions of identification include sense of belonging, its importance, evaluation and tradition (Tajfel, 1978a; Phinney, 1990; Ward, 2001; Barrett and Davis, 2008). The identity motives of Vignoles (2011), Wenger's (2008) modes of belonging, Norton's (2000) identity and investment, as well as Andersen's (2006) imagined communities were used to provide a deeper level of analysis.

The participating young people have different levels of identification with Indonesia and Australia. Six show strong identification with Indonesia, three show stronger identification with Australia while the three remaining participants show a balanced identification with both Indonesia and Australia. Parental cultural socialization is contested, leading to tension with the young people who have been more widely exposed to Australian values resulting in the development of a hyphenated Indonesian-Australian hybrid identity (Beltran, 2004; Marotta, 2008; Poynting, 2009). All the twelve participants have developed multiple identities and use them strategically, to be 'different people', depending on the situation (Hoggs & Abrams, 1988; Vasta, 1995; White & Wyn, 2008).

The study recommends that parents be more open in socializing their ethnic identity so that young people can integrate Indonesian values with those of the dominant culture of current settlement. Young people's understanding of Indonesian-Australian values is a positive contribution to the resilience of Australian national identity and the betterment of the relationship between people of the two close neighboring countries.



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## Chapter One

### FRAMING THE STUDY

#### 1.1 Rationale and Reflexivity

This study seeks to investigate different ways by which young Australians of Indonesian origin identify with Indonesia, the home country of their parents, and how they associate with Australia, their current country of settlement. In this study, I explore the ethnic identity negotiation of twelve young Australians of Indonesian origin in Melbourne, Australia, by focusing how the young people, who were born in Australia or in Indonesia but brought to Australia at an early age, negotiate their Indonesian-ness as an ethnic identity in the Australian context, which may be influenced by parents, peers, and other community members.

Transnational relocation is not a new phenomenon but dates back thousands of years. The majority of the population in countries such as the United States, Canada and Australia is, in essence, the result of migration. In Australia, for example, Western Europeans of British origin started arriving at the end of the eighteenth century. They were followed by immigrants from other parts of Europe, Asia and the Middle East. Currently, Anglo-Europeans of British or Irish descent are the dominant population while others such as Greek, Italian, German, Chinese, Indian, Vietnamese and Indonesian are minority ethnic groups (Zelinka, 1995). Australia is now one of the world countries with an extremely diverse population in terms of ethnicity, culture and national origin (Guerra & White, 1995).

Regardless of purpose for people's transnational relocation such as economy, politics and education, one of the consistent consequences is that immigrant people have to experience an acculturation process. They have to live in and adjust

themselves to a new and commonly more dominant and established culture different from their own (Nesdale, Rooney & Smith, 1997). Within this more dominant culture, they generally have to live as a minority group whose language and culture may not be represented. They have to undergo an acculturation process by which they either assimilate to the dominant culture, separate themselves by maintaining the heritage culture only, or integrate both cultures into their own lives (Berry, 1997). When they choose integration, for instance, immigrant people may start to question the representation of themselves; who they are, where they fit in the more dominant culture. This question and search for ethnic identity may be more salient among the second generation of minority groups who were born in or brought to the country of current settlement at a very young age. They may inclusively identify with both the origin and host culture and form their own 'hybrid identity' (Bhabha, 1994; Beltran, 2004; Poynting, 2009).

Scholars such as Clyne (1982, 1991, 1994, 2005), Clyne and Kipp (1997), Smolicz (1980, 1989, 2002), Smolicz and Secombe (1985), Smolicz, Lee, Murugaian, and Secombe (1990), Leuner (2007), and Mucherah (2008) consider ethnic identity maintenance in a multicultural society like Australia important. Van Oudenhoven, Ward and Masgoret (2006) claim that nations which support maintenance of cultural heritage while at the same time promoting a superordinate national identity, such as Canada, show high levels of ethnic tolerance. Stronger national or ethnic identity is also associated with more positive out-group attitudes (DeRoza & Ward, 2005). In a different study, Van Oudenhoven (2006) concludes that the tendency for immigrants to identify by national label is higher in Canada than in the United States or

Australia. Supporting their argument above, Van Oudenhoven, Ward and Masgoret (2006) also believe that:

... it is the acceptance of multiculturalism and the evolution of a multifaceted, inclusive national identity that holds the promise for our future in an era of increasing globalization (p. 649).

The study of acculturation and ethnic identity has received substantial attention. There is a growing body of research on acculturation and ethnic identity negotiation among immigrant families (Phinney, 1990; Fulligni et al., 1999; Barrett & Davis, 2008; Berry et al., 2006). As a tool for understanding family ethnic socialization of young people, understandings of acculturation attitudes and ethnic identity construction are important as these can help young ethnic minorities adjust to both the new culture of current settlement and the heritage culture of their families. This balancing between minority heritage culture and that of the society of settlement may help their adaptation process. Successful adaptation to the dominant culture is a basic psychological need among ethnic minority young people (Sam, 2000). Although most young people of ethnic minority live in a better economic condition in the new country, they may feel alienated if they are denied access to their parental culture of origin. Integrating their heritage culture into the dominant culture may reduce their feeling of alienation. At the same time, maintaining aspects of heritage culture such as speaking ethnic language is socially beneficial as a means for group integrity and belonging, identity and cognitive development as well as academic achievement (Thieberger, 1990; Moje & Martinez, 2007).

If we accept the arguments above, identification matters, especially for young people of ethnic minorities, because it is the 'basic cognitive mechanism of

humans to select themselves and their fellows, individually and collectively,' mostly rooted in language and culture, which is necessary for their psychological well-being (Jenkins, 2008; p. 13). Maldonado (1975) claims that "ethnic self-identity is ... central to the development of the personal identity of minority group members" (p. 621). The search for identity is considered fundamental for people in late adolescence and emerging adulthood who are in the period of searching out who they are and what they want to be in their future. In the Australian context, this identity search may be considered more salient among young people of minority than those who are part of the culturally dominant groups (Markovic & Manderson, 2002).

Integration into both the heritage culture and that of the current settlement seems to assist with settlement issues among immigrant families, including among young Australians of Indonesian origin. Several studies have shown that most young people of ethnic minority groups consider integration to be the most accommodative acculturation attitude (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 2006). In the context of Australia, Smolicz and Secombe (1985) posit that:

The Australian quest to become a 'multicultural nation' has been the search for a solution to the dilemma of reconciling the immigrants' love for their homeland and its culture, on the one hand, and their desire to adapt to the overarching Australian framework, on the other hand (p. 321).

Ethnic identity negotiation includes many factors such as peers as the context of dominant culture and family or parental practices (Phinney, 1990; Barrett & Davis, 2008). Identification in this study includes belonging to the country whereas attitudes include ascribing importance to the country and emotions and feelings towards Indonesia such as pride or shame (Barrett, 2005). Meanwhile, parental

socialization practices include speaking ethnic language to their children, involving them in cultural and religious events and introducing them to ethnic cultural artifacts such as dance, music, dress and food (Clyne, 2005; Willoughby, 2006; Moua & Lambourn, 2010).

Language is the core means of identity construction (Smolicz, 1980; Hall, 1996, 2000). It is through language that we can understand what young Australian residents of Indonesian origin in this study feel about living in Australia and how they express their feeling and attitudes towards their parents' native country, Indonesia. Speaking ethnic language is an essential aspect of ethnic identity maintenance among immigrant families (Smolicz, 1980; Fishman, 1997; Clyne, 2005; Willoughby, 2006). However, as feeling is not always verbal, visual expression in the form of photographs can also show affiliation or membership to both Indonesia and Australia. Visual language sometimes expresses more than verbal language can do (Kenney, 1993; Croghan, Griffin, Hunter & Phoenix, 2008; Prosser & Schwartz, 1998). These verbal and visual expressions are the main source of ethnic identity investigation in this study.

Furthermore, my personal experience inspires this ethnic identity investigation. Temporary transnational relocation to the United States in the 2000s and then Australia influences my identification with my home country and the current country of settlement. When I was living in Indonesia, I rarely considered myself Indonesian. I felt more Sundanese (a local ethnic group in Indonesia) than Indonesian. In my daily interaction in neighborhood and at work, I mostly speak Sundanese, not Bahasa Indonesia. This national language is only used in inter-local

ethnic interactions among Indonesians. It was only when I travelled overseas that I realized my national identity as Indonesian. I understand that I cannot use my local ethnic identity (Sundanese) to interact with Australians because they are more familiar with my Indonesian identity. The experience of living in the United States and then Australia has, in fact, grown my awareness of the importance of my ethnic identity maintenance as Indonesian. At the same time, I also start growing an interest in learning the cultural aspects of my temporary settlement in the United States and Australia.

This personal experience, together with the rationale above, is essential in shaping this study on ethnic identity negotiation and maintenance among young Australians of Indonesian origin. Many studies have investigated the acculturation of large ethnic groups in Australia such as Italian, German, Greek, Indian, Chinese, and Vietnamese (Rosenthal & Hryvenich, 1983; Bettoni, 1985; Markovic & Manderson, 2002; Julian, 2004; Clyne, 2005; Willoughby, 2006; Ghuman, 2000; White, 1999). However, a small ethnic group like Indonesian, which is the focus of this study, is rarely studied. One study by Mulyana (1995) shows that Indonesian parents in Melbourne, Australia have strong identification with their country of origin and want to socialize their children to the Indonesian culture as an ethnic identity. Therefore, this study reexamines if they still hold this value. It is also interesting to explore if their children, who are the main focus of this study, have a similar or different opinion from their parents on ethnic identity maintenance.

## 1.2 Research questions

The main focus of the study is how do the young participants identify with both Indonesia and Australia? This main question is explained in three sub-questions. First, how do the young Australians of Indonesian origin show their sense of belonging and attitudes towards both Indonesia and Australia? Second, how do social contexts (parents and peers) influence the young participants' identification with both countries? Third, how do the young participants develop their hybrid identity which emerges from both Indonesian and Australian cultures?

## 1.3 Significance of the study

Examining the identity negotiation of young Australian residents of Indonesian origin, a small minority group in Australia, this study is important for several reasons. Firstly, it provides the researchers with an insight into how the young Australians of Indonesian origin identify with Indonesia, the ethnic culture of their parents. For instance, maintaining Bahasa Indonesia may be socially considered beneficial for them as a means for group integrity and belonging, identity development, cultural heritage, cognitive development and academic achievement (Thieberger, 1990). The study also shows how this second generation of immigrant families identifies with Australia, their current culture of settlement. Maintenance of heritage culture such as that of Indonesia, together with participation in the Australian host society, and maintenance of psychological and physical health are among main basic goals of immigrants in multicultural societies (Safdar, Lay & Struthers, 2003). This balancing between Indonesian heritage culture and the dominant Australian culture may help the success of their adaptation process (Sam, 2000).

Secondly, the study also shows how parents of Indonesian origin in Australia socialize their young people to the heritage culture. Similar to immigrant families in other ethnic groups, Indonesian parents may find that increased understanding of ethnic socialization practices will provide them with a more harmonious child-parent relationship which is essential in their family life. Meanwhile, for the Indonesian government, findings of this study are also important as it explores the sense of belonging of the second generation of Indonesian diasporas overseas, particularly in Australia. These young people are expected to be able to continuously contribute to their home country while living away.

Finally, the study also provides researchers with further understanding of how the participating young people develop their 'hybrid identities' (Bhabha, 1994; Beltran, 2004; Poynting, 2009) as young Australians of Indonesian origin. The participating young people may feel proud and confident of being young Australians of Indonesian origin who manage to have balanced harmony between their family (parents and community members) and social contexts (peers). In its smallest scale, understanding of this hybrid identification may contribute to the inclusive national resilience of Australia (Van Oudenhoven, Ward & Masgoret, 2006; Purdue, 2003; Smolicz, 1980, 1989; Smolicz & Secombe, 1985; Smolicz & Harris, 1977).

#### **1.4 Scope of the study**

This study centers on how the participants identify with Indonesia and Australia and does not explore their possible senses of belonging to other cultural groups. Indonesian culture in this study is an ethnic group coming from Indonesia whereas

Australian refers to the dominant Anglo-Australian culture. For this purpose, all methods of data generation such as semi-structured interviews, photo discussion, and observations are centered on the identification process between these two cultural groups.

### **1.5 Research methodology: Method, sites, and participants**

Exploring the subjective belonging of the participants with both Indonesia and Australia, this study is qualitative in nature (Berg, 2007; Merriam, 2009; Silverman, 2010; Stake, 2010). Data was generated from semi-structured interviews with young people (aged 18-26 years; 7 males and 5 females), and parents of 12 different families (6 males and 6 females), photo discussion with young people and observation at cultural events. Notions of ethnic identity negotiation in this study are identified through various ways such as semi-structured interview, photo-discussion and observation. Interviews reveal different patterns of identification to both Indonesia and Australia. Photo discussion shows different self-representations and affiliations to both countries which the interviews may not reveal. Observations at some cultural events also support how the identification process is implemented through participation and engagement (Norton, 2000; Wenger, 2008).

The twelve participating young people in this study were selected for certain criteria such as permanent residency, age, gender, and birthplace. First, they currently live as Australian permanent residents in the greater Melbourne area. Second, they are all aged between eighteen and thirties, seven male and five female. This range belongs to late adolescence or early adulthood, a period in which more stable identity negotiation comes to existence (Arnett, 2000, 2004). Although it is not

the main focus of analysis, gender difference is considered important in studies on ethnic identity maintenance (Nelson, 1980). Third, based on their birthplace, some of the participants were born in Indonesia and some others were in Australia. Next, the parents of the participants are Indonesians or they are children of intermarriage between Indonesian and Anglo-Australian who is considered the predominant population of Australia.

The participants of this study come from three community centers; The Indonesian Muslim Community of Victoria, the Indonesian Catholic Association and the Mahindra Bali for Indonesian Hindus. They are divided into two cohorts: young people, who are the main focus of the study, and parents, who serve as part of the study context. Some of the participating young people are the children of the adults and others are not.

### 1.5.1 Young people as the main study

The main participants of the study are twelve young people; seven males and five females, aged from eighteen to twenty six years old. Eight of them are the children of Indonesian-Indonesian couples and another four are the children of Australian-Indonesian couples. In terms of birthplace, half of them (six participants) were born in Australia and the other half were brought to Australia at an early age. Most of the young participants are currently Australian citizens and only three of them still hold Indonesian passports. Similar to the parents, the young participants also live in suburban areas around Melbourne.

Table 1.1 below shows the details of the participating young people. Names used in this study are pseudonyms. These details were accurate at the time of

interview but may have changed since. More details of each participating young person can be found in Appendix 3.

**Table 1.1**

<b>Name and Sex</b>	<b>Place of birth</b>	<b>Parents' local ethnicity</b>	<b>Age and education</b>	<b>Citizenship</b>
Elfasa (Male)	Australia	Javanese- Javanese	23 University	Australian
Finti (Female)	Indonesia	Australian- Sundanese	24 University	Australian
Fatha (Female)	Indonesia	Sundanese- Batakese	24 University	Indonesian
Andy (Male)	Indonesia	Chinese- Indonesian	18 Secondary college	Australian
Katrin (Female)	Indonesia	Chinese- Indonesian	24 University	Indonesian
Yara (Female)	Australia	Australian- Bugisi	22 University	Australian
Okki (Male)	Indonesia	Australian- Javanese	18 Secondary college	Australian
Abdi (Male)	Australia	Javanese- Javanese	18 Secondary college	Indonesian
Bob (Male)	Australia	Australian- Sundanese	26 Secondary college	Australian
Binda (Male)	Australia	Sundanese- Jakartan	21 University	Australian
Dafna (Female)	Indonesia	Padangese- Jakartan	18 Secondary college	Australian
Meskara (Male)	Australia	Balinese- Balinese	18 Secondary college	Australian

In terms of education, at the time of interview, most young participants were studying at university while a few were still attending secondary college. Most young participants went to public schools and only two of them attended private secondary colleges. One participant went to an Islamic school and another studied at a Catholic Ladies College. Similar to the parents, the young people also come from three major religious affiliations in Indonesia. Most of them are Muslims, three are Christians and one is an adherent of Hinduism.

### 1.5.2 Parents as the context

There are twelve parents, six fathers and six mothers, who participated in this study. They come from twelve different families who live permanently in several suburban areas of Melbourne, Australia. Their length of stay in Australia ranges from ten to twenty five years. Some of them have stayed in Melbourne since the beginning of their migration to Australia, others have lived in other cities before moving to Melbourne. Half of the parents have Indonesian-born spouses whereas the other half are married to Anglo-Australians. Of the six intermarriage couples, four consist of Indonesia-born wives married to Australian husbands and the other two are Indonesian-born husbands married to Australian wives. In terms of citizenship, some intermarriage parents hold Australian citizenship whereas others hold their Indonesian passports.

Participating parents represent a large group of local major ethnicities in Indonesia, occupying several large islands of Indonesia such as Java, Sumatra, Bali and Sulawesi. Three parents are Javanese and one is Sundanese, the two major ethnic groups on Java island. Representing Sumatra island, one parent is Acehese and another is Batakese. Four parents are Chinese Indonesian who come from Java and the Sulawesi islands of Indonesia.

They also represent the three largest religious affiliations in Indonesia; Islam, Christianity and Hindu. Five parents are Muslim, another four parents are Christians and the other three are Hindus, most of whom are practicing religious adherents. In terms of occupation, most participating parents have professional jobs. One participating mother is employed as a university lecturer, two male participants work

as accountants, another two males work as mechanics, one female teaches at a high school, another male works as an IT professional at a government office, and the other two males are part-time working homemakers.

Table 1.2 below shows the alphabetical list of participating parents. Please note that pseudonyms are used for all participants and that explicit reference to place names or any other identifying factor is avoided. More details of each participating parent can be found in Appendix 3.

**Table 1.2**

<b>Name and sex</b>	<b>Length of stay in Australia</b>	<b>Indonesian local ethnicity</b>	<b>Spouse</b>	<b>Occupation</b>
Agus (Male)	More than 10 years	Balinese	Australian	Mechanic
Anabela (Female)	More than 10 years	Chinese	Indonesian	Domestic
Yusi (Female)	More than 15 years	Acehnese	Australian	Domestic
Hesti (Female)	More than 15 years	Batakese	Indonesian	University lecturer
Hendi (Male)	More than 10 years	Chinese	Indonesian	Accountant
Made (Male)	More than 15 years	Balinese	Indonesian	Accountant
Mardoyo (Male)	More than 20 years	Javanese	Indonesian	Unskilled
Putu (Male)	More than 20 years	Balinese	Australian	Chef
Risna (Female)	More than 15 years	Javanese	Australian	Government officer
Ruslan (Male)	More than 10 years	Chinese	Indonesian	Technician
Susan (Female)	More than 10 years	Javanese	Australian	Aged care attendant
Yarsi (Female)	More than 15 years	Sundanese	Australian	High school teacher

## 1.6 Thesis outline

This thesis consists of ten chapters. The introduction chapter discusses the rationale and my personal reflexivity which offers a framework for analysis. Then come the research questions, the significance of the study, its scope, methodology and thesis outline.

In the next chapter of theoretical overview, I discuss acculturation process, social identification, language and hybridity. The chapter describes different types of acculturation attitudes among immigrant young people, their social identity development, elements of ethnic identification, contested identification between parents and young people, and the development of hybrid identity.

In Chapter Three of methodology, I negotiate ethnic identity through multiple lenses by describing my experience as a half-insider researcher, which is important to explain in this urban ethnographic study. Then, I also describe the method of data collection and analysis before discussing my personal experience as an Indonesian who lives temporarily as a student in Melbourne, Australia. This personal experience serves as a basic framework for analyzing the participants' life experience as young Indonesians in Melbourne. I may share both similar and different personal experiences with my participating young people as we share certain similar life backgrounds. Although we are all Indonesians, I was born and grew up in Indonesia but they grew up in Australia. This different nurturance influences how we see Indonesia as our home country and Australia as our current residence.

In Chapter Four, I describe the contextual setting of the study, that is, Indonesia and Australia as the cultural contexts of the study. As an ethnic group, core cultural values of Indonesia include Bahasa Indonesia, collective parental expectations, and cultural practices. Meanwhile, as the setting of current settlement, Australian values include English language, individualistic-oriented parental expectations and Australian popular culture.

The next five chapters are findings and analysis. Chapter Five focuses on the first group of the participants (six young people) who show strong identification with Indonesia. This chapter discusses the use of Bahasa Indonesia, Indonesian parental expectations and engagement in cultural festivals among the participants. Chapter Six describes the second group of the participants (three young people) who have the opposite direction, showing stronger identification with Australia. Their aspects of identification with Australia include the use of English, Australian values and popular culture. Chapter Seven examines the last group of the participants (three young people) who manage to have a balanced identification with both cultures. They embrace the elements of identification with both Australia and Indonesia in a relatively balanced proportion. Chapter Eight discusses the contested parental ethnic identity socialization whereas Chapter Nine explores the development of hybrid or hyphenated Indonesian-Australian identity of the young people.

Finally, Chapter Ten provides several conclusions and recommendations for the current and future study of the field, followed by sections of References and Appendices.

## Chapter Two

### ACCULTURATION, SOCIAL IDENTIFICATION AND HYBRIDITY

#### 2.1 Introduction

In this study, I explore the ways in which young Australians of Indonesian origin identify with both Indonesia, the origin culture of their parents, and Australia, their current culture of settlement. I particularly look at what it means to be Indonesian and Australian for the young people participating in this study. My first framework is based on several studies on the acculturation process among immigrant families and relevant theories (Gibson, 2001; Kim, 2001; Ward, 2001; Safdar, Lay & Struthers, 2003; Berry et al., 1989; Berry et al., 2006). The main theory I used to analyze the data in this aspect is various acculturation attitudes proposed by Berry (1997), Berry et al. (2006), Ward (2001), Ward and Masgoret (2006) which include integration, counterbalancing, assimilation, separation, and marginalization.

The second section of the theoretical framework focuses on social identification which draws on individual identity by Erikson (1968), social comparison and social identity (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Hogg & Abrams, 1988), reflexive self-identity (Giddens, 1991), and Vygotsky's (1978) socio-cultural identity development. I start by contrasting ethnicity as an individual and social identity among minority young people in several major immigrant countries such as Canada and the United States, and then move into a more specific focus on Australia which shares similar characteristics as an immigrant country. Then, I synthesize definitions and understandings of ethnic identity as an intersection of developmental and social psychology by emphasizing how each participant develops his or her identity (what

one does), how they feel as a group (who one is), how they evaluate their own group, and how they compare their group identities with other groups.

In the next section of the theoretical framework, I elaborate on aspects of identification with both ethnic and dominant cultures which include belonging, importance of the belonging, and attitudes towards the groups (Phinney, 1990; Barrett & Davis, 2008). I also discuss parental cultural socialization practices by immigrant families and community members as the most important element of ethnic identification with the exposure of cultural context at large. Then, I end the theoretical framework by exploring the possible contestation of identification between parents and peers as two significant agents. The contestation may result in different acculturation attitudes which, in turn, may lead to the development of hybridized identity as Indonesian-Australian.

## **2.2 Acculturation among immigrant families**

Acculturation is defined as the process of cultural change and adaptation due to the contact of different cultures (Berry, 1997; Phinney, 1990; Gibson, 2001; Kim, 2001; Ward, 2001). In this world of international relocation, acculturation process is inevitable. This acculturation leads to intercultural identity which links individuals to more than one culture and allows them to embrace the values of multi-cultures (Kim, 2001). This intercultural identity, which is a facet of intercultural communication, is considered influential in the life of the immigrant young people who are the main focus of this study.

Being exposed to the more dominant culture, members of ethnic minority groups have to take a stance in relation to their heritage culture. They may take various acculturation attitudes such as integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 2006). For instance, when young Australians of Indonesian origin believe that the dominant culture is more beneficial and superior, they adopt the assimilation attitude by ignoring their parents' ethnic socialization practices and following values of the mainstream culture. They may integrate their heritage culture with the mainstream Australian culture if they think that both cultures are beneficial by embracing the values of two different cultures and, therefore, regarding themselves as bicultural. When young people reject the dominant culture, they choose separation by maintaining their heritage culture and ignoring the mainstream culture. Minority young people may have lost contact with both their heritage culture and that of the mainstream by holding neither the values of their heritage culture nor those of the dominant culture.

Similar to Berry's acculturation attitudes above, Ward (2001) provides three dominant models of identity during the adaptation process; assimilative, counterbalancing and independent. In the assimilative model, ethnic minority members totally embrace the culture of the host and leave their own. The counterbalancing model means that the members of the minority group integrate or keep a balance between their home culture and that of the host. In the independent model, the ethnic minority members hold to their own culture and separate it from that of the mainstream culture. Of these models, counterbalancing as a form of biculturalism, like integration, seems to be the most psychologically healthy for the

immigrant's wellbeing. As the result of counterbalancing or integration, maintenance of heritage culture and participation in the host society are two main basic life goals among immigrants in multicultural societies (La Guardia, 2009; Safdar, Lay & Struthers, 2003; Ryff, Singer, Love, & Essex, 1998).

Biculturalism, a result of integration or counterbalancing in acculturation process, is more likely to happen when the two cultures are compatible, not oppositional (Cheng, Lee & Benet-Martinez, 2006). Most minority individuals living in a different mainstream culture are bicultural, in that they maintain their distinctive cultures, values, customs, beliefs and habits while simultaneously interacting with and learning from the mainstream culture (Bell & Harrison, 1996). Associated with feelings of pride, uniqueness, and a rich sense of community and history, bicultural identity is considered the healthiest form of ethnic identity as it provides greater flexibility and facilitates adaptation, and is a potentially positive attribute in today's global world (Haritatos & Benet-Martinez, 2003; Bell & Harrison, 1996; Umana-Taylor et al., 2002; Domanico et al., 1994). Therefore, nurturance of this attitude is highly encouraged in this more diverse world.

Bicultural competence involves certain dimensions such as personal and cultural identity (LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993). These scholars also believe that individuals with bicultural competence have knowledge of cultural beliefs and values, positive attitudes towards minority and majority groups, bicultural efficacy, communication ability or knowledge of both cultures, role repertoire, and a sense of being grounded. Bicultural individuals usually develop a cultural frame-switching to navigate their dual cultural identities (Cheng, Lee & Benet-Martinez, 2006). For

instance, Hong Kong and Chinese American bicultural adolescents possess both East Asian and Western cultural meaning systems which can be activated when exposed to culturally relevant icons or primes (Hong et al., 2000).

On the other hand, bicultural integration is not easy when the mainstream and ethnic cultures are perceived as highly distinct, separate, or oppositional in orientation (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999). Acculturation may become more stressful for non-white, non-Western, non-European immigrant people due to the greater cultural differences between them and members of the mainstream cultural group. This condition is experienced by many ethnic minority groups in the United States, Canada, Western Europe, and Australia, all of which have an increased number of immigrants from Latin America, Africa, Middle East, and South and Southeast Asia (McKay & Wong, 2000; Richmond, 2002). As such, minority adolescents might be highly aware of the discrepancies between the mainstream and their ethnic cultures which can be a source of internal conflict (Martinez et al., 2002).

Acculturation process is influenced by birth place and age of arrival in the host country. Nativity has been associated with the adoption of the dominant culture. Foreign born young people may have stronger identification with their ethnic group than those born in the current country of settlement. Age at arrival in the host country and family support for ethnic identity socialization also play a significant role in the cross cultural adaptation process (Maloof, Rubin & Miller, 2006; Schwartz, Montgomery & Briones, 2006). The earlier the migrating young people arrive in the host country, the more assimilated they may become with the host culture.

Considering the complexity of acculturation and how it influences identification process, it is interesting to explore the acculturation attitudes and bicultural competence of the young Australians of Indonesian origin who participate in this study. The study also explores the compatibility of Indonesian and Australian cultures as perceived by the young people and the dimensions of their acculturation process.

### **2.3 Social identity development of young people**

Exploring who one is and where one comes from, an initial process of identity development, is an important developmental task for young people (Crawford & Rossiter, 2006; Kroger, 2004, 2007; Erikson, 1968, 2008; Tajfel, 1986). Early studies of identity were dominated by individual identity and less attention was given to social identity. At individual level, Erikson (1968) argues that of various cycles of human life, adolescent and emerging adult periods have been of particular concern in the study of identity development. Adolescence generally ranges from thirteen to nineteen years of age (Collins & Harper, 1983) whereas emerging adulthood continues until the late twenties (Arnett, 2000). This age of development may be more extensive with young people in industrialized countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia, as they have more extended education opportunities. As the result, individual identity formation takes time, particularly spanning from birth to late adolescence and emerging adulthood.

Although interrelated, individual and collective identities have some basic differences. One way of thinking about this difference is that individual identity is

derived from taking the role of the other and responding to the other's expectations and reflected appraisals whereas collective identity is taken from cognitive processes of social comparison, group categorization and evaluation (Thoits & Virshup, 1997). In more simple terms, Stets & Burke (2000) refer to individual identity as what someone does and social identity as who someone is.

Identity is socially constructed. As a contrast to a more individualist bias in American psychology, Tajfel, a European psychologist, argued that social identity is basically a part of an individual self-concept which derives from the knowledge of someone's belonging to a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership (Tajfel, 1981; p. 255). In his argument, Tajfel (1981) emphasized a wider context in which individuals interact. Other scholars also argue that answering the question of 'who am I?', which is the key dimension of identity, has both psychological and social dimensions as individuals think of themselves as different persons while also belonging to certain cultural reference groups (Stryker & Serpe, 1982; Phinney, 1991; Cote & Levine, 2002; Barrett, 2005; Wakefield, & Hudley, 2007; Barrett & Davis, 2008). These scholars believe that since selves reflect society and society is a complex but organized difference, selves must also be complexly organized.

In addition, identity development is self-reflexive. Giddens (1991) posits that identity can be understood as a sense of self that is constructed by other people at different times (p. 54). Ritzer (1996) points out that identity is developed through people viewing themselves from the position of others which may change over time. McCrone (1998) notes that 'individuals assume different identities at different times

which may not even be centred about a coherent self' (p. 32). As for immigrant people, Luke and Luke (1999) argue that diasporic identity is never stable, fixed or predictable but it is in 'the state of permanent morphology' (p. 229). Moreover, Giddens (1991) also emphasizes that the development of an identity is an ongoing reflexive project. He said:

Self-identity is not a distinctive trait, or even a collection of traits possessed by the individual. This is the self as reflexively understood by the person in terms of her or his biography. Identity here still presumes continuity across time and space: but self-identity is such continuity as interpreted reflexively by the agent (p. 53).

The development of social identity, especially among young people, is externally dependent. Cooley (1983) understands the self as a 'looking-glass self' where we imagine our appearance as viewed by another and judge that appearance (p. 184). In developing their identities, young people have to make decisions which have impacts on their environment and the world around them. Again, Giddens (1991) posits that,

The self is not a passive entity, determined by external influences, in forging their self-identities, no matter how local their specific contexts of action, individuals contribute to and directly promote social influences that are global in their consequences and implications (p. 2).

This judgement of how 'we imagine ourselves to be seen by others' (Hall, 1996; p. 122) influences how people understand that the formulation of their own identity, which is significantly affected by the feedback of others.

Elaborating social identity, Hogg & Abrams (1988) posit the importance of group attachment, the link between identity and behaviour, and the existence of multiple identities. Self-categorization, group self-esteem, and commitment to the group are also emphasized by Ellemers, Kortekaas and Ouwerkerk (1999). These

scholars believe that, having associated with a social group, people tend to have self-esteem in their group and feel committed to behave in accordance with the principles of the group. These elements are essential in any discussion about social identification and group attachment, including belonging to an ethnic identity for immigrant family members.

Considering the importance of social, in addition to individual, identification as a means to maintain human existence and self-esteem, especially among adolescents and emerging adults, this study explores the importance of social attachment, how it links with behaviour and commitment of identification with both Indonesia and Australia which may be shared by the young participants.

## **2.4 Ethnicity as socio-cultural identity**

In this study, Indonesians in Australia are considered an ethnic minority group. Broadly defined, ethnic minority means non-dominant race or nationality (Clyne, 2005; Zelinka, 1995; Davis, 1999; Guibernau, 2007). Ethnic minority is 'a social identity based on the culture of one's ancestors' national or tribal group (s), as modified by the demands of the culture in which one's group currently resides' (Helms, 1994; p. 293). In a more practical term, Phinney (1996) suggests that ethnic identity refers to the ways individuals explore their ethnicity, understand what ethnic group membership means to them, and identify with their ethnic group. Other scholars define ethnic identity as a subjective sense of belonging to a specific ethnic group accompanied by a set of cognitions and emotions that express one's attitudes towards this group and other ethnic groups (Barrett and Davis, 2008; Blank and

Schmidt, 2003). It is also a cognitive perception of oneself as an integral part of the country (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Hofstede, Pedersen & Hofstede, 2002; Vignoles, 2011, Vignoles et al., 2006, 2008). Examples of ethnic minority groups include African or Spanish-American in the United States, Chinese or Indian in Canada or Lebanese, Vietnamese and Indonesian in Australia.

The definition of ethnic minority has been continuously refined. In Australia, ethnic minority refers to people having ethnic or national background different to that of the majority Anglo-Australian population (Clyne, 2005; Zelinka, 1995; Willoughby, 2006). This definition may include Indigenous Australians such as Aboriginal people and Torres Strait islanders. However, as Zelinka (1995) points out, in recognition of their unique status as first peoples in the country, these two groups are usually not categorized as ethnic minority in the same fashion as immigrant groups of non-English speaking background. So, in the Australian context, the term ethnic minority group refers to non-Anglo Australians who are non-Indigenous such as Greek, Italian, Bosnian, Chinese, Indians, Vietnamese and Indonesian.

Nevertheless, the term non-English speaking has raised problem. Many immigrant children who were born in Australia were denied the opportunity to become fluent in their parents' heritage language. For instance, young Australian people born to Indonesian parents in Melbourne may speak fluent English and consider it their first language. They may not be able to speak Bahasa Indonesia, the heritage language of their parents, fluently. As a result, in this study, ethnic minority refers to belonging to a group other than Anglo-Australian.

Studies suggest that visible difference or appearance is still a key factor in belonging to an ethnic group. Giddens (1991) argues that 'appearance becomes a central element in the reflexive project of the self' (p. 100). This traditional means of identification, which is generally distinguished by skin pigmentation and hair colour has been historically seen as a social construct, a means to label 'other', of clearly distinguishing 'them' from 'us' (Cornell & Hartman, 1998; p. 27). These physical characteristics are externally imposed and can be easily observed (Zimmerman, Zimmermann, & Constant, 2007). Therefore, many young people in Australia are considered ethnic minority because they are not white (Zelinka, 1995; Lohm, 2012). For example, young Australians of Indonesian origin may feel ethnic because they are non-white. Other studies by Ganguly (1997), Tan (2003) and Zevallos (2003) emphasize the recognition of the ways that appearance can be used to differentiate between peoples. In Australia, those of non-Anglo appearance face ongoing questioning of their claim to an Australian national identity. Whiteness or Caucasian appearance and Anglo-culture are still considered valuable cultural capital for Australian national identity (Moran, 2005; Tascon, 2008; Lohm, 2012).

Although ethnic or national identity for Indonesian people is imagined, it may become an important form of group identity in the modern world (Barrett and Davis, 2008; Billig, 1995; Tajfel, 1981). As a relatively new country, Indonesia consists of various local ethnic groups who share a similar vision as 'imagined community' (Anderson, 2006). Therefore, for Indonesian people in Australia, Indonesia is an ethnic identity that they use in inter-ethnic communication with the culture of dominant Anglo-Australian and other ethnic groups.

This traditional boundary of identification is, however, likely to be rather problematic for children of intermarriage such as between Anglo-Australians and Indonesians who are participants in this study. External imposition of physical appearance in social identification may create confusion, particularly among immigrant families (Haritatos & Benet-Martinez, 2003). The young people of these intermarriage families may visibly look Anglo-Australian but have extensive exposure to ethnic culture. So, they may consider themselves or be considered by others as belonging to an ethnic minority. In contrast, they may imagine themselves to be part of the current settlement culture (Anderson, 2006; Salazar, 2011).

As such, this study focuses on ethnic identity as socio-cultural, not physical, attachment. Nowadays, people show belonging to a social group through psychological engagement and alignment (Wenger, 1998). Commitment for this belonging is not based on nativism such as race or ethnicity but shared feelings of similarity. Most modern nationalism is based on this shared feeling which goes beyond race and ethnicity. People of different races and ethnicities pledge allegiance to a country and form an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 2006; Salazar, 2011). They base their commitment on certain agreed universal values such as respect, tolerance, and democracy as the majority of Australians do today. Identification with Indonesia as an ethnic group in Australia may mean sharing the feeling of belonging to the country and certain attitudes (positive or negative) about it.

As a social identity, ethnic identity differs from ethnicity. The latter often means one's membership to an ethnic group. The focus of this study is identification

with Indonesia as an ethnic identity, not as ethnicity. So, some participants of the study may have Australian nationality, as proven by their legal document of citizenship, but may identify themselves as ethnically Indonesian. As the child of intermarriage, some young people may look Caucasian but feel ethnically Indonesian due to parental ethnic identity socialization. On the other hand, some others may have ethnic looks but identify themselves and assimilate with the dominant culture.

Furthermore, ethnicity and religion are two different but interrelated dimensions of identity. Some ethnic groups consider the first more important than the second, but others have the opposite opinion. Some scholars argue that religion should be separated from ethnic or national identity. Liobera, in his book *The God of Modernity* (1995), states that nationalism is a kind of secular religion. Supporting his argument, Kapferer (1988) posits that the religious aspect of nationalism can depict the nation as a sacred community. In this view, religion is an integral part of ethnic or national identity.

However, within this proposition, people argue whether religion or ethnicity is more important in the process of identification. Some believe that religion is more universal and perennial than ethnicity which is more local (Silberman, 2005). Others believe the opposite. In line with the former group argument, Daha (2011) found that some ethnic groups such as Persian Jewish and Baha'i place more emphasis on their religious than ethnic identity. Considering the fundamental role of religion in the life of most Indonesians (Musgrave & Ewing, 2006; Nilan, 2008; Nilan, Donaldson

& Howson, 2009) it is interesting to identify how religion is situated as part of ethnic identity among the young people participating in the study.

## 2.5 Dimensions of social identification

Since ethnic identity negotiation is a multifaceted construct, identification with an ethnic group has a number of dimensions. Based on the social identity theory developed by Tajfel & Turner (1986) and then Hogg and Abrams (1988), Phinney (1990) points out that dimensions of ethnic identity include self-identification, sense of belonging with its positive and negative attitudes, and ethnic involvement (social participation and cultural practices) which include language, friendship, religion affiliation and practice, structured ethnic social groups (clubs, societies, organizations), political ideology and area of residence.

Extending Phinney's definition, Ward (2001) argues that ethnic identity refers not only to nominal self-identification as a member of an ethnic group but also belonging (how much an individual feels a part of the community), centrality (how important the group is for personal identity), evaluation (positive or negative feelings of the group) and tradition (how much one practices ethnic behaviours and values). Other dimensions of identification with an ethnic group include knowledge of the national symbols, history, leaders, customs, emotions (such as pride or shame and embarrassment), and feelings towards one's national group as well as other national groups (Davis, 1999; Dekker et al., 2003; Smith, Walker, Field & Brookins, 1999; Barrett, 2005). In a more recent study, Daha (2011) posits that several contextual factors which influence ethnic identity retention include family

connectedness, language, community ties, ethnic pride and engagement in cultural activities and tradition.

Based on this discussion, the study explores two main dimensions of identification that includes sense of belonging and its significance, as well as attitudes to an ethnic group and engagement in cultural practices, which are discussed in the following section.

### **2.5.1 Sense of belonging and its significance**

Significance determines belonging with a social group (Barrett & Davis, 2008; Vignoles, 2011). People associate with a social group and maintain their belonging because they think that it is important to do so. For immigrant young people, belonging to an ethnic group enables them to relate to their parental culture which may provide them with psychological comfort. Although national or ethnic identity may be imagined, it can become an important form of group identity in the modern world (Barrett and Davis, 2008; Billig, 1995; Tajfel, 1981; Norton, 2000; Anderson, 2006; Salazar, 2011; Hall, 1996, 2000). On the other hand, when group members think that such a sense of belonging is no longer important, they may leave or ignore the membership and switch to the dominant culture.

In the context of a multicultural society like Australia, heritage culture maintenance is considered important to both ethnic minority and the dominant culture. Sam (2000) argues that the resilience of Australian society depends on the continuous maintenance of its heritage while balancing between heritage and dominant cultures. Rejection of someone's heritage can cause 'self-doubt and self-

rejection' which are counterproductive to resilience (Smolicz, 1989; p. 21). The need for identification is considered essential for young people who are searching out who they are and what they want to be in their future. In Australia, it is especially strong for young people of ethnic minority of non-European origins such as members of Asian and African communities (Ghuman, 2000; Howie & Tannenbaum, 2002; Yoon, 2004; Poppitt & Frey, 2007). If we accept this argument, the maintenance of Indonesian heritage culture among young Australians of Indonesian origin is worth nurturing to help support Australian national resilience.

In addition, benefits, be they psychological, social and economic, seem to be determinant in the process of ethnic identity negotiation among young people. When they perceive benefits, young people may want to identify with an ethnic group by involving themselves in the cultural activities of the ethnic group such as speaking ethnic language, associating with friends of similar ethnicity, and taking part in cultural or religious events. On the other hand, when the young people of ethnic minority do not find benefits from their identification with the ethnic group, they may break the allegiance and switch identification to the dominant culture. In the case of young Australians of Indonesian origin, for instance, they may ignore the Indonesian ethnic culture and assimilate to the dominant culture of Anglo-Australian.

## 2.5.2 Attitudes in social identification

Attitude towards a country or an ethnic group reflects an evaluation of the country as basically bad or good, which is expressed in feelings of pride, love, comfort or shame (Davis 1999; Dekker et al. 2003; Smith and Kim, 2006). For young people of ethnic minority, positive identification with an ethnic group is the 'basic cognitive mechanism of humans to select themselves and their fellows, individually and collectively,' (Jenkins, 2008; p. 13). For them, positive identification with an ethnic group is also central to the development of their personal identity, which relates to cognitive development and academic achievement (Thieberger, 1990; Maldonado, 1975).

Belonging to a social group regulates feelings and behaviours (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). Positive attitude leads to enhancement whereas negative attitude causes negation (Deaux & Etheir, 1998). Enhancement includes reaffirmation, intensified group contact and social change whereas negation includes elimination, denial, and lowered identification. In the worst case, negative identification also means the perception of oneself as being independent from the country or afraid of becoming the part of the group (Brown 2002; Davis 1999; Hofstede, Pedersen & Hofstede, 2002; Markus and Kitayama, 1991; Markus & Nurius, 1986; Markus, 2010). In short, positive attitude towards ethnic minority leads to integration whereas negative attitudes lead to assimilation.

In this information era, identification with a social group is influenced by media. Daha (2011) argues that newspaper and television influence identification significantly. Positive media exposure of ethnic minority groups leads to good

attitudes towards the ethnic groups. People may have negative attitudes towards their ethnicity due to negative exposure by media. For instance, the term "Iran" has more negative connotations in the media than "Persia". So, Iranian young people in the United States prefer to identify as Persian than Iranian. A similar phenomenon of media influence may happen with young Australian residents of Indonesian origin in this study. Positive media coverage of Indonesia by Australian newspaper, radio and television may enhance their identification with Indonesia as an ethnic group. On the other hand, negative media coverage may negate or lower their identification with Indonesia and switch it to the dominant culture.

Having argued the importance of ethnic identity as psychological comfort for ethnic minority groups and how it can support the resilience of more inclusive national identity of the dominant culture, it is essential to identify the dimensions of ethnic identity among the young participants, how they make sense of their social identification (traditional/physical, or modern) and navigate between two different cultural orientations; Indonesia and Australia.

## **2.6 Social identification as a contested space**

Vygotsky (1978) suggested that identity development is a complex socio-cultural process. Identification to social group does not happen in an empty space. It is a dynamic and interactive self-context process influenced by family, education, institutions, policies, and related to social, economic and political circumstances (Giddens, 1991, 2000; Wyn & White, 2008; Deaux & Ethier, 1998; Moje & Martinez, 2007). The identification process may take a longer time for young people of ethnic

minority groups who live between two different cultures and therefore have to negotiate their identity between them.

Identity negotiation of ethnic minority young people is highly dependent on social agency. Contexts determine the level of identification with ethnic background (Callan & Gallois, 1982, 1983; Zimmerman, Zimmermann, & Constant (2007). Australian young people of Greek- and Italian-parental background, for instance, report feeling increased ethnic identity salience when in the company of their relatives/families, but feeling more 'Australian' when surrounded by their friends at school (Rosenthal & Hrynevich, 1985). A number of contexts that are assumed to be important to ethnic identity negotiation include society, family, peers, social and work environments (Grotevant & Cooper, 1985; Giddens, 1991, 2000).

In what follows, I compare the roles of parents and peers as two significant contexts which contribute significantly to the negotiation of identification process among young Australians of Indonesian origin who are the focus of this study.

### **2.6.1 Parental and community ethnic identity socialization**

Family is the first social influence for young people's lives and is the primary site of socialization of ethnic identity (Vygotsky, 1978; Giddens, 1991; Deaux & Ethier, 1998; Hockey & James, 2003; Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002). In a family, parents are active participants in socializing the children to their ethnic values, customs, concerns and goals (Dasgupta, 1998; Juang & Nguyen, 2010; Juang & Syed, 2010; Moua & Lamborn, 2010; Schachter, 2005; Schachter & Ventura, 2008). These scholars argue that parents who actively participate in the identity formation of their

children through encouragement and co-participation, add a fundamental missing link between individual and macro-social contextual influences, and help the early socialization process for understanding identity negotiation.

The concern for identity socialization may be stronger among members of ethnic minority groups as part of their culture maintenance. As studies have shown, ethnic identity socialization has been a concern among immigrant communities such as those in the United States, Canada, and Australia (Simon, 1995; Phinney, 1992; French, Seidman, Allen & Aber, 2006), including Indonesian families in Melbourne (Mulyana, 1995; Zulfikar, 2011). A study by Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot & Shin (2006) which involved a large number of adolescents from various ethnic backgrounds in the US (Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese, and Salvadoran) showed that Familial Ethnic Socialization (FES) supports exploration, commitment, and belonging to ethnic identity. Mother's family obligation expectations provide positive family identification and ethnic culture learning opportunities that may encourage children's ethnic identity development (Su & Costigan, 2009). For ethnic minority adolescents, ethnic identity is an important aspect of self-concept which is salient during their adolescence (Phinney, 1992; French, Seidman, Allen & Aber, 2006). This ethnic identity has proven to be a critical facet of adolescents' developmental experiences, as it relates to their psychological functioning, supports self-esteem and self-concepts, and promotes cultural adjustment (French, Seidman, Allen & Aber, 2006; Phinney, 1990; Umaña-Taylor, Diversi, & Fine, 2002; Lee, 2003, 2006; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997; Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2001).

Parental ethnic socialization processes may take various forms. They can be speaking a native language, maintaining religious practices, celebrating religious holidays, learning traditional dances and music, teaching behavioural goals and ethnic history, values, norms, and attitudes related to ethnic heritage, promoting ethnic pride, participation in cultural events, preparing traditional food, wearing traditional clothes, strengthening family ties, and marriage preparation (Bagley, Bolitho, & Bertrand, 2001; Moua & Lamborn, 2010).

In the context of Australia, each minority ethnic group may have a different focus in socializing their cultural values. Speaking the ethnic language is the first cultural practice that members of ethnic minority want to maintain (Clyne, 2005; Willoughby, 2006). Rosenthal & Hrynevich (1985) found that language, religion, social activities, maintenance of cultural traditions, and family life are considered important among Italian and Greek young people. In studying the minority youth of South Asian origins (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh), Ghuman (2000) found that his participants expressed sympathetic attitudes to the retention of core traditional values such as religion, language and primacy of family over individual orientation. A similar association between heritage language maintenance and family relations is also identified by Howie and Tannenbaum (2002) in their study of Chinese immigrant children in Australia. Likewise, Sudanese adolescent refugees in Brisbane, Australia experienced acculturative stress due to their lack of English proficiency and conflicting cultural rules (Poppitt & Frey, 2007). Among South East Asians, parents might focus more on socializing their children to strong family support and sense of group identity, and respect for the authority of teachers and parents (Tam & Lee,

2010; Elliot & Phuong-Mai, 2008; Rajadurai, 2010).

Ethnic identity socialization also includes family values which vary from one ethnic group to another. Parents of ethnic minority groups may have different childrearing expectations from those of the dominant culture (Pye, 2000). As the dominant culture, for instance, Anglo-American parents in the United States, may have different family obligations than those of Asian- and Latin-American families. Fuligni, Tseng and Lam (1999) argue that based on Western values, Anglo-American family values may emphasize individual achievement, early maturity and independence. Meanwhile, Asian and Latin American families focus on providing current assistance, respect for, and supporting the family in the future. In the context of Australia, Anglo-Australian parents also tend to have individual oriented Western values, whereas parents of ethnic minority groups, such as Vietnamese, Chinese and Indonesian parents may have more collective oriented Eastern family values (Rosenthal & Hrynevich, 1985).

In addition, parenting style influences ethnic identity development. Parenting style in adolescence might not be as directive or authoritative as it is in childhood period (Gauvain & Huard, 1999). At this period, adolescents and emerging adults may have a looser relationship with their parents and become more intimate with their peers. Young people might need more freedom as they may have more interaction with their peers. Peer pressure may become more influential than that of parents, especially for negative behaviors such as drinking and smoking (Simons-Morton, Haynie, Crump, Eitel & Saylor, 2001). In this phase, most adolescents and emerging adults might start to begin dating and work part-time to obtain money to

support their leisure activities (Arnett, 2000). As emerging adulthood is the real time for exploration, parents might still need to have a responsive and warm relationship but a lower control of their adolescent and emerging adult children (Arnett, 2000; Nelson et al., 2010).

As the case with Western countries, extended emerging adulthood is also common in the context of Asian countries. In a survey study of the future aspirations and expectations of young Indonesians, Nilan, Parker, Bennett & Robinson (2011) found that similar extended transition to adulthood occurs among the participants due to lengthy schooling and tertiary job training. Another more recent study found that such prolongation among Indonesian youth is due to longer education, entry to labor force and late marriage (Naafs & White, 2012). This prolonged period of emerging adulthood may also be experienced by young Australians of Indonesian origin in this study.

Furthermore, marriage patterns influence parental ethnic identity socialization. Parents of similar ethnic background may have stronger ethnic identity practices than parents of intermarriage. Parents of Indonesian couples, for instance, may have more intensive ethnic identity socialization practices than parents of Indonesian-Australian. Meanwhile, intermarriage couples may have less intensive socialization and show more assimilation. A study by Eldering (1998) found that Moroccan children of mixed parents in the Netherlands are more assimilated to the Dutch culture than those of two-Moroccan parent families. A similar acculturation attitude is also found among intermarriage parents in Australia who are more adaptive to the dominant culture (Luke & Luke, 1999; Ata, 2002).

Another aspect of parental cultural practices is religion. The provision of support and active involvement in various religion practices contributes to the development of youth who often show enthusiasm for community service (Youniss, McLellan & Yates, 1999; Ream & Savin-Williams, 2006). However, effectiveness of parental religious socialization is determined by the quality of youth relationship with their parents (Dudley, 1999). In general, religious parents tend to have religious children. Additionally, gender is an important factor of religious socialization. In most cases, females are the keepers of home and of the faith. Mothers have a greater influence in religious socialization than fathers (Nelson, 1980; Archer, 1989; Guilamo-Ramos, 2009).

In addition to family, ethnic identity socialization is usually shared by members of the community. In his sociocultural theory, Vygotsky (1978) believed that, together with parents and peers, the culture at large has responsibility for the development of higher order functions in children. The degree of institutional completeness is an important context to the development of individual's ethnic identity (Rosenthal & Hrynevich, 1985). An institution is an organization or body established to support the process of ethnic identity socialization, which may include the community centre, food and grocery stores, day care centres, hospitals, worship places, ethnic language schools and ethnic sport clubs. As an institution, the community which here refers to a minority group who share similar ethnic identities such as language, culture, and religion, influences ethnic identity development. So, the more complete the institution of certain ethnic minority groups, the higher its influence on its members' cultural maintenance.

The density of the ethnic group and the power and status of the ethnic group in the mainstream community is another influential context of ethnic identity development (Garcia & Lega, 1979; Berry, Poortinga & Segall, 1992). The larger the number of the ethnic minority and the more concentrated they are, the bigger their chance of developing their ethnic identity (Rosenthal & Hrynevich, 1985). Communities with a large population, such as Greeks in Australia or members of Spanish speaking cultures in the United States, usually have a more complete institution to help accomplish all their necessities. They may have ethnic community centres, worship places, schools and sport facilities. This complete ethnic institution may lead to more ethnic identity salience and stronger bargaining power and position with the mainstream society. On the other hand, when their number is small and they are divided, ethnic minority groups might find it hard to maintain their ethnic identity (French, Seidman, Allen, & Aber, 2006). In this case, young people of ethnic minority might be subject to the pressure of mainstream Anglo-Australians who prefer their own and ethnically similar groups and tend to be resistant to the formation of a multicultural identity (Callan & Gallois, 1983).

### **2.6.2 Peers as social agency**

Peers are influential in youth identity development. Adolescents and emerging adults are usually more intimate with friends and have less contact with parents. Young people spend most of their time with peers and place a greater importance on fitting in with their peer culture (Vygotsky, 1978; Brown & Klute, 2003). Ridge (2006) posits that peers and friendship groups are 'key locations to develop their

social identity' (p. 435). In most cases, peers have more influence on the social identification of young people than do parents and other community members.

As is the case for adults, friendship for young people is based on many factors. The most important reason for friendship among adolescents is similarity which may include ethnicity, educational orientation, media and leisure preferences (Arnett, 2007; Sugimura & Shimizu, 2010). A study of ethnic youth gangs in Melbourne involving Vietnamese, Somali, Latin American, Pacific islanders, Turkish and Anglo-Australian youth found that membership is based on similar interests (music, sport and dress style), appearance or ethnic identity (language, religion, and culture) and need for social belonging (friendship and protection) (White, 1999; Tan, 2003). For most young people sport is a potential aspect of positive youth development, which is a cultural phenomenon that permeates all society. It helps young people build life skills such as fairness, leadership and hard work (Danish, Taylor & Fazio, 2006).

As part of fixed ethnic identity, physical appearance such as skin colour, facial features and physical build seems to be important in identification (Cooley, 1983; Giddens, 1991; Colic-Peisker, 2005). Zelinka (1995) argues that visible difference is a key factor in belonging to an ethnic group. The dominant Anglo-Australian may prefer to interact with ethnic groups of European origin due to their physical similarities. As people tend to associate with people of similar physical appearance, those who have different physical appearance may be subject to discrimination. Young people of ethnic minority who share a similar physical appearance with the dominant culture, such as Bosnian humanitarian refugees in Australia, may find it

easier to identify with them and face less discriminatory attitudes than those who have clear visible differences, despite their obvious cultural differences (Colic-Peisker, 2005). Therefore, similar presentation of ethnic identity which includes language, religion and culture seems to be the strongest reason for group belonging among the young people of ethnic minority groups.

Friendship can have a positive influence on young people as it provides them with similar age supports. Berndt (2004) argues that having high quality friendships is important for adolescent and emerging adults' success in their social world. Good friendship also provides social security and emotional support. Adolescents who have friends are socially more competent and psychologically more healthy than the friend-less ones (Scholte & Van Aken, 2006). Berndt (2004) also mentions four types of support that adolescent friends can provide to each other; informational, instrumental, companion, and esteem. Informational support is advice and guidance on problems relating to friends, romantic relationships, parents or schools. Instrumental support is help with task completion such as homework, household tasks and money lending. Companion support is being able to rely on each other for social support. Esteem support is congratulating friends for success or consoling them for loss. Together with parents, peers can influence adolescent educational plans, political attitudes and political socialization (Kandel & Lesser, 1969; Tedin, 1980; Campbell, 1980).

Social acceptance is another important element of young people's group identification. Positive acceptance from peers supports identification whereas negative or discriminatory treatment discourages identification. In the context of

Australia, Griffiths & Nesdale (2006) claim that the majority of Australian young people have positive attitudes towards minority immigrant children but still have negative views towards Indigenous people. Young people of ethnic minority can identify with their ethnic group when the dominant peers show encouraging attitudes. On the other hand, upon receiving negative feedback from their peers, young people may switch to the dominant culture.

In this millennium, digital information technology influences identity negotiation. Confirming the importance of technology in identity negotiation among young people, Wyn and White (2008) argue that

...because identity is formed (and reformed) through and within the shifting patterns of our connections with others, digital technologies offer a wider and different range of possibilities for connecting and communicating with others compared to face-to-face relationship, and hence increase the possibilities of performing identity (p. 212).

Today, virtual social media such as face book, twitter and my-space have become important means by which young people express their identity. This digital media may be more popular than traditional face-to-face means of social communication, including among the participants.

In addition to positive support, peer relationships can also result in negative influence. Several studies show that peers can influence the partying habits of young people, persuade them to smoke, and encourage substance and alcohol use (Caldwell & Darling, 1999; Smith & Stutts, 1999; Marshal & Chassin, 2000; Windle, 2000). The psychology of the group enables young people to feel more courageous in negative activities such as street gangster and other juvenile delinquencies,

including cyber or electronic bullying which has become a serious problem among young people (Moore, Huebner & Hills, 2012).

Based on the above-mentioned discussion of the sociocultural identification between parents and community on one side as well as peers and the dominant culture at large on the other side, this study explores several parental ethnic identity socialization practices, childrearing expectations and the institutional completeness of the Indonesian community in Melbourne and how these institutions support the maintenance of Indonesian identity. It also identifies how peers and the dominant culture influence the young people's identification with both Indonesian and Australian cultures.

### **2.6.3 Possible tension between parents and young people**

Increasing independence in young people often creates tension with parents. Resistance theory has been widely used to understand the identity negotiation of adolescents. Among immigrant families, Klahr et al. (2011) posits that ethnicity is an important aspect of possible tension between adolescents and their parents. In the case of Australia, for instance, Indonesian parents might want to socialize and maintain their ethnic identity to their adolescents, whereas influenced by their peers of mainstream culture, these adolescents might want to be assimilated to the mainstream Australian culture and avoid their parents' ethnic identity (Rosenthal, Ranieri & Klimidis, 1996; Ghuman, 2000; Yagmur & van de Vijver, 2012).

As discussed earlier, the maintenance of heritage culture may be more the concern of first generation than their descendants. Parents and other community

members may want to socialize their cultural identity to their young people as a way of relating them to the culture of their ancestors. However, as Vygotsky (1978) suggested, the dynamic interaction between parents and children depends on the cultural context. Exposed to the culture of current settlement, the young people may want to assimilate with the dominant culture and ignore their ethnic culture. Although the young people were born in their origin countries, minimum connection to the origin country and lengthy exposure to the current culture may have changed their attachment to the origin country. This shift in attachment is more likely to happen when they consider the culture of host country more superior than that of the origin.

Parental influence may be not strong among ethnic minority groups. It is usually limited to home and becomes less dominant with the age of the children. Since young people spend most of their time with peers, parental influence may become less powerful. This sense of greater autonomy or freedom often creates conflict between adolescents and their parents (Collins & Laursen, 2004; Phinney, 1999; Barrett, 2005). At this age, children think they are old enough to decide what best suits them and often seek ways to free themselves from parental interference.

In contrast, parents believe that their growing adolescents still need their guidance to navigate them through their adolescence successfully. Not only does this conflict happen in connection to psychological autonomy but also in ethnic identity and acculturation processes as experienced by many Asian Indian families in the American and Australian contexts (Farver, Narang & Bhadha, 2002; Ghuman, 2000). As emerging adulthood is the real time for exploration, parents might still

need to have a responsive and warm relationship but a lower control of their emerging-adult children (Arnett, 2000, 2004; Nelson et al., 2010).

Consequently, possible tension may rise between immigrant parents and their young people. Phinney (1999) argues that the real conflict is not inter-group but 'between different cultural values, attitudes, and expectations within themselves' (p. 27). On one hand, parents want their young people to identify with their country of origin as part of their ethnic identity maintenance. On the other hand, strongly influenced by peers and the complete support provision by the dominant culture, young people may prefer to show belonging to the dominant culture. They may consider the dominant culture more important and therefore have more positive attitudes towards it. Studies have shown that most young people tend to identify with the host country, even within a multicultural country. For instance, comparing the cultural adjustment of Turkish immigrants in four countries (Australia, France, Germany, and the Netherlands), Yagmur and van de Vijver (2012) found that although Australia is considered the country with the least pressure to assimilation, Turkish immigrants in Australia showed least maintenance and more adjustment to the dominant culture.

Tension with parents may become more salient among the young people who were born in the host country. Living between two cultures brings to mind identity confusion, dual expectations, and value clashes (Haritatos & Benet-Martinez, 2003; Saroglou & Galand, 2004; Yaman, Mesman, van Ijzendoorn, Bakermans-Kranenburg, & Linting, 2010). This happens frequently among ethnic minority groups in multicultural societies such as the United States and Australia. Born in

Australia, for instance, young people of ethnic minority may go to Australian public school and have Australian friends. They may think that they are Australian because they were born in the country, go to Australian schools and socialize with Australian friends. Studies show that young Australians holding incompatible culture with the dominant Australian culture such as Greek- and Asian-Australians show higher tension with their parents than their Italian- and German-Australian fellows who share more compatible cultural practices (Rosenthal & Hryvenich, 1985; Ghuman, 2000).

Furthermore, identification is more than oral articulation. Merchant (2005) believes that identity is 'produced through action and performance', through 'wearing and showing, not storing and keeping' (p. 301). Ethnic minority young people may have different verbal and behavioral identification. Influenced by parents, they may have verbal identification with the ethnic culture but show closer behavioral identification with the dominant culture. For instance, the participants of this study may say that they show strong belonging to Indonesia but are more familiar with Australian popular culture than Indonesian cultural practices.

Apart from cognitive factors, tension between parents and young people can happen in cultural behavioral aspects, such as language maintenance and childrearing values. The first aspect is the use of ethnic language. When young people find that English is more prestigious among their peers and more beneficial for future career development than their ethnic language, they may ignore the ethnic language and switch to English. As a result, many ethnic languages in Australia are becoming extinct (Clyne, 1991, 2005; Smolicz, 1989; Wong-Fillmore,

1991; Willoughby, 2006). Considering the importance of ethnic language as a means of conveying advice and other cultural values for parents, this extinction may disrupt the family harmony (Fishman, 1977; Walsh, 2007; Phinney, Romero, Nava & Huang, 2001).

Another area of contestation is family values. Parents of ethnic minority may have different family values compared to their dominant culture counterparts. For example, Indonesian parents may face tension in implementing their Asian values of current assistance, family respect and future support with their young people who may have been exposed to the Australian values of early independence and initiative (Fulgini, Tseng & Lam, 1999; Ghuman, 2000; Haibo, 2007).

The first family value which may become a possible source of tension is religion. This particularly happens when members of ethnic minority groups adhere to a religious faith different from that of the dominant culture (Roccas, 2005), such as the case with Muslim or Hindu Indonesians in Australia. Although Indonesia is a secular country, religion seems to be a fundamental issue among Indonesians, including the young people. Indonesian youth showed high commitment to a collective tradition of religious faith and normative family formation (Nilan et al., 2011; Nilan, 2008). On the other hand, religion is considered a private matter in the secular culture of Australia.

Another possibly contested family value is the provision of future support. Ethnic minority parents may want to stay with their young people during their old age to maintain family bonds and respect. Meanwhile, adopting the Australian values, the young people may want to send their retired parents to aged care.

Included in this area is the selection of future partner. For collectivistic Indonesian families, marriage is not only an individual decision. It is a relationship which involves two families. Parental approval is influential in the young people's choice of marriage partner. This collective orientation may be different from the more individualistic oriented Australian families. Young people may be more independent in selecting their marriage partner. Nilan (2008) found that 'personal choice of marriage partner and preparing one's own economic circumstances have become vital concerns for both male and female Indonesian urban, middle-class youth' (p. 68).

Based on the possible tension between parents and their young people, it is interesting to explore the various causes and aspects of this tension, whether or not the young people resent or resist having ethnic identity socialization practices and family obligations demanded of them because it is not expected of their peers from the dominant culture. As for young Australians of Indonesian origin, this study extends previous studies on parental expectations of ethnic and religion identity (Mulyana, 1995; Zulfikar, 2011) and how the subjective identification of the young people meets their parental ethnic identity expectations.

## 2.7 Cultural maintenance and hybrid identity

As influenced by post-colonialism, the maintenance of ethnic identity relates to the development of hybrid identity (Bhabha, 1994; Beltran, 2004; Kraidy, 2005; Marotta, 2008; Poynting; 2009). In what follows, I critically explore different perspectives of hybrid identity, particularly among the second generation of immigrant families, and how my study fits into these perspectives.

### 2.7.1 The development of hybrid identity

As a result of globalization, Pieterse (1994, 2001) argues that 'cultures have been 'contaminated' by each other and the notion of an untainted culture is a fantasy' (p. 178). This interconnection may create a hybrid culture which is the combination of two cultures and different from the two original cultures. Beltran (2004) defines hybrid as an entity which 'embodies the blending of two diverse cultures or traditions' (p. 595). Bhabha (1994) considers hybridity more than just a blending, but as a 'third space' which enables other positions to 'emerge' gives rise to 'a new area of negotiation of meaning and interpretation' (p. 207). Connecting to liberalism, Poynting (2009) points out that hybrid identities enable people to select aspects of their various backgrounds to formulate an identity that is suitable with their individuality. As culture is dynamic, hybrid identity can be regarded as dynamic and creative, not essentialised and fixed (Marotta, 2008; 307). In this study, however, I define hybrid identity as a new emerging identity resulting from integration and accommodation of two cultures, which is fluid and strategically contextualized.

Identity development is hybrid and multi-dimensional. It is a process of constant negotiation with context, the product of agreement and disagreement which is open to change (Jenkin, 2008). Elaborating on this multidimensionality, Crawford and Rossiter (2006) summarize several dimensions of identity which include gender, moral, age, family, religious, psychological, ethnic, cultural, regional and national, historical, dress, work, and sport. Of these dimensions, this study focuses on ethnicity, culture, national costume, and sport as parts of identification. As a consequence, multidimensionality of identity enables individuals to have multiple identities in different contexts. In relation to nation state, Pieterse (1994, 2001) posits that the national identities of immigrants including Australian residents of Indonesian origin may be hybrid, reflecting the connection to Australia and another state like Indonesia.

Since people may hold one or more identities in different situations, integrative hybridity needs structure. People usually organize their multiple identities in a 'prominence hierarchy' that reflects the ideal self (Griffin & Korstad, 1995). The preferred identity depends on the surrounding influence as agents. People usually take a combination of social identities interactively which influence their social experiences, actions and reactions. Humans need positive and distinctive group identities from which they can derive their individual self-esteem and a sense of personal value (Hogg & Abrams, 1990). In this study, my participants may prefer to identify more with Indonesia than Australia in one context like home and the other way around in another context such as school or work. They may feel equally Australian and Indonesian in different situations.

Indonesian young people have been found to pose multiple identities because they live in an imagined society (Anderson, 2006; Heryanto, 2008). In their reflection on Indonesian youth studies, Naafs & White (2012) identified several youth identities such as 'generation, transition, makers and consumers of culture' (p. 3). Of these identities, youth as consumers of culture includes involvement in language, lifestyle, new media, and religious practices. This multiple identification may also be shared by young Australians of Indonesian origin.

Multiculturalism supports the development of hybrid identity. Several studies suggest that hybrid identity is more likely to be socially and legally nurtured in multicultural societies of the Asia Pacific region like Australia, Malaysia and Indonesia (Smolicz, 1989; Parekh, 2000; Wyn & White, 2008; Kim, 2003; Modood, 2007; Harris, 2013). In fact, an increasing proportion of the Australian population has ancestors from more than one country (Roy & Hamilton, 1997), which leads them to integrate both heritage and current settlement cultures. Sam (2000) argues that the resilience of Australian society depends on the continuous maintenance of its heritage, balancing between heritage and dominant cultures. By law, Australians are able to hold dual citizenship as long as it is permitted by the other country (Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2014). In this case, dual citizenship may facilitate the naturalization and political assimilation of immigrants (Brown, 2002).

As the result of multiculturalism, Luke and Luke (1999) point out that interracial marriage is the site for the development and articulation of integrative hybrid identity. They estimated that more than 40% of Australian married couples

are interethnic, interracial or intercultural. Unlike physical characteristics such as skin colour, facial features and hair types that are relatively fixed, culture is more flexible. In Australia, the level of inter-ethnic marriage among European immigrants is higher amongst second and third generation immigrants (Khoo, Birrell & Heard, 2009). This figure may become even higher with the increasing number of non-European immigrants to Australia. A similar phenomenon of intermarriage may emerge among 'new ethnic immigrants' to Australia of Asian and Middle east origins, including those of Indonesian origin. People of intermarriage may have choices about what aspects of culture they want to associate with or discard. Individuals can combine aspects of values, ceremonies, and ways of life they are interested in, regardless of their fixed ethnic identity like physicality (Giddens, 1991; Kymlica, 1995).

Hybrid identity may have an influence on young people's frame of thinking. Social interaction with people of different cultural orientations can expand young people's understanding of social differences. Butcher & Thomas (2003) and Thomas (2003) posit that most young people in Australia have tolerant and open-minded attitudes, despite their conscious claim of ethnic identity. They are committed to values of tolerance, equality and diversity.

The development of ethnic identity of minority young people is gradual. Of many stages of identity development, two stages are the most distinctive. The first is exploration or moratorium and the second is commitment or achievement (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1983, 1993; Phinney, 1990). Exploration or moratorium is the stage when young ethnic minorities start realizing certain discordances between their parents' heritage culture and the dominant culture and involve themselves in

exploring the heritage culture of their parents. Then, they reach the achievement stage when they have explored the heritage culture and are committed to an ethnic identity (ethnic-identity achieved).

Hybridity is a valuable tool for analysing identification. It provides a theoretical lens through which to consider the complexity of Australian and Indonesian national identity, particularly among the second generation of ethnic minority groups who live between two different cultures. As young Australians feel comfortable with multiple identities (Vasta, 1995; Wyn & White, 2008), these scholars argue that it is possible to use multiple identities strategically, to be 'different people' depending on the situation. In a search of social acceptance and belonging, most young people of Asian background have frequent identity shifts in strategic and non-strategic ways (Kim, 2003). This strategic use of multiple identities may happen among the participants of the study.

Therefore, the paucity of attention to the development of hybrid identity through different marriage patterns and how it influences the stages of identity development and the frame of thinking of minor ethnic minority groups like young Australians of Indonesian origin, is one issue that I address in this study.

### 2.7.2 Aspects of hybrid identity

Previous studies on the development of hybrid identity tend to be more cognitive than behavioral. This practical aspect of hybrid identity development is not less important to explore. Referring to the concept of core culture values (Smolicz & Secombe, 1985; Smolicz, 1989; Secombe & Zajda, 1999), hybrid identity may include aspects of language, family values, and cultural tradition. Other scholars such as Giddens (1991) and Clyne (1995; 2006) also emphasize the importance of language in the construction of ethnic identity. Bicultural contexts of home and dominant culture necessitate young people of ethnic minority to be bilingual. Studies suggest that bilingualism has several benefits such as better cognitive and affective development as well as better educational success (Bialystok, 2001; Felliciano, 2001; Luchtenberg, 2002; Grosjean, 2010). However, not all bicultural individuals are bilingually fluent. While some people can speak both languages fluently, others may be fluent in the dominant language but may only speak a little ethnic language. Or they can converse in both languages but only read and write well on one language, or vice versa, read and write in both but only be a fluent speaker in one.

On the other hand, although language is the representation of culture, not all bilinguals are biculturals (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000). They may learn the language but not practice the culture. To be bicultural, bilinguals have to acquire the culture of both languages so that they can switch their frame of thinking when speaking in the language of one of the two cultures (Luna et al., 2008). When speaking English with peers at school or workplace, for example, the young participants may talk about aspects of Australian popular culture such as footy or

cricket. When they are speaking an ethnic language with parents at home or with other older elderly people at the community centre, they may have to bow and lower their voice showing respect as part of the ethnic cultural values.

Hybrid identity develops through family values. Navigating between Western- and Eastern-based childrearing expectations (Triandis, 1995), Australian-born young people in this study may be financially independent but stay with their parents until marriage. In terms of religion, the young people may show strong commitment to their ethnic religion but be open minded and tolerant towards adherents of different faith affiliations. Like sports, religion is a transnational identity which transcends territorial borders of countries and regions (Joseph, 2004; Salazar, 2011).

Finally, hybrid identity influences engagement in cultural practices (Norton, 2000; Vignoles, 2011). Hybrid ethnic minority young people may love to attend the cultural festivals of both ethnic and dominant cultures. They may eat ethnic food and speak ethnic language at home but consume the food and speak the language of the dominant culture. They may also develop cultural practices which emerge from both ethnic and dominant cultures.

So, in contrast to previous studies on the development of hybrid identity which were more cognitive and methodologically quantitative (Beltran, 2004; Marotta, 2008; Poynting; 2009; Marcia, 1980; Phinney, 1990) this study promotes more subjective and qualitative viewpoints of hybrid identity development. Through the participant voices, hybrid identity presented in this study gives greater attention to the issue of accommodating cultural practices which provide a contribution to the 'multi-dimensional' perspectives of hybrid identity development.

## 2.8 Summary

Throughout this chapter, I have critically explored and reviewed several key frameworks in relation to acculturation attitudes, identification process, and the development of hybrid identities of ethnic minority young people. Identification is a developmental process in life which is the right of every individual, regardless of their ethnicity. Late adolescence and emerging adulthood, the ages of the study participants, are the most critical periods of identity development. Situated within the interrelatedness of individual and social elements, ethnic identity is a socio-cultural development. Identification is considered more important among young people of the ethnic minority groups who may be considered 'other' by the dominant group.

Identification with a group has several dimensions such as belonging and its importance, and attitudes. Young people associate with certain social groups because they believe that it is important to be part of the group to validate their social existence. Having identified with a social group, the young people may evaluate the benefits of their belonging. Advantages result in positive or good attitudes whereas disadvantages lead to negative attitudes. In addition to cognitive attitudes, identification also includes behavioral aspects which require individuals to invest in accordance with the rules of the group such as involvement in cultural events and religious festivities. In line with core cultural values, cultural involvement in this study includes ethnic language, family obligations, cultural events and religious festivals.

Identification is highly contested among various dimensions and contexts. Multidimensionality of identity includes race, ethnicity, religion, interests and education whereas context may include parents, peers and community members. Multidimensionality enables young people to have multiple identities that they can show strategically depending on the context. Since identity development is self-reflexive, ethnic minority young people develop their identity in relation to the responses given by others such as parents and peers as social context. Young people may identify with ethnic culture in certain contexts such as during cultural festivities but identify with the dominant culture in everyday activities. Whether or not the young people may want to associate with their heritage identity depends on the family socialization process and the influence of the dominant culture, mostly represented by peers and the dominant culture at large.

Furthermore, identification with ethnic culture may result in tension between parents and young people who are exposed to the host culture more intensively. As a socio-cultural identity, identification with an ethnic group is commonly more the concern of parents than young people. Ethnic identity development is a contested space between parents and members of the ethnic group on one hand and peers as well as members of the dominant culture on the other. Finally, as part of acculturation, ethnic identity maintenance relates to the emergence of hybrid identities which may be the combination of two different cultures or a new emerging different third space.

The next chapter explains the methodology which this study uses, that is, case study of urban ethnography.

## Chapter 3 NEGOTIATING ETHNIC IDENTITY THROUGH MULTIPLE LENSES

### 3.1 The Journey Begins

In this chapter, I begin with a discussion of the qualitative research paradigm adopted for this study. I explore how urban ethnography (Van Maanen, 1988; Venegas & Huerta, 2010; Gobo, 2011) enabled me to identify the feelings and attitudes shared by young people of an ethnic minority living in an urban setting. As a case study, I talk about the various definitions of case study and the criteria used for selecting the cases included in this study. I also discuss the triangulation process used to generate data from multiple sources, including semi-structured interviews, photo discussions and observations. In the data analysis section, I discuss my own narrative as an Indonesian who temporarily lives in Australia which serves as a working example of how I understand my data. The final section of this chapter describes some considerations of my research positioning as both a student researcher and an insider who researches my own backyard, the Indonesian community in Melbourne.

### 3.2 Researching Qualitatively – Study Design

The purpose of the study determines the methodology used. Aiming to identify the subjective feelings of the participants about their identification with both Australia and Indonesia, this study was qualitative in nature which is commonly characterized by the richness of word descriptions. Stakes (2010) argues that qualitative research method is built on experiential understanding in which subjectivity should be

understood as 'an essential element of understanding human activity' through 'interpretative, experience based, situational, personalistic, and constructivistic' methods (Stakes, 2010; p. 31). In this study, I also emphasize the participant's "voice" and "subjectivity" as the most essential features of a qualitative inquiry (Silverman, 2010; p. 6). These aspects justify my decision to undertake a qualitative inquiry for this study of ethnic identity negotiation.

In this study, I use qualitative methods to understand and describe how my participants interpret their real life experiences, construct their worlds and the meanings associated with their contemporary experiences (Berg, 2007; Griffin & Bengry-Howell, 2008; Yin, 2009; Gibson & Brown, 2009; Merriam, 2009). Through qualitative data collection methods like interviews, discussions, visual data presentations and observations, I was able to explore questions about how my participants make sense of their surroundings through symbols, rituals, social structure, and social roles (Berg, 2007; p. 8; Silverman, 2010; Gobo, 2011). In addition, this study is also interpretive because I investigate how my participants understand and judge their life values and experiences. Stakes (1995) posits that,

Qualitative research tries to establish an empathetic understanding for the reader, through description, sometimes thick description, conveying to the reader what experience itself would convey. ... qualitative designs call for the persons most responsible for interpretations to be in the field, making observations, exercising subjective judgment, analysing and synthesizing, all the while realizing their own consciousness (p. 39-41).

Stakes (2010) also argues that the interpretive process in a qualitative research focuses on researcher-subject interaction by which new meanings of cases are reached through two strategic ways: direct interpretation of a single case and a categorical aggregation of multi cases. In this study, I interpret the feelings of each

participant in relation to their identification with Indonesia and Australia before classifying their identification levels into several categories.

Since this research aims to “study the social world from the perspective of the interacting individuals” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013; p. xvi) of a particular ethnic group, an ethnographic study can analyse this phenomenon. This study is more appropriately called urban ethnography (Chambers, 2003; Venegas & Huerta, 2010) since the participants are members of an ethnic group living in urban areas of Australia.

### **3.2.1 Urban ethnography**

In this research, I observe and explore the cultural values and habits of a group of Indonesians living in the Greater Melbourne area. Since the number of the observed ethnic group members is small and living in an urban setting, not in their indigenous environment, this study is an urban ethnography based on several case studies (Basit, 2010; Venegas & Huerta, 2010). Etymologically, ‘ethnography’ is derived from the word ‘ethno’ or ethnic and ‘graph,’ which means an account or description of the life of an ethnic group which is mainly based on “observational works in particular settings” (Silverman, 2010; p. 49). Early ethnography was mostly used in anthropology in order to research an ethnic group, usually living in remote areas, in their indigenous environment. Employing this method, I spent a considerable length of time, observing, experiencing and sharing the life of the Indonesian community members in Melbourne. To get a more comprehensive account of their life experiences, this lengthy observation required me to participate

in their social events. For this study, I drew on ethnographic methods to discover 'the inner experience of the participants' (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; p. 12), namely, the identity negotiation of an ethnic group, young Australians of Indonesian origin. As the participants in the study are only a small number of the community members who may not represent the group, it is best described as an urban-ethnographic case-study.

### 3.2.2 Case Study

This research is also a case study because I investigate a contemporary phenomenon experienced by a group of people within their real-life context by relying on multiple sources of evidence" (Yin, 1994; Stake, 1995; Lapan & Armfield, 2009). This case study is considered appropriate to be used because I seek to answer "how" and "why" questions about contemporary phenomena of my participants' real life (Yin, 2009; Merriam, 2009; Venegas & Huerta, 2010; Silverman, 2010).

There are many types of case studies. Based on how it is carried out, case study can be intrinsic, instrumental, and collective (Stake, 1995). Types of research questions distinguish cases studies into exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory (Yin, 1994). Meanwhile, the purpose of the study classifies case studies into particularistic, descriptive, heuristic and inductive (Merriam & Merriam, 1988). Synthesizing these aspects, this research is a collective and explanatory case study as it explores twelve cases of young people and another twelve cases of parents grounded in their urban context. The study is both explanatory and exploratory as it

answers the questions of 'what, how and why' by providing rich and thick description of identification with both Indonesia and Australia.

### 3.2.3 Selection of Cases and Participants

The main participants of this study were twelve young Australians of Indonesian origin. Each participant is treated as a separate case. To provide more comprehensive information of the ethnic identity negotiation process among the young people, twelve parents were also recruited to participate as primary context for the study.

The selection of cases to be studied is purposive, in which I determined certain criteria to be found in the participants to provide answers to the projected questions (Flyvbjerg, 2011). To obtain a comprehensive description of subtle identity negotiation among the participants, I selected Australian permanent residents of Indonesian origin. Length and permanence of stay are considered important in the process of ethnic identity negotiation among the participants which usually takes an extended period of time. Australian temporary residents, such as students and short-term visitors, were excluded from the study as they may have insufficient identity negotiation experience. Furthermore, to provide a more thorough data of identity negotiation among families of different parenting types (Ata, 2003), I also included Indonesian-born parents and intermarriage couples. The intermarriage couple criterion is limited to Indonesian and Anglo-Australian of either father or mother, to show representation of the mainstream culture of Australia and the ethnic culture of

Indonesia, and to provide a more comprehensive account of acculturation between the two cultures among their children. More detailed criteria are explained below.

### 3.2.3.1 How participants were recruited

Participant recruitment involved several stages. First, notices were posted in several public places, such as the community centres and the Indonesian Consulate General in Melbourne. Potential participants contacted the researcher to arrange meetings to discuss the research explanatory statement and interview sessions. Sometimes, a snow balling effect resulted in which information about potential participants was provided by other participants who had shown an interest in the study.

#### *Young people*

This multiple case study involves twelve young Indonesians who permanently reside in the Greater Melbourne area. To provide a more thorough ethnic identification, their recruitment was based on several criteria such as age, birthplace, parental marriage pattern, gender, citizenship and religion. Participants had to be aged eighteen years or older to explore a more thorough ethnic identification. At the time of data collection, eight participants were in their teens and four were in their twenties.

The second criterion was birthplace. To have more balanced identification criteria, I recruited six participants who were born in Indonesia and another six who were born in Australia to both or either Indonesian born parents. Eight participants are from Indonesian-Indonesian parents whereas another four have Indonesian-

Australian parents. The migration age of the Indonesian-born participants ranges from two to eleven years old. Four young participants were brought to Australia when they were below five and two were in their teens.

To explore how gender may represent ethnic identification, I selected seven males and five females in the study. To explore religious representation in ethnic identification, eight participants are Muslim, followed by three Christians and one Hindu. More detail is presented in Table 3.1 below.

**Table 3.1**

**Criteria of young people's selection**

No.	Name	Criteria required and identified
1.	Abdi	Australian-born, Male, Muslim, Indonesian-Indonesian parents, secondary college, Javanese parents, Australian citizen.
2.	Andy	Indonesian-born, Male, Christian, Chinese, Indonesian parents, secondary college, Chinese parents, Australian citizen.
3.	Binda	Australian-born, Male, Muslim, Indonesian-Indonesian parents, university,
4.	Bob	Australian-born, Male, Christian, Indonesian-South African parents, Australian citizen
5.	Dafna	Indonesian-born, Female, Muslim, Indonesian-Indonesian parents, Australian citizen.
6.	Elfasa	Australian-born, Male, Muslim, Indonesian-Indonesian parents, Javanese parents, university, Australian citizen.
7.	Fatha	Indonesian-born, Female, Muslim, Indonesian-Indonesian parents, university, Indonesian citizen.
8.	Finti	Indonesian-born, Female, Muslim, Indonesian-Australian parents, university, Australian citizen.
9.	Katrin	Indonesian-born, Female, Christian, Indonesian-Indonesian parents, university, Indonesian citizen.
10.	Meskara	Australian-born, Male, Hindu, Indonesian-Indonesian parents, secondary college, Australian citizen.
11.	Obri	Indonesian-born, Male, Muslim, Indonesian-Australian parents, secondary college, Australian citizen.
12.	Yarra	Australian-born, Female, Muslim, Indonesian-Australian parents, university, Australian citizen.

### *Parents*

The study involved twelve parents from twelve different families. Similar to the young people, the participating parents were purposively selected to represent various variables such as residency, marriage pattern, local ethnicity, and gender. All participants are Australian permanent residents whose length of stay ranges from ten to more than twenty-five years. To explore a more balanced identification with both cultural contexts, the participating parents in this study are of two marriage types; Indonesian and intermarriage couples. Six of the participants have Indonesian born partners, while another six are married to Australians. Of these intermarried couples, four were Indonesian females who married Australian males and another two are Indonesian males who married Australian females.

To explore the representation of local ethnicity across Indonesia, the participating parents come from several different major local ethnic groups in Indonesia such as Acehnese, Padangese, Javanese, Sundanese, Bugisi, Balinese and Chinese. Although this last group is often not considered indigenous to Indonesia, part of contemporary imagined communities of Indonesia (Anderson, 2006), Indonesian Chinese were also involved in this study.

To explore possible gender-based variations of ethnic identity practices, six participating parents are female and another six are male. More detailed information is described in Table 3.2 below.

**Table 3.2**  
**Parents' criteria selection**

No.	Name	Criteria required and identified
1.	Agus	Male, marrying an Australia, Balinese local ethnicity background, Hindu, living in Australia for more than 25 years
2.	Anabela	Female, marrying an Indonesian, Chinese local ethnicity background, Catholic, living in Australia for more than 10 years
3.	Hendi	Male, marrying an Indonesian, Chinese local ethnicity background, Catholic, living in Australia for more than 10 years
4.	Hesti	Female, marrying an Indonesian, Batakese local ethnicity background, Muslim, living in Australia for more than 10 years
5.	Made	Male, marrying an Indonesian, Balinese local ethnicity background, Hindu, living in Australia for more than 10 years
6.	Mardoyo	Male, marrying an Indonesian, Javanese local ethnicity background, Muslim, living in Australia for more than 25 years
7.	Putu	Male, marrying an Australian, Balinese local ethnicity background, Hindu, living in Australia for more than 25 years
8.	Risna	Female, marrying an Australian, Javanese local ethnicity background, Christian, living in Australia for more than 15 years
9.	Ruslan	Male, marrying an Indonesian, Chinese local ethnicity background, Catholic, living in Australia for more than 15 years
10.	Susan	Female, marrying an Australian, Javanese local ethnicity background, Muslim, living in Australia for more than 15 years
11.	Yarsi	Female, marrying an Australian, Sundanese local ethnicity background, Muslim, living in Australia for more than 25 years
12.	Yusi	Female, marrying an Australian, Acehese local ethnicity background, Muslim, living in Australia for more than 15 years

### 3.2.3.2 Research sites

There are various associations of Indonesian communities in Melbourne. Some are ethnicity based and others are religion affiliated. To obtain a more comprehensive account of the life of Indonesian people in Melbourne, I focus on the participants from three religion-based community centres across Melbourne, Victoria as described in Table 3.3 below.

**Table 3.3**  
**Research sites**

Number	Name of organization	Brief description
1.	Indonesian Muslim Community in Victoria	It is the social organization of Indonesian Muslims who reside permanently or temporarily in the state of Victoria. The main focus of IMCV is the maintenance of Islamic culture and values through Sunday school, religious sermons and festivals.
2.	The Association of Indonesian Catholics	It is a social and religious organization for Indonesian Catholics who live in Melbourne. Similar to IMCV, the main mission of KKI is the maintenance of Christian values through Sunday school and other religious services.
3.	Mahindra Bali of Melbourne	<i>Mahindra</i> stands for <i>Masyarakat Hindu Dharma</i> or the Society of Hindu Dharma. The members of this organization are Balinese Hindus and other non-Balinese Hindus who have relationships with Balinese. Similar to IMCV and KKI, Mahindra Bali also focuses on the socialization and maintenance of Hindu values among its members.

### 3.2.4 Triangulation of data sources

To enhance the validity and reliability of a study, data should be of various layers. As a case study, I followed Yin's (2009; p. 114-122) three principles of data collection; using multiple sources of evidence, creating a case study database, and maintaining a chain of evidence. Following the first principle, I employed three data sources; semi-structured interviews, photo-interviews, and observation, to 'increase confidence and reduce faulty of interpretation' (Stake, 2010; p. 37). As for the second, I developed a comprehensive account for each participating youth into a profile. Finally, each case is compared to each other to identify its shared chain of evidence for generalization.

### 3.2.4.1 Semi-structured interviews

The first instrument for data collection is a semi-structured interview for parents and young people. The participants were asked about their understanding, feelings and experiences of living in Australia as members of an ethnic minority, their identification with both Indonesia and Australia and their involvement in the cultural aspects of both countries. To obtain strong interview results, I built rapport and neutrality in the form of trust and reassurance prior to each interview (Rapley, 2004). As this scholar suggests, the interview was formatted in a "mundane interaction" (p. 25) in which the interviewer asks initial questions and follows up on various things raised by the interviewees. This format allows the participants space to talk about their opinions and feels more expressively.

The interview questions for both parents and young people were comprehensively designed to not only evaluate cognitive perspectives but also to include experience and behaviour, opinions and values, feelings, knowledge and perceptions which are essential in exploring the subjective belonging of the participants to their social groups (Patton, 2002). All interviews were tape-recorded and thematically transcribed. Following Bogdan and Biklen's (2007) steps of analysis, the interview data was then analysed in two ways: developing a profile for each participant and categorising their responses and then studying the categories for themes within and amongst them. The names used for participants used are not real and the places are identified as common geographical names.

### *Parents' Interviews*

The interviews for parents were conducted in Bahasa Indonesia with only a few words in English to allow parents to be more eloquent in expressing their subjective ideas, feelings and attitudes. The main purpose of this interview was to reveal their identification and attitudes to their country of origin and current settlement. The interview was conducted in a less formal situation, like an afternoon tea talk. For their convenience, some parents preferred to be interviewed in public places, such as at community and shopping centres after work, during the weekday or on the weekend.

The interview questions for parents were thematically designed. The questions were simple but required parents to freely tell their life stories, to provide a smooth direction for a more conversational interview (Riemer, 2009). Since thematic interviews are considered the most common data gathering method for a case study, especially in psychological studies, (Braun & Clarke, 2006), the themes of interview for parents included demography, identification with Indonesia and national identity socialization practices. Demography questions included their Indonesian ethnic origins, length of stay in Australia and reasons for migration and attitudes to this current country of settlement. Identification with Indonesia includes their feeling of whether it is important or not to maintain their Indonesian identity, knowledge of current affairs in Indonesia, maintenance with their relatives in Indonesia as well as their attitudes towards the country, such as pride in being Indonesians in Australia. Ethnic identity socialization included the ways in which they

introduce their children to the heritage culture of Indonesia through the maintenance of Bahasa Indonesia and exposure to various ethnic cultural festivals.

### *Interviews with young participants*

Unlike the interviews for parents, the interviews for young people were mainly in English with only a few words in Bahasa Indonesia since most of them are more fluent in English than in Bahasa Indonesia. This allowed children to be more articulate in expressing their ideas and feelings of what it means to be Indonesian and/or Australian.

Similar to the interview for parents, to obtain a comprehensive account of identification with both Indonesia and Australia, the interview questions for the young participants were also thematic, including aspects of demography, national identity and socialization practices (Moua & Lamborn, 2010; Barrett and Davis, 2008). Some interview questions include: Do you prefer living in Indonesia or Australia? Are you more familiar with Australian popular culture such as footy and cricket or Badminton, a famous sports among Indonesians? Demography includes birthplace, length of stay in Australia, and schooling type (public or private). Aspects of ethnic identity socialization explored included exposure to Indonesian cultural events such as speaking Bahasa Indonesia, traditional music instruments, dress, cuisine, and religious ceremonies. Identification with Indonesia examines their feelings and attitudes of being Indonesian young people in Melbourne, Australia. Identification with Australia explores their attitudes towards the country, benefits of living in Australia, and their involvement in Australian popular culture.

### 3.2.4.2 Photo interviews

The second instrument used to generate data was photo-interview, which is a more conventional form of photo elicitation (Harper, 2002). I asked the participants to prepare four to five items from their own photo collections considered significant to them which represent their belonging to Indonesia or Australia. The photographs included the participants with other people, objects/materials or symbols relevant to the representation of both Indonesian and Australian cultures. These three entities are important elements of understanding self-concept in relation to social context (Kenney, 1993). Participants were asked to discuss each photograph, explaining why they were taken and what they represent, as well as the relationship of people in the photograph to the participants so that I was able to explore the subjective meanings attached to the photos (Croghan, Griffin, Hunter, & Phoenix, 2008; Prosser & Schwartz, 1998).

I believe that photos speak louder than words. Photo interviewing may overcome some difficulties posed by semi-structured interviews and may add to validity and reliability of the data (Harper, 2002). Photographs can reveal information about self-concept that words alone cannot provide (Kenney, 1993; Mitchell et al., 2005). The study of participants' verbal identification may be different from their photo evidences.

I adopted photo-interviews as a method of data collection for various reasons. First, since my study explores the subjective belonging of a group of ethnic minority towards their countries of origin and current settlement, photo elicitation, which is a standard research technique used in various social studies, such as social

class and organization, family and community education, identity, and biography (Harper, 2002), offers participants an opportunity to 'show' rather than 'tell' aspects of their self-identity that might have otherwise remained hidden. It also offers a way of gaining insight into a participant's inner perspectives of what it means to feel Indonesian or Australian through visual interpretation (Croghan et al., 2008). Second, with its denotative and connotative meanings, photographs can serve as an entry point to tell personal stories (Riggins, 1994), provide more concrete information, serve as a trigger to memory and evoke more emotional many-layered responses (Samuels, 2004) to my participants' identification process. Third, as visual representation is likely to be culturally specific (Turner, 1991), photo elicitation interviews also connect the core definition of individual self to society, culture, and history (Harper, 2002). Here, photography can serve as the clearest illustration of Indonesian and Australian cultures (Collier, 1967) which combines cultural and trans-cultural elements (Collier, 1967; Weber, 2008).

Furthermore, personal photo documentary also serves as a photo-voice that can give voice to my participants' self-representation and articulate their social representation of being Indonesian and Australian (Mitchell & Allnutt, 2008; Mitchell et al., 2005). The subjective voice of the participants is important in this study of identification with both ethnic and dominant cultures. Images influence and constitute the participants' plan, analysis, thought, imagination and critique, serve as windows to their lives and give the illusion of capturing their authentic identities (Bruner, 1984; Harper, 2002). As a form of representation, not only does the photograph reveal information but also feelings and memories which can capture

the impossible or even represent the more fundamental and intensely accountable aspects of self, such as ethnicity and religion (Harper, 2002; Croghan et al., 2008).

I believe that the many benefits of photo interview described above help identify the hidden feelings and attitudes of my participants in how they identify with both Indonesia and Australia among Indonesian youth in Melbourne.

### 3.2.4.3 Observations

As an urban ethnographic inquiry, this study also relies on observation for data collection. The observations took place in several venues of cultural events and religious festivals such as the Indonesian Festival sponsored by the Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia in Melbourne and the Satay Festival organized by PERWIRA (The Association of Indonesian Community in Victoria). Religious festivals were organized by three religious-affiliations across Melbourne. The festivals were *Idul Fitri* (after Ramadan feast) held by IMCV, Christmas organized by The Indonesian Catholic Association and *Kuningan* held by Mahindra Bali. To generate rich description of the participants' identification process, the observation includes verbal and non-verbal materials (Seidman, 2006). Verbal materials include ethnic language and religious rituals. Non-verbal materials include dress, food, drink, and other cultural symbols.

In this data generating process, the researcher significantly influences the data generated. My role as a researcher in the observation lies somewhere on a continuum of observer-participant (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). Based on this continuum, the researcher can be a more of an observer, an observer-participant, a

participant-observer, or a full participant. Where on the continuum I, as the researcher, am situated, depends on the questions, context, and theoretical perspectives of the study (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). To explore how parents socialize young people to their ethnic identity through cultural practices, I took the role of observer-participant. During cultural events such as the Satay Festival, I voluntarily helped the organizing committee while observing how parents and their young people were involved in various cultural events. My observation was, however, more dominant than my volunteering activity. During the Indonesian Festival and other religious festivals, I served as a pure observer. In addition, the context of the study also affects my observation position. As I am not a member of the Indonesian community in Victoria, I could not fully participate in the activity.

### **3.3 Working with the sample**

Data collection took fourteen months, during which time I considered myself 'the primary instrument for data collection and analysis' (Merriam, 2008; p. 6). The semi-structured interviews with young people covered many themes, such as demography, the maintenance of Indonesian language and culture and the attitudes of the participants towards Indonesia, their ethnic identity and Australia, their country of current settlement.

At the end of the semi-structured interview, each young participant was asked to prepare some four to five photos from their own collections which show their sense of affiliation with Indonesia and Australia. They were given one month to select or take photos that represent their affiliation with either Indonesia or

Australia. They were asked to bring their photos to the photo-interview which occurred after completion of the parent interviews.

The second three months of the data collection was used for parent interviews. The three months after were used for photo discussion with young people. The final two months of data collection were used for wrap-up interviews and discussions. During this period, observations at several cultural and religious events took place. This extended period of observation was due to the annual nature of the events. After this data collection period, I contacted the participants to clarify any missing information as necessary.

### **3.3.1 Data Analysis Procedure**

The three types of data (semi-structured interviews, photo-interviews, and observations) were analysed in several stages: transcription, coding, analysis and reporting (Kvale, 1996). Data of semi-structured and photo interviews were thematically transcribed. Information on participants' demographic and knowledge of Indonesian language and culture obtained from semi-structured interviews were descriptively analysed into a profile for each participant.

Each research question was analysed using relevant theories. To analyse the transcribed data, I followed Auerbach & Silvestein's (2003) three phases of transcript data analysis; making the text manageable, hearing what was said and developing a theory. In the first phase, I used the research statement and theoretical framework to explicitly select relevant texts for analysis by reading through the raw transcript. In the second phase, I highlighted repeating ideas found in the transcript by grouping related passages of relevant texts and organizing themes by grouping the repeating

ideas into coherent categories. In the last phase, theoretical constructs were developed by grouping themes into more abstract concepts and creating a theoretical narrative by retelling the participants' personal accounts in terms of theoretical constructs.

As a supplementary analysis tool, I employed Miles and Huberman's (1994: 21) three concurrent flows of data analysis; reduction, display and conclusion drawing/verification. Data reduction involves selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting and transforming raw data and deciding which chunks will be the focus. Data display is an organized assembly of data into matrices, graphs, networks, and charts which clarify the main direction of analysis. Conclusion drawing means deciding what things mean, noting regularities, patterns, explanations, possible configurations and causal flow and propositions. Finally, verification means testing data plausibility of validity. I also analysed data in three levels: literal (content, structure, style and layout) interpretative (data representation and inference), and reflexive or the researcher's relationship with the data to obtain a more coherent story of ethnic identification (Richards, 2009).

### **3.3.2 Transcription**

In general, the transcription of interview results was thematic. It focused on the main information that emerged in the interviews which developed into several themes relevant to the research questions. The themes include belonging, attitudes, and cultural involvement with both Indonesia and Australia. Although the transcription is thematic, not verbatim, the transcription maintains the details of information to support trust. Information related to feelings and attitudes are transcribed verbatim

to support the 'trustworthiness' of the transcription, which is a fundamental component of rigorous qualitative research (Poland, 1995; p. 290).

### 3.3.3 Coding

Interview data was coded on the basis of research questions (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Silverman, 2006, 2010; Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Neuman, 2000, 2009). The main codes include identification with Indonesia (Id-Ind), identification with Australia (Id-Au), identity socialization (Id-Soc), attitudes towards Indonesia (Att-Ind), attitudes towards Australia (Att-Au), cultural practices of Indonesia (Cult-Ind) and cultural practices of Australia (Cult-Aus). These codes are also used as a 'start list' for field work observation. To provide a more comprehensive coding tool, I included some categories of identity socialization such as participation in cultural events, sharing history, preparing traditional food, speaking the language, wearing traditional clothes, strengthening family ties, marriage preparation, religious participation, and emphasizing ethnic pride (Moua & Lamborn, 2010).

### 3.3.4 Looking for themes

The interview transcript was analysed thematically. The themes in this study are developed on the basis of sub-questions of the research. They include belonging to both Indonesia and Australia, the importance of belonging, attitudes towards both countries, involvement in cultural events and religious festivals, the influence of social context on identification process and the acculturation attitudes of the young people.

### 3.4 Analysis sample

Here is an example of data analysis used in this study which was triangulated from three sources: semi-structured interview, photo discussion, and observation. Semi-structured interview consists of four stages of analysis.

#### 3.4.1 Semi-structured interviews

Not all interview recordings were transcribed verbatim as is common practice for Conversational Analysis techniques. Some transcriptions focus on retaining the needed information from a verbal account which is accurate to its original nature (Braune & Clarke, 2006). Data analysis in this study synthesizes Braun and Clarke's (2006) six steps of thematic analysis and Burnard's (1991) method of analyzing interview data in a qualitative study which consists of fourteen stages. Braun & Clarke's six steps include (1) personal familiarization with the data, (2) initial code generation, (3) theme searching, (4) theme review, (5) theme name and definition, (6) reporting. Burnard's fourteen stages are similar in their application but have more detailed separation between each stage.

For this study, I modify and simplify their steps and stages into four steps; (1) familiarization with data (2) initial code generation, theme searching and cross-checking with participants, (3) theme reviewing and naming, and (4) reporting.

Here is an example of the four steps of thematic analysis applied in analysing the interview transcript.

### Stage 1: Familiarizing with data

First, during the interview, I attempted to understand and familiarize myself with the gist of the information conveyed by the interviewees. I replayed and listened to the recording immediately after each interview to be more familiar with the data. Then, I directly transcribed the recording in two ways. First, for personal opinions or feelings, I used verbatim transcription. Second, for factual information such as demography, I focused on the accuracy of information. Next, I read the transcript of my interview several times to get a general overview of the data. I underlined some key words in each sentence of the transcript for further identification.

Here is the example of an interview transcript of a young person and a parent.

The part in italics is the interviewer questions.

Transcript excerpt of young people interview (Elfasa)

*Do you feel you are an Indonesian or an Australian?*

Indonesian I guess. Although I was born in Melbourne and spend my whole life in Australia, I think I am still Indonesian because my parents are both Indonesian.

*Only that reason?*

No, My skin is not white. I look like many other Southeast Asian. But I think I feel I am both Indonesian and Australian.

*If you put it in percentage, how much do you feel both?*

Probably 60% Indonesian and 40% Australian.

*How do you feel as an Indonesian in Melbourne?*

Most of the time, I feel happy as an Indonesian, especially when I hang out with my family and other Indonesian friends at the community centre. I often feel happy.

As I did the interview and transcription myself, I consider initial listening to the recording and transcribing it an integrated way of familiarising myself with some possibly emerging themes from the data. The recording was played several times for deeper understanding and accuracy check with its transcription.

## Stage 2: Generating initial codes and themes and cross-checking with participants

After being familiar with my data, I started to generate an initial code for my transcription. This initial coding process is equally driven between theory and data. Initial codes were identified by focusing on the underlined key words in each sentence of the transcript as exemplified below.

### a. *Generating initial codes*

#### Young people

Transcript	Initial codes
<p>Although <u>I was born in Melbourne</u> and spend my <u>whole life in Australia</u>, <u>I think I am still Indonesian</u> because <u>my parents are both Indonesian</u>.</p> <p><i>Only that reason?</i>  <u>My skin is not white</u>. I look <u>like many other Southeast Asian</u>. But I think <u>I am both Indonesian and Australian</u>.</p> <p><i>If you put it in percentage, how much do you feel both?</i>  <u>Probably 60% Indonesian and 40% Australian</u>.</p> <p><i>How do you feel as an Indonesian in Melbourne?</i>  Most of the time, <u>I feel happy as an Indonesian</u>, especially <u>when I hang out with my family and other Indonesian friends</u> at the community centre. <u>I often feel happy in these situations</u>.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Born in Melbourne</li> <li>• Whole life in Australia</li> <li>• Thinking of being Indonesian</li> <li>• Having Indonesian parents.</li>   <li>• Skin color is not white, unlike Anglo-Australian</li> <li>• Look like Southeast Asian</li> <li>• Both Indonesian and Australian</li>   <li>• Feel happy as Indonesian</li> <li>• Hanging out with family and Indonesian friends</li> <li>• Indonesian Community centre</li> <li>• Feeling happy in situations above</li> </ul>

### *b. Identifying emerging themes*

#### Young people

Transcript	Emerging themes
<p>Although I was born in Melbourne and spend my whole life in Australia, <u>I think I am still Indonesian because my parents are both Indonesian.</u></p> <p><i>Only that reason?</i>  <u>My skin is not white. I look like many other Southeast Asian. But I think I am both Indonesian and Australian.</u></p> <p><i>If you put it in percentage, how much do you feel both?</i>  <u>Probably 60% Indonesian and 40% Australian.</u></p> <p><i>How do you feel as an Indonesian in Melbourne?</i>  <u>Most of the time, I feel happy as an Indonesian, especially when I hang out with my family and other Indonesian friends at the community centre. I often feel happy.</u></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Feeling Indonesian because of having Indonesian parents.</li> <li>2. Physical characteristics of being an Indonesian such as colour skin.</li> <li>3. Percentage or level of being Indonesian and Australian</li> <li>4. Feeling happy around Indonesian people</li> </ol>

### *c. Cross-checking with participants*

In this stage, I also cross-checked the emerging themes with some participants (two to three parents and young people) to get their interpretation of the data obtained. I revised some information that the participants considered incorrect or that they preferred to be off-record.

#### **Stage 3: Theme reviewing and naming**

During this state, I gathered more information on similar issues, including the underlying reasons for the category. As the theory suggests, I categorize having Indonesian parents, specific physical features, and feeling happy around Indonesian people into the theme of belonging to the ethnic group (Indonesia). Other themes

which emerge include proficiency and use of Bahasa Indonesia, exposure to Indonesian cultural events, family values and attitudes towards Indonesia.

#### **Stage 4: Reporting**

In this stage, evidence from each theme is cross-supported by two other data sources: photo discussion and observation. For instance, the theme of belonging to Indonesia for young people is supported by their proficiency and use of Bahasa Indonesia, types of photo settings (Indonesia or Australia) or people (Indonesian or Australian friends) that each participant showed as well as their efforts to attend Indonesian cultural festivals or learn Indonesian dances or musical instruments.

Each report is divided into two sections. The first section is a brief profile of each participant, young people and parents. The profile for young participants includes demography (place of birth, general physical features, age of migration to Australia, parent's local ethnicity, contact with Indonesia and Indonesian people and proficiency and use of Bahasa Indonesia). The profile of parents includes personal information, length of stay in Australia and reasons for migration to Australia.

The second section of the report is the findings and discussion of each category or theme identified in the previous steps of analysis. For young people, data from interviews were cross-supported by findings from photo discussions and observations to provide a more coherent story for each participating young person.

### 3.4.2 Photo discussion

Unlike interview transcripts, photo discussions and observations were analysed differently. Analysis of photo discussions follows Grbich's (2013) content analysis, which includes three stages: quantification of settings (Indonesia or Australia), order or sequence of presentation, and making generalizations. Grbich believes that number and order shows significance or importance. An example of each of the stages is described below.

#### *a. Quantification of settings*

No.	Name	Number of photo in Indonesian settings	Number of photo in Australian settings	Comparison	Photo types
1.	Andy	2	3	Australia	Computer file
2.	Abdi	1	4	Australia	Printed
3.	Bob	2	3	Australia	Printed
4.	Binda	4	0	Australia	Computer file
5.	Katrin	3	2	Indonesia	Face book page
6.	Dafna	3	2	Indonesia	Computer file
7.	Elfasa	2	4	Australia	Face book page
8.	Fatha	5	1	Indonesia	Computer file
9.	Finti	2	3	Australia	Computer file
10.	Meriska	1	4	Australia	Computer file
11.	Obri	3	2	Indonesia	Computer file
12.	Yarra	5	4	Indonesia	Printed

### b. Order or sequence of presentation

No.	Name	Indonesia/ Australia as setting	Feeling of membership	Explanation
1.	Andy	1,5/2,3 and 4	He feels <b>more Australian</b> than Indonesian	Andy started by showing a photo of his grandmother in Jakarta. He still acknowledges the importance of Indonesian side in himself. His mother said that due to his autism, he was his grandmother's favourite grandson. He went on presenting three photos about his high school, church, and holiday on the Gold Coast. He seemed likely to have continued showing other photos with Australian settings if his mother had not reminded him to show another photo of the family of his father in Bandung West Java province.
2.	Abdi	1,2,3,4 and 5	He feels <b>strongly more Indonesian</b>	The first photo shown was his reunion with his former Primary School friends (year 3-4) in Indonesia. The other four photos take Melbourne as their setting but mostly with Indonesian friends. Only photo number four shows himself with some Asian friends (Singapore and Malaysia) who took Indonesian for their VCE test.

### c. Detail analysis and generalization

Based on the first two stages, in this stage, transcripts from each photo discussion are thematically analysed to identify commonly emerging themes relevant to the research questions. This thematic analysis uses similar steps for analysing interview transcription.

In this final stage, I concluded three different levels of participant identification with Indonesia and Australia. As indicated by the quantity and order of photo presentation and thematic analysis of the discussion, participants were

classified into three categories. Some strongly felt more Australian than Indonesian, while others felt both Indonesian and Australian. Others feel more Indonesian than Australian.

More strongly identified with Australia	Equally identified with both Australia and Indonesia	More strongly identified with Indonesia
1. Andy	1. Yarra	1. Fatha
2. Bob	2. Finti	2. Abdi
3. Binda	3. Katrin	3. Elfasa
	4. Obri	4. Dafna
	5. Meskara	

This categorization was then cross-checked with findings from two other data sources: semi-structured interviews and observations.

### 3.4.3 Observation

Observation at cultural or religious festivals took into account several aspects, including the type of event (cultural or religious), people attending (participating parents and young people), activities (prayer, ritual, dances, sermons, music) and apparent emotions of the participant, especially the young people, based on their behaviour.

#### Preliminary findings

The overall findings for each participant were based on the combination of the three data sources. Based on the final analysis, parents were divided into three categories; (1) high identification with Indonesia and high commitment to socialization, (2) high identification with Indonesia but low commitment for

socialization, and (3) low identification with Indonesia and low commitment to ethnic identity socialization.

These three categories correlate to three levels of acculturation among young people; (1) high assimilation to Australian culture and low belonging to Indonesian, (2) equally integrated between Indonesian and Australian cultures, and (3) strong belonging to Indonesian culture but a good acknowledgement of Australian culture.

#### **3.4.4 Writing myself**

As a temporary Australian resident of Indonesian origin, I have lived experience that can serve as a framework and comparison to the possible identification processes experienced by the participants. To provide an illustration of how the identity of a member of a minority ethnic group is negotiated, here I share a personal account in three phases. The first focuses on the problematic state of my identification in Indonesia, the second is my lived experience in two countries, and the third is attitudes towards my country of origin when living overseas.

##### **The problematic state of my identity in Indonesia**

Identity is subtle and not easy to define. Defining my socio-cultural identity is not as simple as showing who I am or where I come from. Various social roles have required me to perform differently in different contexts. To provide a relatively thorough but simple description of my self-representation, this personal account starts from my social life in Indonesia then moves to my lived overseas experiences in the United States and Australia.

Living in the city of Bandung, the capital city of West Java province, I felt more Sundanese than Indonesian. Sundanese is an ethnic group,

occupying the Western part of Java Island of Indonesia where I was born. It is considered the second largest spoken local ethnic language in Indonesia, after Javanese. Although *Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian language) is the official national language among Indonesians, most Sundanese people prefer to speak Sundanese language with their Sundanese fellows. A similar phenomenon occurs with other ethnic groups across Indonesia. Sundanese culture is all around me which includes language, food, dance, musical instruments, and cultural festivals. At my university, speaking Sundanese among teaching and administrative staff members is considered 'more polite' than speaking Bahasa Indonesia. Although Bahasa Indonesia is an official language used in government offices, schools, universities, and other public service offices around the country, the Sundanese language is like an unofficial access to employment in this region. Non-Sundanese staff members at my university have to learn the Sundanese language if they want to be socially welcome in their workplace. I am convinced that this local ethnic language sentiment also happens at other public universities in different cities around Indonesia.

It was only when I travelled overseas that I realized my national identity, Indonesian. So far, I have experienced two periods of ethnic identity negotiation. The first was when I started my master's degree in Boston, the United States. The second was when my family and I left for Melbourne, Australia.

### **My identity negotiation in the United States**

In 2004, I had the opportunity to pursue a master degree in language and literacy at Boston University with a Fulbright scholarship. This was my first time living outside Indonesia.

Although relatively short, my life in the United States had a great impact on my identity development. Studying in a developed country like the United States is different from doing so in my home country. As my first time studying and living abroad, I had to adjust considerably to an academic environment very different from that of my own.

Basically, I am open to new experiences and like learning new things. The basic mission of the Fulbright scholarship was intercultural understanding. In Boston, I was lucky enough to have foster parents who had been to Indonesia and so could help me learn more about American culture. On weekends, we often got together and discussed the cultural values of North America. They invited me to celebrate Christmas, Thanksgiving, and Independence Day at their house. Sometimes, they took me to visit interesting and historical places around Greater Boston. These activities were so memorable that I still keep in touch with my foster parents.

Despite this fantastic experience, however, I also had some miserable experiences. I had to survive the cold winter of the New England area. Extreme cold weather was the most unexpected experience that I had during my stay in Boston. I started to realize how grateful I should be to live in a country with a climate where warm sunshine is abundant throughout the year.

Another gloomy memory of living in Boston which strengthens my identification with Indonesia was that, at that time, many people in the United States did not know the country I come from. As the number of Indonesian people in the United States is not as large as that in Australia, encountering a person who looked Indonesian or Southeast Asian in the street or in a shopping centre was a luxury. Judging by my physical appearance, most people I met thought that I was Malaysian, Thai, or Filipino. Only after I told them did they know that I was from Indonesia. When I asked if they knew Bali, some nodded their heads but then asked which part of Bali Indonesia is. An American friend told me she had been to Bali twice but had never been to Indonesia at all. After a short pause, I finally understand her point because she directly flew from Singapore to Denpasar, Bali without visiting other cities in Indonesia. That was the first time in my life I questioned the existence of my national identity, Indonesia.

To reduce the stress of study, I joined some social gatherings with fellow Indonesians. My friends and I took part in the celebration of Independence Day. We enjoyed the sunset around the Boston esplanade

and watched the fireworks when the night came. We also took part in the Boston regatta, a canoe competition along the Charles river. We registered our team as Garuda, the national logo of Indonesia. To introduce Indonesia to my American friends, I often exchanged Indonesian souvenirs such as key rings, post cards and even small bank notes. Sometimes, we gathered at the house of a permanent resident to enjoy Indonesian food and drink and to talk about the country. It was such a nice escape from a study routine and a small step towards introducing Indonesia to my American friends.

### **My life experience in Australia**

Although Melbourne is my second time living overseas, I still experience identity shift here. My overseas life experience in the United States has provided me with the knowledge necessary to understand what to expect when living in a country with a predominantly Western culture like Australia. My expectation is, however, not always correct.

As some friends have told me, Indonesia is somewhat known among Australians. When I first arrived in Melbourne, I found that the number of Indonesian people living in Melbourne is much larger than that in Boston. I can easily meet Indonesians at various places such as the shopping centre, campus, bus station, and play ground. Nevertheless, I still feel more Indonesian here in Melbourne than when I was in my home country. When I was in Indonesia, most of the time, I interacted with people of the same nationality and relatively similar physical characteristics. Although various ethnic groups in Indonesia have their own ethnic languages, Bahasa Indonesia has been adopted as the national language that unifies these different ethnic groups. This heightened sense of national identity may also be experienced by my fellow Indonesians here in Melbourne. Indonesian is my nationality as stated in my passport and it is my official identity that I put on every required document here in Australia.

Unlike in Indonesia, my national identity seems to be stronger than my local ethnicity in Melbourne. Although I am Sundanese, an ethnic group occupying the western part of Java Island, when interacting with non-Indonesians, I identify more easily as Indonesian than Sundanese. My

Australian friends may find it hard to identify my ethnic identity if I tell them that I am Sundanese, instead of Indonesian. They may mix it up with the Sudanese people of Eastern Africa.

In Melbourne, my different identities fluctuate with various contexts. Being open to new experience, I manage to adapt to the mainstream culture of Australia, which is new and different from my own. With some Australian friends, I like asking about and discussing the history of Australia, places of interests, as well as values and practices of Australia. As a higher degree by research student, for instance, while complying with the academic requirements of an international doctoral student, I have also managed to join some social net-working events held by the university. I often register for social gatherings, such as holiday trips and farewell parties for international students.

For me, friendship crosses boundaries. I like befriending people of different colours, ethnicities and religious affiliations. As an Indonesian, I enjoy learning the cultures of mainstream Australia and other ethnic groups in the country. As a Muslim, I am eager to explore and share knowledge about other religions. Every Saturday morning, I take my wife and children to an English class held by a local church. While waiting, I often talk to the minister of the church. We frequently share and exchange knowledge of Christianity and Islam. Although the teaching of Islam and Christianity are somewhat different, we focus on their similarity while understanding and tolerating any differences. With a retired professor of an Australian University, I have also established a non-profit organization, called AusIndo Educational. This organization aims at promoting a bilateral relationship between young people of Indonesia and Australia through sister school programs. These activities help support my belief that friendship is universal and across borders.

Although I welcome and appreciate the mainstream Australian culture, I still manage to maintain my heritage culture. To reduce longing for my home country, I maintain social relationships with my Indonesian countrymen. My local ethnic identity is reinforced when I meet my fellow

Sundanese, whether they are temporary or permanent residents. It is nostalgic when we meet and speak our ethnic language, Sundanese.

However, in most cases, my national identity is more apparent than my local ethnicity. The Indonesian community in Melbourne comprises people of various local ethnicities. They are Acehnese, Padangese and Batakese (Sumatra Island), Javanese, Sundanese and Jakartan (Java Island), Balinese and Sasak (Bali and Lombok islands), Bugisi and Manadonese (Sulawesi island) Asmat (West Papua) and Chinese-Indonesian. In many cultural festivals at a national level, I feel that I am part of them. Speaking in Indonesian is the first thing I do when encountering and mingling with these people. At the annual Festival Indonesia, for instance, we release our longing for home by speaking Bahasa Indonesia, eating traditional foods and enjoying the cultural performances such as dances, musical instruments and children's games on the stage.

For this reason of national identification, I have joined another social organization, PERWIRA (The Association of Indonesians in Victoria). Members of this organization are all Indonesians of any religion and ethnicity background who live in Victoria. Since PERWIRA is an inter-ethnic and inter-religious organization, I find its members focus on their similarity as Indonesians, rather than differences. This organization attempts to promote and introduce Indonesian culture to the public, particularly in Victoria. It holds various programs such as Indonesian food and trade festivals on an annual basis. Representing Indonesia in Victoria, PERWIRA also participates in various multicultural programs held by the multicultural commission of Victoria such as the Spring Festival and Australian National Day.

In addition, I also feel my religious identity becomes more obvious when gathering with other Indonesian Muslims. I sometimes join activities of this community group such as religious retreats and celebrations. Within this community, I feel a significant identity shift. In Indonesia, Islam is a major religion whereas in Melbourne it is the other way around. This difference makes me realize how it feels to be a minority. This experience may increase my tolerance for minority ethnic or religious groups and understanding of

multiculturalism when I am back in Indonesia. As a researcher, I also attended some other faith-based organizations among Indonesians in Victoria, such as the association of Indonesian Catholics, and Hindus.

In Australia, my national identity seems to be more noticeable than my religious identity. If I have to choose, as a Muslim, I prefer to befriend Indonesians regardless of their religious affiliation, than with non-Indonesian Muslims. The customs and traditions that I share with other Indonesians are more central to my sense of national identity than those of non-Indonesian Muslims who have a different culture. To this point, I think I am an Indonesian Muslim, not a Muslim Indonesian. My national identity seems to be more salient than my religious identity. Because of this, I prefer to join various Indonesian organizations of multi faiths and ethnicities than non-Indonesian organizations of similar faith.

As parent, I cannot be as authoritarian as I was in Indonesia. My children seem to have developed their critical thinking at school. They often criticize activities I offer such as playgrounds to visit or what they can have for breakfast or bring in lunch boxes. My elder daughter preferred to choose her own secondary college to which most of her friends go, ignoring my suggestion to attend the neighbourhood school.

### **Attitudes towards Indonesia and Australia**

As an Indonesian living in Australia, I have both positive and negative attitudes towards the country from which I come. Several aspects of Indonesia warrant pride. The geographical location of Indonesia makes me proud to be an Indonesian. Indonesia is located on the equator allowing it abundant sunshine, making for diverse flora and fauna. Many species of animal and vegetation are only found in the thick forests of Indonesia. Since the sun appears almost every day, the climate can attract foreign tourists to visit the country.

The rich soil of Indonesia is another amazing quality of the country that I am proud of. This country is often called the green sapphire of the equator. Green forest can be found on all the islands. Volcanoes in some parts of Java have made its soil fertile and conducive for farming. Another

pride of Indonesia is its ethnicity and religious diversity. Indonesia is a country of multi-ethnic and religious beliefs. It is home to many local ethnicities and more than five major religions. Regardless of faith and ethnic affiliations, the founding fathers of this country have provided a way for the people of various islands to share a similar identity as Indonesians.

Bahasa Indonesia is the most obvious marker of Indonesian national identity. A sense of pride comes into my mind when I come across people who speak Indonesian, including Chinese Indonesians. I am proud of their maintenance of Bahasa Indonesia since they are often considered non-indigenous Indonesians. This group of Indonesians are often actively involved in various activities promoting Indonesia in Melbourne, such as the Festival of Indonesia and other culture-related events. This makes me believe that they still have a strong sense of being Indonesian.

I also feel proud of being Indonesian Muslim. Most Indonesian Muslims are moderate. Their Islamic values are influenced by their Indonesian traditional culture which emphasises group harmony. Their religious practices and behaviours are more flexible and humanistic, especially when compared to those practiced by some Muslims in Middle Eastern countries. Indonesian Muslims place social harmony as their main practice of conduct. For instance, female Indonesian Muslims have an equal position to the male in all aspects of their social life.

However, I also sometimes have negative attitudes towards my home country. As an Indonesian, I feel unhappy to know that the prosperity level of most Indonesians is far below that of Australians. Every now and then, I envy my Australian friends who have a better standard of living compared to my fellow countrymen in Indonesia. Accessing a decent life is really hard for most Indonesians. They have been deprived of their right to basic life necessities by rampant corruption among government officials. Sometimes, I wish I could be an Australian citizen.

As an Indonesian, I also feel embarrassed or ashamed to read or hear bad news about Indonesia. For instance, the issue of terrorism in Indonesia has lowered my sense of national pride. As an Indonesian, I was both sad and angry when the Bali bombing happened in 2002. I am really

sad to know that this act of violence by a few of my ignorant fellow countrymen has lowered Indonesia in the eyes of people worldwide, particularly in Australia. I am furious with my Indonesian Muslim fellows who displayed their narrow-mindedness by creating such terror. As a practicing Muslim, I know that Islam, as the name suggests, is the religion of peace and submission, which does not tolerate any violence at all.

My national identity and pride is also disturbed by some discrediting behaviours towards Indonesia. I feel annoyed to find that some Australian media still has negative attitudes towards the country. To a certain extent, this may influence the attitude of the Australian people towards Indonesian people, both in Indonesia and Australia. For instance, the issue of drug-dealing on the tourist island of Bali which involves some Australians may have created a negative perspective about Indonesia among Australians. This news certainly makes me unhappy as an Indonesian in Australia.

This process of reflecting on my own identity is valuable in that several factors are clear. In Indonesia, I am Sundanese, rather than Indonesian. Outside Indonesia, I am Indonesian rather than Sundanese. In Indonesia, my religion is a primary part of my identity. Out of Indonesia, it is secondary to my identification as Indonesian. It is complexities and shifts in identity such as these which lead me to my topic.

Finally, as a temporary resident in Australia, the country has amazed me. I feel lucky to have ever lived in Australia which has clean weather and beaches, beautiful scenery, well-regulated road traffic, and good schooling facilities. As a teacher educator, for instance, I believe that I have learned many enlightening educational values that I can apply when I am back to my teaching career in Indonesia.

As a conclusion, my national identity negotiation may be different from that of the Indonesian youth who are participants in my study. I am an Indonesian who was born, grew up and has had an academic career in Indonesia. Since at least some of my participants were born in, or migrated to, Australia at an early age, they might have different self-identification and attitudes towards Indonesia. They may still want to maintain their Indonesian-ness as their heritage identity. They may hold bicultural identity,

balancing the maintenance of Indonesian identity and adopting the mainstream Australian identity through acculturation. They may consider Australia as their birthplace and pay no heed to Indonesia, the country of origin of their parents. This negotiation between Indonesian and mainstream Australian identity among young Indonesians is the main focus of my study.

### 3.5 Writing the other

Explaining the feelings and attitudes of other people is more difficult than expressing our own. We have to be really familiar with their life, customs, traditions and language. To help express the feelings of my study participants more objectively, I decided to collaborate with them. The collaboration took place in several phases of the study, from interview transcription to chapter draft writing. For instance, when I finished transcribing the interviews, I gave several participants, both parents and young people, opportunities to review the transcription and allowed them to edit information that they considered incorrect or should be off record. During the analysis process, I read the transcription very carefully so that I did not miss any important information that may express the subjective feelings or experiences of the participants. I also asked the informants and heads of the community centers, to review my draft writing so that they are aware of the content of the study that I am reporting.

In conclusion, to the best of my knowledge, I have done my best to report the study findings as carefully as possible by avoiding the use of my subjective identification with both Indonesia and Australia.

### 3.6 Ethical issues of pseudonyms and anonymity

Ethical considerations are important in conducting any research, especially with human subjects. This should be continuously considered in all phases of the study, from the beginning to the end (Dingwall, 1997). During this study, I attempted to follow the relevant codes and principles of moral behaviour relating to access, informed consent and confidentiality (Hockey & Forsey, 2012; Basit, 2010).

Contact with the participants started upon receiving ethics approval. To gain access to my potential participants, I talked to three heads of Indonesian community centres across Melbourne about my research. I know these public figures through a snowballing process. Based on their approval, I also asked their agreement to post a recruitment notice in each centre and at the Indonesian Consulate General office. Several potential participants contacted me expressing their interest in participation. Once the university ethics committee approved my ethics application, I followed up my potential participants (parents and children), explaining to them the purpose of my research, their involvement in semi-structured interviews, photo interviews and observation, what I would do with the data and any possible risks that might be involved.

Consent has been gained from all participating parents and young people. The informed consent states that the participants are free to withdraw from participation at any time. For confidentiality, I assured participants' privacy by not using real names in any identification. In addition, to ensure confidentiality, each centre is termed 'an Indonesian community centre' in Melbourne. I also have to be cautious in preserving the confidentiality of the participants since the size of the Indonesian

community in Melbourne is not large. Finally, the electronic data from this research is kept confidential in password-protected files.

### 3.7 Validity of the research

As an attempt to achieve research validity, this case study follows Yin's (2009) validity measurement tests: construction, internal, external and reliability. To obtain valid construction evidenced from correct operational measures, I carefully designed the research questions so that they can proportionally measure the participants' subjective belonging to both Indonesia and Australia. As for external validity, I generalized findings based on several identified themes from twelve different cases to other contexts of similar characteristics. Finally, I also established a similar procedure of semi-structured interviews, photo discussion and observation for each participant so that each participant received reliable data collection procedure.

In addition, I also applied Yin's (2009) case study 'tactics for Design Validity Tests' in different research phases (p. 41). For construct validity, I used multiple sources of evidence which included semi-structured interviews, photo discussion, and observation. To measure internal validity, I matched the pattern of emerging themes from interviews, photo discussion, and observation. Finally, for external validity and reliability, I used the same theory frame to analyse emerging themes from each case study.

It is important to note that such validity measures have limitations. True reliability, validity and generalizability are unreachable ideal (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). To obtain greater validity, however, I described the methodology of this

research as clearly as possible, enabling other researchers to repeat/retest and/or evaluate the methods used in this study. This effort can finally help participants, other researchers and readers understand the coherent story of my study.

### **3.8 The complexity of a researcher position**

In a qualitative case study, the researcher plays a significant role in data collection. The researcher is metaphorically considered as the 'primary research instrument' (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). As an insider researcher, I have to explain my research positioning to reduce the possible subjectivity which may influence the validity of the study findings.

In this study, I may be considered to have a more of an insider than outsider position. As an Indonesian, I share some similarities with my study participants, especially parents, such as physical appearance, nationality and language. Most Indonesians share relatively similar physical characteristics of Malay origin, except those from the eastern part of Indonesia whose physical traits are closer to those of Aboriginal Australians. Like some of my participants, the nationality stated in my passport is also Indonesian. I also speak Bahasa Indonesia in my encounters with them, especially with parents. These shared similarities between the researcher and the participants are part of the complex nature of this study. As a researcher has a more 'personal role' in a qualitative study (Stakes, 2010), I have to clarify my position so that my subjectivity does not reduce the validity of the study.

As an insider researcher, I have some benefits. My shared similarity with the participants can provide easy access and enhanced rapport with members of the

society under study (Sherif, 2001). Sharing Bahasa Indonesia and nationality is beneficial. Speaking the same language enables me to find information and explore lived-experiences of my participants, particularly parents, which they can convey more expressively in Bahasa Indonesia.

Moreover, my experience as an Indonesian doctoral student who has lived in Melbourne for a considerable period of time may provide a mirror on how Indonesians experience their lives in Melbourne. My feeling of being an Indonesian in Australia and my attitude towards the country during my temporary stay in Australia can provide a framework and comparison for analysing the feelings and attitudes of the study participants who have lived in the country more extensively.

However, my insider (emic) role has also required me to address some complexities. To reduce the possibility of 'going native', I have some conditions that support my outsider positioning. First, as a researcher, I am actually a new comer to the Indonesian community in Melbourne. My initial encounter, especially with the Muslim group, started at the end of 2009 when I first arrived in Melbourne to commence my doctoral studies. The members of this community come from various islands of Indonesia. Only a few of them come from the same island, let alone the same city, as I do. Therefore, I did not have any previous encounters with members of the community.

Second, sharing *Bahasa Indonesia* or other Indonesian languages cannot provide automatic closeness since in the context of Indonesia, nationality is built from various ethnic languages and traditions. Indonesian people are an imagined community (Anderson, 2006). Back in Indonesia, I am of Bantenese origin, an ethnic

group in the most Western part of Java island, about a three to four hour drive from the capital city of Jakarta. My ethnic language and traditions are different from those of other ethnic groups across Indonesia. To the best of my knowledge, no member of the research sites nor any of the participants from my study was from my hometown or shared my local ethnic language.

Third, a similar faith does not always provide psychological attachment. Although I may have a closer affiliation with Muslim participants, like many other religions, Islam in an Indonesian context is diverse. Although they agree on basic principles, each Muslim school differs in ritual practices. My current interaction with this community shows that their religious practices are slightly different from mine. I grew up in a very traditional Islamic culture whereas the religious practices of the community members at my research site might have been influenced by the so-called 'international Islam'. The religious practices of the community members might have been influenced by their interaction with Muslims from all over the world such as the Middle East, Africa and Central Asia. So, merely sharing Bahasa Indonesia, a similar physical appearance or religious beliefs might not easily guarantee my status as an insider part of this community.

The complexity as an insider researcher is less salient with the participants of other religious adherents, such as Christianity and Hinduism. Although my participants are Indonesians, I have never personally met these people before my first interview appointment. This is because for Indonesians in Melbourne, cultural interaction is less frequent than faith gathering. As a Muslim, I have less frequent contact with Christianity or Hindus than with my fellow Muslims. I may meet them at

some cultural events, such as Indonesian Festival and Satay Festival and the celebration of the Indonesian Independence Day at the Consulate General. So, I am almost an outsider for them.

Fourth, the current life values of the community members might have added to my outsider role. The apparently more individualistic life pattern of community members as supported by the mainstream culture of Anglo-Australian, compared to those in Indonesia, has made my intimacy with the community members harder to achieve. Time might have influenced personal traits. Most potential participating parents have migrated from their hometowns in Indonesia to Australia decades ago. Their long exposure to Australian values might have lessened their sense of current Indonesian-ness. Although they might keep updating their knowledge and lived-experience of Indonesia, the fact that they choose to live permanently in Melbourne will have influenced their sense of being Indonesians.

Furthermore, my outsider status is more evident with the participating youth who are the main focus of the study. Although some of them were born in Indonesia, since they were brought to Australia at an early age, they might not share similar Indonesia-based upbringing values to me. My different upbringing contextual values are more salient with some Australian-born participants in the study. They do not share the childhood life and values within an Indonesian environment that I experienced as an Indonesian emerging adult. Although they might speak Bahasa Indonesia, their accent which is influenced by English, is likely to be different from mine. They are not extensively exposed to more collectivistic-

oriented values that I experienced during my childhood. All this adds to my 'objectivity,' which can improve the research outcomes.

As an outsider, I am privileged to see and record various activities held for the youth. With this observer role, I can use various methods of observation that can best capture the activities of the youth in the community (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011), by taping, noting and photographing. I also take notes of cultural and religious festivals. With this combination of observation tools, I am able to describe the type of cultural and religious events attended by participants, the activities they join in, the foods served and their clothing (ordinary, traditional, or religious like head scarf). I can also describe efforts made by parents and community leaders in socializing their family values enacted through cultural events and religious practices. This variation of role enables me to answer the purposes of this study more comprehensively.

Additionally, to have a more comprehensive view of my participants, as an outsider, I have to keep a distance so that I can see the participants more holistically. To achieve this, during my observation, I kept reminding myself that I am a researching observer, not a community member, who should take an objective stance by increasing my 'explicit awareness' and reflexivity (Spradley, 1980; p. 55) on subjective values, biases, and inclinations of an insider researcher (Tracy, 2010). For instance, when probing the interview questions, I always refrained from merely using my personal knowledge and assumptions about Indonesian language and culture maintenance by focusing on what my participants know, understand and experience.

I have to resist the temptations to put myself in their shoes. This is to maintain a more 'objective' account of their identity negotiation.

The discussion above shows that, as a 'halfie researcher' (Subedi, 2006; Egan-Robertson & Willet, 1998), I have a more salient outsider than insider position. It is hoped that this status is able to reduce the possibility of my reshaping the participant's identities to meet my personal experiences and expectations. Thus, with this combination of outsider and insider positioning, I believe, I can enrich my analysis and provide more comprehensive and reliable findings.

As the final conclusion, this chapter has described the nature of urban-ethnographic case-study as the research methodology of the study. The chapter that follows explores the context of the study, that is, essentializing Indonesian and Australian values which the participants may identify with.

## Chapter Four

### CONTEXTUALIZING THE IDENTIFICATION

#### 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I describe Indonesia and Australia as the cultural context of the study. In addition to belonging, centrality and evaluation, the second part of identification in this study is engagement in cultural practices (Norton, 2000; Wenger, 1998). This 'cultural filiation' is in fact the essence of identity development (Lima & Lima, 1998; p. 323). In this section, I explore the engagement of the young participants with the culture of Indonesia as an ethnic group in the Australian multicultural context followed by the involvement with Australian values and popular culture as the culture of current settlement.

#### 4.2 Indonesia as an ethnic group

Another dimension of ethnic identification, after belonging, is engagement in cultural aspects of the group. In the Australian context, Indonesia is an ethnic group like other minority groups such as Chinese, Vietnamese, Greek and Sudanese. The name Indonesia derives from the words India and *nesos* (Greek for islands). Literally, Indonesia means islands of India. Believed to be first coined by a British geographer, James Richardson Logan, this name refers to an archipelago which is an extension of the Indian subcontinent (Brown, 2003). Brown argues that the term Indonesia was officially used by some nationalist movements in the late 1920s to bring into existence the political entity of this Dutch colonial state and its community. The political entity of Indonesia came into formal existence in 1945 with the proclamation of independence by Soekarno and Mohammad Hatta.

*Tanah Air* is the common term used by most Indonesians. Literally translated, this means 'land and water'. This is an appropriate term for a country of over 13,600 islands (Spruyt & Robertson, 1973; Brown, 2003) whose connecting water surface is larger than its connecting land. Many of these islands, especially the small ones, are not even named, let alone inhabited. *Tanah air* or Indonesia is a large archipelago stretching more than 3,500 miles or 5,200 kilometers dividing the Indian and Pacific Oceans at the Equator or between Australia and mainland Asia (Drakeley, 2005). The land of Indonesia is about 760,000 square miles, roughly the size of Queensland in Australia (Spruyt & Robertson, 1973). It is, however, the largest country in Southeast Asia in terms of both landmass and population.

Indonesia has five large islands. They are Sumatra, Kalimantan (Borneo, which shares part of its area with Malaysia and Brunei), Java, Irian Jaya or West Papua (which shares the island with Papua New Guinea), and Sulawesi (Celebes). The island of Java in which the capital city Jakarta is located serves as the main hub of Indonesia.

Indonesia is densely populated. The Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics (2010) claims that Indonesia has a population of 237 millions. It is the fourth-most populous country in the world after China, India, and the United States. This population is, however, not evenly distributed. The most densely populated islands are respectively Java, Madura, Bali, Sumatra, Sulawesi, Kalimantan and Western Papua. Paradoxically, the most populous islands are small, such as Java which is home to 135 million people (including the capital city of Jakarta) and the tiny island

of Bali with 3.3 million people (Drakeley, 2005). In contrast, the Western part of Papua, Sumatra and Kalimantan have relatively small populations.

Most Indonesians are predominantly Malay in origin. These people inhabit most Western and central parts of Indonesia (Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Bali, Lombok and Sulawesi). Malay people also occupy Indonesia's neighboring countries such as Malaysia and Brunei. Most Indonesians of non-Malay origins inhabit the Eastern part of Indonesia such as West Papua, Maluku and East Nusa Tenggara. Over the centuries, however, many other tribes have intermarried with Malays producing considerable differences in appearance (Spruyt & Robertson, 1973).

Indonesia today is a nation of various local ethnicities. These ethnicities existed long before the establishment of Indonesia as a nation-state. There are many ethnic groups occupying the Indonesian archipelago, stretching from the island of Sumatra in the west to the island of West Papua in the east. The major ethnicities of Indonesia are Acehnese, Batakese, Padangese (Sumatra) Betawi, Sundanese and Javanese (Java), Balinese (Bali), Madurese (Madura), Sasak (Nusa Tenggara), Dayakese (Kalimantan), Bugisi (Sulawesi), Asmat (West Papua), Arab and Chinese (Indonesian Bureau for Statistics, 2010).

Religion is a fundamental social factor of Indonesia. This religious perspective infuses all aspects of life such as seed-time and harvest, birth and puberty, engagement and marriage, sickness and death. For Indonesians, religion is a 'central theme of their identity' (Ozer & Benet-Martinez, 2006; p. 401) and an integral part of their motivational system (Emmons, 2005; p. 731). Therefore, in addition to being multi-ethnic, Indonesia is also multi-religious.

The history of religion in Indonesia is a record of successive layers of Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity. Hinduism arrived to the communities now called Indonesians in A.D 100 from India and China (Spruyt & Robertson, 1973). Today, Hinduism is followed mostly in Bali and Java. Buddhism came to the country around the second century as part of a similar religion in the region of Burma, Cambodia and Thailand. The most popular Buddhist legacy in Indonesia is the Borobudur temple in Central Java. Islam was introduced to Indonesia by Indian merchants from Gujarat in northern India in the seventh century. Christianity arrived as Roman Catholicism brought by Portuguese Jesuits and as Dutch Protestantism brought by the settlers of the Dutch East Indies in the sixteenth century. Nowadays, Islam is the major religion with about 88% of the total population identifying as Muslim. Respectively, Christianity in the form of Protestantism is 5.7%, Christianity in the form of Catholicism is 3.0%, Hinduism 1.7%, Buddhism 0.6%, and Confucianism 0.1% (Ministry of Religion Affairs, 2008).

The establishment of Indonesia as a national identity is imagined (Anderson, 2006; Salazar, 2011). Indonesia as an imagined national identity is relatively new and this has implications for the ways in which people position themselves as part of this imagined community. The rise of national feeling as Indonesia as a united nation began to emerge in 1900-1945 (Ricklefs, 2008; Spruyt & Robertson, 1973) when several nationalist movements were formed during both Dutch and Japanese occupations and events such as and the Youth Pledge in 1928. Years later, Indonesia finally declared its independence on 17 August 1945. The national identity of Indonesia is consolidated in three symbols: the national language (Bahasa

Indonesia), the common flag (Sang Saka Merah Putih/The red and white flag) and the national anthem (Indonesia Raya) (Spruyt & Robertson, 1973).

Participants of the study, parents and young people, may associate themselves with Indonesia as their country of origin. Parents come from various large islands of Indonesia and represent major local ethnicity and religious affiliations. Within this difference, following Anderson's (2006) term, they may consider themselves as part of 'imagined communities' of Indonesia who live overseas.

In this study, identification with Indonesia is divided into three aspects. They are the use of Bahasa Indonesia as the heritage language, parenting expectations and cultural practices which include religious festivities.

#### **4.2.1 Bahasa Indonesia as heritage language**

Eriksen (2010) posits that shared language can be a powerful symbol of cultural unity as well as a convenient tool in the administration of a nation-state. Of the many core values of ethnic identity, language is considered the most prominent aspect (Fishman, 1997; Smolicz, 1980; Cavallaro, 1997, 2005; Clyne, 1991, 1994, 2005; Willoughby, 2006). Fishman (1997) emphasizes that most of the culture values reside in the language and are expressed in the language such as greetings, curses, praises, literature, songs, riddles, proverbs, cures, wisdom, and prayers. Language and culture have a symbolic relationship in that 'language stands for that whole culture' by representing it in the minds of the speakers and the minds of the outsiders (p. 7). Clyne (2005) contends that speaking a language and understanding it is also an

expression of identity. In a study of young people of ethnic minorities in Australia, Willoughby (2006) also points out that non-English speaking Australian young people consider speaking heritage language as the weakest indicator of their identification with ethnic groups.

The language origin of a minority ethnic group is commonly called heritage language. Montrul (2011) defines heritage language as the 'family language of ethnic minority groups' (p.3) and people who speak heritage language are called heritage speakers. The term speaker of heritage language was first introduced in Canada in the mid-1970s but has been gaining ground in the United States in the 1990s (Cummins, 2005). According to Fishman (2006), some researchers include both Indigenous and migrant languages in the definition of heritage language.

Based on this definition, Bahasa Indonesia is considered the heritage language for the young participants for several reasons. First, most young participants were born in Australia and speak English more fluently than Bahasa Indonesia. Young people of intermarriage parents even consider English their first language or mother tongue. Second, other participants who were born in Indonesia but brought to Australia at an early age may also speak English more fluently than Bahasa Indonesia and may consider English as their first language. The term heritage refers to the fact that Bahasa Indonesia is the ethnic language of their parents. Although several young participants may not speak it well, Bahasa Indonesia is the language of their homes.

The term heritage culture commonly refers to Indigenous or non-Western cultures. In the context of Australian multiculturalism, Vasta (1995) claims that

"migrant cultures generally became defined in a static way to mean cultural and linguistic traditions and migrant cultural identities were based on characteristics such as language, folk traditions and cuisines (p. 211). In this line, Clyne (2005) claims that Australia has a large number of ethnic languages which should be properly maintained as the country's cultural heritage.

The revitalization and reclamation of heritage language has been a concern of many minority groups. This issue relates to post-colonialism which "attempts to shift the dominant ways in which the relations between western and non-western people and their worlds are viewed" (Young, 2003; p. 2). Young (2003) claims that, highlighting the absence of neutrality in intercultural communication, post-colonialism pursues "questions of power relations, and of forms of domination" (p. 140). As a country of immigrants, heritage language maintenance is also the concern of minority ethnic groups in Australia. Smolicz (1980, 1989) believes that confidence in heritage culture can ensure social stability and also give an important basic foundation for cultural growth. Revitalization of heritage language enables Australia to be linguistically richer and ethnically more colourful. Studies in the United Kingdom show that Chinese parents and teachers, for instance, try to ensure that their British-Born Chinese youth know, embrace, preserve and maintain their Chinese cultural identities (Archer, Francis & Mau, 2010) into which they are born and in which they are raised (Kelman, 1998).

For multilingual Indonesian people, Bahasa Indonesia is the national unifying national language of different ethnic groups throughout the country. This language is based on, and developed from, Malay, the language shared by Malay people in

West Sumatra of Indonesia and Malaysia. Hoed (1990), identifies several functions of Bahasa Indonesia for Indonesian people; it is the symbol of national pride, national identity, unifying factor, interethnic communication, official language of the state and the language of educational instruction.

Bahasa Indonesia has been a sign of nationalism since the establishment of independent Indonesia. Based on a statement issued by the Ministry of Education and Culture in 1956, Bahasa Indonesia is the official state language, the language of national and culture and national unity. It helps reinforce common bonds among the imagined communities of Indonesia (Anderson, 2006). During Dutch occupation (1600s to 1940s), it was the language of unity against the Dutch. During the Japanese occupation in 1940s, the position of Bahasa Indonesia in the archipelago became stronger due to a more solid national independence movement.

As an imagined society, Indonesia has an extreme linguistic diversity (Bertrand, 2003). Indonesia is projected to have a range of 546 to 742 local ethnic languages stretched from the most Western part of Indonesia (Aceh province in Sumatra island) to the most Eastern one (West Papua province) (Kompas, 11/08/2008). Sadly, many ethnic languages in Indonesia are facing extinction. Of the 742 ethnic languages, only thirteen of them are used by more than one million speakers (Nababan, 1991).

### 4.2.2 Indonesian parenting values

In Australia, the parenting values of Indonesian families who come from collective-oriented Eastern values may be different from those of the mainstream Anglo-Australian value of individualism. Triandis et al. (1988) posits that, unlike individualistic-oriented Western values, Eastern values emphasize on collectivism in which group orientation is above individual achievement. Like most Eastern families, Indonesian parents expect their children to observe high obedience, respect, and provide assistance to parents. Comparing the parental attitudes of Turkish and Dutch parents, Yaman et al. (2010) identified that collective-oriented Turkish mothers tend to have more authoritative control on their children. Similar childrearing is practiced by parents in Southeast Asia countries. Studying the parental childrearing expectation of Singapore mothers, Elliot & PhuongMai (2008) found that most mothers in Singapore direct their children's education. They want their children to follow what they believe to be the best education they can get.

As part of their authority, parents with Eastern values may have more control over their children. They may decide the school that the children can go, friends that they can play with, and foods that they are permitted to consume. Influenced by collectivism, parents may also demand that the children provide current assistance, respect and future support (Fuligni, Tseng & Lam, 1999). The older child may be asked to take care of younger siblings in the absence of parents at home. Parents may also require young people to share household chores such as house cleaning and dish washing.

However, the opposition between East and West parental values is not always clear. The distinction between collective and individualistic oriented values in parental childrearing becomes more blurred with intermarriage couples. In the Australian context, intermarriage has become a common phenomenon. This intermarriage can be interethnic between Anglo-Australian with ethnic minority group, Anglo-Australian with Indigenous Australian and Indigenous Australian with ethnic minority groups. Intermarriage can also be inter-religion such as between Christian Anglo-Australians and Jewish, Christian with Muslim, Muslims with Hindu and so forth. Intermarriage in Australia, particularly between Muslim and Christian indicates an escape from the tradition of religious and cultural exclusiveness (Ata, 2003). The intermarriage may blend two or more cultural traditions into hybrid parenting values.

In relation to complex parenting values due to intermarriage, it is interesting to explore how Indonesian parents in Australia maintain their collective-oriented childrearing expectations and how their young people see this socialization as part of their identification.

### **4.2.3 Cultural practices of Indonesia**

Another aspect of identification is engagement in cultural aspects of the group. Crawford and Rossiter (2006) believe that identity is 'central to thinking about culture and ethnicity' (p.89). When exploring this relationship, Geertz (1973) defines culture as a set of public symbolic forms that people can use to express meaning. This definition is extended by Swidler (1986) who claims that 'culture consists of such

symbolic vehicles of meaning, including beliefs, ritual practices, art forms, and ceremonies, as well as informal cultural practices such as language, gossip, stories, and rituals of daily life' (p. 273). So, identification with a culture means embracing the beliefs and involving ourselves in ritual practices and ceremonies of the culture.

Attached to belonging, centrality and evaluation is cultural engagement. In the Australian context, each ethnic minority group has their own emphasized cultural values. For instance, in a linguistic study of adolescents of ethnic minority group at a secondary college, Willoughby (2006) found that speaking heritage language, even in limited fluency, is considered an important identification with an ethnic group. In another study, Zevallos (2003) found that expression of Latin American identity is constructed through around four emblems symbolizing Latin 'culture' which includes language, music, dancing and festivity. In addition, as part of their identification, parents may also want to socialize their ethnic identity to their children. As Moua and Lamborn (2010) have identified in their study, parents may practice speaking the ethnic language, introduce ethnic cuisines, involve their children in cultural festivities and religious rituals.

Following Smolicz's (1989) core cultural values, the Indonesian cultural values that the Indonesian participating parents and community members emphasize include cultural festivals and religious rituals or celebrations. The cultural festivals may include dances, music and cuisine which are continued in Australia. Therefore, it is interesting to explore which Indonesian cultural practices the participants of the study emphasize as part of their ethnic identity maintenance.

### 4.3 Australian civic culture

The identification process of young people is inseparable from the cultural values in which they were born and raised. In Vygotsky's (1978) socio-cultural theory, individuals shape their identity through an interaction between themselves and the cultural community around them. The process of self-understanding and self-expression among young people is conducted through a complex interaction between their identity needs and the identity resources in their own culture (Crawford and Rossiter, 2006). Since most young participants of the study were born in or brought into Australia at an early age, this host country may have a great influence on their identity development as it can provide cultural resources which support their identity development.

As a multicultural nation, the culture of Australia is not easy to identify. As a nation, Australia has a long history of cultural development. Early history of Australia dates back to the occupation of Indigenous people. The modern history of Australia may be traced from the arrival of the first British fleet to the continent in 1788 until the beginning of the twentieth century, a time when Australia was still culturally Anglo-Celtic. Starting in 1970s, Australia introduced more liberal immigration policies based on values of multiculturalism, democracy, freedom, equality, and tolerance. This continues today as it is considered the most appropriate way of nurturing contemporary Australian society. In his message to the launching of a government report on multiculturalism entitled *The People of Australia: Australia's multicultural policy* issued in February 2011, the Minister for Immigration and Citizenship, Chris Bowen, said

This policy recognizes the amazing breadth and diversity of Australian society, and reaffirms the Government's unwavering support for a culturally diverse and socially cohesive nation (p. 5).

Proponents of multiculturalism believe that Australian national identity should be based on inclusive values. Several studies have identified that as a country, Australia has its own values distinctive from other nations. As part of a large study, Jones (1997) identified different groups of Australians according to their views about the meaning of being 'truly Australian'. The study found that being Australian is not a fixed property assigned to birth. To be Australian means a commitment to basic social institutions such as parliamentary democracy, the rule of law and equality before law, freedom of the individual, freedom of speech, religious and other forms of tolerance. Rejection of Australian values such as fair-go, tolerance, understanding, is regarded as Un-Australian (Smith & Philips, 2001).

In another study which investigated the conceptions of being Australians involving 1242 school students across Australia, Purdue (2003) identified seven values considered distinctive of Australian culture: Democracy, Diversity, Security and Wellbeing, Agreeableness, Rules of Citizenship, Sporting Prowess, and Outdoor Lifestyle. These values are ranked on the basis of importance. In this study, male adolescents endorsed sporting prowess and outdoor lifestyles strongly whereas females endorsed diversity. Rural students had more conservative views of being Australian by preferring sports and outdoor lifestyles and were also more conservative by describing more demanding requirements for citizenship and putting less emphasis on diversity. The study shows that democracy and diversity are two most important values that support the emergence of multiculturalism in

Australia. In a more recent study, Lohm (2012) identified the national identity of thirty-six young residents of Australia and found several cultural, social and political activities and values that are considered typically Australian. The social aspects include sports and foods whereas the political include multiculturalism, tolerance, racism, and physical appearance or visibility.

The issue of multiculturalism in Australia is, however, not without controversy. Multiculturalism attracts debate among people as it can bring both opportunity and threat to the country. Multiculturalism allows people of different race, ethnicity and religious group to work together for the betterment of Australia. On the other hand, opponents of multiculturalism believe that it has certain weakness. One of which is that multiculturalism enables people of different groups to be segregated and ghettoized on behalf of race, ethnic or religious affiliations. Multiculturalism may have a negative impact on the Australian national identity as evidenced from immigration policy. For example Paul Kelly, a renowned political journalist, in Dixon (2000) argues that the 'ultimate issue' of immigration in Australia is the 'reconciliation between the growing Asianisation of Australia and maintenance of the dominant Anglo-Saxon Judaic-Christian value systems' (p. 86).

Hence, as a multicultural country, Australia-ness or Australian national identity is not easy to identify. However, Dixon (2000) identifies three broad streams of Australian identity: Indigenous, Anglo-Celtic, and 'new ethnic' groups. These three categories are based on their presence in the continent. These streams strongly support multiculturalism policy which enables different groups of Australian

residents, including the young people of Indonesian descent, to show belonging to Australia within their own cultural traditions.

The question lies in what constitutes the Australian national identity. Similar to the establishment of other modern states, the social structure of Australian national identity is contested between nativist or traditionalist and civic pluralist or modernist (Jones, 1997). The former believes that national identity is exclusively based on birthplace and length of stay in the continent. The latter is convinced that belonging to the continent is inclusively based on feeling of association with Australia. In relation to multiculturalism, the first group considers this idea as a threat to the existence of the country whereas the second believes that it is an opportunity.

Since multiculturalism may have imposed a threat on the national resilience of Australia, there should be a strong mainstream culture that can serve as a supreme reference. To maintain the sustainability of Australian nationality, Dixon (2000) argues that 'the Anglo-Celtic culture must continue to function as a holding centre for an emerging and newly diverse Australia' (p. 7). Dixon also contends that 'a changing Australia must affirm the core culture with its complex ethnic dynamic' (p. 17). As members of minority ethnic groups, young people participating in this study may hold strongly to the dominant Anglo-Australian culture and feel that they are Australians who hold and practice Australian values. The Australian values that this study focuses are limited to core cultural values (Smolicz, 1989) which include English language, childrearing expectations such as independence and initiative, as

well as cultural and historical celebrations such as sports and national historical events.

#### 4.3.1 English as the dominant language

The first demonstrated value of Australian-ness or Australian identity is English language. Set up to be the British colony, English is the main language used in Australia. This language is one principle of Australia in addition to constitution, the rule of law, and other values such as democracy, freedom of speech and religion, which is clearly stated in the Australian government official document. The Australian Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, Office of Multicultural Affairs states that

... all Australians should accept the basic structures and principles of Australian society – the Constitution and the rule of law, tolerance and equality, Parliament democracy, freedom of speech and religion, English as the national language and equality of the sexes (1989:vii).

In line with this, Galligan & Roberts (2004; p. 1) argue that having 'basic knowledge of English' and being 'a person of good character' are two requirements of being Australian after expressing a pledge showing loyalty to democratic beliefs, respecting rights and liberties and obeying and upholding laws. As a result, Australians believe that English is a requirement for being Australian. In a survey investigating the extent to which Australians share civic culture in contrast to nativism, Jones (1997) concluded that citizenship and English language are two instrumental civic aspects of Australian identity. Based on this study, to feel Australian means to be willing to learn and master English and to take Australian citizenship as part of legal identification.

As the dominant language, English is an important medium of social inclusion. Social acceptance among young people relies on the use and mastery of English. To be accepted in a social group, young residents of Non-English Speaking Background (NESB) should learn to have a good command of English. In the field of education, for instance, English is the medium of Australian schooling from primary to tertiary levels. Although they may speak a language other than English at home, young residents of ethnic minority groups may switch to English so that they can catch up with schooling activities. They have to be familiar with Australian English which may not share similar features with other varieties of English.

Mastery of English language may not be a problem for young members of ethnic minority groups who were born in or brought to Australia at an early age. They will acquire English as easily as their native-speaking counterparts and may even consider it as their first language. This condition is different from that of young residents coming to Australia at later ages. Their mastery of English may be influenced by their first language such as Indonesian, Mandarin, German or Vietnamese. In this study, Indonesian language which is spoken at home may have influence on the English skills of the young participants, such as speaking and writing.

Finally, English is the language of employment. English requirements in the job market has necessitated the young Australian residents to learn English as part of their Australian identity. This requirement is not only applicable to residents of Australia but also those migrating to the continent. Skilled migration people are required to have a good command of English when they want to work in Australia

(Berg, 2011). It also argued that as the *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia* shows, skilled migrants' oral English language proficiency predicted the extent of their employment and the frequency of their qualification use. In short, English in the Australian context is so powerful that it may 'force' the young people of NESB to learn and use English as part of their Australian national identity.

#### 4.3.2 Australian parenting values

Parents have certain values or behaviors that their children are expected to achieve at certain ages. Since the currently dominant Australian population is of British descent, the family values held are generally those of Anglo-Celtic culture. Triandis et al. (1988) argues that, as Western culture, Anglo-Australian culture is individualistic-oriented which emphasizes individual achievement, independence and autonomy. Influenced by this individual orientation, Anglo-Australian parents may have different childrearing values from those of group-oriented families such as Greek, Chinese or Indonesian. For instance, exploring the beliefs held about child development in two culturally different groups of twenty Greek- and twenty Anglo-Australian families, Rosenthal & Bornholt (1988) identified several Anglo-Australian parenting expectations which include behaviors reflecting initiative and independence and personal and interpersonal maturity which should be gained at an early age. On the other hand, being collective-oriented, Greek-Australian families consider it acceptable to attain these values at a later age, focusing more on respect for the elderly and self-control values.

These Australian parenting expectations are not limited to Anglo-Australian parents. They may also be shared by parents of exogamy marriage. In multicultural societies such as the United States, Canada and Australia, exogamy or intermarriage is a common phenomenon and becomes a means of blending between two or more cultures. Studying inter-ethnic marriage in the United States, Qian (1997) found that various Asian groups appear to have the highest number of out-group marriages, followed by Latino groups and African-Americans as the lowest. In the Australian context, a similar phenomenon of intermarriage may happen between Indigenous- and Anglo-Australian, Indigenous and other ethnic group such as Asian, or between the Anglo- and Asian-Australian (Ata, 2003).

As the dominant culture, Anglo-Australian parenting expectations may still be prevalent among interethnic or inter-religion families, particularly in which one parent is Anglo-Australian. As Ata (2003) points out, most members of ethnic minority groups in Australia who are involved in interethnic marriage, including among Muslims and Christians, are people with open minds who have escaped from cultural and religious exclusiveness. That they are married to Anglo-Australians as members of the dominant culture means that they are more open to accepting the parenting expectations of their Anglo-Australian spouses.

A similar pattern of interethnic marriage may occur in the Australian context. In this country, intermarriage has two different patterns: ancestry and religion. In terms of ancestry, interethnic marriage mostly happens among third generation. Khoo (2004) found that the second generation of Australian migrants have strong in-marriage patterns but the third generation prefer out-marriage or intermarriage

patterns. In fact, living in a multicultural country located in the Asia Pacific region, Anglo-Australians may have a higher level of exogamy compared to other Anglo-Celtic groups in Europe and North America. She argues that most interethnic marriage happens between Anglo- and Asian-Australian, followed by Asian- and Indigenous Australian and Indigenous- and Anglo-Australian respectively.

Similar to interethnic marriage, religious exogamy is common in Australia. Inter-marriage between adherents of different religious affiliations is increasing, particularly among Christian denominations (Heard, Khoo and Birrell, 2009). Following ancestry-based intermarriage pattern, these scholars also argue that there is a high level of exogamy amongst second and third generation Australians across religious boundaries. This indicates that young Australian residents tend to be more open to different religious and ethnic affiliations. This inter-ethnic and religious marriage, especially between Anglo-Australian and ethnic minority groups such as Asian, shows the willingness of the latter group to assimilate to the dominant Australian culture. In terms of parenting values, these parents may emphasize Anglo-Australian values in their children such as initiative and independence, personal and interpersonal maturity at an early age.

Different parenting values due to intermarriage influences the identification of young people with Australia. Young participants who were born and raised in intermarriage families in Australia may have a mix of Australian family values and those of the origin of their parents. For instance, children born to Anglo-Australian and Indonesian parents may be brought up in a mix of Australian and Indonesian

cultures. However, as they live permanently in Australia, the Australian culture may have stronger influence on their identity development.

In line with intermarriage, gender may influence the socialization of parenting values. Father and mother may have different roles in parenting. Maternal and paternal roles are generally defined as different yet complimentary (Coltrane & Adams, 2008). Studies have shown that father and mother have different emphasis on parenting values. The two scholars argue that male parents deal more with discipline whereas females tend to carry cultural values more strongly.

Western parenting expectations may not be unique to Anglo-Australian or exogamic-Australian parents. The values may also be shared by Indonesian-born parents. Although they are of Indonesian descent, their lengthy stay in Australia may have considerably influenced their parenting expectations. Extended exposure to Australian cultures may have changed their parenting values by assimilating into Australian culture and applying Anglo-Australian values in their families such as independence and early maturity.

Finally, different parenting values due to different social orientation and marriage patterns may be interesting to investigate. It is also challenging to identify whether mother or father has stronger influence in imposing Australian childrearing values on their children and how this application influences their young people's identification with Australia, the country of current settlement.

As with this study, many Indonesians are married to Indigenous and Anglo-Australians (Martinez, 2011). The marriage is interethnic and religion because the Indonesian spouses are of different religion affiliations such as Christianity, Islam and

Hindu. Since the currently dominant culture is Anglo-Australian, this study focuses on the intermarriage between Indonesian and Anglo-Australian. Therefore, it is interesting to identify how these inter- ethnic and religion marriages influence childrearing expectations and the issues of identity on which this study focuses.

### 4.3.3 Exposure to Australian values and popular culture

In addition to English language and parenting expectations, identification with Australia can also be shown through engagement in cultural aspects. Along with multiculturalism Australian cultural aspects may vary and be not easy to identify. In her book entitled *Culture and Customs of Australia*, Clancy (2004) mentions several aspects of Australian culture and custom which include land, people and history, thought and religion, marriage, gender and children, holidays and leisure activities, cuisine and fashion, literature, media and cinema, performing arts, painting and architecture.

As culture is a large term, this study focuses on the popular culture of Australia, which is defined as customs and tradition that have become part of Australian everyday life (Clancy, 2004). Australian popular culture may include various aspects such as sports, foods, history, and other cultural events (Clark, 2007; Lohm, 2012). In terms of sports, Australians have distinctive sporting games. Famous sports in Australia include football (footy) and cricket. Australian football, which is different from American football, is so famous among Australians that it is considered their secular religion (Alomes, 1994). Australian football and cricket are so well-known among Australians that they have become part of the cultural elements of Australian-ness.

Another cultural aspect is cuisine. Since diet is culture bound, each cultural group has certain distinctive food and drink. For instance, unlike Asian people, Anglo-Australians are more familiar with bread as a staple dietary ingredient than rice. The dominant Anglo-Australian culture has certain typical foods such as vegemite and lamb chops. Vegemite, which is made from yeast extract, is considered the most well-known typical Australian food. Some people argue that someone is not called Australian until they like eating vegemite. Therefore, nine out of ten Australian households consume this yeast-extract food (White, 1994). The consumption of vegemite in that decade was about 4,500 tons. Similar to vegemite, lamb chops are also famous amongst Australians. They consume this food during family gatherings, such as picnics and barbeques.

In terms of history, Australia has several national celebrations and cultural events which mark significant historical events, such as Australia Day, a day commemorating the arrival of the first fleet (white settlers from Great Britain, most of whom were convicts); and ANZAC day, a day of remembrance in Australian and New Zealand, commemorating those who served and died in military campaigns, which is held on the anniversary of the landing of Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZACS) at Gallipoli during World War I. Such celebrations and days of remembrance are annual events which nurture and foster Australian national identity.

Different cultural backgrounds influence identification with Australia. Unlike members of ethnic minority groups of non-British Europeans such as Italian, Germany, and France, who may share similar cultural aspects with Anglo-Australians, young Australian residents of Asian parents like those of Indonesian descent may

have more different cultural aspects. Therefore, they may be less likely to identify with the mainstream Anglo-Australians. However, when they were born in Australia or brought to Australia at an early age, they may feel they are Australians and identify with the country more closely. In this line, Clark (2007) and Nilan, Julian and Germov (2007) also found out that a moderate proportion of Asian Australians felt a strong sense of belonging to Australia's national community. A similar feeling may be shared by the young Australians of Indonesian origin who participated in this study.

## 4.2 Summary

In conclusion, the context in which this study is situated, is the identification process of the young Australians of Indonesian origin, the ethnic culture of their parents, and Australia, their current country settlement culture. In the Australian context, Indonesia is a minority ethnic group of non-dominant Anglo- and Indigenous-Australians. Indonesian people are imagined communities which consist of different local ethnicities such as Javanese, Sundanese, Padangese, Batakese, Bugisi, and Chinese but who consider themselves as one - Indonesian. Identification with Indonesia refers to the cultures of these local ethnicities which includes speaking Bahasa Indonesia, the national unifying language, parenting values which are more collective oriented such as current assistance, family respect, and future support, as well as engagement in Indonesian cultural events.

Meanwhile, identification with Australia as the country of current settlement refers to belonging to the civic culture of Australia which includes English as the

dominant language, Australian parenting values which are more individualistic oriented such as independence and initiative, and exposure to Australian popular culture which includes national celebrations, sports and cuisine.

In the following four chapters (five to eight), I explore the findings of the study. Chapter Five discusses the first group of the participants who show strong identification with Indonesia.

## Chapter Five

### BEING INDONESIAN IN AUSTRALIA

#### 5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the identification process of two groups of young participants with Indonesia, the country of origin of their parents. The first group (six participants) show strong identification whereas the second group (three participants) have weak identification with Indonesia. In this study, aspects of identity include belonging (how much an individual feels to be a part of the community), centrality (how important the group is for personal identity), evaluation (positive or negative feelings about the group) and tradition (how much one practices ethnic behaviours and values) (Tajfel, 1978a; Phinney, 1990; Ward, 2001; Barrett and Davis, 2008).

Evidence of identification discussed in this chapter comes in two forms: verbal and visual. Verbal identification expressed through interviews is used to explore belonging, its significance and attitudes to Indonesia as an ethnic group. Visual identification obtained from photo discussions and observations is used to explore the behavioural aspect of identification with this ethnic group. For a more comprehensive analysis, I also adopted the identity motives of Vignoles (2011), Wenger's (2008) modes of belonging; engagement, imagination and alignment, as well as Norton's (2000, 2001) identity and investment, and Andersen's (2006) imagined communities.

## 5.2 Strong identification with Indonesia

This chapter explores the cognitive, affective and behavioural aspects through which six participants express their strong identification with Indonesia. In the context of multicultural Australia, Indonesia is a minority culture like other non-English speaking groups of non-Indigenous peoples, such as Greek, German, Vietnamese, Lebanese, Italian and Sudanese (Zelinka, 1995; Guerra & White, 1995). As Indonesia is an 'imagined community' (Wenger, 2008; Andersen, 2006; Norton, 2000, 2001) consisting of several local ethnicities such as Javanese, Sundanese and Bugisi, the participants imagine themselves as Indonesians by identifying strongly with any cultural aspects considered to be part of the country.

### 5.2.1 Sense of belonging to Indonesia

Belonging to a group is an important social identity motive (Strauss, 1992; Vignoles, 2011; Barrett & Davis, 2008). Six participants in this study (Abdi, Fatha, Elfasa, Dafna, Katrin and Meskara) show strong sense of belonging to Indonesia. Three of them were born in Indonesia and three others in Australia. Three are male and three female. Although they have spent more than half of their life in Australia, regardless of their birthplaces, they still consider themselves Indonesian. They have shown a 'reflective cognition' of who they are (Stryker & Serpe, 1982; p. 206) in relation to their parents' country of origin and acknowledge 'the value and emotional significance' (Tajfel, 1981; p. 255) attached to their identification with Indonesia. They define their imagined identity through 'association, sharing communalities, and connection' with Indonesia (Wenger, 1998; p. 194).

All the six participants show strong sense of belonging to Indonesia. Brought to Australia when she was four years old, Dafna has lived in Australia longer than in Indonesia but believes she is still Indonesian. This belonging is reinforced every time she visits Jakarta, her hometown, for family holidays, where accompanied by her cousins, she uses public transport for sightseeing and shopping. She communicates easily with the bus driver and the shopkeepers in Bahasa Indonesia, with only occasional help from her cousins.

Another participant who shows strong sense of belonging to Indonesia is Fatha. She was born in Jakarta and moved to Australia when she was ten years old. Having lived in Australia for more than half of her life, she believes that her strong sense of belonging to Indonesia will never change.

I am still Indonesian. I will always feel Indonesian and never change  
(Fatha, female 24)

A similar sense of belonging to Indonesia is also shown by Elfasa. Born and raised in Melbourne, only visiting Indonesia for family holidays, Elfasa considers himself more Indonesian than Australian. He also considers himself Indonesian-Muslim. He believes that for most Indonesian people, regardless of their faith affiliation, religion and culture are intertwined. He considers these two aspects of identity to be more important than his identification with Australia. He said:

I am an Indonesian. I think I have three different identities together. I am an Indonesian, Muslim and Australian (Elfasa, male, 23).

Likewise, having been living in Melbourne for more than eight years, Katrin still considers herself Indonesian. One reason for this identification is because she was born and spent her childhood in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia. Despite

her permanent residence in Melbourne, Katrin still holds Indonesian citizenship so that she can visit Indonesia at any time.

Indonesian, Indonesian... totally Indonesian. ... because I was born in Indonesia and I spent most of my life in Jakarta as well. I will just maintain my permanent residency here so that I can still go back and forth to Indonesia (Katrin, female, 24).

The last participant who shows strong belonging to Indonesia is Meskara. This is due to his physical appearance. He believes that he is different because, unlike the majority of Australians, he is not white. He expresses three levels of identity: Balinese, Indonesian and Australian. He sometimes feels more Balinese than Indonesian because many Australians know Bali better than Indonesia.

I feel half Indonesian-Aussie, yeah. But I feel more Indonesian because I look Indonesian. So, I feel Balinese-Indonesian-Australian. I am not white and I don't have white Australian accent. I will say Bali first, and then I will say, Indonesia, because I think many people know more Bali than Indonesia (Meskara, male, 18).

Each of the six young participants expresses their identification with Indonesia in many ways. The first is through cultural objects such as flags, clothing, cuisine, and buildings. To show his belonging to Indonesia, Abdi puts the Indonesian red and white flag on the wall of his bedroom and says he is Indonesian when introducing himself to fellow Australians. Abdi said:

I am still Indonesian. I want to share that I am Indonesian, so I put this Indonesian flag in my room (Abdi, male, 18).

To show his affiliation with Indonesia, Elfasa often wears batik clothing when attending cultural events at school and at the Indonesian community center. For Abdi, Elfasa and other participants, clothing such as batik dress and Balinese *odang* (head scarf) signify belonging to their parents' ethnic culture (Maynard, 2004).

The last cultural object is building. Meskara identifies himself as Indonesian by showing the photo of his grandmother's Balinese house in Indonesia. Finti poses in front of a Padangese rumah gadang (big house) when she was visiting Indonesia. Fatha showed a picture of herself in front of an old hotel in Bandung, the hometown of her father and at the gate of a museum in Jakarta.

The second way of maintaining the sense of belonging to Indonesia is family holiday. All the six participants acknowledge its importance. During family holidays to Indonesia, Abdi is happy to meet his extended family and old friends as well as enjoy his favorite Indonesian food, an important aspect of his identification with Indonesia. For Finti, twice family holidays during her life in Australia have shown how important her Indonesian extended family is for her identification. Supporting his identification with Indonesia, Elfasa's two photos are about his first visit to Yogyakarta, the hometown of his parents in Indonesia. Meanwhile, Fatha always makes her regular holiday in Indonesia as long as possible.

Further aspects of the photo selection show identification with Indonesia. First, the number of photos about Indonesia shows a strong level of belonging. The more photos which have Indonesia as the setting, the stronger people's identification with Indonesia. Some participants, such as Fatha and Dafna, show more photos about Indonesia than Australia. For example, five of the six photos that Fatha showed were about her life in Indonesia. Similarly, of the five photos selected, Dafna showed three photos about life in Indonesia. These photos represent their hidden feelings about living in Australia. Croghan et al. (2008) points out that the

photos show participant's inner perspectives of their self-construction, in this case, identifying with Indonesia.

Second, the sequence of photo selection shows emphasis of feeling. Participants who selected photos about Indonesia earlier than those about Australia may show a higher level of identification with the country. For example, the first four photos that Fatha selected are about Indonesia. Then she showed one photo about her life in Australia but followed this with another photo about Indonesia. Likewise, Elfasa started by showing the photo of his extended family in Indonesia, before photos about his life in Australia. This sequence of photo selection implies that, although he was born in Australia, Indonesia is the point from which he starts his life timeline. Likewise, Abdi also first showed his photo of primary school reunion in Indonesia which shows the strength of his belonging to Indonesia.

Next, the setting and activity in the photo also has meaning. Some participants show more photos with Australia as the setting but showing their engagement in Indonesian culture. For instance, Meskara only showed one photo of his family holiday in Bali. However, another photo of a festival in a city in Australia shows his involvement in promoting Indonesian culture to Australian people. Personal photo documentary can give voice to the self-representation of the young participants and articulate their social representation (Mitchell et al., 2005; Mitchell & Allnutt, 2008). In this case, as visual evidence, photos reinforce the verbal description of the young participants' belonging to Indonesia.

The discussion above shows that, in line with social identity development, the six participants, especially Fatha and Abdi, have convincingly stated what they would

like to become in the future (Markus & Nurius, 1986), that is, they want to become young Australian residents who inclusively feel both Indonesian and Australian. Therefore, they categorize themselves as young Australian of Indonesian origin who are distinctive from their Australian friends (Wenger, 2008; Anderson, 2006; Norton, 2000, 2001). For Meskara, the motive of distinctiveness is more physical than psychological (Vignoles, 2011).

### 5.2.2 Significance of belonging

All young participants believe that it is important that they feel Indonesian. Indonesia is an ethnic group that they embody when socializing with other Australians. As many scholars posit, ethnic or national identity is an important form of group identity in the modern world (Barrett & Davis, 2008; Billig, 1994; Tajfel, 1982, Vignoles et al., 2011). For most young participants, Indonesia is an important group category with which they identify when interacting with their Australian friends at school, university and work. It is the cultural group that they associate with when describing their country of origin or completing any identification documents.

The young participants, however, have different reasons for identifying with Indonesia. The main reason for all of them is parents. The six participants consider themselves Indonesian because either or both of their parents are Indonesian. Participants whose parents are both Indonesian, such as Fatha, Elfasa, Abdi and Katrin, tend to show stronger identification with Indonesia. For instance, Abdi shows strong belonging to Indonesia because his parents are both Indonesian and all his extended family members are in Indonesia. He plans to work in Indonesia in the future. With his major in multimedia at an Australian university and good skills in

Bahasa Indonesia, he believes that he will have opportunity to work in multimedia in Indonesia. He said:

My parents are both Indonesian. Because I am now studying multimedia at university, my father also suggests me to work in Indonesia in the future. It will be easy for me because I can speak Bahasa Indonesia well (Abdi, male, 18).

Another reason for belonging with Indonesia is birthplace and childhood memory. Many participants consider themselves Indonesian because they were born in Indonesia and brought to Australia at a later age. Dafna, for instance, was brought to Australia when she was four whereas Fatha and Katrin moved to Australia in their teens. Their early life experience in Indonesia has remained with them so that they consider themselves Indonesian while living permanently in Australia and even taking out Australian citizenship. For example, the main reason for Fatha's strong identification with Indonesia is because she was born in Indonesia, spent her primary school years there, and many of her friends live there. She said:

I have more friends there in Jakarta than here in Melbourne. I am really close with my friends from junior high schools and keep my relationship with my old friends in Jakarta. So I still have some old best friends there. During holiday, I visit my old school, visit my teachers and ... holiday (Fatha, female, 24).

The next reason is convenient living. Fatha always feels enthusiastic about returning to Indonesia where she can find convenience stores and street vendors not available in Australia. To maintain this feeling, she has joined an organization of Indonesian young people and has regular holidays to Indonesia where she visits her grandparents and old Indonesian friends.

Another participant, Katrin misses the Indonesian food and big shopping malls in Jakarta and always feels good when she returns to Indonesia. Another reason for her connection with Indonesia is that her boyfriend lives in Jakarta. She

involved herself in the Indonesian student association when she started her undergraduate study in Melbourne. She is ambivalent in her feelings about Australia and not sure if she is going to take out Australian citizenship. Meanwhile, Fatha enjoys the convenient stores in Jakarta which often open until midnight. Dafna also likes the traditional market and street vendors which are available almost all the time.

Birthplace and parents appear to influence belonging differently. The combination of parents and birthplace results in a strong indicator of identification with Indonesia. It is common that participants who were born in Indonesia to Indonesian parents have stronger identification than the Australian- or intermarriage-born young people. Kenney (1993) suggests that parents are the first social entity of self-concept. Take for example, Fatha. Born in Indonesia to Indonesian parents and brought to Australia when she was eleven years old, Fatha associates strongly with Indonesia and happily shares her Indonesian identity with her Australian friends. Similarly, Katrin also associates strongly with Indonesia because she was born in Jakarta to Indonesian parents who currently live in Indonesia.

The next reason for identification is people such as extended family and old friends. Peers can provide emotional and social support (Berndt, 2004; Scholte & Van Aken, 2006). Dafna's photo shows how members of extended family are influential in maintaining identification with Indonesia. Her grandmother and cousins appear important in the social construction of Dafna's feeling of being Indonesian. The grandmother serves as the main source of learning Bahasa Indonesia. During

her family holiday to Indonesia, Dafna's cousins also introduce her to places typical to Indonesia such as traditional markets and street food vendors. Speaking the ethnic language and visiting various places in Indonesia enhances her identification with Indonesia.

Beyond parents and extended family, people whom the participants associate with Indonesia are old friends. For instance, Abdi first selected a photo of his primary school reunion in Indonesia to show that, although he was born and grew up in Australia, he is still Indonesian. To maintain this feeling, he keeps in touch with Indonesian friends. Although Abdi only spent years three and four at primary school in Indonesia, he has managed to maintain contact with classmates. At the reunion, he says he felt more Indonesian than Australian, more Javanese than Indonesian. Javanese, to which Abdi belongs, is the local ethnic group occupying central and eastern Java of Indonesia. During the meeting, he spoke Indonesian and some Javanese. His friends were surprised to find him speaking Indonesian and Javanese despite permanently residing in Australia.

For another participant, Katrin, an Indonesian boyfriend signifies her identification with Indonesia. She voices her feeling of being Indonesian through a photo in which she poses with her Indonesian boyfriend. Katrin believes that selecting an Indonesian to be a future partner is a means of maintaining her association with Indonesia.

Another indicator of Katrin's identification with Indonesia is a photo with a former high school friend in Jakarta. Unlike a boyfriend, which shows future planning, the choice of a photo of a former high school friend shows past memories

of being Indonesian. With this photo, Katrin shows her childhood memory of schooling in Indonesia. She believes that the association remains in her heart and will not fade despite her permanent residency in Australia. The combination of future and past feelings as evidenced by the photo confirms Katrin's strong identification with Indonesia.

Similar to Abdi and Katrin, one photo shows Fatha with two former primary school friends, standing in front of a monument in Bandung, Indonesia. She has this photo on her Facebook page to introduce Indonesia to her Australian friends. She said:

I feel very Indonesian in this picture. I put it on my facebook so that my Aussie friends know it as not many of them know it. Maybe Aussie friends do not know our national flag, the red and white (Fatha, female, 24).

Likewise, one photo shows Dafna, her aunt and three cousins, on a boat trip near Jakarta. She enjoyed this very much as she rarely meets her Indonesian family members.

I love playing with my cousins in Jakarta. We can play around and visit our family members. It is also more convenient to find food sellers in Indonesia. Like this bakso street seller. We can just call him to come to our house (Dafna, female, 18).

This typical Indonesian environment with street vendors is part of her feeling of being Indonesian, a contrast with street life in Australia.

In addition to people, Kenney (1993) also suggests that the second social entity of self-concept is object or material. Many participants associate certain objects with their identification with Indonesia. Dafna, for example, emphasizes the importance of the Indonesian pudding that her grandmother makes and the bakso (meat bowl) seller in developing her self-concept as an Indonesian. She believes that

these two entities are typical to Indonesia. She may find bakso in Australia but sold in Indonesian or Asian restaurants. Mobile street bakso vendors are culturally specific to Indonesia and not found in Australia. Other participants such as Fatha and Katrin also associate with Indonesia because of the street vendors and large shopping malls.

For Meskara, the picture of a Balinese house together with some Balinese family members demonstrates an important element of his self-concept. He says the Balinese house and his grandparents are social elements of who he is. Although he was born in Australia, Meskara feels he is Balinese as his parents and grandparents are Balinese. When he was in Bali for a family holiday with his large Indonesian family, he felt more Balinese than Australian. Similarly, Elfasa considers wearing batik clothing to be a way of showing his belonging to Indonesia. Harper (2002) argues that these culturally specific identification markers nurture and strengthen the belonging of the six participants to Indonesia while living permanently in Australia.

Finally, physical appearance is still considered an important reason for identifying with Indonesia. Body image such as small build as the case with Elfasa and non-white skin color as indicated by Meskara and Abdi are aspects of social comparison by which an individual makes a difference between 'us' and 'the other' (Tajfel, 1981). For these participants, different physical appearance is a key factor in belonging to an ethnic group (Zelinka, 1995). Physical characteristics such as skin color and hair texture are externally imposed on individuals, but in both cases, the participants claim physical appearance as a distinctive marker of Indonesian identity (Vignoles, 2011; Zimmerman, Zimmerman & Constant, 2007).

### 5.2.3 Attitudes towards Indonesia

Identification with Indonesia is inseparable from attitudes towards the country. Group identity is not just a form of self-definition but also 'a source of emotional attachment and enhancement' (Deaux & Etheir, 1998; Spears, 2011). Most participants, especially those who were born in Indonesia, show positive attitudes towards the country. Some feel proud of being young Australians of Indonesian origin. For instance, Fatha who was brought to Australia when she was eleven, feels proudly Indonesian. Another participant, Dafna, who was brought to Australia when she was four feels good to be a young Indonesian in Australia. She has a good impression of her ethnic group and wants to share this with her Australian friends. She is convinced that, as a country, Indonesia has some aspects to be proud of such as abundant sunshine, tasty food, and beautiful natural views. She said:

I don't feel any negative thing about Indonesia. I like it that I am Indonesian. If someone asks me about Indonesia, I will tell them, Ok, the food is awesome and they love spicy foods. It's really hot country, but nice and beautiful (Dafna, female, 18).

Acknowledging that life in Australia is in fact more comfortable than in her home country, she still feels proud of being Indonesian. She likes that she looks different from most of her Australian friends and does not wish to be like them.

Positive attitudes towards Indonesia are also evidenced from photo discussion. For instance, three of Abdi's photos show his pride in being a young Indonesian in Australia. One photo shows the Indonesian red and white flag hanging on the wall of his bedroom. Another photo shows him wearing a batik shirt when attending the gatherings of the Indonesian community. In another photo, Abdi

invites non-Indonesian friends from his Indonesian class at the Victorian School of Languages to attend the annual Indonesian Festival so that he can introduce them to the culture of Indonesia. The photo shows Abdi and several friends posing inside a train carriage on their way to attend the festival at Federation Square. Although he was born and has spent most of his life in Australia, Abdi still shows interest in Indonesian culture. He is proud that Bahasa Indonesia is one of the Asian languages taught at Australian schools and is a senior school subject. He believes that there are many other aspects of Indonesia which are worthy of pride such as its natural beauty and culture. He said:

I am really proud to be Indonesian. That's what my parents always tell me. I always say that I am Indonesian when I meet a new Australian friend. Indonesia is a big country and has rich natural resources (Abdi, male, 18).

Fatha's photo selection also shows her pride in the beautiful nature of Indonesia. One photo shows Fatha and a former classmate at a secondary college in Melbourne posing on a beach in Bali. Fatha feels proud to be Indonesian as the country has beautiful beaches. With a degree in tourism from an Australian university, Fatha wants to promote the beauty of Indonesia to the world, particularly to the people of Australia. She said:

With this picture, I feel proud to be Indonesian. Not many people know the beauty of Indonesia. It is Geger beach, a cleaner and more quiet beach compared to other more famous beaches in Bali such as Kuta and Sanur. Although most Australians know the beauty of Bali, not many of them know Geger which is still clean and quiet. It is a new and good beach of Bali that I want to show my Australian friends (Fatha, female, 24).

In another example of positive attitude towards Indonesia, one of Dafna's photos shows her with two Indonesian cousins during her last holiday in Indonesia. During the holiday, Dafna practiced speaking Bahasa Indonesia. This picture shows

that she feels more Indonesian when she is in Indonesia with her cousins, shopping at a traditional Indonesian market. Sometimes, Dafna also finds herself useful as she can help her cousins improve their English conversation skills while she has a chance to practice speaking Bahasa Indonesia.

Another participant, Elfasa feels proud when he performs Indonesian traditional dances in front of Australians at various events such as the Indonesian Festival. Another photo shows him posing with his 'hero', a former Indonesian badminton Olympic gold medalist. He said,

He [the Olympic gold medalist] has been my hero since I was eight. When I was watching him playing on TV, I said to myself, I want to be like him. So, when I saw him walking in front of the hotel, I asked my father to chase him and take a photo with him. I felt nervous and stuttered when asking him to take a photo with me (Elfasa, male, 22).

Elfasa has several reasons for choosing badminton as his favorite sport. First, although this sport is not popular among Australians, he enjoys playing badminton as it really suits his small body frame. He understands that it is not good for him to play football, the most popular Australian sport due to his physical size. Another reason is because Badminton is a popular sport among Indonesians. In Indonesia, badminton courts are found everywhere, indoor and outdoor, in big cities or small villages, and people play badminton for both fun and competition. This sport selection strengthens his identification with Indonesia.

Some participants such as Elfasa, Meskara and Katrin feel not so much proud but confident about being Indonesian among their Australian friends. In Melbourne, Katrin socializes easily with both Indonesian and Australian friends and has never experienced any racial discrimination.

... it is not proud, it is just, feeling confident. Because sometimes I know there are some people got some racism, still fine, I am still fine (Katrin, female, 24).

Her photo selection supports this attitude. One photo shows her sitting at a learning center in which she works as a tutor. She said that although she has only one Indonesian friend who works in the same office, she feels confident to work with her Australian friends. With her educational background at an Australian university, she believes that she can work well with her team.

Finally, strong belonging does not blind the young participants. Despite their pride and confidence in being Indonesian, a few participants are also critical of Indonesia. For instance, one of Fatha's photos shows herself, elder sister and two other Indonesian friends sitting in front of the gate of a museum in Jakarta. They are posing together with a male garbage collector who was holding a big white rubbish bin. With this photo, Fatha wants to show her personal criticism of the real life condition of most Indonesian people. Although the country has beautiful nature, its people are not really concerned with the environment. She feels shame that they do not pay attention to cleanliness. Fatha understands that this photo may become a source of embarrassment in front of her Australian friends, but it is her way of raising awareness of environmental issues. In addition, many Indonesian people still live in poverty. As a young Indonesian who lives in a better economic condition in Australia, Fatha believes that she should do something to help needy people in Indonesia.

This photo shows very much the real life of Indonesian people. I may be a bit embarrassed when my Australian friends know this photo, but that is the real condition of many Indonesian people who still live in poverty. The life condition of this old man reminds me and my other Indonesian friends who live here in Australia that I have to be thankful for the better life that I have been enjoying. I

also would like to remind myself that I have to do something to help needy people in Indonesia (Fatha, female, 24).

As part of their strong identification with Indonesia, most young participants show their pride, confidence and love for Indonesia. They show belonging to Indonesia and distinctiveness as being Indonesians (Vignoles, 2011; Tajfel 1986; Barrett & Davis, 2008). Despite these positive attitudes, however, one participant, Fatha, also shows constructive criticism for the betterment of Indonesia. Evaluation of the country of origin may not only include pride, love and comfort but also shame (Davis, 1999; Dekker et al., 2003; Smith and Kim, 2006). The critical thinking skill that she may have learned from Australian education does not spoil her pride in Indonesia. By criticizing people's ignorance regarding cleanliness, as her photo selection shows, she might want to make or imagine Indonesia to have an environment that is as clean as, or even cleaner than Australia's (Markus & Nurius, 1986; Norton, 2000; Andersen, 2006).

### 5.3 Experiencing Indonesia

Belonging to a social group regulates feelings and behavior and transforms communities, persons and artifacts through each other (Wenger, 1998; Hogg & Abrams, 1988). Belonging to Indonesia shown by the young participants encourages them to engage in the culture of Indonesia. In this section, I examine the lived engagement of the six young participants with the culture of Indonesia in both Indonesia and Australia. Their engagement shows behavioral elements of identification (Phinney, 1990; Wenger, 1998; Barrett, 2008) with Indonesia. Experiencing Indonesian culture in this study is divided into three aspects. The first

is the use of and perceived benefits of Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian language) as a core cultural value (Smolicz & Secombe, 1985). The second is Indonesian parental expectations which include current assistance, family respect and future support (Fulgini, Tseng & Lam, 1999). The third is Indonesian cultural festivals, which include secular festivities and religious ceremonies.

### **5.3.1 The use of Bahasa Indonesia**

The first aspect of engagement with Indonesian culture is the use of Bahasa Indonesia. Like members of other ethnic minority groups in Australia who manage to maintain their ethnic languages (Smolicz & Secombe, 1985; Clyne, 2005; Willoughby, 2006) Bahasa Indonesia is a core value for the Indonesian community. In this study, I first discuss the contextual use of Bahasa Indonesia, then continue by discussing the skills of Bahasa Indonesia that the six young participants have acquired and their perceptions of the status of the language. Then I discuss the meaning of Bahasa Indonesia use among these young participants in relation to their identification with Indonesia and their efforts in maintaining the language and its perceived benefits for their future.

#### **5.3.1.1 The contextual use of Bahasa Indonesia**

Young participants use Bahasa Indonesia in different contexts. The first context of Bahasa Indonesia use is home. Almost all the six participants speak Bahasa Indonesia with their parents at home. For example, Abdi always speaks Bahasa Indonesia to his parents.

I respond to my parents in Bahasa Indonesia because they always speak Bahasa Indonesia to me and my sister (Abdi, male, 19).

Another participant, Elfasa, also said that his parents always speak Bahasa Indonesia to him and his elder sister. The same is true of Dafna, Fatha, Katrin and Meskara. Meskara speaks Bahasa Indonesia to his parents. Fatha feels obliged to speak Bahasa Indonesia at home:

I often feel guilty and shameful if I don't speak Bahasa Indonesia to my parents (Fatha, female, 24).

In addition to parents, young people also use Bahasa Indonesia in communication with their siblings. Abdi confirmed,

Sometimes, I also speak Bahasa Indonesia to my younger sister (Abdi, male, 19).

Another participant, Fatha always speaks Bahasa Indonesia to her two siblings. Her parents require that they speak only this language at home.

My two sisters and I always speak Bahasa Indonesia to each other and to our parents. We will feel shy if we don't speak Bahasa Indonesia at home (Fatha, female, 24).

However, the use of Bahasa Indonesia with siblings is not as intensive as with parents. Siblings sometimes mix Bahasa Indonesia with English. Elfasa, for instance, speaks a mix of Bahasa Indonesia and English with his elder sister as does Katrin to her two siblings. She said,

Mostly, I speak Bahasa Indonesia with my elder and younger brothers. Sometimes, I also speak English to them (Katrin, female, 24).

The use of Bahasa Indonesia at home is also practiced with members of the extended family who share the same house with the participants. For instance, Elfasa spoke Bahasa Indonesia to his aunt who lived with his family for several years. When

his aunt moved to Bali, another two cousins lived with his family to whom he spoke Bahasa Indonesia. Another participant, Dafna also speaks Bahasa Indonesia to her grandmother who often visits and stays with her. Similarly, Katrin also speaks Bahasa Indonesia to his grandmother when she visits her in Australia.

In addition to home, Bahasa Indonesia is also used out of home in different contexts. The first context is the community centre. For instance, Abdi and Elfasa speak Bahasa Indonesia when they meet Indonesian friends at the Indonesian community center. As a participant observer, I frequently saw Abdi and Elfasa attending programs at the community centre where they spoke Bahasa Indonesia, mostly to parents. Another participant, Meskara also spoke Bahasa Indonesia with parents when he attended the gathering of Balinese people at the Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia. Katrin does the same when she attends the Sunday service at the Indonesian community church. She said:

I also attend the Indonesian community church for Sunday service, but not very regularly. I usually listen to sermon in Bahasa Indonesia and speak Indo with my friends (Katrin, female, 24).

Another non-home context for Bahasa Indonesia use is educational institutions such as school and university. Some young participants go to the same schools, which enables them to practice speaking Bahasa Indonesia. Two participants, Fatha and Katrin, attended the same public secondary college where they had opportunities to practice speaking Bahasa Indonesia during recess and lunch time. Dafna also studied Bahasa Indonesia as a language program at her private secondary college.

Upon finishing secondary school, some participants also attended the same university. Elfasa, Abdi and some of Indonesian friends go to the same university

where they speak Bahasa Indonesia at various times such as on their way to and from campus. Elfasa confirmed:

Abdi, Binda and I go to the same university. We usually go to uni together by train. We sometimes speak Bahasa Indonesia on the way to campus or when we go back home (Elfasa, male, 22).

The educational context which provides more opportunity for practicing Bahasa Indonesia is the Victorian School of Languages (VSL) which offers Bahasa Indonesia as a Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE) subject. This context allows the young participants to practice Bahasa Indonesia not only with other young Indonesians but also those of other ethnic groups who study Bahasa Indonesia such as Malaysian and Singaporean students. For example, Abdi practices speaking Bahasa Indonesia with some Malaysian friends who have learned Bahasa Indonesia. As evidenced from photo discussion, Abdi invited them to attend Indonesian cultural festivals so that they can practice speaking Bahasa Indonesia more intensively and be familiar with Indonesian cultural artifacts such as food, drink and clothes.

The next non-home context is workplace. This is however, the least common context for Bahasa Indonesia use. Fatha, for instance, used to work at a call centre together with some Indonesian friends. During morning tea or lunch time, they could chat in Bahasa Indonesia. Fatha said:

When I was working at call center, I had some Indonesian friends who work together. We usually speak Bahasa Indonesia during lunch or break time (Fatha, female, 24).

The last venue for using Bahasa Indonesia is at cultural festivals. Most young participants speak Bahasa Indonesia when attending Indonesian Festivals, the Satay Festival, and other religious festivities such as Idul Fitri, Christmas, and Kuningan. Based on my observation, at the Indonesian Festival, for instance, some participants

such as Elfasa, Dafna and Abdi spoke Bahasa Indonesia when they were buying food and drink.

Some other participants also speak this ethnic language during religious festivities. Dafna, a Muslim participant who usually speaks Bahasa Indonesia during Idul Fitri, said:

I speak Bahasa Indonesia to parents during Idul Fitri. I enjoy Indonesian food and drink while joking with my friends (Dafna, female, 18).

Similarly, Meskara, a Hindu participant, also said:

When I attend the Kuningan celebration at the Consulate General, I often speak Bahasa Indonesia to parents and adults (Meskara, male, 18).

Another participant, Katrin also speaks Bahasa Indonesia when celebrating Christmas with her friends at the Indonesian community church.

In conclusion, the young people use Bahasa Indonesia in various contexts. The use of Bahasa Indonesia in these different contexts of school, home, community center and work place, reinforces common bonds among the participants who are members of the imagined communities of Indonesia (Anderson, 2006; Mandler, 2006). Although the young participants come from different local ethnicities of Indonesia such as Javanese, Sundanese, Padangese, Balinese and Chinese, they feel they are part of Indonesia when they speak Bahasa Indonesia. For these participants, Bahasa Indonesia is an internal identity which unites them as Indonesian in Australia, regardless of their local ethnic affiliations. It is a means of alignment with Indonesia and investment for their identity (Norton, 2001; Wenger, 2008). In Erikson's (2010) term, Bahasa Indonesia is a shared language which is a powerful symbol of cultural unity.

### 5.3.1.2 Bahasa Indonesia status and proficiency skills

In terms of language nativity status, Bahasa Indonesia is considered as either a first or second language. Three participants who were born in Indonesia consider it their first language. Fatha, Dafna and Katrin who were brought to Australia at later age had already acquired good Bahasa Indonesia skills before moving to Australia and consider it their first language, 'the first accessible language to which an individual is exposed, especially by birth' (Schembri, Vinson & Orfanidau, 2012; p. 50).

This definition of first language is also in line with the regulation issued by the Australian government on the student recruitment for Bahasa Indonesia as Language Other Than English (LOTE) subject. For example, Katrin planned to take Bahasa Indonesia for her senior school subject when she was at secondary college to support her enrolment at university. However, she was considered a native speaker of Bahasa Indonesia and had to take it as the first language.

For the other three Australian-born participants, Bahasa Indonesia is considered a second language and their first language is English. For example, Elfasa considers English and Bahasa Indonesia as his first and second languages respectively.

I think Bahasa Indonesia is my second language. My first language is English (Elfasa, male, 23).

The participants who consider Bahasa Indonesia their second language, such as Elfasa, Meskara, and Abdi, speak English more fluently than Bahasa Indonesia. They have only acquired the speaking skill of Bahasa Indonesia and have limited writing and reading skills. Those who consider it their first language have good skills

in Bahasa Indonesia. Fatha and Katrin speak Bahasa Indonesia like native speakers and have good reading and writing skills. One exception applies to Abdi. Although he was born in Australia and considers Bahasa Indonesia his second language, his skills in Bahasa Indonesia are better than the other Australian-born participants. One reason for this is because his parents paid great attention to the use of Bahasa Indonesia. Before deciding to stay permanently in Australia, they agreed to introduce Bahasa Indonesia as early as possible to their Australian-born children and speak only this ethnic language at home.

The six young participants have different proficiency skills in Bahasa Indonesia. Of the four language skills, listening and speaking seem to be the most proficient. Most participants understand the language and can speak it. A few participants, especially the Australian-born, have limited listening and speaking skills. Take for example Fatha. Born and spent her primary school in Indonesia, Fatha's Indonesian speaking skill is excellent. She can speak the language fluently, like a native Indonesian. Another Indonesian-born who has good oral skills in Bahasa Indonesia is Katrin. At home, she speaks Bahasa Indonesia with her elder and younger brothers. She always speaks Indonesian with her parents when they visit Melbourne. She even speaks Bahasa Indonesia with some Indonesian friends at her Australian university so that she can convey her ideas and feelings such as jokes more expressively.

Another Australian-born participant, Elfasa also believes that speaking is his best skill in Bahasa Indonesia. He can speak Bahasa Indonesia better than reading newspapers and books or writing short paragraphs in this language.

I think I speak more easily than writing or reading in Bahasa Indonesia. May be because I just learn speaking at home (Elfasa, male, 22).

Likewise, Abdi and Dafna also believe that their speaking skill in Bahasa Indonesia is better than other skills.

In short, the six participants have lower literacy than oral skills. Most of them, especially the Australian-born participants, can only read simple texts and write short paragraphs. Only the two Indonesian-born participants, who moved to Australia at later age, Fatha and Katrin, can read and write more extensively. Despite their strong identification with Indonesia, most of them show low investment in learning the literacy skills of Bahasa Indonesia (Norton, 2001).

### 5.3.1.3 Support for Bahasa Indonesia maintenance

The six participants have various forms of support for maintaining their Bahasa Indonesia proficiency. The first home support is subscription to the Indonesian television channel. The parents of three participants: Abdi, Elfasa and Fatha, subscribe to the Indonesian television channel at home which allows them to practice their listening and reading skills as well as update knowledge about Indonesia. Although they do not watch the Indonesian program regularly, this subscription connects them to Indonesia. Elfasa said:

I like watching the program about children from all over Indonesia. I know that Indonesia has different ethnic groups in different islands (Elfasa, female, 18).

Abdi and Fatha also agreed that they make use of the Indonesian television program to support their maintenance of Bahasa Indonesia.

The second support is schools which offer Bahasa Indonesia classes. Two participants, Dafna and Elfasa, who attended the same secondary college had

Bahasa Indonesia as a language subject at their schools. The other four participants who did not have it as their language subject took Bahasa Indonesia at the Victorian School of Languages in preparation for their final examination.

Another non-home support for Bahasa Indonesia maintenance is sport events. As a participant observer, I attended several sporting events held by the Indonesian community. The most common sport is badminton, which is very popular in Indonesia. For instance, an annual badminton competition is held by the Consulate General in Melbourne to commemorate the Indonesian Independence Day. The participant who attends the sporting event most frequently is Elfasa. He usually participates in the program together with his father who likes playing badminton very much. I also observed Abdi attending the sport events. Most of the time, he prefers watching to playing.

The most important support for Bahasa Indonesia maintenance is regular family holidays to Indonesia. This serves as in-country training for the development and maintenance of the language. Almost all the six participants find family holidays to Indonesia beneficial for their maintenance of Bahasa Indonesia. One participant, Dafna, for instance, spoke Bahasa Indonesia more intensively when she was on family holidays in Indonesia. In Australia, Dafna found it hard to speak Bahasa Indonesia. However, during her regular family holiday in Indonesia, she was surprised to find herself talking in Bahasa Indonesia naturally. She said:

When I am in Indonesia, I find myself talking Indonesian more. If someone speaks Indonesian here, I don't really understand, but when I go to Jakarta, everything just makes sense. I don't know why, may be because everyone speaks Indonesian (Dafna, female, 18).

Similarly, Meskara finds family holidays a way of immersing himself in Bahasa Indonesia. During his family holiday in Bali, he usually speaks Bahasa Indonesia with his Balinese cousins and other relatives. Meskara believes he can speak Indonesian better than writing or reading it. Elfasa's experience is similar. His parents take him and his elder sister for family holidays to Indonesia regularly where they have the chance to practice their skills in Bahasa Indonesia with their grandparents and extended family.

For other participants, the family holiday is more than a language immersion program. It is also a way of immersing themselves in Indonesian culture. Fatha, for instance, initiated a work apprenticeship in Indonesia. During this time, she learned a great deal about Indonesian cultural values, especially those in the workplace. She experienced how hierarchy and power were exercised. For instance, lower employees could not mingle casually with people of high position. Initiative and creativity were not encouraged. Lower employees has to obey what the superior has assigned.

Fatha said:

I had a little fight with a senior employer. She said that I didn't obey her order. In fact, I just made a little innovation to make my work more interesting (Fatha, female, 24).

In the eyes of some Indonesian high-rank officers, creativity may be seen as disobedience or disloyalty.

#### 5.3.1.4 Bahasa Indonesia, education and cultural identity

The six participants perceive social, academic and career benefits from their maintenance of Bahasa Indonesia. First, the ability to speak Bahasa Indonesia supports the social connection of participants with extended families in Indonesia. For instance, the speaking skill of Bahasa Indonesia enables Meskara to talk to his grandparents in Bali over the phone. Likewise, Katrin's intensive contact with former junior high school friends in Jakarta enables her to keep updated on current social development of Indonesia. Sometimes, she misses development of slang expressions in Bahasa Indonesia as used by urban Indonesian young people.

I don't know. Every time I have holiday to Indonesia, I often miss some new slang words that my friends use when we are hanging out. I have to keep up with my friends about this issue (Katrin, female, 24).

Similarly, Abdi believes that maintenance of Bahasa Indonesia enables him to talk to members of his extended family and friends in Indonesia. During family holidays, he communicates with old friends easily. At a reunion gathering last holiday, some of his former primary school friends were surprised that he could speak Bahasa Indonesia fluently despite his permanent residence in Australia.

In my last holiday, my old friends at primary schools in Indonesia were surprised when they know that I still speak Indonesian well. They said, how come, you don't forget your Indonesian (Abdi, male, 18).

A similar social benefit of Bahasa Indonesia maintenance is also perceived by Dafna. She finds that her speaking skill in Bahasa Indonesia connects her with her Indonesian cousins. She practices her Bahasa Indonesia skills in traditional markets in Jakarta. Another participant, Katrin is convinced that maintaining Bahasa Indonesia

during her life in Australia makes her feel fully connected with her Indonesian friends when she meets them during family holidays in Indonesia.

The next benefit of Bahasa Indonesia maintenance is academic. Bahasa Indonesia is one of the four Asian languages taught at primary and secondary schools. It is also a Language Other Than English subject tested in the Victorian Certificate of Education. A score in Bahasa Indonesia assists enrolment at university. For the abovementioned reasons, many participants signed up to Bahasa Indonesia for their final examination. In year 10-11, all the six participants studied Bahasa Indonesia as a subject. Four participants (Dafna, Elfasa, Meskara and Abdi) took Bahasa Indonesia as their second language whereas Katrin and Fatha took it as their first language. They found the score of Bahasa Indonesia beneficial for enrolment at their universities.

The final benefit of Bahasa Indonesia is career development. Many participants believe that speaking/familiarity with Bahasa Indonesia supports their present and future career. For instance, Abdi believes that his mastery of Bahasa Indonesia will be beneficial when he starts working in multimedia. He believes that a degree in multimedia will result in a dream job when this skill is combined with his Bahasa Indonesia skill. He hopes that, in the future, he might work in an Australian-based multinational company which has offices overseas, including in Indonesia.

Similarly, Elfasa is convinced that speaking a language other than English such as Bahasa Indonesia is an important point in his resume which enables him to work either in Australia or Indonesia. Likewise, Fatha is convinced that, as two neighboring countries, Indonesia and Australia need each other. The growing

tourism industry in both countries will attract visitors to cross the borders. This industry needs people who are knowledgeable about tourism in both countries. A person who can speak both English and Indonesian, like her, will be able to respond to this demand.

In addition to tourism, skills in both Indonesian and English are also needed in other business sectors. The population of Indonesia is a promising market for business people. An Australia-based multinational company may want to set up an office in Indonesia. To deal with Indonesian clients, this company will need people like her who can speak both English and Indonesian.

Another participant, Meskara believes that Bahasa Indonesia opens wider job opportunities for him. International transport, such as airline companies, need people who can speak a language other than English. People such as flight attendants and pilots need a second language so that they can work more professionally in non-English speaking countries like Indonesia. In the future, his skills in Bahasa Indonesia may help him get a job in international air transport. The last participant, Katrin plans to work as a translator, interpreter or teacher of Bahasa Indonesia in Australia.

The White Paper policy of Australia in the Asian Century (2012), which describes Australia's commitment to improve engagement with several Asian countries, identifies Indonesia as an important Asian country together with China, India, Japan, and South Korea. To establish a good partnership with Indonesia, Australian people need to be familiar with Indonesian people and their culture. As Hall (1997) suggests, language is the main repository key to understand the culture.

Therefore, for Australian people in general, learning Bahasa Indonesia is an essential key to understand the Indonesian culture and to build a mutual partnership with Indonesia.

Furthermore, Bahasa Indonesia serves as an important marker of cultural identity. As an aspect of distinctiveness (Vignoles et al., 2006; Vignoles et al., 2008; Vignoles, 2011), this is what makes other Australians consider them Indonesian. Abdi, for example, believes that the use of Bahasa Indonesia is a way of maintaining his Indonesian identity while living in Australia. He said:

I think it is my identity as an Indonesian young person in Australia (Abdi, male, 19).

Another participant, Dafna, is sure that Bahasa Indonesia is an aspect of identity that distinguishes her from other Australian friends. Despite her minimum literacy skills in Bahasa Indonesia, she believes her Australian friends consider her Indonesian because they know that she speaks Bahasa Indonesia.

What makes me different from my Australian friends is because I can speak Bahasa Indonesia and they don't. I feel I am Indonesian when I speak Bahasa Indonesia (Dafna, female, 18).

This belief and practice are in line with what Hoed (1990) and Anwar (1990) argue, in that one function of Bahasa Indonesia among Indonesians is as a symbol of national pride and identity which is more salient when they live overseas. Since Indonesians are an imagined community of local ethnicities (Andersen, 2006), two participants, Abdi and Elfasa, feel more Javanese when they are in Indonesia because they live in an enclave of Javanese but feel more Indonesian in the Australian context. Speaking an ethnic language is an essential means of identification among

Australian minority ethnic groups, including Indonesians (Smolicz, 1989; Clyne, 2005; Willoughby, 2006). Wenger (1998) posits that learning an ethnic language is more than a simple accumulation of skills, but rather, it 'transforms who we are and what we can do, it is an experience of identity' (p. 215).

### **5.3.2 Indonesian parental expectations**

The second aspect of engagement with Indonesia is Indonesian parental expectations. Smith (2011) posits that members of individualistic national culture are more independent whereas those of collective cultures are more interdependent with others. In this study, I use the three collective-oriented parental expectations that Fuligni, Tseng & Lam (1999) found in their study of migrant families of Latino and Asian backgrounds in the United States: current assistance, respect for family and future support.

#### **5.3.2.1 Current assistance**

The first aspect of parental expectation is current assistance. There are several types of current assistance that the young participants provide for their parents. The first is running errands for the family. Participants have different ways of helping their parents. For example, Dafna used to live with only her mother. Often, when she arrived home, her mother was still on her way home from work and she had to prepare dinner herself. On the weekend, she also had to help her mother clean the house. By the time of the interview, Dafna had a newly born sister as her mother has remarried to a Lebanese-born Australian. Her mother often asks her to take care of the baby when she is away shopping or meeting a friend.

Likewise, Fatha has to take care of her niece when her elder sister, who is doing her masters degree, is busy. She often takes the four-year old to the Indonesian community center on Sundays. She said:

I feel happy to help my elder sister take care of my niece. Sometimes, I take her to the Indonesian community center because I volunteer at the Sunday school program (Fatha, female, 24).

Another type of current assistance is togetherness. Influenced by collectivistic values, parents prefer to have meals and spend weekends together with their children. Abdi, Elfasa and Fatha are asked to have dinner together with their parents. On the weekend, Abdi and Elfasa also join their parents attending the religious program at the community center.

However, close attachment does not always mean dependence. For instance, Fatha's family emphasized the importance of both togetherness and independence. Although she and her elder sister are not allowed to leave the home until they are married, they started working at local fast food restaurants when they were in secondary college. Upon obtaining a degree in tourism, she works at a hotel but still lives with her parents.

The last aspect of current assistance is spending holidays with family. Most of the six participants consider the family holiday to be the best time they spend with their family. For example, every other year, Abdi and his family spend a regular holiday in Indonesia. Fatha has an annual family holiday with his family to Indonesia at the end of the year. Dafna spends a holiday in Indonesia every two to three years with her mother. For Katrin, who lives in Australia with her siblings, a holiday in Indonesia means meeting her parents who live in Jakarta.

However, not all participants can have family holidays together. Due to tight study and work schedules, some participants had to withdraw from family holidays. Fatha, for instance, started traveling to Indonesia without her parents in year eleven due to a different holiday schedule. Elfasa also has to have family holidays with either his father or mother, due to their conflicting work schedules. Because of a conflicting work schedule, Finti often misses her family holiday to Indonesia.

### 5.3.2.2 Respect for family

The second aspect of parental expectation is family respect. Most participating young people think that their parents are very concerned with family respect. They are advised to think of family before doing anything as their activities reflect on the family. The first practice of family respect is treating parents with great respect. Most young participants are required to show great respect to parents. For instance, they kiss their hands when arriving or leaving home and obey their instructions. One participant, Fatha, even said that she does not dare to make her parents upset. She must speak politely to them and never raise her voice. Her religion suggests that respecting and obeying parents is an important way to have a happy life in the hereafter.

My parents are my priority. I don't dare to do something that makes them upset. My religion says that respecting and obeying parents is the key to get into heaven (Fatha, female, 23).

Young people also believe that they must show respect to other adults. For instance, Abdi was taught to bow and kiss the hands of adults when meeting with

them. He should also lower his voice and speak politely when talking to them. Abdi said:

When my Dad meets his friends in the shopping mall or community center, I have to bow to them and kiss their hands. I also have to lower my voice and speak politely when I am talking over the phone with my grandparents in Indonesia (Abdi, male, 18).

Another aspect of family respect is making sacrifices for family. One example, sacrifice in obedience to parents in choosing school, was shown by Elfasa. An adherent of a minority religion in Australia, his parents believe that he may not receive adequate religious education at a public school. They sent Elfasa to an Islamic school where he spent his primary and secondary school years. When he was in year eleven, Elfasa felt bored going to the same school for several years and asked to move to a public secondary college but his parents did not grant his request. He said:

When I was in year 11, I felt bored and wanted to transfer to a public school. My parents said, no, just stay there. It's just two more years to finish (Elfasa, male, 22).

The third example of family respect is obedience in marriage arrangements. Collective oriented societies consider marriage not only a relationship between a bride and groom, but their two families as well. In this context, parents usually influence young people's choice of future spouse. One participant, Fatha said that she does not mind being 'matched' by her parents if her future husband meets her criteria. She believes this acceptance is a way of showing respect to her parents.

Another participant, Elfasa, said that his parents will be happier if he marries a girl who shares similar cultural and religious affiliations. His mother believes that if he marries an Indonesian-Muslim, they will find it easier to get along with the

daughter-in-law as they will have similar culture and traditions. They have applied this arrangement with his elder sister who married an Indonesian. However, Elfasa does not really agree with their proposal. He does not want to be interfered with in selecting his future spouse. He wants to extend his choice to include non-Indonesians. Meanwhile, for his parents, similar values of religion and national identity are an important aspect of marriage life. Elfasa said:

I actually don't want to be limited in my choice of my future wife. I don't mind marrying non-Indonesian as long as they are Muslim. That's fine with me (Elfasa, male, 23).

### 5.3.2.3 Future support

The last aspect of Indonesian parental expectation is future support. The first and most emphasized future support is living with parents until marriage. Since my study participants are unmarried young adults who still live with their parents, most of them consider togetherness an important future support for their family. For instance, Fatha is strongly encouraged to stay with her parents until marriage for the sake of togetherness. Her elder sister who is married and has two children often spends her weekend with the parents. Similarly, the other four participants, Dafna, Meskara, Abdi and Elfasa, have to stay with their parents until they are married. Only Katrin is allowed to live far from her parents. Her parents seem to have adopted more individualistic values which they learn from her grandmother who is Indonesian-born Dutch-Chinese.

Another future support that is emphasized for the participants is home care in old age. Some participants believe that their parents want them to take care of them at home, not in a center, when they are old. This request was expressed to

Fatha. During family meals, her parents sometimes talk about future arrangements for them. She and her elder sister have agreed not to send their parents to a nursing center, but to take care of them at home.

My elder sister and I agree to take care of our old parents at home. I think it is the best way to pay back a respect for them. They have taken care of us when we were young. I consider nursing them an honor (Fatha, female, 24).

Other participants, Abdi and Meskara were also asked to take care of their parents at home, without the assistance of professional caregivers.

#### **5.3.2.4 Religious practice as an influential value**

Another parental expectation that I found strongly imposed on young people in this study is the maintenance of religious teaching. This expectation may be uncommon in studies of other communities but seems to be dominant among my study participants. Regardless of their religion affiliations - Islam, Christianity and Hinduism - all the participants are exposed to religious teaching practices which emphasize obedience to and respect for parents.

Among the Christian participants, for instance, Katrin was sent to a Catholic primary school in Indonesia and attended a Catholic secondary college in Australia. Living far away from parents, she also attended a local church. Sometimes, she came to the church for the Indonesian community so that she could listen to religious sermons delivered in Bahasa Indonesia. Every now and then, the sermon at the Indonesian church is also mixed between English and Indonesian, depending on the priests. At the Indonesian community church, she also involves herself in the youth brigade, called MUDIKA (The association of young Indonesian Catholics) where she

can do many activities such as sport competitions, musical performances, and group movie watching to develop her independence and religious values.

Similarly, the Hindu participant is also engaged in this parental expectation. For Balinese Indonesians, like Meskara and his family, Hinduism is very influential and inseparable from their life. Although Meskara was born in Australia, his parents emphasize the importance of this faith in his daily life. They asked Meskara to attend the regular religious ceremony held at the Consulate General. He always comes with his parents because his mother is a committee member of Mahindra Bali of Melbourne. He considers religious practices such as prayers and offerings important in his life.

Probably I think it is important for me, because when I go back to Bali, I have to know religion stuffs. I have to go to temple and do some offerings (Meskara, male, 18).

A similar practice is also conducted by some young Muslim participants. For example, as a practicing Muslim, Abdi's father puts emphasis on observing religious rituals such as daily prayers and attending religious teachings at the community center. Abdi started attending Sunday school when he was in year four in Indonesia. Upon completing his primary school in Melbourne, he was also sent to an Islamic school where he spent years 7-9. However, his parents imposed these religious expectations democratically so that Abdi does not feel compelled to observe them. Before asking him to observe a religious ritual such as daily prayers, for instance, they explain its benefits for him so that he participates sincerely.

Like other participants, Dafna's mother imposes religious practices on her, even in a rather authoritarian way. She always takes Dafna to attend the regular

religious gatherings held by several intermarriage families on the weekends. Members of the gathering are mostly Indonesian females married to Anglo-Australian males. However, Dafna likes attending the gathering as friends of similar age also come with their parents.

To support her religious practices, Dafna's mother asked her to wear Muslim dress (hijab) and sent her to a religion-affiliated school. In the beginning, Dafna felt reluctant to wear a headscarf and long dress. She felt weird when wearing hijab in public places as she looks different from others. With time, she is finally used to wearing it. Now, Dafna feels comfortable wearing hijab because she believes that most Australians are tolerant to difference, including outfit. However, she sometimes does not feel like wearing Muslim outfit, especially at recreation places such as the beach and swimming pool.

Well, I feel just like everyone else. I just wear scarf. I find most Australian people are very laid back. They stick to their own habit and do not want to disturb others. The only thing I do not feel comfortable when wearing head scarf is that I can't go and swim in the beach (Dafna, 18).

Parent level of education seems to be instrumental in the establishment of religious practices. Fatha's well-educated parents seem to confidently hold to their identity as Indonesian Muslims. As a member of a practicing Muslim family living in a predominantly Christian country, Fatha has a high level of religious belief. From the beginning, Fatha's mother told her and her two sisters that they are Indonesians who have different values from the majority of Australians. At school, for instance, Fatha and her two siblings are free to befriend everyone but should not go beyond their religious borders. When attending a birthday party, for instance, she should watch dietary restrictions such as avoiding alcohol and pork consumption. Fatha

feels lucky that her family, parents and elder sister have supported her religious commitment.

It starts from the family I think. It's not only from my parents, but also from my elder sister. I am lucky to have her. She is very religious (Fatha, 24).

In addition, Fatha also maintains religious practices at work. For example, when she and her elder sister worked in a fast food restaurant during their secondary college, they asked the management to allow them to observe ritual prayers during break time. A similar request was made at her present job as a hotel receptionist. She was fortunate that the managers at both workplaces were respectful and tolerant. One of them even offered his office space to be used for her prayer room. A similar practice is also introduced to Abdi by his parents.

These findings support the parental values that Fuligni et al. (1999) identified in their study among Latino- and Asian-American families. That religion is an influential aspect in the life of Indonesians, including those who have migrated to Australia, confirms what Ozer & Benet-Martinez (2006) found in their study, that religion is a 'central theme of identity' (p. 401) for most Indonesians.

### **5.3.3 Indonesian cultural festivals**

The last aspect of identification with Indonesia is experiencing the culture of Indonesia. Wenger (1998) suggests that identity development is experienced through engagement and imagination. With reference to Smolicz's (1989) core culture values, the culture here is limited to festivals and cultural artifacts. Evidence for experiencing Indonesian cultural festivals was derived from semi-structured interviews, photo discussions and observations which are divided into two parts. In

the first part, I provide a brief description of each festival. Then I describe the involvement of the six participants in these cultural festivals and the meaning of this engagement for their belonging with Indonesia.

There are eight Indonesian cultural festivals (religious and secular) around Melbourne that I observed from July 2011 to September 2012. Each of these cultural festivals is briefly described below.

#### **a. Kuningan Celebration**

Kuningan is a religious celebration for Hindu people. It is a special offering devoted as a farewell ceremony to the ancestors who are going to return to heaven. Kuningan celebration reminds Hindu people that life is like a wheel of nature in which good and bad takes turn. Through the celebration of Kuningan, humans should be able to build a harmonious life based on Hinduism principles.

In February 2012, the Kuningan celebration was held by Mahindra Bali, the Indonesian Hindu community in Melbourne at the Consulate General of Republic of Indonesia. Held from 10 am to 2 pm, it started with speeches followed by sermons and offerings led by religious leaders and ended with lunch.

#### **b. Baby Shower**

This religious event was held in November 2011 to welcome the newly-born baby of one member of the community and was held at an Indonesian Muslim community center. The mother of the baby is an Australian-born Indonesian and the father is an Italian-Australian. The main program for this cultural event was shaving the baby's hair, congregational prayer, religious sermon, and traditional foods and drinks.

This baby shower celebration is a way of introducing Islamic Indonesian childrearing values among Indonesian Muslim people. Indonesian Muslims have different traditions from their fellow Muslims in Middle Eastern countries, including the baby shower tradition. Young people who attended the celebration were informed how they should raise their children.

### **c. The Indonesian Festival**

This event is the biggest Indonesian cultural festival in Melbourne, usually held in September or October every year. In 2011, it was held at Queens Bridge Square, Southbank. The main program was performances of traditional dances, games and food from various regions of Indonesia. Each year, the Festival highlights one region of Indonesia as the theme. The year 2011 theme was Nusa Tenggara Island. The background of the stage was picture of Nusa Tenggara with its batik design. Various dances, batik, and handicrafts from this island were displayed. During the two-day festival, however, cultural performances from other areas of Indonesia were also displayed such as Acehese, Padangese of West Sumatra, Sundanese of West Java, and Javanese of East Java. Beside dances, the contingent of West Java also showed some Indonesian traditional games for children.

**d. The Satay Festival**

Similar to the Indonesian Festival, the Satay Festival is also an annual cultural festival held in the Box Hill Town Hall. Organized by PERWIRA (The Association of Indonesian People in Victoria), it is to introduce Indonesian traditional cuisine and other commodities such as crafts, costume, and souvenirs to Australian public. Internally, it is also a means to introduce Indonesian culture to the young members of the community. Many people attended the festival. They were not only Indonesians but also Australians, especially intermarriage couples.

**e. MIIS Charity Concert**

This is a children's opera for charity organized by MIIS (Monash Indonesian Islamic Society). The members of this social organization are students and their spouses who live in the Monash City area. Held at the Melbourne City Culture Centre (MCCC) on Swanston Street, the event showed various programs and performances such as Indonesian food court, garage sale, student services, Indonesian dances, and band music by adults and children. The main purpose of this program is the launch of a scholarship program for secondary students in Indonesia who cannot go on with their schooling due to financial problems.

**f. Indo-Monash Graduation**

Held at the Indonesian Consulate General in Melbourne, the event was to celebrate the graduation of Indonesian postgraduate students who had studied at different universities around Melbourne. The event was organized by the Indonesian Student Association in Australia. The main program was speeches by the graduates about their loving memories of studying and living in Melbourne, followed by performances of a band and dances. The band performed a mix of Indonesian and English songs and the dance performance was also a combination of modern and Indonesian traditional dances.

**g. The Minang Saiyo gathering**

Minang Saiyo is a group of Australian residents of Indonesian origin, coming from Western Sumatera. They have regular monthly meetings held from house to house. The main program of this gathering held in Southeastern Melbourne was dance rehearsal for children and lunch together. About forty people, male and female, adults, young people, and children gathered at the house. The host held a barbeque in the back yard. Various Indonesian foods and drinks were served, Satay Padang, *sambal kacang* (bean sauce), *lontong* or rice cake, and *kuah sayur kacang* (bean curry). Everyone seemed to enjoy the food very much.

#### **h. Kampung Kemerdekaan**

The last cultural event I observed was Kampung Kemerdekaan (Independence Village). It was the celebration of Indonesian Independence Day on the 17 of August, held by the Association of Indonesian students in Australia (PPIA). Most committee members of PPIA are Chinese-Indonesian undergraduate students. The event is annual and this year it was held in the backyard of an Indonesian church in Southbank, Melbourne. The festival showed various Indonesian music and arts such as band, dances and games. The stage and all the banners were in red and white, the colors of the Indonesian national flag. To attract more people to come, some food stalls were set up around the venue. So, while watching the music and performances, people could enjoy various Indonesian foods and drinks such as satay, lontong (rice cake), bakso (meat bowl), siomay (Indonesian dim-sum), nasi goreng (fried rice), and cendol (rice drop with palm sugar syrup).

#### **5.3.4 The engagement of the young participants**

In this section, I examine the meanings of engagement in cultural festivals for the identification process of the young people to Indonesia.

First, attendance at cultural festival shows belonging to Indonesia. The more intensive the attendance, the stronger their identification with Indonesia. It seems that, among the participants, visible difference is still a key factor in their sense of belonging to Indonesia, as an ethnic group. Zelinka (1995). The participants like gathering with their Indonesian fellows. As Table 5.1 shows, participants have different levels of engagement to cultural festivals.

**Table 5.1**  
**The participation of young people in cultural events**

No	Name	Frequency of attendance	Festivals attended
1.	Elfasa	4	Baby shower, Indonesian Festival, Satay Festival and Indo-Monashis Graduation Night
2.	Abdi	3	Baby shower, Indonesian Festival, Satay Festival, Indo-Monashis Graduation Night
3.	Fatha	3	Baby shower, Indonesian Festival, Satay Festival
4.	Meskara	2	Indonesian Festival and Kuningan Ceremony
5.	Dafna	2	Baby shower and Indonesian Festival
6.	Katrin	1	Indonesian Festival

Second, religion is influential in the life of most Indonesians. Although they live overseas, most Indonesian people in Australia still maintain culturally based religious practices. For example, Hindu people celebrate Kuningan, Christians celebrate Christmas, and Muslim people celebrate Idul Fitri. For instance, during my observation at Kuningan celebration, I found many members of Mahindra Bali, adults and young people, attending the celebration. Meskara was one of many young people who attended the celebration. He wore Balinese traditional outfit of batik sarong and white shirt with a light blue bandana on his head. With other members of the community, he took part in singing the rituals of celebration. At the end of the celebration, together with his twin-sister and parents, Meskara also seemed to enjoy the Balinese food and drink.

Photo discussion of some Muslim participants, such as Abdi and Elfasa, showed photos of Idul Fitri celebration. For instance, Abdi showed a photo of himself and some Indonesian friends posing in front of a secondary college after

attending the Idul Fitri prayer. He posed with his friends before enjoying the Idul Fitri feast.

However, young people may have different reasons for attending the religious ceremony or cultural festival. Several Muslim young people attended the baby shower because they might want to know more about the practice of baby shower. When attending the baby shower ceremony, one participant, Fatha said:

I want to know and understand the practice of baby shower in the Indonesian way. In the future, when I get married and have my own baby, I will have a concept in my mind how to do it (Fatha, female, 24).

Another participant, Elfasa gave a different reason:

I come here because my friends also come. We agree to meet together while enjoying the foods and stuff (Elfasa, male, 22).

Some others came because their friends attended the event. Others might have come because their parents asked them to do so. Among the participating young people, I saw Elfasa, Fatha and Dafna. Since the baby is of intermarriage parents, some Australians who married Indonesians also attended the gathering.

In general, cultural events serve as a medium for ethnic identity socialization and maintenance by parents and community members (Moua & Lamborn, 2010; Phinney, 1999). Some participants not only attend the events but also participate in cultural performances such as dancing, music and martial arts. During the observation, two participants, Elfasa and Yara, performed dances with his Lestari Dance Group. Born in Australia, both can perform the Indonesian traditional dance gracefully. For them, engagement in these cultural performances signify their belonging to the culture of Indonesia (Frith, 1996; La Rue, 1994; Stocks, 1994).

In addition, cultural events are a means of introducing the Indonesian culture to Australian people, particularly in Melbourne. The visitors of the event are not only Indonesians but also Australians. The non-Indonesians attend the events for various reasons such as intermarriage to Indonesians, interest in Indonesia, and showing support for Indonesia.

Next, cultural festivals are a means of practicing Bahasa Indonesia, especially for the young participants. In the Satay Festival, for instance, I found some participants practicing Bahasa Indonesia. Elfasa spoke Bahasa Indonesia with one committee member when they were setting up the food stall. Another participant, Dafna also spoke Bahasa Indonesia when she was serving customers at her mother's food stall.

Furthermore, not only do young people practice their Bahasa Indonesia during the cultural festival but also Australians who have an interest in Bahasa Indonesia. I observed some Anglo-Australians who practiced their Bahasa Indonesia language when buying foods or drinks. They may have learned Bahasa Indonesia in Melbourne for some time and want to practice it with its native speakers by asking the prices of foods and drinks.

The involvement of the young people with the culture of Indonesia is important for their social identity development. Engagement with Indonesian culture leads to imagining themselves as belonging to Indonesian community (Wenger, 2008; Anderson, 2006). In the context of multicultural Australia, Smolicz (1989) contends that confidence in heritage culture, such as Indonesian culture, can ensure social stability and give an important basic foundation for cultural growth. In the

case of Bahasa Indonesia, he posits that revitalization of heritage language enables Australia to be linguistically richer and ethnically more colorful.

#### 5.4 Weak identification with Indonesia

The second group of the participants (Andy, Binda, and Bob) display weak identification with Indonesia. Unlike the first group, they do not speak, but only understand, a little Bahasa Indonesia. Since they believe that being Indonesian is less desirable, they show weak motivation, low investment and high resistance to acquire Bahasa Indonesia as part of the imagined community of practice (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007; Smolicz, 1989; Clyne, 2005; Willoughby, 2006; Anderson, 2006).

The three participants have different reasons for displaying weak belonging to Indonesia. The first reason is minimum contact with Indonesia. For instance, although Andy was born in Indonesia, he left the country when he was two years old. What maintains his belonging to Indonesia are his parents and dietary restrictions. His mother always serves Indonesian foods at home. To maintain this belonging, he has regular family holidays to Indonesia. However, Andy's belonging to Indonesia is partial as he shows strong identification with Australia as evidenced from his citizenship. He said,

I am an Indonesian, well... I am an Indonesian but an Australian citizen as well. I have an Indonesian part in my body. I am still an Indonesian, although not much [laughter]. I was born in Jakarta and my parents are Indonesians (Andy, male, 18).

The second participant, Bob also shows weak identification with Indonesia. Although he was born to an Indonesian father, he did not grow his belonging to Indonesia from an early age. His father left him in his early childhood and he lived with his South African-born mother and Malaysian-born step farther. During this

time, he was introduced to the Malaysian culture of language, food and costume. He started showing belonging to Indonesia in his teenage when his mother told him that his biological father was Indonesian. At that time, he thought that his Indonesian identity had been denied.

Bob started exploring his Indonesian origin in his early twenties after he met his father in person. He believes that he has now found an Indonesian side in himself, shows stronger belonging to Indonesia and wants to explore more about the cultural identity of his Indonesian father.

Now I am looking for my Indonesian side. I still see Indonesian side in me from my picture. Most Indonesians perceive me as Javanese. In fact, my father is a Sundanese. I feel more Asian than I do Australian. I feel it overpowers me over Australian (Bob, 26).

Currently, Bob's sense of belonging to Indonesia is growing. His first visit to Indonesia was about five years ago to attend his Indonesian friend's wedding. He paid another visit in 2012. This time, he visited the hometown of his Indonesian father. He considers this second visit an important part in his life as it has strengthened his belonging to Indonesia.

Bob thinks it is important to maintain his belonging to Indonesia. After meeting his Indonesian father in his early twenties, he believes that he has found the half-empty side of himself. Now, he feels he knows more about who he is and plans to further explore his Indonesian identity by joining Indonesian community gatherings and visiting Indonesia again for a longer period of time.

Likewise, born and raised in Australia, Binda only shows weak identification with Indonesia. The main reason for this frail association is because his parents are Indonesian. Acknowledging cultural origin of his parents, he mentions Indonesia

before Australia which suggests inner consciousness of who he is and where he comes from.

I think I am Indonesian-Australian, yeah... but I feel more Aussie (Binda, male).

Sometimes, Binda experiences confusion with regard to his ethnic belonging. When he was visiting Indonesia, his extended family considered him Australian as he was born and grew up in Australia, speaks mostly English and has limited contact with Indonesia. Meanwhile, when he is back in Melbourne, his Australian friends consider him to be non-Australian and often tease him for his 'Asian' look. However, Binda does not mind that he is Indonesian-Australian and is indifferent towards his ethnic origin. For Binda, belonging to Australia is beyond physical appearance, even though most young Australians still consider whiteness as the main feature of Australian-ness (Zelinka, 1995).

Photo discussion supports their weak identification with Indonesia. The three participants show negative attitudes towards Indonesia. For instance, Andy only showed a few photos with Indonesia as the setting and did not select any photos which show his pride in Indonesia. One photo shows his now deceased maternal grandmother who lived in Jakarta. Another photo shows his paternal grandmother during a Christmas celebration in Bandung, the hometown of his father in Indonesia. In contrast, he proudly shows his school activities in Australia and his holiday trip to Gold Coast. He does not show interest in moving back to Indonesia in the future and wants to stay permanently in Melbourne even if his parents ask him to return to Jakarta.

Binda did not select a single photo about Indonesia. He only showed two photos about the birthdays of his elder brother and an Indonesian friend. However, he believes that the photo of the birthday of his Indonesian friend in Melbourne shows his belonging to Indonesia. He always makes time to socialize with his Indonesian friends as a way of maintaining his belonging to Indonesia. In addition, he feels he is Indonesian because his parents are both Indonesian.

Yeah, I still feel I am a bit Indonesian. My parents are Indonesian. I also have some Indonesian friends. Sometimes, I attend the birthdays of my Indonesian friends like this. That's it (Binda, male, 22).

Australian values seem to be more dominant in his life. Due to limited contact with Indonesia, Binda has little interest in Indonesia. He does not feel it is necessary to be familiar with the country. What he remembers about Indonesia is Jakarta which he visited twice in his early childhood. His main source of information about this country is his parents. His father often talks about hard life experiences in Indonesia when he was young. His mother sometimes tells him that several members of his large family in Indonesia live in poverty. As a result, Binda feels fortunate to have been born in Australia and enjoys a much better life than that of his cousins in Indonesia. Binda believes that it does not really matter if he feels less Indonesian. He is determined that his Indonesian side is only evident in his physical features such as skin color, hair and face whereas his way of life and thinking is Australian. His identification with Australia goes beyond physical appearance, by showing strong belonging to Australia despite his non-white skin color.

Similarly, photo discussion shows Bob's weak identification with Indonesia. None of his photos are about Indonesia but two photos may represent his

belonging to Indonesia. One photo shows Bob's Indonesian father together with his mother and another Indonesian friend. Bob received this photo from his mother and considers it important in his life as it represents his origins.

This is my origin. I should not ignore this photo although it is black and white. I have to preserve this picture to show where my half part belongs to. They are where I come from (Bob, 26).

Another photo shows his Indonesian father wearing the Bendo (a Sundanese traditional cap). Sundanese is a local ethnic group occupying the western part of Java island of Indonesia. Bob said the photo was taken during his father's wedding celebration to his current Indonesian wife and his father looks very Sundanese in the traditional cap. Bob keeps this photo by his bed.

These two photos represent his Indonesian identity. The photo of his parents when they were still together shows that, regardless of his father's abandonment, he remains an important part of his life.

In discussing photos, some aspects of selection show a degree of identification with Indonesia. First, the number of photos with Indonesia as the setting shows level of membership. The fewer the photos the participants showed about Indonesia, the less may be their identification with Indonesia. For instance, during photo interview, Andy only selected one photo about his extended family in Indonesia. Another two participants, Binda and Bob, did not show a single photo about their life in Indonesia but only their socialization with Indonesians in Australia.

In discussing visual identification, Kenney (1993) suggests some important entities of association with a social group. The first entity is people, which in this case, is a family member. Photo discussions show that all young people consider

extended family important in their identification with Indonesia. For instance, by showing the photo of his parents when they were still together in Western Australia, Bob believes that regardless of his father's treatment of him during his childhood, he is still his biological father whose blood flows in his body. Bob believes that he is not supposed to forget the person from whom he comes.

In addition, Bob also thinks that his father looks more Indonesian when wearing the Sundanese traditional cap, the *Bendo*. Bob associates bendo with his feeling of being Sundanese-Indonesian origin. In this context, the bendo serves as a symbol which is an important entity of social concept in relation to social context (Kenney, 1993). This symbol of Indonesia, as Bob believes it, shows his inner perspective of self-construction (Riggins, 1994). He considers himself Indonesian, specifically, Sundanese-Indonesian, the local ethnicity of his Indonesian father.

The significance of an extended family member is also expressed by Andy. Despite his weak sense of belonging to Indonesia, he loves his grandmother very much and often misses her, especially when he has just returned to Melbourne after a family holiday in Indonesia.

I took this picture because I love my grandmother very much. I often cry when I remember her and other family members in Jakarta, especially a few days after I returned from our family holiday in Jakarta. Now, she already passed away (Andy, 18).

As a social element of understanding self-concept , extended family members such as grandmother, uncle, aunt and cousins have an important impact on Andy's feeling of being Indonesian. Regular family holidays to Indonesia enable Andy to meet members of his extended family, practice speaking Indonesian, and therefore help develop his sense of being Indonesian. Moreover, as the family

holiday to Indonesia is always at the end of the year, Andy and his family always celebrate Christmas in Indonesia. As such, Andy is not really familiar with the Christmas situation in Australia. Andy said,

Not so much. I never have Christmas in here. We always celebrate Christmas with our family in Indonesia (Andy, 18).

Another participant, Bob, also perceives this social benefit. This perception increased after his second visit to Indonesia. Having met the extended family of his Indonesian father, he realized that he has to learn Bahasa Indonesia more intensively so that he can communicate with them more easily. He also believes that this language skill will be beneficial for his future career in photography as he intends to join the network of photo journalism in Indonesia.

### 5.5 Summary

Based on the discussion above, I draw some conclusions. First, the young participants have different levels of identification with Indonesia. Six participants show strong sense of imagined belonging to Indonesia as shown by their pride and confidence when presenting themselves as Indonesian young people to their Australian friends. These participants selected more photos which show Indonesia as the setting. Two of them show their confidence in being young Indonesians in Australia but showed fewer photos about Indonesia. Meanwhile, three other participants only show weak identification with Indonesia.

Second, the reasons for identification with Indonesia vary. Most participants believe that being Indonesian is an ethnic identity by which they identify themselves in their social interaction with fellow Australians. Aspects of belonging to Indonesia

include flag, people (family members) food (bakso), costume (batik shirt), sport (badminton), beach (in Bali), and gadang house (at the miniature village of beautiful Indonesia).

Third, as the result of their strong identification with Indonesia, most participants also show positive attitudes towards Indonesia and support the country while living in Australia through cultural promotion and financial assistance for Indonesian people. Living in an economically better country than in their parents' country of origin, some participants show critical attitudes towards the current social and political conditions of Indonesia.

In relation to cultural engagement, the young participants experience Indonesian culture in many ways such as speaking Bahasa Indonesia, obeying Indonesian parental expectations and being involved in cultural events. The young people and their parents use Bahasa Indonesia in various contexts such as home, school, university and community center. Most participants consider Bahasa Indonesia as their second language in that they can speak the language but have limited literacy skills. The young people perceive many benefits of Bahasa Indonesia maintenance such as social, academic and future career. In relation to identity, the participants consider Bahasa Indonesia as an internal instrument which binds them into one feeling of being Indonesian. Meanwhile, it is also an external indicator of identity which distinguishes them from other Australians.

Finally, weak identification with Indonesia is caused by several reasons such as birthplace, limited contact with Indonesia, and less assertive parental cultural socialization.

In the next chapter, I explore the second group of the participants, those who show a stronger identification with Australia than with Indonesia.

## Chapter Six BEING AUSTRALIAN

### 6.1 Introduction

The country of current settlement has a great impact on the social identity development of immigrant young people. The development of an ethnic identity does not exclusively occur within the family vacuum. Due to intensive and extended contextual exposure, the young people may have compared the current culture of settlement with the culture of their parents (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) or they may have assimilated themselves in the values of the dominant society (Berry, 1997). The major part of this chapter examines the identification of three participants (Andy, Binda and Bob) who show a stronger sense of belonging to Australia than Indonesia. Two of them (Binda and Bob) were born in Australia and the other (Andy) was born in Indonesia but brought to Australia at an early age. Andy and Binda were born to Indonesian parents and Bob has intermarriage parents.

Adding to the previous chapter, this section also discusses the six participants (Chapter Five), who show strong identification with Indonesia, but acknowledge the beneficial life in Australia. I also adopted Markus & Nurius' (1986) possible selves, the identity motives of Vignoles (2011), Wenger's (2008) modes of belonging: engagement, imagination and alignment. Similar to the previous chapter, identification with Australia includes cognitive, affective and behavioral aspects (Tajfel, 1978a; Phinney, 1990; Ward, 2001; Barrett and Davis, 2008) as evidenced from data of interviews, photo discussions and observations.

## 6.2 Strong identification with Australia

As the current country of permanent residence, Australia has a major impact on the identity negotiation of the young participants. Three participants of this study show strong identification with Australia and consider themselves Australian. The cultural impact is greater for the two Australian-born participants who consider Australia their country of origin. Vygotsky (1936) suggested that cultural context such as peers, school and community at large strongly influences the dynamic interaction between parents and children. Exposed to the Australian culture more intensively, these young people have different identification from their parents. They do not see benefits from maintaining their heritage culture and may have assimilated with the new culture (Phinney, 1990; Berry, 1997; Sam, 2000).

Identification with Australia in this study includes three aspects. The first is cognitive aspect which includes the participants' belonging to Australia and the reasons for their sense of belonging. The second is affective, consisting of attitudes towards Australia and perceived benefits of living in Australia. The last is behavioral aspects which include the importance of English as the dominant language, the adoption of Australian values, and exposure to Australian popular culture.

### 6.2.1 Sense of Belonging to Australia

The first aspect of identification with Australia is cognitive. Interview results show that three participating young people (Andy, Binda, and Bob) show stronger identification with Australia than Indonesia. They display strong sense of belonging to Australia, have adopted several Australian values and are more familiar with Australian popular culture. They may perceive themselves as being independent

from Indonesia, the country origin of their parents (Brown, 2000; Davis, 1999; Hofstede & Hofstede, 2004; Markus and Kitayama 1991) or be reluctant to identify as Indonesian (Markus & Nurius, 1986).

There are several reasons for their strong identification with Australia. First, their names support identification with Australia. The participants who have Anglicized names show stronger sense of belonging to Australia. For example, Andy prefers to be called by his first name, and does not like to be called by his middle or last name which does not sound Australian. During family holidays in Indonesia, Andy often tells his grandparents and cousins that he identifies more strongly with Australia than Indonesia and he misses his Australian friends and life in Melbourne. To confirm his belonging, he also has decided to take out Australian citizenship. He said:

I think I am already Australian now. I prefer to be called by my first name, Andy, it sounds more Australian. Not my middle or last name, Andhika or Hermawan. It is not English name. My citizenship is also now Australian (Andy, male, 18).

Another participant, Bob, also identifies more with Australia because his name sounds Australian. He also uses his French-South African mother's last name for his family name, not the family name of his Indonesian father. This identification by name is not applicable to Binda whose name is not English. However, despite acknowledging his non-Anglicized name, he still shows high identification with Australia for other reasons.

The next reason for strong identification with Australia is birth place and limited contact with Indonesia. Bob and Binda were born in Australia while Andy was born in Indonesia. Bob's parents are Indonesian-South African; Andy and Binda's parents are both Indonesian. Bob and Binda have limited contact with Indonesia.

Born in Western Australia, Bob has only visited Indonesia twice in his life. His Indonesian father neglected him during his early childhood so that he did not know him at all until he was fifteen. Bob was raised by his South-African born mother of French origin and he identified himself as Australian as his other Australian friends did.

I was born and grew up in Western Australia. So, I feel I am a local Australian. I often do what other Australians do (Bob, 26).

When his mother married a Malaysian-born Australian, the stepfather introduced him to the Malaysian culture so that Bob identified with both Australia and Malaysia. At home, he was introduced to the French and South-African cultures of his mother and the Malaysian culture of his stepfather. His stepfather asked him to perform Islamic practices such as daily prayers and sent him to an Islamic school on Sundays. His mother also followed the cultural socialization of his stepfather. Out of home, he was exposed to Anglo-Australian culture. He went to a public school and spent time with Australian friends. As a result, Bob considers himself a free spirit who can switch belonging between Australian, Malaysian and South-African.

I feel more Euro-Asian. I feel more mixed. Because I don't feel I belong to this and I don't belong to that. I grew up in Australia. And my mom is a South African. I am a free spirit. I can go anywhere (Bob, 26).

This free sense of belonging may be influenced by his mother who is open to different cultures in that she married an Indonesian and then a Malaysian.

Similarly, although his parents are both Indonesian, Binda shows strong sense of belonging to Australia. Due to his birthplace, he considers himself an Australian born to Indonesian parents and has only visited Indonesia twice. He first visited Jakarta, the hometown of his mother, when he was still a toddler and the

second visit took place when he was in year five. Each visit was less than a month.

This brief introduction to Indonesia had no impact on his identification with

Australia. Binda said:

I think I just feel Australian. I was born here and speak only English, but my parents are Indonesian. I just visited Indonesia twice in my life time, when I was at primary school. That's it (Binda, male,22).

Considering himself an Australian born to Indonesian parents, he likes doing what most Australian young people do, such as going to university, working part-time during the weekdays, spending time with friends, and playing sport on the weekends. He confirmed:

Well... I just like the stuff that I do as an Australian like going to university and playing sports. I also work part time at a warehouse store near my home. I feel as most Australians feel about Australia (Binda, male, 22).

It is interesting that his identification with Australia increases when visiting Indonesia. During the second visit, his Indonesian extended family considered him Australian because he was born in Melbourne, could only speak English and had visited Indonesia very rarely. He also seldom contacts his Indonesian extended family such as grandparents and cousins by phone or other means of communication and he is not really familiar with any members of his extended family in Indonesia. The only Indonesian people he knows well in Australia are his parents, siblings and some Indonesian friends and parents at the community center. What is interesting is that although unlike the other two participants, Andy was born in Indonesia and has had regular family holiday to Indonesia this does not change his strong identification with Australia.

### 6.2.2 Attitudes towards Australia

As the result of strong identification with Australia, the three participants show positive attitudes towards the country for a number of reasons. The first reason is good living. Based on their visits to Indonesia and knowledge about the country from their parents, they feel grateful to live in Australia. Andy thinks that life in Australia is better than in Indonesia. Enjoying his life in Australia, Andy likes the nature and the people of Melbourne. The city has open green spaces with trees and parks and recreation areas. He also likes the cold weather and clean air of Australia. He believes that Melbourne is a city in which people are friendly and tolerant to difference. He would not like to live in Indonesia, especially in Jakarta, which has hot and humid weather. In addition, he thinks that food stalls in Australia are more hygienic than those in Indonesia. He plans to live in Australia permanently, even if his parents plan to return to Indonesia when they retire.

I feel more happy as Australian. I don't want to live in Indonesia. I love it here, because I enjoy it here. I enjoy the trees and parks and the people. It is very environmental here, it is not like Indonesia. It is dirty. I don't want to go back to Indonesia (Andy, 18).

The second reason is opportunity for self-development. Bob is convinced that Australia can provide good opportunities for his personal development. As his last visit to Indonesia showed, he believes he can find work more easily in Australia than in Indonesia. Although he only finished high school, he can find work which can support him. In addition to fulfilling his basic needs, his current job enables him to afford the equipment for his hobby of photography. The beautiful landscape of Australia also supports this interest.

Likewise, Binda also enjoys his life in Australia. He can go to university to develop himself. Currently, he studies business and wants to be a businessman. He said,

I like my life in Oz. I can study business and want to do business in the future (Binda, male, 22).

What makes Andy associate himself with Australia is the schooling system. He feels lucky to be able to attend an Australian public school, which he believes, has a good curriculum allowing for individual development in which students are able to focus on the subjects of their interests. His favorite subjects at school were math and science. He thinks that mastery of these two subjects was important for his future because he wanted to go to a secondary college which focused on science. However, his mother did not allow him to do this due to its distance from his home. He said:

I like math and science. In year 10, I wanted to move to John Monash Science school, but my mother did not agree. She said it is too far from my home (Andy, 18).

During his secondary college, his mother drove him and his younger brother to a nearby secondary college on a daily basis. Sometimes, they walked home from school. His mother did not want to send him to the Science School due to its distance. She did not want to drive them too far but would not allow them to take the bus to school.

Photo discussion shows their positive attitudes towards Australia. Three of Bob's five photos show his life in Australia. One photo is about his sister in Western Australia, which shows a different orientation from his sister. He believes that, while

they were both born in Australia, his sister is more European oriented while he is more Asian.

My sister wants to travel around Europe and I want to travel around Southeast Asia. I want to have a tour of Asia, including Indonesia (Bob, 26).

Photo discussion about the schooling system supports Andy's strong identification with Australia. One photo shows Andy's secondary college in South Eastern Melbourne. While showing the photo, he enthusiastically talked about many things about the school such as classrooms, computer laboratory and sport facilities. Then, he started talking about the newly introduced uniform of dark green blazer and white t-shirt. He regretted that he would not be able to wear it as he would have graduated by the time the new uniform was officially introduced to school. He likes his school very much because it has better facilities and curriculum compared to the school of his cousin in Indonesia. Therefore, he feels fortunate to experience schooling in Australia.

Likewise, Binda also loves his secondary college. One photo shows him in his secondary college uniform of white shirt and dark blue pants. He is sitting at a desk with two female friends sitting behind him. Binda said that this photo is the memory of his secondary college which was one of the best experiences of his life. Like Andy, Binda is proud to experience the Australian education system. He said:

I like the school. It helps me to learn business, the subjects that I like very much. For my elective subject at secondary college, I took business and commerce which becomes my major at the university now (Binda, male, 22).

He believes that his Australian school caters for the individual needs and interests of the students.

In general, the three participants showed more photos about their life in Australia. Most of Andy's photos are about his life in Australia such as school, church, and on a family trip to Dream World on the Gold Coast. He only showed one photo of his late grandmother after being asked to do so by his mother. Binda also showed four photos about his life in Australia including school, sports, and a birthday party. Bob and Binda did not show a single photo with Indonesia as the setting.

### **6.2.3 The adoption of Australian values**

Strong sense of belonging to Australia is evidenced from the adoption of Australian values. Wenger (2008) argues that after engaging in, and imagining themselves to be part of a social group, individuals usually align themselves with the values and cultural practices of the community. In this study, the three participants have invested their energy to acquire several values considered integral to Australia such as the use of English, religious freedom, fair-go, tolerance, diversity, sporting prowess, and outdoor life style (Jones, 1997; Smith & Philips, 2001; Purdue, 2003; Norton 200, 2001). They have adopted some of these values as their social identity.

The first value that the three participants have adopted is English language. They speak Australian English very fluently, like their Australian friends, and do not speak any other languages. All three participants only understand a few words of Bahasa Indonesia. The two Australian-born participants, Bob and Binda, consider English their first language. They only speak English to their parents and siblings. Binda's parents sometimes speak Bahasa Indonesia to him but he always responds in English. He said:

I only speak English but when my parents speak Indonesian to me, I understand a little but respond in English (Binda, male, 22).

Similarly, brought to Australia when he was six, Andy only speaks English to his younger sibling and parents. Prior to his migration to Australia, he was diagnosed with autism and was predicted to be able to speak only one language. For this reason, his parents chose English for him by living in Australia permanently. Andy believes that English is his first language which is easier to acquire than Bahasa Indonesia.

The second adopted value is religious freedom. Binda and Andy acknowledge the freedom they have for practicing their religious teachings. As an adherent of Islam, Binda can freely observe his daily prayers at home and at the community center during the weekend. He can also find prayer rooms on campus. Together with other community members, he also celebrates religious festivals such as Idul Fitri (the feast after Ramadan month). Similarly, Andy also attends the Sunday services at the Indonesian community centre and a local church nearby his residence. He also involves himself in the youth brigade at the local church. Likewise, Bob used to attend an Islamic school in Western Australia and observed his daily prayers. However, he is currently not very concerned with religious practices.

Furthermore, the adoption of English language influences religious practice. As a Christian, Andy prefers to attend Sunday services at a local church where he can listen to sermons delivered in English. Due to the language barrier, he feels reluctant to attend the Sunday service at the Indonesian community center which is conducted in Bahasa Indonesia. At the local church, he can lead a group of young

people interested in Biblical studies whereas at the Indonesian community church he often stays alone quietly waiting for the program to finish. He confirmed,

I always attend the Sunday school at my local church. The program is in English, so I can understand it well. I don't like attending the service at the Indonesian community church because it is in Indonesian (Andy).

Photo discussion supports his affiliation with Christianity, the predominant religion in Australia. One photo shows a local church where he serves as the leader of a youth group. He likes attending this church better than the church of Indonesian community center that his parents often ask him to attend. He did not show any photos about his religious activities at the Indonesian community church.

Similarly, as an adherent of Islam, Binda prefers to listen religious sermons in English than in Bahasa Indonesia. He is reluctant to attend the religious program at the Indonesian Muslim community center due to the language barrier. Most programs such as sermons and Sunday school are conducted in Bahasa Indonesia that he finds hard to follow.

I rarely attend the religious program at the community center because it is in Bahasa Indonesia. I don't really understand what it is about (Binda).

Another adopted value is religious tolerance. The three participants show tolerance to different faith affiliations. Being secular, one of Bob's photos show his mother with her five children, including himself, when they were living in Western Australia. He has a close relationship with his five step-siblings. During the discussion, he proudly showed one younger brother who considers himself a practicing Muslim. Although he is currently not concerned with religion, Bob wants to show how he is still familiar and close to Muslim people. He said:

This is my youngest brother. He is still a practicing Muslim like me when I was young. Although we have different religions, we respect each other and live as a family (Bob).

Similarly, Binda shows high tolerance to faith difference. In fact, he does not consider religion in his social interaction. He befriends everyone, regardless of their faith affiliation. For instance, most members of his soccer team are Australians who have different beliefs from him. He feels glad that they are highly tolerant of each other. He congratulates them for Christmas and Easter. He is also allowed to observe his daily prayer during training sessions.

The next adopted value is cultural tolerance. Of the three participants, Bob seems to show the strongest tolerance to cultural differences. One of Bob's photo shows his late maternal grandmother, one cousin of Portuguese father and another cousin of Burmese father. The reason for showing this picture was because the two cousins share similar problems with him. They are the children of intermarriage who are searching for the family of their fathers. As a young Australian, Bob believes that this intermarriage indicates a mind open to differences of culture, ethnicity and nationality. In a similar way, one of Binda's photos shows him wearing a make-up dress when celebrating the birthday of his Australian friend, which indicates his accommodation to difference. Another example is that Andy prefers to attend the Sunday service with non-Indonesian fellows at a local church.

The three participants have also adopted the value of independence. Bob has left his mother in Western Australia and lives in Melbourne. Although his father also lives in the same town, he does not want to live with him. Similarly, although he lives with his parents, Binda is independent. At home, he does house chores such as dish

washing and house cleaning. He also works part time at a warehouse in the afternoon and during the weekend. He confirmed:

I don't want to rely on someone else like my parents. My father told me and my elder siblings that we have to do everything ourselves. We have to wash the dish, the clothes, and clean the house. I also work at a warehouse so that I can have my own pocket money (Binda).

The value of independence is also adopted by Andy. Because he was considered to have a disability, his mother tried to protect him. She drove him and his younger brother to school in the morning and collected them in the afternoon. However, in the final year of secondary college, Andy had expressed his willingness to take the bus to school, but his mother did not allow him to do so. Upon graduating from secondary college, he asked his mother to allow him to take driving lessons so that he could be more independent. Again, his mother refused.

Andy: Come on mom. I want to take a driving lesson. If I can drive, you don't need to drop me anywhere. I can go by myself.

Mother: No, not now. Just later.

Another Australian value adopted is sporting prowess. Like other young Australians, the three participants like sports. Binda, for instance, likes playing soccer. He has joined a soccer team since he was at secondary college. One photo shows Binda standing inside a soccer stadium, watching the Asian Cup match between Australia and Japan. Together with his friends, Binda enjoys watching sport events such as soccer, football and cricket.

Similarly, Andy likes outdoor sports. At secondary college, he chose tennis for his favorite sport. He did not take soccer for his sport because tennis is more popular among Australian people. Another reason for selecting tennis is because it does not need many people to play. Meanwhile, Bob likes watching football.

The last adopted Australian value is outdoor leisure. As evidenced from photo discussion, the three participants were involved in various outdoor leisure activities such as picnics, birthdays, and holiday excursions. One photo shows Binda and his elder brother celebrating his brother's birthday. Binda said that he and his siblings are used to celebrating their birthday in the Australian way. They prepare a birthday cake, blow out the candles, and sing the birthday song. They also invite Indonesian and Australian friends and serve Australian food and drink.

Another of Binda's photos shows the birthday party of his Indonesian friend which was held in a park. He was asked to give a speech on behalf of his friend. At that time, he was very nervous as he had never given such a speech before but felt fortunate because it was delivered in English, not Bahasa Indonesia. Similarly, Bob finds his interest in photography fully supported. He spends his weekends exploring beautiful landscapes. He intends to share his photo collections with other photographers from Indonesia.

The last type of outdoor leisure is holiday excursions. A famous Australian holiday destination is Dream World on the Gold Coast in Queensland. One participant, Andy likes this tourism site very much. During the photo interview, he showed a collection of family holiday photos visiting Dream World. His parents and younger brother were posing in front of various backgrounds. When he was showing pictures of Sea World, his mother told him about the Sea World in Jakarta, Indonesia. However, Andy prefers Sea World in Australia which he believes has better facilities.

The above discussion suggests that this group of participants may have spent most of their time with their peers and, as a result, place a greater importance

of fitting with the peer culture of current settlement (Vygotsky, 1978; Brown & Klute, 2003). Therefore, they show strong identification with Australia, their current country of settlement and have adopted its values and popular culture.

### **6.3 Weak identification with Australia**

The second group of the participants (Abdi, Fatha, Elfasa, Dafna, Katrin, and Meskara) show weak identification with Australia. As discussed in the previous chapter, identification in this study includes belonging, attitudes, behaviors and involvement in Australian popular culture (Tajfel, 1978a; Phinney, 1990; Ward, 2001; Barrett and Davis, 2008).

#### **6.3.1 Sense of Belonging and attitude**

While showing strong sense of belonging to Indonesia, these participants admit that Australia is influential in their current life. Similar to the three participants discussed above, their affiliation with Australia is evidenced in various ways. The first reason is good quality life. One participant, Abdi acknowledges that life in Australia is economically better than in Indonesia. In Melbourne, his parents have a better life compared to other family members in Indonesia and he and his sister also have better schooling opportunities. When they feel homesick, they can easily make a phone call or have regular family holidays to Indonesia. He believes that, in contrast, an overseas holiday trip is a luxury for family members in Indonesia.

I am happy to live in here, Australia. I can go to good school and have family holiday to Indonesia every other year. My cousins in Indonesia can't travel overseas regularly as I do (Abdi, male, 18).

Abdi feels lucky to live in Australia. He believes that he has a better future than his Indonesian cousins. He can speak English like a native, a skill which most of his

Indonesian friends have to work hard to achieve. He also has an international perspective as his friends come from different cultures and nationalities. He is convinced that understanding diversity is important for his future career in a more global world, whether in Australia or Indonesia. However, although he acknowledges the benefits of living in Australia, Abdi has not thought of taking out Australian citizenship but may do so in the future.

In a similar way, Dafna prefers to live permanently in Australia. Despite her strong identification with Indonesia, she prefers the cold weather of Melbourne to the hot humid weather of Jakarta. She considers Indonesia a favorite holiday destination where she can meet her extended family.

I like going to Indonesia for holiday. But to live there for a long time, I don't think I like it. Jakarta is hot and humid. A lot of flies and mosquitoes is everywhere (Dafna, 18).

Likewise, the Australian-born Meskara likes living in Melbourne better than in Indonesia. He believes that he would have difficulties if he had to live in Bali permanently. Although his parents are Balinese, he has a different way of life from his Balinese peers in Indonesia. He said that his immune system may not be as strong as his Balinese cousins who are accustomed to a less hygienic environment, spicy food and exposure to various diseases.

I prefer to live in Australia just because I am not used to the way Balinese people live. Probably ah... my immune system is not the same, because they are exposed to various diseases. They have an immune injection into their body so their body immune system is strong. So if I don't take it, if I eat rice which I don't used to eat, I can get sick easily if I live in Bali (Meskara, male, 18).

Similarly, born and raised up in Australia, Elfasa acknowledges his belonging to Australia as evidenced from his citizenship. Although his parents still hold Indonesian passports, he and his elder sister have taken out Australian citizenship

which gives them educational and welfare benefits. He believes that his family life in Australia is economically much better than that of his extended family in Indonesia. This better economic opportunity was one of his parents' reasons for migration to Australia. During his regular family holidays, he can see the difficulty of life in Indonesia where people have to work hard to survive, with little support from the government. Elfasa feels happy that the Australian government provides sufficient attention to the welfare of its citizens, including himself.

The second reason is social security. One participant, Katrin, believes that life in Australia is more convenient than in Indonesia. As a Chinese-Indonesian, Katrin sometimes feels worried about racism that some Chinese-Indonesians face. Some Indonesians still consider Chinese-Indonesians non-indigenous and they are vulnerable to racist treatment, especially during times of social upheaval. She does not have this fear in Australia.

Katrin also believes that life in Australia is safer. Although she lives apart from her parents, she can go anywhere using public transport. In her opinion, public transport in Melbourne is safe. For instance, unlike in Jakarta, she feels secure when she has to go home late from work or university.

The public transport here is very convenient. Also, I can go by public transport safely. In Jakarta, I often heard news about crime in public transport (Katrin, female, 24).

Katrin feels so lucky to be able to live permanently in Melbourne that she is thinking of asking her Indonesian fiancé to join her and taking out Australian citizenship.

The last reason is opportunity for personal development. Dafna believes that Australia offers good quality education. Her school in Melbourne has better facilities than the school of her Indonesian cousins in Jakarta. The school has more advanced

technology so that she is familiar with devices such cellular phones and tablet computers which are luxuries for her Indonesian cousins. In Melbourne, Dafna can also work out of school time to add to her pocket money, an opportunity almost impossible for her Indonesian peers.

Elfasa also believes that life in Australia enables him to pursue his personal development. He can attend a university to study business for a better future career. With his good skills in Bahasa Indonesia, he can work both in Australia and Indonesia. In addition, he can also enjoy an active social life. For his leisure activity, he can play badminton and join a dance group. In Melbourne, he can easily find badminton courts with good facilities. Therefore, Elfasa believes that he is lucky to live in Australia and prefers to live permanently in Melbourne, rather than in Indonesia.

Likewise, although Fatha strongly feels Indonesian, she also associates herself with Australia. She acknowledges the concern that the government of Australia has for its people, especially in terms of education and health. She admires how Australia supports education at all levels, from kindergarten to university. She believes that schooling in Australia grows both brain and heart. Students are not only taught to be cognitively smart but also to be empathic and helpful to others. School subjects combine the development of these two aspects in each student. She also considers it important that the Australian government is responsible for the health care of its citizens, regardless of their economic condition.

In the same way, Meskara has a positive attitude towards schooling in Australia. He believes that schools in Australia have better infrastructure, such as buildings, playgrounds, and technology. His school building in Melbourne is better

and bigger than the school building of his Balinese cousins. His Australian school lends a laptop to each student from years nine to ten, a luxury which is almost impossible for his Balinese peers.

Furthermore, as the official main language of Australia, English has a strong influence on the six participants, especially for those who were born in Australia. Each of the six participants speaks English with an Australian accent, like a native. The three Australian-born participants: Meskara, Elfasa and Abdi, consider English their first language and speak English more fluently than Bahasa Indonesia. Elfasa said,

I was born in Australia and English is my first language. I speak English more fluently than Bahasa Indonesia (Elfasa, male, 22).

Another participant, Dafna, who was born in Indonesia also speaks English more fluently than Bahasa Indonesia. When attending the religious programs at the community centre, she prefers to listen to sermons in English rather than in Bahasa Indonesia. Although she understands the speech, she does not dare to ask questions due to the language barrier. She said:

When I attend the religious program at the community center, I prefer listening the sermons in English so that I can ask questions. If in Bahasa Indonesia, I can't (Dafna).

Adjusting to the dominant Australian culture, the six participants speak a little English at home. Sometimes, they speak a mix of English and Bahasa Indonesia with their parents and siblings. Outside home, the six participants speak English more intensively. They like speaking English better than Bahasa Indonesia with their Indonesian friends at school and the community centre. During my observation, I often saw Elfasa and Abdi speaking English with only a few words of Bahasa

Indonesia at the community centre. For this study, all participants also preferred to be interviewed in English, not in Bahasa Indonesia. In conclusion, their English language skill is better than Bahasa Indonesia. However, despite their perfect English acquisition, they consider themselves to have what Pavlenko (2001) termed as 'un-legitimate ownership of English' (p, 317) due to the fact that they are not Anglo-Australians.

### 6.3.2 Adoption of Australian Values

Another aspect of identification with Australia is the adoption of Australian values. The six participants acknowledge that they have taken up Australian values such as tolerance to difference, independence, religious freedom, and critical thinking. The most adopted value is tolerance to difference. One participant, Abdi, finds that most Australians are tolerant. People in Melbourne, for instance, are accustomed to cultural and religious differences. At school, his friends who come from various ethnicities work together and accept each other's cultural differences. Although he has a different physical appearance from the majority of his Australian friends, he has never experienced any discrimination.

Tolerance to difference is an important issue for Katrin. One photo shows Katrin with three female friends in her former secondary college dormitory. One of her friends in the photo is Asian and the other two are Australians. Another photo shows Katrin with two Australian friends at work. Katrin said that she can befriend everyone, regardless of their cultural backgrounds.

Likewise, Dafna also nurtures the value of tolerance. Living in a multicultural Australian society, Dafna is open to different cultures. She likes her school friends

who come from different nationalities. In the future, she would not mind marrying a non-Indonesian. This openness may be influenced by her mother and aunt who have married Anglo-Australians. However, she would like her future husband to share a similar religious affiliation.

I like having friends from different cultural backgrounds and nationalities. Like my mother, when I am old enough to get married, I don't mind marrying someone who is not from Indonesia (Dafna).

Tolerance to difference is also shown by Elfasa. As a member of an ethnic minority, he has never experienced any discrimination in his school or university. He has heard of some discrimination against some of his South Asian friends, but not against Indonesians. Likewise, Meskara also has a good impression of the social life of his Australian peers. Although he is the only Balinese-Indonesian in his secondary college, he can befriend everyone. So far, he has not experienced any negative treatment such as bullying or discrimination because of his Asian appearance.

Abdi also shows tolerance to difference. One photo shows his posing on a train carriage with some friends from Indonesia, Malaysia and China. Of the nine people in the photo, four are Indonesians and the others are Chinese-Malaysians. Abdi said that his friends are not only Indonesian but also people of different cultural backgrounds. As a young person in Australia, he can befriend people from various cultural backgrounds.

Another adopted Australian value is modesty and critical thinking. One Indonesian-born participant, Fatha, believes that she has learned modesty, critical thinking and honesty values more intensively in Australia. In fact, nurturing these values was one of her parents' objectives when migrating to Australia. Fatha's parents found that some social practices in a large Indonesian city like Jakarta made

it difficult for them to develop modesty and honesty values in their children. Difficult economic conditions and fierce competition often made people ignore fairness and honesty. Having lived in Australia for more than eleven years, Fatha acknowledges that she has incorporated the Australian values of simplicity and tolerance in her life.

I am Indonesian but I hold some Australian values which my Indonesian friends do not have such as modesty and tolerance to difference (Fatha).

Learning from her work apprenticeship in Indonesia, Fatha believes that modesty is hard to find among well-off Indonesian families in big cities. She also enjoys the simple life value that most Australians exercise. For instance, houses in Melbourne do not have high fences as most houses of wealthy Indonesians do. Australian people rarely wash their cars as most well-to-do Indonesians frequently do to keep them shiny.

In addition, she also believes that Australian people are more respectful to others than their Indonesian counterparts. For instance, the Australian government provides special public facilities such as parking and seats on buses or trains to show respect for elderly or disabled people. These facilities are not common in Indonesia. In addition, Australian people are also more tolerant to differences, compared to her Indonesian friends. At a birthday party for instance, her Australian friends respect her decision not to consume alcohol. They consider it a personal choice which should be respected. In contrast, her friends in Jakarta often 'force' her to do what she does not want to.

In a birthday party in Melbourne, my Australian friends respected my decision not to drink alcohol as my personal choice. When I was in Jakarta, my friends forced me to do something that I did not want to. They might think that everyone should do the same thing together (Fatha).

In the name of collective culture, they may think that individuals should agree to follow what most members have agreed upon. They are less sensitive to individual difference and preference. In most cases, Fatha believes that her Australian friends have better understanding of different cultures as they live in a multicultural society.

Another Australian value the participants have learned is freedom of religion. As members of a religious minority, they feel free to observe their religious practices. One of Abdi's photos shows the celebration of *Idul Fitri*, the festive day among Muslims at the end of Ramadan, the fasting month. Abdi feels happy that Australia guarantees free religious expression. He and other community members can celebrate *Idul Fitri* as they do in Indonesia. The other participants, Dafna and Fatha, also feel happy that they can wear their hijab (female Muslim dress) at school and work without experiencing any restrictions. When she was at secondary college and worked at a fast food restaurant, Fatha could observe her daily prayers during break time. The acceptance of the participants' heritage culture can reduce self-doubt and self-rejection which is productive to Australian national resilience (Smolicz, 1989).

The other Australian value that most participants have learned is independence. One participant, Dafna, seems to have adopted independence. As she lived only with her mother for a long time, she was used to doing everything herself. For instance, she had to go to her secondary college by school bus. When she arrived home from school, her mother was sometimes still at work and she had to prepare dinner herself. Similarly, Katrin has grown independent. In Melbourne, she only lives with her siblings, without her parents. Likewise, Fatha has nurtured her

independence from the beginning. For instance, she started a solo trip to Indonesia for holiday when she was in year ten.

The last learned value is critical thinking. The participants may have learned this value from their teachers at school and other social practices. For instance, Fatha was critical of the rigid hierarchy between employees and supervisor in an Indonesian company during her apprenticeship. However, due to what Fatha intended to be constructive feedback, her supervisor considered her disloyal. Through her photo selection, she also criticized the ignorance of many Indonesian people regarding their environment. In short, the participants have adopted several Australian values that they consider superior and integrate them with their Indonesian values (Berry, 1997; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Smolicz, 1989).

### **6.3.3 Australian popular culture**

The last behavioural aspect of identification is engagement with Australian popular culture. Similar to the previous section, Australian popular culture in this study is limited to customs familiar among Australians that include people and history, holidays and leisure activities, sporting prowess, outdoor life styles, cuisines and fashion (Purdue, 2003; Clancy, 2004; Clark, 2007; Lohm, 2012). In addition to adopting several Australian values, living in Melbourne permanently, the six participants have been exposed to these aspects of Australian popular culture.

The first popular culture celebrated by the participating young people is Australia Day celebration. One participant, Elfasa, joined the contingent of the Indonesian Consulate General in Melbourne celebrating Australia Day, wearing Indonesian traditional costume. Another participant, Meskara, joined a cultural

festival in Geelong, representing the Indonesian Consulate General in Melbourne. One photo shows Meskara in Balinese clothing, wearing a long-sleeved dress, orange sarong and golden *odang* (head scarf). The Consulate General of Indonesia always takes part in this annual celebration as a means of promoting Indonesian culture to Australia. Meskara joined this festival when Balinese gamelan (traditional music instrument) was the main theme of the Indonesian contingent. In this photo, he proudly shows himself as a young Australian of Indonesian origin. As a Balinese Indonesian in Australia, he believes it is important to take part in a program held by the Australian government as a sign of his engagement in Australian culture.

The second adopted Australian popular culture is Christmas celebration. Christmas is celebrated nationwide in the predominantly Christian Australia. It is a big event for most Australians, including the participants of the study. Although the majority of the participants are not Christians, they are exposed to the Christmas environment. One photo shows Meskara holding a Christmas gift wrapped in red paper, in front of a Christmas tree surrounded by boxed gifts, all wrapped in red. Although he is a Hindu, his family celebrates Christmas as part of Australian culture. The photo shows that he is just like other Australian children who celebrate Christmas and feel happy receiving a Christmas gift. Meskara said:

I like Christmas celebration. Although I am a Hindu, I often receive Christmas gifts during Christmas time. In this picture, my parents gave me some gifts (Meskara).

All participants share Christmas greetings and enjoy the Christmas holiday and shopping during the Boxing Day as part of Christmas celebration.

The third aspect of popular culture that most participants are familiar with is leisure and holiday activities. Participants are used to making use of parks and

beaches for their leisure activities. For example, Elfasa showed a photo of himself posing with some Indonesian friends in front of an amusement park in Melbourne, when celebrating his birthday. At that time, he only invited some Indonesian friends. His 18<sup>th</sup> birthday celebration was bigger so that he was able to also invite his Australian friends. As a Melbourne-born young person, Elfasa enjoys celebrating his birthday in the Australian way.

Another photo shows Abdi and his Indonesian friends at a park, celebrating the birthday of an Indonesian friend who has now returned to Indonesia. There are eight people in the photo, four boys and four girls. One of them is a Chinese-Indonesian and the others are Indonesian of various local ethnicities. They had a barbeque which is typically Australian. Similarly, Dafna also showed one photo of herself playing with her step-brother in a park near her house. She believes that this type of playground is a specialty of Australia, which she cannot find in Indonesia, especially in a large and crowded city like Jakarta. Playing in a playground surrounded by a large green lawn is a luxury for most Indonesian children. This is one reason for her preference to live in Australia. In Indonesia, only wealthy resident areas have parks and play grounds which are usually not accessible to the public.

The other outdoor leisure site popular among Australians is the beach. One photo shows Elfasa and a friend standing on a beach near Melbourne. They spent their summer school holiday playing on the beach. Like many young Australians, Elfasa usually spends his school holiday hanging out with friends on beaches or parks.

I really enjoy my holiday here. We played soccer on the beach with some friends. Now, we have never met each other for long time (Elfasa, male, 22).

In a different activity, Fatha also shows her outdoor activities in Australia. She showed a photo of herself posing on the stage at the Indonesian Festival in Federation square in which she served as a master of ceremony (MC). She wears a dark green batik dress and black pants. The background of the stage was the picture of a *wayang kulit* (shadow puppet). She considers this outdoor activity as typical Australian.

This is a mix of myself between Indonesia and Australia. This is me in Australia but actually represent Indonesia as I was wearing batik dress. We can introduce our country to Australians by many ways. And this is one of the ways when we are in a foreign country (Fatha, female).

The last Australian popular culture that the participants experience is school celebration. The first school program is pajama day at school. One of Meskara's photos shows him wearing blue pajamas when he was at pre-school. Besides him, sits his twin sister wearing pink pajamas. They are enjoying their meals in a Breakfast-in-Pajamas program held at their school. Behind them are some of their classmates, mostly Anglo-Australians, also in their pajamas and enjoying their breakfast. The second school celebration is cultural day. Several participants (Andy, Elfasa, Abdi, and Fatha) wear batik clothing for this cultural diversity. Pajama at school and culture day are typical programs of Australian school which are not familiar in Indonesia. To sum, their engagement and participation in these popular cultures help imagine their being young Australians of Indonesian origin (Wenger, 2008; Anderson, 2006; Sanjakdar, 2011).

## 6.4 Summary

Based on the above examination, I draw some conclusions. First, three participants show stronger identification with Australia than Indonesia. They show positive attitudes towards living in Australia and have taken out Australian citizenship. The main reasons for their sense of belonging include Anglicized name, birthplace, extensive stay in Australia and limited contact with Indonesia. They feel fortunate to experience Australian education, have access to proper education and jobs, and enjoy the good life in the country.

In terms of photo discussion, they showed more photos about life in Australia which represent their sense of belonging to Australia. Two participants have only photos with Australia as the setting and did not show a single photo about Indonesia.

Their sense of belonging to Australia is evidenced from their adoption of the Australian values, which include English language, religious freedom, sport prowess and outdoor leisure. The three participants speak English fluently, like most Australians, and can hardly speak Indonesian. As religion is instrumental in their life, they can find freedom in observing their religious practices. The acquisition of English language also influences their religious activities. As young people, they also enjoy outdoor leisure activities in Australia such playing sport, watching sport, and celebrating social events outdoor.

Meanwhile, despite their strong identification with Indonesia, another group (six participants) also show a sense of belonging to Australia. They acknowledge the welfare benefits of living in Australia such as good health, education and leisure facilities. To show their belonging to Australia, four of the six participants have taken

Australian citizenship. These participants have been exposed to Australian values and popular culture. Despite their strong association with Indonesia as an ethnic group, they have nurtured values of tolerance, independence, punctuality, modesty and critical thinking. They are also familiar with popular Australian outdoor leisure activities such as beaches and parks.

The next chapter explores the third group of the participants who seem able to balance their identification with both Indonesia and Australia.

## Chapter Seven

### BALANCING THE IDENTIFICATION

#### 7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I explore data from the third group of the participants, who seem able to balance their identification with both Indonesia and Australia. Similar to the previous two chapters, the discussion of identification here focuses on the socio-cultural interpretation of identity (Vygotsky, 1968; Tajfel, 1981; Vignoles, 2011), which consists of three aspects: belonging, attitudes and tradition (Phinney, 1990; Ward, 2001; Barrett and Davis, 2008; Moua & Lambourn, 2010). The discussion also includes Wenger's (2008) modes of sense of belonging: engagement, imagination and alignment, the possible selves of Markus and Nurius (1986), Andersen's (2006) imagined community, and identity and investment (Norton, 2000; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007).

Evidence of identification discussed in this chapter comes in two modes: verbal and visual. Verbal identification obtained through interviews is used to explore sense of belonging, its significance, attitudes towards, and valuing of Indonesia as a member of an ethnic group and of Australia as the dominant culture. Meanwhile, visual identification derived from photo discussions and observations is used to explore the behavioural aspect of identification, that is, engagement with the popular culture of both Indonesia and Australia.

## 7.2 Sense of belonging and attitude

This section explores the sense of belonging and attitudes of the three participants towards both Indonesia and Australia.

### 7.2.1 Belonging towards Indonesia and Australia

In the context of multicultural Australia, Indonesians are considered a distinct ethnic group like other non-English speaking non-Indigenous ethnic groups, such as Greek, German, Vietnamese, Lebanese, Italian and Sudanese (Zelinka, 1995; Guerra & White, 1995). As Indonesia is an imagined society (Andersen, 2006) consisting of several local ethnicities such as Javanese, Sundanese and Bugisi, identification with Indonesia here refers to any culture considered to be part of the country. Meanwhile, identification with Australia refers to any claims that the three participants have made to being part of Australia such as English language, Australian values and popular culture.

Immigrant young people who live between two cultures often experience acculturation. Studies show that acculturation may take four different routes: assimilation, integration, segregation and marginalization (Phinney, 1989; Berry, 1997; Sam, 2000). These studies indicate that the first two are the most common routes of acculturation among ethnic minority young people. They either assimilate to the dominant culture when they do not see any benefits in maintaining their heritage culture or manage to take a balanced sense of belonging to both the dominant and origin cultures. When integration is accommodated, they combine the values of the dominant culture with the cultural values of their parents' origin culture.

Several participants in this study, particularly those of intermarriage parents, seem to show a balanced identification with both Indonesia and Australia by integrating the values of both cultures in their life. Three participants, who were born to Indonesian mothers and Australian fathers – Finti, Obri, and Yarra – show a balanced sense of belonging, attitudes and behaviors to Indonesia and Australia. The first two were born in Indonesia whereas the last was born in Australia.

There are several reasons for their balanced identification with both Australia and Indonesia. First, for the two Indonesian-born participants, the main reason for identifying with Australia is permanent residence in Melbourne. Before migrating to Australia at the age of eleven, for instance, Finti was raised in Indonesian collectivistic values. After living in Melbourne for several years, she was more intensively exposed to Australian individual values. Although she is exposed to Indonesian culture at home such as speaking Bahasa Indonesia to her mother and consuming Indonesian food, living in Australia more than half of her life has shifted her identification so that now she shows partial sense of sense of belonging to Indonesia and Australia. Her current permanent life and Australian step-father may have contributed to her feeling of Australian. However, she also wants to maintain her Indonesian identity.

I am half-half, probably... because it's hard to find what's being an Australian. The values that I was brought up with come from Indonesia and the other is the values of Australian culture. I want to maintain my Indonesian identity though (Finti, female, 24).

Her permanent residence in Australia, however, has changed her life values so that she has currently taken out the Australian citizenship. She believes that she has Indonesian childhood values mixed with Australian values of young adulthood. As an Indonesian child, for example, Finti remembers how she could easily play with

her neighbors any time. She considers visiting her friend's house without prior appointment a childhood freedom. She thought of neighbors as extended family whom she could visit any time. Now, she has to modify this with some Australian values that she currently holds such as individual privacy, punctuality, and tolerance. For instance, appointments should be made prior to meeting friends, followed by punctual attendance. She also has to learn that her neighbor may have different values of tradition and religion from her own which she should appreciate.

Photos represent her initial life transition from Indonesia to Australia. One photo shows her family who had just moved to Australia, when they were visiting her Australian step-grandmother in northern Victoria. She believes that this photo shows a major transition in her socio-cultural life. Prior to her mother's marriage to an Australian, she had never thought of moving to and living permanently in Australia. Finti considers this phase as the beginning of her identity change from being Indonesian to becoming Australian.

... it was very much like a major transition in my life, you know, moving here and everything. It's like a big thing. I never thought of moving out of Indonesia and meeting Nana. She is like very kind to me. I get along with her very much. It is a transition from Indonesia to Australia. It is the beginning of my changing identity from an Indonesian to an Australian.

Another photo shows Finti posing between two friends, a Chinese-Indonesian and an Anglo-Australian, when attending a music concert together. They were her former classmates at primary and secondary college. She believes that these two friends have contributed significantly to her identity negotiation, between Indonesia and Australia. She considers this picture as representing her, moving from Indonesia to Australia. They helped her develop some Australian values so that she feels in between Indonesia and Australia.

The other photo shows her at work with her university research team. On her far right side is a Middle-Eastern-born young man and on her left are some South Asian girls in her university department. Most students in her engineering department come from Asian countries such as India, China, Iran, and Indonesia. She believes that Asian people like them are an integral part of Australian society.

A similar process of identification is also experienced by another Indonesian-born participant, Obri. During his initial life in Australia, he showed stronger sense of belonging to Indonesia and missed his extended family in Indonesia. During his first year in Australia, he found it hard to forget his Indonesian extended family. He said:

When I moved here, well, I tried to be strong, because my mom was crying on the plane. So, I tried not to cry, I tried to cheer her up. In the beginning of my life here in Melbourne, I felt very sad and a bit depressed. We call our grandparents as soon as we landed. So far, I often open this photo collection when I remember my family in Indonesia (Obri, male, 18).

After living more than eight years in Melbourne and being close to the extended family of his Australian father, Obri displays an equal identification with both Indonesia and Australia. This has led him to take out Australian citizenship. He believes that Australia offers a more comfortable life. Currently, his father does not need to work as hard as when he was in Indonesia. He rarely had family time with his father during the week, as, in Indonesia, his father left the house early in the morning and arrived home very late at night, exhausted. Obri feels happier living in Australia as he has more family time with his parents:

My passport is going to be Australian soon because I think I will live for good here. Australia is a better country for me. It is much easier life here. And now I feel happier here.

Meanwhile, for the Australian-born Yarra, the main reason for identifying with Indonesia is parental origin. Although she was born to an Australian father and

grew up in Melbourne, the last participant, Yarra, shows a balanced sense of belonging to both Indonesia and Australia. Her Indonesian mother introduced her to Indonesian cultural values at an early age. Yarra believes she has been exposed to Indonesian values at home but Australian values at school, university and work. At home, she feels strong association with Indonesia because her house is full of Indonesian cultural artifacts such as paintings, batik ornaments, clothing and food. Her mother always speaks Bahasa Indonesia and provides Indonesian food and drink to her and her elder sister. Her mother also introduced them to Indonesian customs such as how to sit down for dinner and to bow when greeting and shaking hands with adults to show respect. Yarra and her elder sister also started learning Indonesian dances from her mother when they were at kindergarten.

Out of home, Yarra shows a strong sense of belonging to Australia. She looks Caucasian, speaks English with an Australian accent, consumes Australian food, and spends time with Australian friends at university and work. She said that most of her Australian friends at school, university and work consider her of British or at least Italian or Greek origin. Only her Asian friends can recognize that she is Australian-Asian.

Technically I am as much Indonesian as I am Australian. I feel exactly half, because I mean, go to work and stuff with all Australian friends. But I come home, and my house is Indonesian (Yarra, female, 24).

However, as most Indonesians, especially in small cities, still admire Caucasian people, Yarra enjoys identifying as Australian when she is in Indonesia. She finds that most Indonesians are astounded to find an Australian like her can speak Bahasa Indonesia, perform Indonesian dances, sing Indonesian songs and like Indonesian food. She was flattered when an Indonesian neighbor invited her to

perform dances in their wedding party. She feels happy to be an Australian plus, that is, an Australian who is also Indonesian.

At this point, the three participants seem to combine their real and imagined identities (Norton, 2000; Andersen, 2006; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). They acknowledge that they currently live in Australia but imagine themselves to be part of Indonesia. Following Markus and Nurius' (1986) possible selves, the three participants say that they are now Australian but are afraid of losing their Indonesian identity so they combine their sense of belonging with both Indonesia and Australia and integrate both cultures as their identity (Berry, 1997; Sam, 2000).

The three participants have different ways of maintaining their Indonesian identity while living in Australia. First, they maintain their sense of belonging to Indonesia by interacting with other Indonesian people. For instance, during secondary college, Finti worked at an Indonesian restaurant where she used her Bahasa Indonesia skill for greeting the customers and helping the cooks understand the recipes. She feels more Indonesian when she speaks Bahasa Indonesia and spends time with Indonesian friends or Australians who have interests in learning the language. Similarly, Obri also maintains his sense of belonging to Indonesia by keeping in touch with his Indonesian extended family such as grandparents on the phone who often advise him on his ethnic and religion identity. He said:

My Indonesian grandparents always give me some advice when I call them over the phone or when they visit me here in Australia. My grandma said, Obri, don't forget you are Indonesian. My grandpa said, don't forget your religion (Obri).

His grandparents and aunts sometimes visit him in Melbourne. One photo shows Obri, his Indonesian grandparents and aunt posing together in a park near his house in Melbourne. Their temporary visit reminds him of his early life in Indonesia

and therefore strengthens his sense of belonging to Indonesia. The photo also shows how he has started enjoying his life in Melbourne, especially when his Indonesian grandparents are visiting him. When they are around, he feels more at home in Melbourne.

The second way is family holiday to Indonesia. To maintain her sense of belonging to Indonesia, Yarra has regular family holidays to Indonesia, and during the holidays, her mother often asks her to really experience Indonesia by doing what most Indonesians do. For instance, they do not stay in hotels but share the house with an extended family. They do not take taxis but enjoy the public transport and go to public places such as walking through the rice fields and playing on the beach. One photo shows her riding a *becak* (pedicab), a traditional form of Indonesian transport.

In Melbourne, Yarra has many other ways to maintain her sense of belonging to Indonesia. From an early age, she has learned Indonesian dances from her mother who has a dance center called *Sanggar Lestari*. She spends time with Indonesian friends and performs Indonesian dances at cultural festivals such as the Indonesian and the Satay Festivals. As a Muslim, she also attends the religious gatherings held by the Indonesian community, such as *Idul Fitri* festivity.

It is interesting that Yarra's sense of belonging to Australia becomes stronger when she is visiting Indonesia. Although she can speak Bahasa Indonesia fluently with a slight Australian accent, her Indonesian friends still consider her Australian due to her physical appearance. This reception sometimes makes her feel confused. She wants to show sense of belonging to Indonesia when she is in Indonesia but does not receive full acceptance from her Indonesian extended family. This, in turn,

results in her stronger identification as Australian. In addition, she also emphasizes the importance of visiting Indonesia. She wishes that she could visit Indonesia every year with her family but often misses this due to her tight schedule of university and work.

Identification is also expressed through cultural artifacts. Obri relates his identification with Indonesia to a famous icon of Indonesia, Bali. One photo shows his family holiday in Bali, before migrating to Australia. When they were in Indonesia, Obri and his family went to Bali for family holidays, almost every year. This picture shows his Indonesian side, the memory of his childhood in Indonesia. Yara also identifies with Indonesia through a photo of herself riding a pedicab when she was having family holiday in Indonesia. Meanwhile, Finti associates herself with Indonesia by posing in front of a *rumah gadang* (big house) at the Indonesia miniature park in Jakarta.

As many studies suggest, identity is fluid and multidimensional. Children of immigrants such as the young participants in this study are usually more reflexive to their ethnic identity as they live in two different but concurrent cultures (Mackie, 2002). This scholar also points out that an individual self-concept is not born but becomes. It is not given but is in the process of becoming. Due to the strong influence of the current culture of settlement in Australia, the young people may develop their sense of belonging to Indonesia over an extended period of time as they reflect on their Indonesian heritage.

### 7.2.2 Significance of belonging

As many scholars posit, ethnic or national identity like Indonesian in the multicultural Australian society is an important form of group identity in the modern world (Barrett & Davis, 2008; Billig, 1994; Tajfel, 1982). For most young participants, Indonesia is an important group category with which they identify when interacting with their Australian friends at school, university and work. On the other hand, Australia is also a central social context to their self-identification. Both cultures contribute significantly to their social identification.

The three participants think it important and find benefits from their association with both Indonesia and Australia. The first benefit of association with Indonesia is acknowledging their origin. Finti, for instance, considers her sense of belonging to Indonesia advantageous. Each visit to Indonesia recalls her childhood life and answers the questions of who she is and where she comes from. Her language skills in both Bahasa Indonesia and English help widen her social relationships. As she can relate to both Indonesian and Australian friends, she has a wider range of friendship circle than most her Indonesian or Australian friends do. She said:

My second holiday to Indonesia has opened my eyes that all my extended family still live there.

Similarly, Obri considers it important to show sense of belonging to Indonesia. He was born in Indonesia and his maternal extended family live there. For him, feeling Indonesian means knowing who he is and where he comes from. This sense of belonging is evidenced by one photo which shows his grandparents, uncles, aunties and cousins. Taken when celebrating his birthday at an Indonesian Safari

Park, the photo shows his extended family with whom he was together for a long period of time before moving to Australia. He often misses his extended family and found it hard to leave them back in Indonesia. For him, browsing through an old photo collection is a nice childhood memory of his Indonesian extended family. Obri confirmed:

This is my big family in Indonesia. When I first came here, I often cry if I remember them (Obri, male).

Similarly, the last Australian-born participant, Yarra, believes it is important to show sense of belonging to Indonesia. This feeling relates her to the extended family of her Indonesian mother and balances her Indonesian and Australian sides. With this belonging, she thinks that she has a wider social access than most of her Australian friends do as she can have both Indonesian and Australian friends.

I can have more friends than my Australian friends do because my friends are both Indonesians and Australians (Yarra, female).

On the other hand, the three participants find benefits from their association with Australia. The first benefit of association with Australia is convenient living. Obri acknowledges the importance of Australia and believes that Melbourne is a comfortable place to live. The city has good weather, clean air and offers convenient social life. He has more family time with his parents and siblings because his father does not need to work as hard as he did in Indonesia. He can drop his children at school before leaving for work and return home early so that they have family time together. Obri believes that Australia is a good country to live in and he feels fortunate to be able to stay permanently in Melbourne.

The second benefit of association with Australia is schooling and job opportunity. Obri considers schooling in Australia more relaxed. He believes that the

subjects at school are easier than the school subjects in Indonesia. He can finish tasks more quickly than his Australian friends as he has learned the material when he was in Indonesia. In addition, schooling in Australia does not start as early as in Indonesia. Although he is a minority at his school, he has not experienced any discrimination because everyone respects each other. He feels he is like many other Australians and enjoys his life as a young person in Australia.

In contrast, he believes that schooling in Indonesia is harder and requires more work. School in Indonesia starts at seven in the morning, so he had to get up early. After school, he had to do much homework and did not have more time to play. On the weekends, his free time was also limited as he had to attend a tutoring class.

Finti feels fortunate to live permanently in Australia where she can afford quality education and have good job opportunities. Finti started working as a waitress when she was at secondary college and as a research assistant during her university study. This apprenticeship opportunity provided her with a life skill necessary for her future career and life. Therefore, she is very grateful to have taken out Australian citizenship.

Similarly, Yarra sometimes thinks that it is better to have a stronger sense of belonging to Australia. During family holidays in Indonesia, people often treat her more as an Australian than Indonesian. When she buys something, for instance, people tend to charge her more because of her non-Indonesian physical appearance. Fortunately, she is saved by her mother who negotiates on her behalf.

The last benefit of association with both Indonesia and Australia is rich knowledge of language and culture. Finti and Obri are proud of being able to speak

both Bahasa Indonesia and English. They are also familiar with the history of Indonesia and Australia. Yarra considers herself as a young Australian plus, who is knowledgeable about Indonesian culture, speaks Bahasa Indonesia and can perform several Indonesian dances. She said that most Australians do not really have much culture besides Aboriginal culture. She also believes that this knowledge and skill from another culture is something of which she can be proud. For her and the other two participants, group identity is not just 'a form of self-definition' but also 'a source of emotional attachment' (Spear, 2011; p. 220). Identification with Indonesia and Australia does not only represent who the three participants are but how they are emotionally attached to both cultures.

### 7.2.3 Attitudes towards both countries

As evidence of their sense of belonging, the three participants show positive attitudes towards Indonesia and Australia. They feel fortunate to live in Australia. For example, Finti is confident to be Indonesian among her Australian friends and so is Obri. Similarly, Yarra feels proud of being an Australian who is knowledgeable about Indonesian language and culture. Yarra said:

I feel proud when I can perform Indonesian traditional dances in front of Australian people in Melbourne.

Photo discussion shows their positive attitudes towards both cultures. Although they did not show a similar number of photos about Indonesia and Australia, the photos represent their sense of belonging to both countries. For instance, Obri's positive attitude towards Indonesia is evidenced from three photos about his life in Indonesia. One photo shows a multicultural day celebration at his former Indonesian primary school. In the photo, he is wearing a Japanese kimono of

red, white, and black. Most students in his primary school come from wealthy families such as children of Chinese-Indonesians and expatriate parents. The photo shows that he was one of the few non-Chinese students at the school. With this photo, he wants to show that he is accustomed to being a minority. He believes that everyone at the school already feels Indonesian and he wanted to show something different. Since most students are wearing Chinese dresses of red and black, he wanted to wear Japanese dress of red and white, which is also the national color of Indonesia.

In addition, the photo also shows the beginning of his exposure to different culture. The school he attended was a non-government Indonesian school for wealthy local or expatriate children. So, although the photo is about his schooling experience in Indonesia, he is already familiar with a non-Indonesian school environment with English as the main language of instruction instead of Bahasa Indonesia.

Obri also showed three photos about Australia. One is the wedding photo of his Australian step-sister, showing the bride, his father, mother, younger brother, Obri and some other Australian family members. In the beginning, Obri did not enjoy life in Australia. He still missed Indonesia and his extended family. During the wedding, he did not feel comfortable as he could not get along well with his step siblings due to the large age difference.

However, time has changed his sense of belonging to Australia. After living in Australia for more than seven years, he enjoys life in Melbourne. He believes that life in Melbourne is better than in Surabaya, the hometown of his Indonesian mother.

The extended family in Indonesia supports his family's decision to live permanently in Melbourne.

I enjoy living here. I think it is better than living in Indonesia, to be honest. But the downside of living here, I guess is that I can't visit my family in Indonesia very often. However, I also feel good because they basically support our choice of living in here (Obri).

Likewise, Yarra also shows positive attitudes towards Indonesia and Australia. She is proud of being half-Indonesian and Australian and does not hide her Indonesian identity from her Australian friends. As she looks like most Anglo-Australian young people, they rarely realize that she has an Indonesian aspect to her identity. She said:

My mom is Indonesian and I am very proud of it. I don't pretend to hide that we are not Asian or anything. I am in myself, I am just half Indonesian half Caucasian (Yarra).

To show her pride in Indonesia, she shares Indonesian culture with her Australian friends. Last year, for her birthday, for example, she invited many Australian friends and served them Indonesian food. She considers this a way of introducing Indonesian culture to her Australian friends.

Her positive attitude towards Indonesia is evidenced from photo selection. Two photos are about her promoting Indonesian culture to Australian people in Melbourne. One photo shows Yarra, her elder sister, and some Indonesian friends wearing Indonesian traditional dance dresses, posing together after performing the *Betawi* (Jakartan) dance at the Indonesian Festival in Melbourne. She joins *Sanggar Lestari*, a dance group for Indonesian traditional dances, as a way of connecting with Indonesian traditional culture. Most members of *Sanggar Lestari* are young Indonesians who were born in Australia. Yarra feels proud of wearing Indonesian

traditional dance costume and performs Indonesian dances as a way of promoting Indonesian culture to Australian people.

Another photo shows Yarra with four other members of Sanggar Lestari posing in front of the Melbourne town hall, after performing Indonesian traditional and modern dances. They performed these dances when the Indonesian Student Organization in Victoria held a music event by inviting an Indonesian pop music group to come and perform in Melbourne. She said that the band group vocalist was astonished to find Australian girls like her who can perform Indonesian traditional dances.

Another photo shows her experience of visiting Indonesia. It shows her and her elder sister riding a *becak* (pedicab) in front of a slum housing area in the city of Makasar, the hometown of her grandfather in Indonesia. She likes this picture, taken during her second family holiday to Indonesia when she was six years old, as it reminds her of past memory in Indonesia. During her visits to Indonesia, she and her elder sister like doing what local people do. They like going around by traditional means of transportation such as *becak* and *dokar* (horse-drawn cart), walking around rice fields or farms, or going by Indonesian traditional boat to a beach.

Other photos also reveal her positive attitudes with Australia. In one photo, Yarra is wearing an Australian secondary college uniform of a white-green checked dress, to show that her educational background is completely Australian. She chose this photo to show that she feels just like other young Australians.

I just fit in for my group. I am an Australian who is educated in Australian schools. So, I feel I am just like other Australians (Yarra).

Yarra has spent her education from primary to university in Australia and is not familiar with Indonesian schooling. Her knowledge about the Indonesian education system is limited to a school visit during family holidays to Indonesia. Another photo shows her posing together with four Australian friends when celebrating a birthday. Among these Australian friends, she just looks like other girls and her friends consider her an Australian.

The other photo shows her with some friends at work: two female friends and one female manager. Everyone is wearing black t-shirt and pants, the uniform of the coffee shop where they work. This photo shows another aspect of her Australian life. At work, she has learned the Australian value of egalitarianism. She has a close relationship with members of the work team and a casual relationship with her manager. She believes this relationship is different from the work culture in most Indonesian companies in which the manager or senior officer must be respected and cannot mingle casually with employees.

In analyzing photo as a means of self-representation, Kenney (1993) suggests that people are the most important entity of identification with a social group. As photo selection shows, the three participants associate with both Indonesia and Australia through friends, parents, and extended family. For instance, in one photo, Finti associates with Australia through the picture of her Australian step-grandmother, which shows an entry point to her personal story in which she moves from feeling of totally being Indonesian to a more intensive feeling of being Australian (Riggins, 1994). In the other photo, she also identifies with Australia through friends at university and work. That she picked first the photo which has

Australia as the setting shows how she puts importance on her new life journey as a young Australian.

Similarly, Obri associates himself with Indonesia through his Indonesian extended family. He also shows his identification with Australia through the wedding photo in which he poses with the bride, his Australian step sister. Likewise, Yarra shows her identification with Indonesia by posing with some Indonesian dancers after the performance. She also shows her sense of belonging to Australia through friends at work. In her case, physical appearance is considered an important reason for identifying with Australia. Having Caucasian looks is an important element of sense of belonging to Australia as her Australian friends and Indonesian extended family members demonstrate (Vignoles, 2011).

In addition to people, Kenney (1993) also suggest that the second social entity of self-concept is object or material. Many participants associate certain objects with their identification with Indonesia and Australia. For Finti, the roof of the slum houses is an important social context of self-concept. The photo of a slum housing area in Bandung, Indonesia, represents a contrast between the luxurious hotel room in which she stayed and the slum house roofs. This photo suggests different economic conditions between life in Indonesia and Australia. She shows her personal awareness on how fortunate she is to experience an economically better life condition in Australia, compared to that of her Indonesian family members.

Another object that can represent Finti's sense of belonging to Indonesia is the picture of *Taman Mini* (The Indonesia Miniature Park) which shows various traditional houses across Indonesia. The picture of *Rumah Gadang* (big house) from West Sumatra province may show her sense of belonging to Indonesia. Since

Padangese is not the local ethnicity of her mother, Finti explains that to be Indonesian does not mean to show sense of belonging only to Sundanese, the local ethnic background of her mother. She understands that Indonesia includes various local ethnic groups such as Javanese, Padangese, Acehese, and Asmat. Following Andersen's (2006) idea of imagined community, for her, Indonesians are various local ethnicities who consider themselves part of a country called Indonesia.

For Yarra, wearing Indonesian traditional dance costume and performing dances in front of Australian people is a way of associating herself with Indonesia, the home country of her mother. In addition, the photo of her and her elder sister riding a *becak* (pedicab) in Indonesia adds to her cultural affiliation with the country. As identification to a country can be culturally specific (Turner, 1991; Harper, 2002), Yarra believes that *becak* is culturally specific to Indonesia. This mode of public transport is able to directly associate Yarra with Indonesia. Showing the picture of *becak* increases her sense of belonging to Indonesia.

On the other hand, objects also represent sense of belonging to Australia. For Finti, posing with her Australian grandmother in front of the Twelve Apostles, a famous tourism destination in Victoria, shows her identification with Australia. Similarly, Obri associates public open spaces such as large green parks and playgrounds, which are rare in Indonesia, with Australia. Meanwhile, Yarra's uniforms of her secondary college and coffee shop serve as the means of her identification with Australia.

### 7.3 Cultural aspects

The last aspect of identification is cultural engagement. Wenger (2008) argues that engagement in community practice is the first mode of sense of belonging followed by imagination and alignment. Adopting Smolicz's (1989) core culture values, the aspects of culture in this study are limited to language, family values and popular culture. Language includes both Bahasa and English, family values are cultural beliefs and practices in both Indonesian and Australian families. Meanwhile, popular culture includes food, clothing, sports, and leisure activities.

#### 7.3.1 Bahasa Indonesia and English

The most important cultural aspect of belonging to a social group is language (Smolicz, 1989; Fishman, 1997). Willoughby (2006) suggests that speaking an ethnic language is the most obvious evidence of sense of belonging to an ethnic group among young Australians of ethnic minority groups. This linguistic identification with an ethnic group is adopted by most participants of the study whose home language is Bahasa Indonesia.

The three participants emphasize the importance of Bahasa Indonesia use in their social life. Born to intermarriage parents, they can speak Bahasa Indonesia fluently and use the language in different contexts. At home, they speak the language, mostly with their Indonesian mothers. For instance, Finti always speaks Bahasa with her mother but mixes this with English in speaking to her step-Australian father. Another participant, Obri speaks Bahasa Indonesia to his mother and Indonesian-born younger sibling but English to his father and Australian-born sister. So does Yarra to her mother and Indonesian-born fostered younger brother, but mixes with English to her Australian-born elder sister.

However, their language skill is limited to speaking. Although they can speak Bahasa Indonesia fluently, the three participants have low reading and writing skills. For instance, Finti only reads simple texts and writes short letters and so does Yarra. Obri can understand simple written instructions in Bahasa Indonesia. To improve these literacy skills, they took Bahasa Indonesia class at the Victorian School of Languages when they were at secondary college. They seem to believe that taking Bahasa Indonesia as a subject was an investment in their identification (Norton, 2000).

The three participants perceive some benefits from the maintenance of Bahasa. First, they can have better social interaction with their Indonesian parents, extended family and friends. Obri can interact with his grandparents and other extended family members, who can only speak Bahasa Indonesia, more easily over the phone or when they visit Australia. Finti worked at an Indonesian restaurant when she was at a secondary college and had the opportunity to practice speaking this ethnic language with customers and other fellow employees.

When I was at secondary college, mom asked me to work at an Indonesian restaurant on Swanston street. During that time, I could practice speaking Bahasa to the customers and other waiters and cooks (Finti).

They also find the benefits of speaking Bahasa during family holidays to Indonesia. During Fitri's second visit, the skill of Bahasa Indonesia enabled her to have a work apprenticeship at an Indonesian electrical company, as part of her study of electrical engineering at an Australian university. Due to Bahasa Indonesia skills, Yarra, together with her elder sister, can shop at traditional markets. Obri can share his

feelings and experience of living in Australia with his grandparents and cousins who do not speak English.

A different social benefit of Bahasa Indonesia was expressed by Obri. This skill enables him to provide assistance to newly-arrived young Indonesians in Australia. His own experience shows that it was a relief when his fellow Indonesians helped introduce him to the Australian life in Bahasa Indonesia. Although his father is Australian, Obri still remembered how frightening it was to speak English to Australians during his early life in Australia. Therefore, he feels happy to assist the orientation process of some Indonesian friends who have just arrived in Australia.

Second, the maintenance of Bahasa Indonesia gives them academic benefits. The three participants received good results in Bahasa Indonesia in the Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE) which can assist their university applications. For instance, the Australian-born Yarra took Bahasa Indonesia for her VCE to support her enrollment at a local university. Obri also took Bahasa Indonesia subject at the Victorian School of Languages (VSL) and has recommended that his two younger siblings do the same. As he plans to pursue a tertiary education in Indonesia, he believes that the skills of Bahasa Indonesia will support his educational career.

The last benefit of Bahasa Indonesia is career development. The three participants believe that Bahasa Indonesia supports their present and future career. For instance, at the time of interview, Yarra was studying community health at a local university and planning to work together with her elder sister who is studying journalism and writing, a joint-degree between an Australian and Indonesian university. In the future, they plan to work on a project that can benefit both Indonesian and Australian people. Her Bahasa Indonesia skills will help break the

language barrier that she may face in this work. Yarra also finds her Bahasa Indonesia skill beneficial in her current job at a local coffee shop. She often meets Indonesian customers who feel more welcome when she greets them in Bahasa Indonesia.

On the other hand, as the main language of the dominant culture, English is influential in the life of the three participants. They speak English fluently, like their Australian friends. In fact, the three participants speak English more fluently than Bahasa Indonesia. Yarra speaks Bahasa Indonesia with an Australian accent. Finti and Obri who were born in Indonesia and consider Bahasa Indonesia their first language, have started losing the language. Although they currently have good speaking skills in Bahasa Indonesia, they have limited reading and writing skills. Finti said:

In my daily life, I prefer to speak English than Bahasa Indonesia. I speak English all the time at university and work. Even at home, I speak English with my Australian father and Australian-born younger siblings.

English skills also support their social and academic life. Their Australian friends consider them just like other Australians because they speak English with an Australian accent. Good proficiency in English supports their education so that they did well at school. For Indonesian-born Obri and Finti, their Australian fathers and extended families seem to have been influential in the development of their English language skills.

In summary, the three participants emphasize the importance of Bahasa Indonesia to show their affiliation with Indonesia. This supports the findings in similar previous studies on ethnic language maintenance among ethnic minority groups in Australia (Clyne, 2005; Willoughby, 2006). Acknowledging the importance of Bahasa Indonesia as their identity, the participants have invested time and energy

to use Bahasa Indonesia and studied it as a subject at the VSL (Norton, 2000). In addition, both Bahasa Indonesia and English skills are beneficial for the three participants. Speaking Bahasa Indonesia supports their association with the imagined community of Indonesia (Norton, 2000; Andersen, 2006; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). On the other hand, they also believe that to become Australian means to be able to speak English. Following Wenger's (2008) modes of sense of belonging, good English language and Bahasa Indonesia proficiency is not only engagement, but also imagination and alignment with both Australia and Indonesia.

### 7.3.2 Indonesian and Australian values

As children of intermarriage parents, the three participants have been raised in both Indonesian and Australian values. Although they live in Australia, their Indonesian mothers have strong influence on their maintenance of Indonesian values which are more collective oriented. Like other participants, they have acquired Indonesian values of family respect, current assistance and future support (Fuligni, Tseng & Lam, 1999).

The first Indonesian value is family respect. Indonesian and Australian values of family respect may differ. Yarra, for example, considers meals with parents and siblings as a form of family respect. She said that she and her elder sister should have meals together with her parents. From the beginning, her Indonesian mother introduced the Indonesian manner of eating and drinking to her. For instance, she is encouraged to use right, instead of left hand, when eating. She was also taught Indonesian traditional way of dining in which people sit on the floor crossing their legs, not at a dining table. Yarra said:

My mother does not only ask us to speak Bahasa Indonesia, but also emphasize Indonesian cultural values in the family. For instance, we sometimes eat on the floor like most Indonesian people usually do, not on a dining table. First, she asks me to sit down, crossing legs. My mother sometimes said the instruction in Javanese, "Yarra, *silo!*", which means "Yarra, cross your leg!"

Family respect includes obedience to parents. One example of this is attending cultural or religious gatherings. The participant who attends cultural gatherings most frequently is Yarra. She not only attended but also performed dances at four cultural events during the period of data collection. The second participant, Obri attended three cultural events whereas Finti only attended one.

The three young participants may have different reasons for attending the cultural festivals. For instance, Yarra attended the cultural events because she wanted to perform dances and promote Indonesian culture to Australians. She said:

In Melbourne, my sister and I often perform both Indonesian traditional and modern dances in various events such as Festival Indonesia. We also performed dances when the Indonesian student association in Victoria invites some artists such as band groups from Indonesia. I love taking part in these programs. I feel proud when I can perform Indonesian traditional dances in front of Australian people in Melbourne.

Another participant, Obri came to the festival because his mother asked him to accompany her. The other, Finti, attended the Satay Festival because she had to help her mother who had a food stall in the festival. She said:

I come here because my mom asks for help with her food stall. So, I come with my father and siblings (Finti).

The second value is current assistance with parents. For instance, Obri said that his mother assigns a different house chore for each of her children. Obri has to cook rice when his mother is late from work and serve drink and refreshment for visiting guests. As the oldest daughter in the family, Finti said that she is often asked to prepare dinner for her younger siblings and send them to bed when her mother is

late from work. She also helped her mother prepare the food stall at the Satay Festival. Finti said:

I often help my mom taking care of my younger siblings such as preparing their dinner and sometimes take them to bed when my mom is busy with her work at school. When my mom had a food stall at the Satay Festival, me and my brother also helped prepare the food and stuff.

The last aspect of current assistance is spending time with family. Almost all participants consider family holidays as the best time they spend with their family. For example, every other year, Yarra goes to Indonesia with her elder sister and younger brother. So does Obri with his family members. However, not all participants can have family holiday together. Due to tight study and work schedule, some participants have to withdraw from family holiday. Finti, for instance, often cancels family holiday due to different holiday schedule with her parents. She has to visit Indonesia on her own instead.

The next value is future support. One example of future support is home nursing for aged parents. Parents want to be looked after at home, not a nursing center, when they are old. Obri said that his Indonesian mother does not want to be sent to a home for the aged in the future. He said:

Yes, my mother wants me to take care of her at home when she is old. Now, she nurses my grandmother at home. Luckily my uncle is a doctor and my aunt is also a nurse. My father does not really care with this. He is an Oz and does not want to burden his children in the future (Obri).

Religion also seems to be an important family value among the three participants. As part of their value system (Roccas, 2005), they show allegiance to the dominant religion in Indonesia, Islam. For instance, Yarra considers herself an Indonesian-Muslim, as influenced by her Indonesian mother, who is a practicing but moderate Muslim woman. Living in a predominantly Christian country like Australia

does not restrict her religious practices such as observing daily prayers and fasting during Ramadan month. Neither does it restrict her social activities. Considering herself a practicing Muslim, Yarra has a large friendship circle. When attending a birthday party, for instance, she feels happy that her Australian friends are respectful of her personal choice of not consuming alcohol.

Similarly, Obri shows strong sense of belonging to Islam. His Indonesian mother seems to have a strong influence on his being a practicing Muslim. His mother sends him and his two siblings to a Sunday school and takes them to regular religious gatherings among Muslim intermarriage families. He plans to pursue his tertiary short-course in Indonesia majoring in Islamic studies. Finti, in contrast, seems to be more secular and is not really concerned with religious practices. Her family celebrates her mother's Islamic festivals such as *Idul Fitri* after Ramadan fasting and her Australian father's Christian cultures such as Christmas and Easter.

On the other hand, the three participants have also adopted some Australian values such as independence, tolerance to diversity and egalitarianism. As a sign of independence from parents, for instance, Finti's mother allowed her to work at an Indonesian restaurant when she was at secondary college. During her university study, Finti worked as a research assistant for a couple of years. Yarra also worked part time at a local coffee shop during her university study. Similarly, Obri was sent to Indonesia to study in a boarding school.

The next value is tolerance to diversity. This value is first introduced to them through their parent's intermarriage. From the very beginning, the three participants realized that their parents come from two different cultures. Indonesian and Australian cultures and values vary in many ways. Associating with Eastern values,

Indonesians are more collective oriented whereas Australians are more individualistic oriented (Triandis, 1995). In terms of ethnic groups, Indonesians are more homogenous than Australians. Although there are a number of different local ethnicities, the differences are not as obvious as in Australia. In addition, non-home experience shows the Australian value of tolerance. Fitri's photo shows work team members of different origins such as Anglo-Australian, Iranian, Chinese, and Indian. Obri also has friends from different backgrounds at his secondary college, and as a minority, has never experienced any racist treatment.

Another Australian value adopted is egalitarianism. One participant, Yarra has learned the egalitarian value at work. In one of her photos, she was posing together with two female friends and a female manager wearing black coffee shop uniforms. She has a close relationship with friends at work and a casual relationship with her manager. She believes this relationship is different from the work culture in most Indonesian companies in which the manager or senior officer should be respected and cannot mingle casually with lower employees. Finti also believes that regardless of their ethnic origin, she and her university friends can have equal opportunity to study and work in Australia.

As Andersen (2006) and Norton (2000) suggest, having imagined themselves to be Indonesian-Australian, the three participants align their behavior with the values of both cultures. Involvement with cultural tradition is also the consequence of belonging and attitudes towards Indonesia as an ethnic group (Phinney, 1990; Ward, 2001; Barrett and Davis, 2008; Moua & Lambourn, 2010). They integrate the values of both cultures which, for them, are considered equally important (Berry, 1997; Sam, 2000).

### 7.3.3 Indonesian and Australian popular culture

The last aspect of cultural involvement is engagement in popular culture. Engagement is the first mode of belonging, before imagination and alignment (Wenger, 2008). Of its many definitions, popular culture is understood as 'culture which is widely favoured or well-liked by many people (Storey, 2001; p. 6). Popular culture may include several types of entertainment such as movies, TV shows, music, toys, games, clothes, holiday and leisure activities. For the purpose of this study, the popular culture is limited to games, holiday and leisure activities that the participating young people experienced both in Indonesia and Australia.

Identifying with Indonesia, the three participants are engaged in Indonesian popular culture. The first engagement in Indonesian popular culture is holiday destinations such as Bali beach and Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (TMII) or the miniature village of beautiful Indonesia in Jakarta. For instance, one photo shows Obri's regular family holiday to Bali when he was in Indonesia. This tourism destination is not only famous among Indonesian, but also Australians. Some people consider Bali as the backyard of most Australians. Another participant, Finti, showed one photo of herself posing in front of *rumah gadang* (big house) at TMII. Like Bali, TMII is well-known among Indonesians. It is a famous holiday destination, especially among children and young people, during school holiday. Yarra showed a photo of herself riding a pedicab, a famous public transport among Indonesians. Photos of Bali beach, rumah gadang at TMII and a pedicab show how the three participants are familiar with Indonesian popular culture.

In addition, the young people also show their familiarity with Australian popular culture. The first aspect of Australian popular culture is outdoor leisure activity. Obri and his family often spend weekends of summer holidays on beaches in Australia. I have met him and his family on the beach in south eastern Melbourne during school holiday. One of his photos show him and his Indonesian grandparents and aunt on a park near his house. Finti showed a photo with two friends when attending a music concert in Melbourne. She also showed a photo of the Twelve Apostles, a famous tourist destination in Victoria, that she and her family have visited. Meanwhile, Yarra poses in a young Australian best costume when attending a birthday party. The three participants believe that these activities are popular leisure and social attractions among Australians but not among Indonesians.

In short, the three participants engage themselves in both Indonesian and Australian popular culture. Having been engaged in these aspects of popular culture, they appear to imagine themselves to be part of Indonesia and Australia and align their behaviors to both cultures accordingly (Wenger, 2008; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007; Norton, 2000).

## 7.4 Summary

Based on the discussion of identification with both Indonesia and Australia, I draw some conclusions. First, the three participants show a balanced identification with both Indonesia and Australia by showing a strong sense of belonging and positive attitudes towards both countries. As a means of visual identification, they also showed a balanced number of photos about their life in Indonesia and Australia.

Second, reasons for identification with Indonesia vary from one participant to another such as parents, birthplace and extended family. Most participants believe that Indonesia is an ethnic identity with which they identify themselves in their social interaction with other fellow Australians. In addition, they also acknowledge the economic and social benefits of living in Australia.

Third, as the result of their balanced identification with Indonesia and Australia, they also have adopted both Indonesian and Australian values. They feel confident and proud of being Indonesian-Australian, promote the culture of Indonesia such as dance, food and clothing, as well as adapt themselves to the Indonesian values of parental respect and assistance. They have also adopted Australian values of independence and tolerance.

Lastly they show engagement in both cultures. Although they speak English more fluently, they have good Indonesian speaking skill, and are engaged in Indonesian cultural festivals and Australian popular culture.

The next chapter explores contested parental cultural socialization which, in the context of this study, includes the use of Bahasa Indonesia, parental expectations, and cultural practices.

## Chapter Eight

### CONTESTED PARENTAL CULTURAL SOCIALIZATION

#### 8.1 Introduction

As members of an ethnic minority, parents may experience cultural alienation and attempt to socialize their Indonesian identity to their young people so that the latter can maintain a sense of belonging to their country of origin. Family is the primary site of socialization of ethnic identity (Hockey & James, 2003; Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002), which remains 'the most important institution for young people's lives' (Wyn & White, 2008; p. 122). Schachter & Ventura (2008) argue that parents actively participate in the identity formation of their children through encouragement, co-participation and reflective deliberation of their roles and goals. Safdar, Lay & Struthers (2003) point out that maintenance of heritage culture, together with participation in the host society and maintenance of psychological and physical health, are among the main basic goals of immigrants in multicultural societies. Therefore, ethnic identity socialization is a concern among immigrant communities in the United States, Canada, and Australia (Simon, 1995; Phinney, 1992; French, Seidman, Allen & Aber, 2006), including Indonesian families in Melbourne (Mulyana, 1995).

Previous studies have shown various practices by which parents socialize their ethnic identity to their young people. These can be speaking a native language at home, maintaining religious practices, celebrating religious holidays, encouraging children to learn traditional dances and music (Bagley, Bolitho, & Bertrand, 2001), teaching children a set of behavioral goals, values, norms, and attitudes related to

their ethnic heritage, teaching children their ethnic history, promoting ethnic pride, participation in cultural events, sharing history, preparing traditional food, wearing traditional clothes, strengthening family ties and marriage preparation (Phinney, 1990; Moua & Lamborn, 2010; Willoughby, 2006).

However, parental cultural practices may face resistance from the young people, who may be more inclined to the dominant culture. Since emerging adulthood is the real time for exploration (Arnett, 2000), a sense of greater autonomy experienced by the emerging adults may create conflict between parents and their young people (Collins & Laursen, 2004). Throughout this chapter, I explore contested parental cultural socialization which, in the context of this study, includes the use of Bahasa Indonesia, parental expectations, and cultural practices.

## 8.2 Bahasa Indonesia maintenance

The first way by which parents instill their cultural identity in the young participants in this study is the use of Bahasa Indonesia. All parents, particularly Indonesian couples, emphasize speaking Bahasa Indonesia to their young people. For instance, Mardoyo has always spoken Bahasa Indonesia to his two Australian-born children from the very beginning so that they, especially his elder son, can speak Bahasa Indonesia fluently. The two children speak Bahasa Indonesia with their grandparents and relatives over the phone as well as during family holidays. He said:

I emphasize my children to speak Bahasa Indonesia to me and my wife. That's why, they always respond in Bahasa Indonesia. Thanks God, my both children can speak Bahasa Indonesia fairly good (Mardoyo, male).

Another parent, Hesti, always speaks Bahasa Indonesia to her three Indonesian-born daughters. As a result, they feel shy about speaking English at home. Her first two daughters who moved to Melbourne in their teens have

balanced fluency in both Bahasa Indonesia and English, whereas the youngest one, brought to Melbourne at an early age, speaks English more fluently than Bahasa Indonesia. Similarly, Made, speaks Bahasa Indonesia and Balinese to his wife and two Australian-born daughters and will suggest the two daughters take Bahasa Indonesia as a subject at secondary college.

The use of Bahasa Indonesia at home is also considered important by intermarriage parents. Yut always speaks a mix of Bahasa Indonesia and Acehese (her local ethnic language) to her children and Australian husband, who can speak both Bahasa Indonesia and Acehese. Her first Indonesian-born son understands and often replies to her in Bahasa Indonesia. Yut does not want to lose her culture and feels happy to hear her children speaking Bahasa Indonesia or Acehese.

I think I am Indonesian and I don't want to lose my culture. I even want to show my children that it is my language, my mother tongue. I really want my children to be able to speak Bahasa Indonesia and Acehese. When they can say a single word in Bahasa Indonesia, I feel really happy (Yut, female).

Another intermarriage parent, Susan, also emphasizes speaking Bahasa Indonesia at home. Her first two Indonesian-born sons speak Indonesian fairly well but her youngest Australian-born daughter only understands the language. Likewise, Yarsi, who works as a teacher of Bahasa Indonesia at a secondary college, speaks Bahasa Indonesia to her children at home. She emphasizes speaking the language to her two Indonesian-born children but mixes it with English to her Australian-born children.

Parents do many things to maintain Bahasa Indonesia. First, to support the use of Bahasa Indonesia and update knowledge about Indonesia, almost all parents subscribe to the Indonesian television channel. Mardoyo subscribes to Indonesian

television channels and collects CDs of Indonesian songs, dances and *gamelan* (Indonesian traditional music instruments) that his children can listen to and watch at home or in the car. Hesti also subscribes to the Indonesian television channel in the hope that her three daughters will be more enthusiastic to learn Bahasa Indonesia and know about cultural artifacts such as food and dress. Her youngest daughter, who does not speak Bahasa Indonesia very well because she was brought to Australia at an early age, sometimes wears *kebaya* (traditional dress) and Muslim costume when attending cultural events such as harmony day at school and religious gatherings at the community center. Other parents such as Anabela, Yarsi, and Susan also subscribe to the Indonesian television channel to connect their children with Indonesia and to introduce Indonesian language and culture. Although parents and young people do not watch the Indonesian television programs regularly, this practice has influenced the use of Bahasa Indonesia in the young people.

The second support for Bahasa Indonesia maintenance is telephone contact and the visits of extended family. Almost all parents encourage their young people to phone their grandparents and other extended family members in Indonesia. For example, Mardoyo always asks his two children to call their grandparents in Indonesia on special occasions such as religious celebrations and birthdays. Susan invites her parents to come to Melbourne regularly so that her three children have an opportunity to practice speaking Bahasa Indonesia. Another parent, Bagus, asked his Balinese mother to visit her Australian-born grandchildren in Melbourne and so did Made.

The next support is encouraging the young people to attend Bahasa Indonesia classes and cultural festivals. Several parents – Hesti, Mardoyo, Yarsi, and Susan – asked their young people to take Bahasa Indonesia classes at a local Victorian School of Languages (VSL) to support their application to university. Yarsi opened a food stall at the Satay Festival and asked her daughter to help during the festival. Yut took her youngest daughter to attend the Satay Festival and had a stand of Indonesian clothing and souvenirs.

The last support is family holidays to Indonesia. Almost all parents consider family holiday to be the best way of immersing their children in Bahasa Indonesia and culture. It is an in-country training by which the young people learn Bahasa Indonesia in its real context. Hesti spends family holidays in Indonesia every semester, visiting her mother and mother-in-law. She considers it a way of connecting the children to their grandparents. Mardoyo has regular family holidays to Indonesia, usually in December every other year. Other parents do the same, such as Yarsi, Susan and Anabela.

Parents have different reasons for encouraging their young people to speak Bahasa Indonesia. Mardoyo believes that his children's maintenance of Bahasa Indonesia enables them to be interested in family holidays, eager to make phone calls with their grandparents and more willing to participate in religious programs at the community center which are mostly delivered in Bahasa Indonesia. In addition, fluency in Bahasa Indonesia may also be beneficial for their future career. His son may work at an Australian company which has overseas branches, including in Indonesia. Likewise, Hesti believes that her children's maintenance of Bahasa Indonesia is advantageous for their social life and future career. They can keep in

touch with their grandparents and extended family over the phone, and are eager to have family holidays to Indonesia. Her oldest daughter is married to an Indonesian-born Australian whereas her second daughter, who holds a double degree in business and tourism, had a work apprenticeship in Indonesia. Hesti even speaks Bahasa Indonesia to her three-year-old Australian-born granddaughter. Similarly, Made believes that speaking Bahasa Indonesia helps his children's learning of Bahasa Indonesia at secondary college and makes them feel more affiliated with Indonesia.

The intermarriage parents have different reasons for their children's Bahasa Indonesia maintenance. Yut believes that her children's mastery of Bahasa Indonesia shows their sense of belonging to Indonesia, as her first son does, by working in either Australia or Indonesia. For this reason, she has asked her second daughter to take Bahasa Indonesia as a subject during her secondary college education. She believes that, unlike her first child, who has good Bahasa Indonesia skills as he moved to Australia at a later age, her second daughter, who was brought to Australia at an early age, needs to learn it more seriously.

Similarly, Susan believes that her children's maintenance of Bahasa Indonesia can maintain their sense of belonging to Indonesia. She hopes that the children will not forget their Indonesian blood even though they live permanently in Australia. She also believes that the Bahasa Indonesia skills will be useful for her children's future careers.

Likewise, Yarsi believes that Bahasa Indonesia is important for her children and young Australians in general. As close neighbors, both Indonesia and Australia should maintain country borders together. The huge population of Indonesia and its

close location make the country a potential market for Australian business such as livestock and dairy products. One Anglo-Australian student in her Indonesian class said:

Indonesia has a big population which can be a good market for Australia. I am learning Bahasa Indonesia now because in the future I want to do business in Indonesia.

The discussion above shows that parents consider their young people's use of Bahasa Indonesia an aspect of identification which shows belonging and distinctiveness (Vignoles, Manzi, Regalia, Jemmolo & Scabini, 2008; Vignoles, 2011). They believe that speaking Bahasa Indonesia is a skill which can encourage a sense of belonging to Indonesia and distinguish them as young Australians of Indonesian origin (Hoed, 1990; Clyne, 2005). In addition, Bahasa Indonesia becomes a means of expressing values of advice, wisdom, and prayer by parents to their young people (Fishman, 1997).

### **8.3 Parental expectations**

In addition to Bahasa Indonesia, parents have family expectations that they want to instill in their young people. Raised in Eastern culture, that in general supports collectivistic values, which the participating parents believe are different from the dominant Australian culture, which they see as promoting individualistic values (Triandis, 1995), Indonesian parents feel that they have different expectations from the majority of Australian parents. Supporting a study finding on non-Western family values by Fuligni, Tseng & Lam (1999), I identify four main collectivistic-based

parental expectations as expressed by the participants in my study: family respect, current assistance, future support and religion.

It is important to note, however, that each individual parent places different emphasis in expectation of these four values as they come from different local ethnicity groups across Indonesia. Although all parents are Indonesian-born, due to different lengths of residency in Australia and levels of education, some are more collective oriented in socializing their ethnic identity practices whereas others are more individualistic and, therefore, more accommodative of the values of the dominant culture.

### 8.3.1 Family respect

Family respect is socialized in many ways. The first explicit display of family respect is bowing and kissing the hands of parents and other adults when greeting them. Most parents –Mardoyo, Hesti, Hendi, Susan, Anabela, Yarsi and Made – encourage their young people to do this when leaving or arriving home, and meeting other adults. They also require that the young people speak politely and show obedience to them. Hesti said:

My children should be respectful to me as parents and other elderly people. They should shake and kiss the hands and speak politely. They should not raise their voice when talking with parents and adults.

The second demonstration of family respect is not addressing adults by first name. In Indonesian culture, this practice is considered impolite. Young people are encouraged to use *Pak* (Mr) for male and *Bu* (Mrs) for female followed by first name when addressing adults. Adults feel offended if the young people address them by first names only. In her early life in Australia, Hesti felt annoyed when her daughter's friends called her by her first name. Acknowledging the possible different values in

parental respect, she started introducing the Indonesian value to them, saying that in Indonesian culture, children should address adults by *Pak/Bu* to show respect. Her daughter's Australian friends understand this different value, and now call her *Bunda* (Mum), copying her daughter.

### 8.3.2 Current assistance

The second parental expectation is current assistance. Parents encourage the young people to provide assistance and put family matters above individual interests. Most young people feel happy to assist their parents with various house chores such as dishwashing, cooking, and house cleaning. Hesti does not need to cook every day as her two daughters often prepare lunch or dinner for the family. Susan feels relieved that, when she is late from work, her two sons help prepare dinner, wash the dishes and provide refreshment for visiting guests. If Yarsi has to stay late at work, her eldest daughter prepares dinner for her two younger children and sends them to bed.

It seems that female young people are encouraged to provide more assistance than male, especially with looking after younger siblings. Dafna's mother asks her to take care of her baby brother when she is away shopping or meeting friends. Fitri is assigned to provide lunch or dinner for her younger siblings when her mother is away or comes home late. Fatha often takes care of her three-year-old niece when her mother is busy. This practice may be influenced by the traditional family value in which the female is supposed to be responsible for domestic chores such as taking care of younger siblings.

Almost all parents understand current assistance as living in the same house to nurture togetherness. To emphasize this value, Hesti will not allow her two over

eighteen-year-old daughters to leave home until they get married, even though they are financially independent. She does this to maintain closeness between parents and children. However, when they are married, as is the case with her oldest daughter, she will support them in leaving home and living independently. The majority of parents –Hendi, Yut, Susan, Mardoyo, Yut, Yarsi and Anabela – agree that children should not leave home until they are married.

### 8.3.3 Future support

The third aspect of parental expectation is future support by their children. The most emphasized future support is children having parents live with them when they are aged. Most parents do not accept the common Australian practice of parents going into aged care. Anabela told her two sons that she wants to live with them when she is aged. Her experience as a volunteer at an aged care center has taught her that increasing numbers of elderly Asian people are sent into care so that she is worried that this may happen to her in the future. She only has two sons, who, in the Indonesian culture, often show less attention to parents' care than daughters. In most Indonesian families, boys leave the family while daughters stay and nurse parents when they are aged. She has also asked her elder son, Andy, to find a future wife who is willing to take care of her.

Other parents have similar requests. Hesti feels happy that her first two daughters have agreed not to put her in an aged care home in the future, but is not sure about the youngest one. Every family holiday, she shows her daughters how their grandmother is looked after by their aunt in Indonesia. Likewise, Susan, Yut, and Yarsi also prefer family aged care, not by professional care providers.

The last practice of future support is going to university near the parents' residence. All participants go to universities in Melbourne. None of them studies out of Melbourne or overseas. Andy's mother does not allow him to study science at a university in the United Kingdom or the United States. A few participants even go to the same university with their siblings so that they can spend time out of home together. For instance, Binda and his elder brother go to university together.

### 8.3.4 Religious practices

Another socialized parental expectation is religion, which is an important aspect in the life of most Indonesian people. This value may be typical to Indonesian families and less common among the wider Australian community. On the basis of Tajfel & Turner's (1986) social identity theory, Phinney (1990) argues that religion is an important component of ethnic identity.

Regardless of their faith affiliations (Islam, Christianity, and Hinduism), most parents want their children to hold to their religious values by observing religious practices. As a practicing Christian, for example, Anabela wants her two children to have a balanced feeling of being Christian-Indonesian. If she has to choose, her son's being Christian is more essential than being Indonesian. She said:

Religion is more important. I mean, when we do something wrong, religion can show where to go when we go astray (Anabela).

To nurture religious values in her children, Anabela takes them to church almost every Sunday. For her, religion can prevent her children from negative behaviors such as drug use and premarital sex, which she often hears about among secondary school and university students. She remembers that one midnight some

drunken youngsters threw eggs at her house. She believes that, as studies suggest, if her sons are committed to religious values, they will not get involved in this type of juvenile delinquency. She believes that peers can influence negative habits in her sons such as partying, smoking, and alcohol use (Caldwell & Darling, 1999; Smith & Stutts, 1999; Marshal & Chassin, 2000; Windle, 2000; Simons-Morton, Haynie, Crump, Eitel & Saylor, 2001).

Likewise, as a practicing Muslim, Hesti considers religion more important than ethnicity. She prioritizes faith similarity more than other characteristics when looking for a future son-in-law. Her first daughter is married to an Australian-born Indonesian-Muslim and Hesti believes the second daughter will follow the same path as she shows a strong sense of belonging to Indonesia. She is not sure about her youngest daughter who may feel more Australian than Indonesian. She confirmed:

Islam is a must. That's non-negotiable, especially with my youngest daughter. That is not optional. Other criteria depend on my children. If they have choice, I prefer Indonesian as we must have shared similar culture. If not, I prefer religion to nationality. My second daughter seems to like Indonesian. She loves Indonesia very much.

To maintain the religious identity of her three daughters, Hesti sent them to Sunday schools at the Indonesian community center. When her youngest daughter was reluctant to attend Sunday school, she invited a religion teacher home. Hesti believes that religious education should be provided by parents, not school. The school should focus on building a sense of empathy, tolerance, and togetherness among the students, especially those less fortunate. Therefore, she sends her daughters to public, not religion-affiliated, schools.

Hesti introduces religious values in a democratic way. She provides her three daughters with good reasons for every value introduced. For example, when her daughter wants to sleep over at her friend's house, she talks to the parents about what the daughter is not supposed to consume as a Muslim, such as pork and alcoholic drink. Hesti has found that the Australian parents are very respectful. They serve vegetarian food and provide a prayer room for the daughter to observe her daily prayers.

Similarly, despite her marrying an Australian, Yut wants to maintain Islamic identity in her two children. She believes that her Indonesian local ethnicity, Acehese, has strong Islamic values. For instance, she emphasizes respect and obedience for parents in the children. She feels fortunate that her practices are supported by her Australian parents-in-law, who understand Islam, as they have visited Indonesia several times. She said:

I really want my children to feel they are Indonesian. If they know Indonesian culture, this culture is basically Islam. Respect for parents is emphasized at my home. I don't want to be like westerners. I want to stick to my culture, Indonesian Muslim. My parents in law respect our culture as they have enough knowledge about Islam.

Yut considers religion the most important aspect of identity for her children. As such, for her children's future wife and husband, she prefers that they consider faith similarity as the main criterion, regardless of their national backgrounds. Her open mindedness to different nationalities but similar faith is evidenced in her marrying an Australian-Muslim. In discussing this issue with her children, Yut understands that she may sound too strict, but these are her life principles that she feels she should socialize to the children.

To be honest, I want my children to marry Muslims. It does not matter if they are Acehnese, Indonesia, or Australian. Religion is the foundation for their life. I don't know if I am too strict. My marriage has been an example. I married an Australian but Muslim. My husband had been Muslim before we married.

Yut acknowledges that she was not very religious when she lived in Indonesia. She feels her religious awareness increased significantly when she started living in Australia. She began wearing her head scarf and learnt more about Islam in Melbourne. Being financially secure, she believes that it is time to be grateful to the God Allah who has granted her such bounties. She believes that example is the best method she can use to educate her children.

Here, I mingle with Muslims from various cultural backgrounds. If I don't give good examples to my children, it is very impossible to ask my children to do so (Yut).

Similarly, married to an Australian-Muslim, Susan understands that she and her husband may have different parental expectations. To reduce the possible difference, she chooses to emphasize a common platform for both, Islamic values. She believes that religious values are more important than national values. Her first parental expectation is respect for parents in the Indonesian way, which she believes, is adopted from her religious values. Susie teaches her children how to greet and offer foods to guests and asks them to help with the house chores such as cooking, dish washing and house cleaning.

Likewise, Mardoyo is pleased that his children, especially the elder son, show a strong commitment to religion. Mardoyo regularly takes his son to the community center, and due to his good Bahasa Indonesia skill, his son has become interested in attending religious programs. Like many Indonesian people in Melbourne, religion is

an important aspect of his family life. Among the Indonesian-Hindu community members, Made also considers religious values important for his children. From an early age, he introduced his daughter to meditation as a ritual among Balinese. He took each of his two daughters for a baby shower ritual in Bali when they were one year old.

Parents who have different faith affiliations to the predominant Christian Australian faith show more concern with the religious practices of their young people. They want the young people to show high commitment to religious faith as a collectivist tradition, which is commonly found among young people in Indonesia (Nilan et al., 2011). Muslim and Hindu parents –Hesti, Susan, Yut and Made – feel that they have to work harder to maintain their religious values which are different from the values of the majority of Australians. Supporting Nelson’s (1980) previous study on family and religion, mothers are more influential in religious socialization practices. On the other hand, Christian parents do not show such strong concern for their children’s religious education. Katrin’s parents feel confident that sending their daughter to an Australian Catholic Ladies college will give her all necessary religious support needed while studying overseas.

#### **8.4 Cultural traditions**

In addition to Bahasa Indonesia and family values, parents also want to instill cultural traditions in their young people, which are an important mode of belonging (Wenger, 2008). In this section, the term tradition is limited to cultural festivals which display artifacts of Indonesian culture such as food, clothing, dance, and music.

First, most parents socialize their traditions by inviting the young people to attend cultural festivals. Anabela sometimes takes her two sons to the Indonesian Independence Day celebration at the Consulate General. She also asks them to wear *batik* shirts during multicultural events at their school. She would love to send her children to learn traditional Indonesian music instruments such as *angklung* or *gamelan* if she could find a teacher near her home. She said:

My son likes going to these events as he can find Indonesian food, his favorite food. When my son's school holds cultural event, I always ask my son to wear batik dress.

Similarly, Yut asks her younger daughter to attend the Indonesian and Satay Festivals, where she has a stand of Indonesian souvenirs and clothing. Inspired by her late father, who was a teacher of Acehese (her local Indonesian ethnic group) *Seudati* dance, she wants to introduce this dance to her daughter. She believes that the socialization of Acehese tradition in Melbourne is not as intensive as other Indonesian local ethnicities such as Sundanese or Padangese, so that it is hard to find an Acehese dance center in Melbourne.

I like Acehese arts. My *Abah* (Dad) used to be good at *Seudati* dance. Here in Melbourne, I have not found dance center for Acehese dances. It is unlike Sundanese or Padangese dances which are easily offered in many places around Melbourne (Yut, female).

Likewise, Yarsi takes her children to the Satay festival and asks the oldest daughter to help her with the food stand. Another parent, Susan, also takes her children to the Indonesian and Satay festivals. She usually comes with friends of other intermarriage couples, with whom she has a regular gathering. Similarly, Mardoyo often attends the Indonesian and Satay festivals together with his two

children. Made also occasionally takes his two daughters to attend the Balinese Kuningan celebration at the Consulate General.

All these parents believe that cultural festivals are instrumental in instilling Indonesian identity in young people. During the festival, the young people can meet other Indonesian people, practice speaking Bahasa Indonesia and familiarize themselves with various cultural artifacts such as food, drink, clothing, dance, and music. These practices are expected to encourage their identification with Indonesia.

#### 8.4.1 Food

Another aspect of cultural tradition is food which is introduced at the festivals and in the home. All festivals displayed Indonesian cuisine from different parts of the country. Several participating parents have food stands at the festival. Yarsi, for instance, sells traditional Sundanese food of West Java during the Satay Festival.

Almost all parents provide Indonesian food at home. In addition to cooking rice, Yut sometimes prepares Acehnese *asam suti* and *ikan teri balado* (spicy anchovy) which her two children and Australian husband like very much. Hendi, whose wife does not prepare Indonesian food regularly, subscribes to an Indonesian food catering service twice a week, so that his children are familiar with Indonesian cuisine. He said:

Our feeling is still Indonesia. We even take catering of Indonesian foods, but not every day, twice a week. My children also like the foods, if not spicy. If not, we also sometimes cook Indonesian foods at home (Hendi).

Likewise, Susan often cooks Indonesian foods such as *soto ayam* (chicken curry) and *tongseng* (lamb curry) which have become her children's favorite food.

Due to her son's restricted diet, Anabela always prepares Indonesian foods at home, such as *soto ayam* and *nasi uduk* (coconut milk rice). Sometimes, she and her family eat out at Indonesian restaurants so that her son knows a large number of Bahasa Indonesia words for food and drink.

#### 8.4.2 Cultural artifacts and child naming

Several parents instill Indonesian identity in their children through cultural artifacts. Susan has Indonesian furniture, clothes like *batik* and Muslim clothing at home. Risna hangs a picture of herself and her husband wearing *kebaya* (Sundanese wedding dress) in her house. Her Australian husband was interested in wearing the costume and keen to take pictures. Putu also introduces Indonesia through Balinese costumes. His three children often wear Balinese dress during cultural days at their Catholic school. He said:

My children like Balinese dress-up and always wants to attend Balinese ceremony. My two twin daughters are the only students of Don Bosco Melbourne who wear Balinese *kebaya* during their cultural program (Putu).

Similarly, although Yut does not have Acehese traditional dress to show her local cultural identity, since Aceh culture is identical to Islam, she believes that Muslim clothing – headscarf and long dress – are part of Acehese tradition. Mardoyo has a collection of CDs of Indonesian songs and gamelan to play at home and in the car. Yarsi has a collection of Indonesian clothing and souvenirs such as *blankon*, *kebaya* and *peci*. Her husband has a large collection of Indonesian music, movies, and other CDs. Some Indonesian friends often borrow his collections of costume and other accessories when attending cultural festivals. She also introduces Indonesian and Australian stories, as well as Sundanese and English songs to her children before bed time.

In addition to cultural artifacts, child naming seems to be an important means of cultural maintenance. Most parents, including the intermarriage couples, have given Indonesian, rather than Anglicized, names to their children. For example, Putu's three children have Balinese names and are encouraged to be proud of this. He believes that Balinese names, which are unique, can maintain their Indonesian identity.

I have a principle. When I am dead, I don't know where my children live. They may live in Russia, the United States, or Europe. May be 50 years later, when they get married with Caucasian people, for instance, my grandchildren will become almost white. I hope that my children will give my grand children Balinese names as well. For me, names can indicate where you are from. Balinese names are very unique. My name is Putu and I don't want to change my name to Peter as my many Balinese in Melbourne do. Putu, Wayan, Made are uniquely Balinese names. I am proud of my name, Putu, and proudly say P-U-T-U when people ask me to spell it.

Likewise, as suggested by her Australian husband, Yarsi's two Australian-born children have Indonesian given but Australian family names. Yut's two children also have Indonesian/Islamic given names but do not bear the family names of her Australian husband. This naming practice is common among most Indonesian families. She feels fortunate that her husband does not mind her Indonesian approach to child naming.

The names of my children are Indonesian/Islamic. It is also not common in Aceh to put family name. I also don't put my husband name as my last name. It is just not common in my village. Fortunately, my husband also does not mind this as he considers it a part of my culture. Some friends of mine who is married to Australian put their husband last name on her name. But I just don't want it. I don't know, they may think it is cool to put their husband name as their last name. I don't want to do it because all my school certificates are on my own names (Yut).

In cultural socialization, female parents seem to be more influential than male. Studies suggest that females, such as immigrant Chinese mothers, apply a

more authoritative parenting style with their children (Cheah, Leung, Tahseen, & Schultz, 2009). Among African-American families, females are kin keepers who transmit cultural values to the youth (Stack, 1974). In her early life in Melbourne, Susan used to be an Indonesian dancer performing at cultural events in Melbourne. Yarsi often performs Indonesian arts such as *angklung* music and Sundanese songs. Yarra's mother has a strong commitment to family values. As an Indonesian dance teacher, she insisted that Yara be familiar with Indonesian culture such as Bahasa Indonesia and dance from an early age. At primary school, Yarra started learning various Indonesian dances and performed at various celebrations. These female parents may agree with Giddens (2000) who observes that "when globalisation alters and erodes traditional ways, identity has to be created and recreated on a more active basis than before" (p. 65).

Gender influences cultural practice. Culture seems to be emphasized more with female than male young people. While the use of Bahasa Indonesia and attendance at cultural festivals is encouraged with both male and female, several cultural practices such as cooking traditional food, dresses and dances are more female-oriented. Only one male participant, Elfasa, learns dance whereas Yara, Fatha, Dafna and Finti are all encouraged to learn. Cooking Indonesian food at home and wearing traditional dresses at cultural ceremonies is also more encouraged for females. This finding supports previous studies on cultural socialization among Asian and Latino-American youth, in which parents socialize their daughters to preserve traditional cultural ideals more than their sons (Dion & Dion, 2001; Suarez-Orozco & Qin, 2006). In their study, Coltran & Adams (2008) found that male parents deal more with discipline whereas females tend to carry cultural values more strongly.

### 8.4.3 The functions of parental socialization

For parents, cultural festivals have a number of functions. First, it is a way of introducing the Indonesian culture to the young people. The Indonesian Festival is the only event attended by most of my study participants. During the main program I observed all the six participants attending the festival. One participant, Dafna, came to the festival with her mother and other ladies wearing Muslim female attire. Two others, Abdi and Elfasa, came with some Indonesian friends. They enjoyed dance performances on the stage and bought some Indonesian food from the food courts along the river bank while chatting with their friends. In another event, the Melbourne City Culture Centre auditorium was full of, mostly, parents with their children. The children's opera was the main attraction for parents to attend the event and take their children to watch the performance. During the MIIS concert, young people were introduced to culture from different parts of Indonesia such as Aceh and Minang in Sumatra, Betawi and Yogyakarta in Java, and Bugis in Sulawesi.

Second, attendance at cultural festivals is a way of introducing Indonesian cultural artifacts to the young people. At the end of the baby shower program, for instance, all participating members enjoyed the feast. The host (the baby's parents) provided grilled lamb chops while other community members shared their platters. Two long tables were full of different Indonesian foods such as *tempe* goreng (fried fermented beans), *nasi kuning* (yellow steamed rice), and *bakso* (meat ball). Another small table was set for various Australian and Indonesian drinks such as juice, *cendol* (rice drop with palm sugar syrup), and pudding. The availability of these Indonesian foods shows that, as Jensen, Arnett & McKenzie (2011) argue, due to the complexity of globalization which includes diet and media, while western fast food spreads in

the developing world, in contrast, non-native restaurants increasingly permeate the US and European food markets, including Australia. Many young people listened and watched the demonstration of the Festival Indonesia attentively, including some of my study participants such as Dafna, Elfasa and Abdi who seemed to be interested in the game. At the end of the demonstration, some of them tried playing the traditional games guided by the demonstrator. At Minang Saiyo, when children had finished their meals, they were gathered inside a large living room to practice some Padangese dances such as *tari Piring* (plate dance) and *tari Indang* (Indang dance).

Third, attendance at cultural festivals is a way of showing current assistance to parents. During the Satay Festival event, Elfasa helped the committee setting up the stalls and events. In the children's opera program, Abdi helped the committee during the stage performance. Finti helped her mother with the food stall during the Satay festival. Fatha narrated the children's opera in English. In addition, she also served as a master of ceremony in the Indonesian Festival.

The above discussion shows that, as the previous studies suggest, the role of parents and family is significant in cultural identity development of the young people (Hockey & Jenkins, 2003; Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002; Wyn & White, 2008; Schachter & Ventura, 2008). However, not all parents' cultural practices are in line with what the young people consider important for their life in Australia, which leads to tension. Parental cultural socialization practices are contested by peer influence that the young people receive in their social life. The socialization cultural practices by Indonesian parents are not strong as they do not have cultural 'institutional completeness' (Rosenthal & Hrynevich, 1985). Unlike other major ethnic groups such

as Chinese, Greek and Vietnamese, the Indonesian community does not have strong cultural supporting institutions such as worship places, day care, sport clubs, and ethnic language schools. In addition, the size of the Indonesian community is not large and they are not concentrated in certain areas so the community cannot provide strong cultural socialization to their young people.

### 8.5 Summary

Analysis of parental cultural socialization in this chapter yields several conclusions. First, parents consider the use of Bahasa Indonesia the best way to socialize their ethnic identity to the young people. Second, they expect their young people to demonstrate family respect, provide current assistance, and future support in Indonesian ways. Parents also invited their young people to attend cultural festivals to introduce the Indonesian cultural festivals and current assistance. Among intermarriage couples, female parents tend to have stronger commitment to ethnic cultural maintenance than male. This parental cultural socialization, however, can result in tension with the young people who have been more widely exposed to Australian values, which are, as most parents believe, more individualistic than their collective culture. The young people contextually contest their parents' cultural socialization with that of their peers, which leads to their hybrid identity.

The next chapter explores the tension between parents and their young people in cultural socialization practices and how the young people develop their hybrid identity as an accommodation to both parental cultural practices and peer pressure.

## Chapter Nine

### TENSION AND HYBRID IDENTITY

#### 9.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the contested identification with Indonesia and Australia between parents and young people. Despite parental cultural socialization, the current country of settlement may have sufficiently strong influence on the young people so that they struggle in their identification with both cultures. Unlike parents, who came to Australia as adults, several young people were born or have spent most of their life in this country. For them, adjustment to the current culture integrating or assimilating to the Australian culture is inevitable (Nesdale et al., 1997; Berry, 1997; Sam, 2000).

Parental expectations are not always in line with what young people consider important in their life. This may lead to tension, which is more salient among the second or third generation of immigrant families who live between two cultural orientations. Klahr et al. (2011) posits that ethnicity is an important aspect of possible tension between adolescents and their parents. Most young people appear to be aware of the discrepancies between the mainstream and their ethnic cultures which can be a source of internal conflict (Martinez et al., 2002). The desire for greater autonomy or freedom often creates conflict between adolescents and their parents (Collins & Laursen, 2004). Phinney (1999) argues that the real conflict is not inter-group but 'between different cultural values, attitudes, and expectations within themselves' (p. 27). Living between two cultures can result in identity confusion, dual expectations, and value clashes (Haritatos & Benet-Martinez, 2003; Saroglou & Galand, 2004).

In what follows, I discuss several aspects of identification which may become grounds for tension between parents and young people. These include the use of Bahasa Indonesia and English, parental expectations and Australian family values, and involvement in Indonesian and Australian cultures. Finally, I explore how the young people develop a sense of 'hybrid' identity as the result of compromise with both cultures. This hybrid identity may be more in the form of accommodation and integration of two cultures, rather than in the form of 'third space' (Bhaba, 1994).

## **9.2 Bahasa Indonesia and English language**

The first tension between parents and young people emerges in the use of Bahasa Indonesia. All participating young people acknowledge the importance of English as the dominant language in Australia. Despite their parents' encouragement to use Bahasa Indonesia, particularly at home, they are exposed more intensively to English so that they speak English more fluently than Bahasa Indonesia. As Baron (1990) and Siegel (2003) suggest, all participants in this study believe that proficiency in English language is desirable for immigrants and is necessary for access to political and economic life. English language and citizenship are two instrumental civic demonstrations of Australian identity (Jones, 1997). English proficiency may be expected of young Australians of Indonesian origin for social, educational, and career opportunities. This proficiency is required when young people want to be accepted by their peers, succeed at school and get proper jobs.

Increased knowledge of English is often accompanied by the rapid loss of ethnic language and culture, usually at second and third generation (Veltman, 1983) which

may precipitate various relational and psychological stresses (Maloof, Rubin & Miller, 2006). The phenomenon is salient in this study, especially among the Australian-born participants. When family relationships weaken, and there is a loss of the heritage language, parental authority may also decline. Hence, parents' efforts to transmit their ethnic values and family unity diminish (Wong-Fillmore, 1991).

As a result of conflicting pressures, not all young participants are willing to use Bahasa Indonesia. Some of them mix Bahasa Indonesia with English. Mardoyo's second daughter does not speak Bahasa Indonesia as fluently as his first son. When Mardoyo speaks Bahasa Indonesia to her, she always responds in English. Similarly, Yut's second daughter, who was brought to Australia at an early age, speaks English more fluently than Bahasa Indonesia. Likewise, although Hesti emphasizes that her three daughters speak only Bahasa Indonesia at home, her youngest daughter speaks English more fluently than Bahasa Indonesia.

Several young participants, particularly the Australian-born, have very low proficiency in Bahasa Indonesia. They only understand and speak a few words. Despite her strong commitment to develop Bahasa Indonesia in her two children, for instance, Anabela's Indonesian-born son, Andy, only speaks a few words of Bahasa Indonesia, such as greetings and words related to food. He does not think it important to learn the language and believes that, compared to Bahasa Indonesia, English is easier to learn and use. He wants to learn a foreign language, but not Bahasa Indonesia. Andy said:

English is more simple for me than Bahasa Indonesia. That's why I like it better. I think English is enough for me to live in Australia. I also learn German at school. It is the language of science and technology because I like to study science at university.

Anabela's second Australian-born son does not speak Bahasa Indonesia at all.

Similarly, the Australian-born Binda understands basic Bahasa Indonesia when his parents speak to him but responds in English. He said:

I only speak English but when my parents speak Bahasa Indonesia to me, I understand a little but I always respond in English (Binda, male).

The young people's literacy skills in Bahasa Indonesia are lower than their oral skills. They can only read simple texts and write short sentences. For instance, the Indonesian-born Obri, who speaks Bahasa Indonesia well, failed the Bahasa Indonesia subject in the VCE examination and had to retake it the following year.

Not all young people are interested in their parents' attempts to encourage the use of Bahasa Indonesia. For instance, only a few young people make use of their parents' subscription to the Indonesian television channel. Abdi only watches the channel when his parents ask him to join them. Fatha only watches religious programs from the channel early in the morning before she leaves for work. Other participants – Andy, Binda, Ben, and Elfasa – said they do not have much time to watch television. If they do, they prefer to watch sports and music programs on the Australian channels.

Furthermore, attendance at language school and cultural festivals is not always voluntary. Some young people attend VSL (Victorian School of Languages) for Bahasa Indonesia classes because their parents ask them to do so. They usually stop learning when they obtain a VCE score for Bahasa Indonesia which supports their university enrolment and do not see further benefits in improving their Bahasa Indonesia literacy skills. A few participants – Binda, Andy, and Bob – prefer to take other subjects for their VCE examination, instead of Bahasa Indonesia. Several young people also attended

cultural festivals only because their parents asked them to come and help with the food or souvenir stands.

Next, as a means of Bahasa Indonesia immersion, the family holiday to Indonesia is not always effective. During their holidays, several young participants – Abdi, Elfasa, Binda, and Yarra – speak Bahasa Indonesia to their extended family but English to their siblings. In addition, not all participants have regular family holidays. Binda and Bob do not visit Indonesia regularly. Although his parents are both Indonesians, Binda has visited Indonesia just twice in his lifetime. Similarly, Bob, whose mother is Australian, has only visited Indonesia twice.

Finally, not all parents support the use of Bahasa Indonesia for their children. Several parents use only English in an attempt to support their children's schooling. Made spoke English to his daughter when she was in preparation year, to support her English acquisition and school performance. At the beginning of their life in Australia, Hendi spoke only English to his two children to support their school performance. He realized the importance of Bahasa Indonesia when the children, in years 5-6 of primary school, started losing the language and had problems with telephone communication with their grandparents and with extended family during family holidays. Since then, he has demanded his children speak Bahasa Indonesia and takes the children to gatherings of the Indonesian community where they have a chance to practice speaking the language. However, his efforts seem to be ineffective and his son and daughter still prefer to speak English at home. Hendi said:

During our holiday in Indonesia, my children feel alienated when they cannot speak Bahasa Indonesia. Besides, most of our family and relatives are still in Indonesia. We want our children to communicate with them. Since we have a large extended family in Indonesia, we had better ask our children to learn Bahasa Indonesia than

to ask them to learn English. Let alone with our parents, their grandparents, our children must be able to speak Bahasa Indonesia (Hendi).

What makes him aware of the importance of Bahasa Indonesia maintenance is the future careers of his children. Hendi believes business opportunities between Indonesia and Australia will improve. The company in which he works as an accountant is currently expanding its business to China by opening branch offices in China and hiring people who can speak both English and Chinese. Considering the population of Indonesia, he believes that his company may, one day, open a branch office in Indonesia and hire people who can speak both English and Bahasa Indonesia. Therefore, he feels it necessary that his children invest their time to maintain Bahasa Indonesia (Norton, 2000; Norton & McKinney, 2001), at least their speaking skills. His efforts, however, seem to be too late.

Sometimes, discrepancy between cognitive, affective and behavioral dimensions occurs. Several young people may verbally show a strong sense of belonging to Indonesia and pride in being Indonesian but not show any engagement with Indonesian culture. For instance, four young participants who show strong belonging to Indonesia – Yarra, Fatha, Dafna and Elfasa – speak Bahasa Indonesia less fluently than English. Identification is more than verbal; it is 'produced through action and performance', through 'wearing and showing, not storing and keeping' (Merchant, 2005, p. 301). Observational facts suggesting that the young people enjoy various aspects of living in Australia – schooling, sports, outdoor leisure, and other social events – indicate their inner sense of being Australians, despite their verbal association with Indonesia as the interviews suggest.

### 9.3 Indonesian and Australian Parental Expectations

Another cultural practice subjected to contestation is parental expectation. Coming from more individualistic and collectivistic cultural backgrounds, Indonesian and Australians parents may have different expectations of their children. Tension also emerges in the four main collectivistic-based family values: family respect, current assistance, future support and religion (Fuligni, Tseng & Lam, 1999; Nilan et al., 2011). Since the young people are intensively exposed to the Australian individual values, parents' attempts to instil collectivistic values may lead to tension.

#### 9.3.1 Family respect

Tension occurs in the area of family respect. During late adolescence and emerging adulthood, parenting might not be as directive as it is during childhood (Gauvain & Huard, 1999). There are some family values that the young people consider irrelevant to the practices they experience in the dominant Australian culture. First, the practice of not addressing parents and adults by first name is different from the culture of the majority of Australians, who see the use of first names as a sign of egalitarianism. Many young people have problems with using Mr. and Mrs. among parents of their Australian friends. Andy, for example, said that as encouraged by his mother, he always calls adults by Mr. or Mrs. with first name. An Australian friend questioned why he addressed his father by Mr. and first name, rather than only first name. Andy confirmed:

My friend said, what's wrong with you? Just call my dad by his first name. Are you sure, I asked him. He said, that's fine. That sounds weird because my mom said it is not polite.

Another contested family respect is shaking and kissing adults' hands, which is considered polite, and therefore, highly recommended, among Indonesian families. Indonesian and Australian ways of shaking hands between adults and young people are different. Elfasa commented:

I often feel awkward when shaking hands with the parents of my Ozi friends. I think I am impolite when I don't kiss their hands. Then, I think it is fine now. It shows we are equal, no difference.

Peers seem to have influenced his understanding in that he now accepts the Australian way of shaking hands which, in his opinion, shows egalitarianism.

### 9.3.2 Current assistance

Similar to family respect, most young people are reluctant to follow the Indonesian way of providing current assistance, particularly continuing to live in the same house when they are legally adults. Although most participants live with their parents until marriage, some participating young people express their desire to live independently when they are above eighteen years old. Bob, for instance, lives on his own in Melbourne, leaving his mother in Western Australia, but does not stay with his father who lives in the same city. In practice, not all parents hold this value. Katrin's parents do not insist on togetherness by living in the same house, so she is allowed to attend secondary school in Australia on her own. She said:

I live here with my two siblings only. My parents only visit us every now and then. When I was in secondary college, I stayed in the dorm of a Ladies College (Katrin).

This is in contrast to most Indonesian parents who are unlikely to allow their young daughter to live alone overseas, far away from home. Her grandmother who is Dutch-Chinese may have influenced the childrearing values of her parents. Similarly,

another parent, Made, has a more open mind on children's independence. His graduate education and permanent stay in Australia may have changed his collectivistic values. He does not mind the thought of his children leaving home as young adults but his Balinese wife may object to this.

### 9.3.3 Future support

Tension also emerges in the provision of future support and other discussions of the future. Not all young people accept their parents' desire to be personally cared for at home. Hesti and her youngest daughter experience this tension. During family time, she and her husband often tell their three daughters that they do not want to spend their retirement in an aged care home. The first two daughters support this plan but the youngest one refuses. She said that it will be better if they live in an aged care home so that they can get proper assistance from professional care givers. Hesti said:

I think this is the most important value of Indonesian family. My husband and I often ask our children's opinion on aged care system. My first two daughters said that they would not put their parents in aged care. My youngest daughter, however, said that she would. She may have stronger Australian value.

Similarly, Andy has indirectly refused his mother's request for home care, and said:

My mother told me that I have to find a wife who can show care to her. I said to her, let's just see what happens.

Another aspect of plans for the future involves the parents' role in selecting a husband or wife. Some participants, especially males, such as Andy, Elfasa, Binda and Bob, show their objection to the idea of marriage matching by their parents. It seems that the participating young people have power to express their personal choice of marriage partner. This is in line with what most of their counterparts in Indonesia have

developed. Personal choice of marriage partner is a vital concern for both male and female Indonesian urban middle-class youth (Nilan, 2008). One male participant, Elfasa, argues that, instead of being limited, he wants to expand his future marriage choice to non-Indonesian. A similar interest is also expressed by a female participant, Dafna, who would not mind marrying an Australian, as her mother has done, but wants a future husband who shares similar beliefs.

Another tension in the area of future support is selecting tertiary education. Most parents want their young people to study at universities near their home, and most participants agree with their parents. One participant, Andy, who wants to study science at a university in the United Kingdom or the United States, has to obey his mother who wants him to go to a university in Melbourne so that he can stay close to his parents. Andy said:

I actually want to study math or science at Cambridge University in the UK or MIT in the US. But, my mother told me I can't do it. I have to study here in Australia.

Andy plans to live permanently in Australia and may marry an Australian. He does not see any problem in marrying an Australian as he knows of several intermarriages between Indonesians and Australians who live a happy family life. His mother who is more concerned with his religious upbringing does not object to this because they share similar religious affiliation with the dominant culture of Australia.

### 9.3.4 Religion

Another contested family value is religion, which is an important aspect in the life of most Indonesian people. On the basis of Tajfel & Turner's (1986) social identity theory, Phinney (1990) argues that religion is an important component of ethnic identity. However, this value may be more typical to Indonesian families and less common among the Australian community. Many studies on family values in Western societies did not include this aspect (Fuligni, Tseng & Lam, 1999; Tam & Lee, 2010; Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002; Howie & Tannenbaum, 2002; Sabatier & Lannegrand-Willems, 2005).

Young people do not always accept parents' commitment to maintain religious practices through the Indonesian community center. Andy prefers to attend a church near his home where the service is in English, not in the Indonesian community center. In this local church, he leads a youth group studying the Bible and doing community service, whereas at the Indonesian community church he does not participate. Binda feels reluctant to attend the Islamic programs at the community center due to his low proficiency in Bahasa Indonesia. Binda confirmed:

I just attend the religious sermons sometimes. You know, because I don't really understand. The *Imam* often speaks Bahasa Indonesia. I just understand a little what he is talking about.

In terms of religious education, most parents believe that it is the responsibility of parents at home, not the school. Hesti, Yut, and Anabela send their children to public, not the religion affiliated, schools. They think it is enough to introduce religion practices at home and send their children to Sunday school at the community center on the weekends. Two parents who think that they are not sufficiently knowledgeable

about religion send their children to Catholic or Islamic schools. They trust schools to provide their children's religious education.

#### 9.4 Cultural traditions

The last source of tension is engagement in cultural tradition, which is an important mode of belonging (Wenger, 2008). Similar to that in the use of Bahasa Indonesia, contestation also occurs in cultural engagement. There are many cultural engagements that create tension between parents and young people. The current Australian culture seems dominant in the life of most young people in that they are more inclined to Australian than Indonesian culture. Consequently, parents have to struggle in instilling their Indonesian identity. Hesti, for example, has tension with her youngest daughter who was brought to Australia at an early age. Her daughter often refuses to attend cultural festivals or join family holidays to Indonesia as she has more friends in Australia than in Indonesia. Hesti has to 'push' her to connect more with Indonesia. Similarly, Yarsi finds it hard to include her Indonesian-born daughter in the Satay Festival and other cultural events due to her daughter's tight work schedule.

Tension decreases for a few parents who are not really concerned with the cultural involvement of their young people. For instance, Bagus does not worry about introducing Balinese or Indonesian culture to his two children, nor does he introduce Indonesian food at home. His children are only exposed to Balinese tradition when they are having holidays in Bali. He does not really care if his children do not feel Balinese or Indonesian and nor does he feel it necessary to instill his Balinese traditions in his children.

I think it is just fine. It is not a must. As long as they don't say that I am [their father] not a Balinese. And I don't think they will do. That's only an extreme example (Bagus).

Similarly, a Chinese-Indonesian, Hendi, rarely asks his children to attend Indonesian cultural festivals such as the Indonesian or Satay Festivals.

Furthermore, children's names can result in contestation. Indonesian names may support belonging with Indonesia whereas Anglicized names suggest identification with Australia. An Anglicized name is often considered a means of identifying with the culture of western settlement such as the United States, Canada, and Australia. Norton (2000) argues that an Anglicized name suggests legitimate ownership of English and, in this case, of being Australian. For instance, Abdi, Fatha and Dafna show a strong sense of belonging to Indonesia because their names sound Indonesian, not Australian. In contrast, Andy shows a stronger sense of belonging to Australia due to his Anglicized names. He prefers to be called by his first name which sounds Australian rather than his middle or last name, both of which sound more Indonesian. Sometimes, a non-Anglicized name does not impede identification with Australia. Although his name is not Anglicized, Binda shows a stronger sense of belonging to Australia than to Indonesia for other reasons.

## 9.5 Low level of tension

Tension in cultural socialization appears to be of low level for several reasons. First, intermarriage parents seem to be more tolerant of religious difference and do not impose religious practices. For instance, Yati is respectful of her husband's faith. As a Muslim, she celebrates *Ramadlan* and *Idul Fitri* as well as Christmas with her husband's family. Similarly, Putu and Bagus do not pay a great deal of attention to the religious practices of their children. As Hindus, they leave their children to choose which religious practices they are interested in observing. Putu said:

I am a kind of open minded. I don't care if you are Jewish, Muslim or Catholics. In Hindu, we believe in many goddesses but one God. I don't mind sending my children to a catholic school just for quality purposes. I believe that the more people know and are aware about religions, the more open minded they are. All religions are good. They teach the message to do good things, but some people interpret in different ways.

Second, several parents – particularly Indonesian males of intermarriage couples – are less concerned with the maintenance of Indonesian family values. As a comparison, Eldering (1998) found that Moroccan children of intermarriage parents in the Netherlands are more assimilated to the Dutch culture than those of two-Moroccan parents. Bagus follows the parenting rules of his Australian wife, by not directing their children to do what they want but leaving them to do activities themselves, including school and future jobs. This freedom is different from Indonesian values where parents usually direct their children to choose what they think is better for them such as which school to go to or what profession they will have in the future.

I never direct my children to do this or that. I just let them do and choose what they like. Although I am a mechanic, I don't think it is good if I force my son to be a mechanic (Bagus).

Instilling religious values and the use of Bahasa Indonesia sometimes creates dilemmas for parents. On one hand, religious programs such as sermons and rituals, which parents encourage the young people to attend, are mostly conducted in Bahasa Indonesia. Attending such programs is expected to improve both young people's sense of religious commitment and Bahasa Indonesia skills. On the other hand, influenced by the dominant English language, most young people have low Bahasa Indonesia skills so that they feel reluctant to attend religious programs. They expect the programs to be conducted in English, which opposes parental expectation of Bahasa Indonesia use. Parents need to adjust their Bahasa Indonesia socialization by accommodating the use of English in religious programs if they want the young people to be interested in the programs.

What makes the tension lower is that most parents appear to be open to cultural adjustment. Several parents of intermarriage couples, are not really concerned about the use of Bahasa Indonesia. For example, Bagus always speaks English to his children but a mix of English, Bahasa Indonesia and Balinese to his Australian wife so that his two children only understand a few words of Bahasa Indonesia.

Likewise, Putu sometimes speaks Balinese and Bahasa Indonesia to his Australian wife but only English to his children. He believes that his children are confused because they are exposed to both Bahasa Indonesia and Balinese so he prefers to speak English to them. He said:

I am reluctant to practice speaking Bahasa Indonesia with my children at home. During family holiday in Bali, my children often ask their cousins, which one is Balinese? Which one is Bahasa Indonesia? That's why I am reluctant to speak Bahasa Indonesia at home. I only speak English to them (Putu, male).

Based on the above discussion, I conclude that the young people seem to have developed their identities as young Australians and manage to both accommodate and resist the identity externally exposed by their parents. They seem to place greater importance on fitting with their peer culture (Vygotsky, 1978; Brown & Klute, 2003) and find ways to accommodate their Indonesian and Australian identities by selecting the identity that matches different contexts (Hoggs & Abrams, 1988). Adopting Markus & Nurius' (1986) possible future selves, they have conceptualized who they might become, and what they would like to become as young Australians of Indonesian origin. To reduce the tension, as Nelson et al., (2010) suggest, parents should have a responsive and warm relationship but a lower control of their emerging-adult children.

### **9.6 Hybrid identity development**

In multicultural Australian society, cultures 'contaminate' each other and 'the notion of untainted culture is a fantasy' (Pietersen, 1994; p. 178). The dominant Anglo-Australian culture influences ethnic minority cultures – Indonesian, Greek, Vietnamese, German, Italian, and Lebanese – and is, in turn, colored by these minority cultures. Acculturation, which is defined as 'the process of cultural change and adaptation that occurs when individuals from different cultures come into contact' with others (Gibson, 2001; p. 19) is inevitable. Kim (2001) argues that one facet of intercultural transformation is intercultural identity, which links individuals to more than one culture and allows them to embrace the values of multi-cultures.

The notion of hybridity is one which seems to explain the ways in which the participating young people in this study have developed different cultural attitudes.

Supporting Berry's (1990, 2006) acculturation attitudes and Ward's (2001) adaption model, three of them –Andy, Binda and Bob – have, to a certain extent, assimilated to the Australian culture. They feel they are just like other young Australians and are not really concerned with the heritage culture of their Indonesian parents. Three others – Yarra, Finti and Obri – manage to integrate or counterbalance both cultures as their identity. The remaining six participants –Abdi, Elfasa, Fatha, Dafna, Meskara and Katrin – show a strong sense of belonging to Indonesia, but acknowledge the importance of the mainstream Australian culture. This finding supports what Yagmur & van de Vijver (2012) found in their comparative study on the cultural adjustment of Turkish immigrants in four countries (Australia, France, Germany, and the Netherlands). They found that although Australia is considered the country with the least pressure to assimilation, Turkish immigrants in Australia showed least maintenance of original culture and more adjustment to the dominant culture.

The participating young people have developed multiple identities (Hoggs & Abrams, 1988) by identifying with Indonesia in certain contexts, and Australia in others. At home, they feel more Indonesian, eat Indonesian food, watch Indonesian television channels, and speak Bahasa Indonesia. Outside, they speak English, eat Australian food, play on beaches, watch Australian football and, show stronger identification as Australian. Sirin & Fine (2007) argue that 'in the cultural spaces of contention and compliance, among youth and across generations, culture is made, and remade, in the prayers, around the dining room table, in schools and gym class, and in the midst of family arguments' (p. 161). The hybrid identity that the participating young people in this study develop is not in the form of 'third space' (Bhaba, 1994) but more one of

accommodating and integrating the two cultures (Berry, 1997; Vasta, 1995; White & Wyn, 2008).

However, hybrid identity is developed over time. The Australian-born Elfasa and Yarra, for instance, did not develop an early sense of being Indonesian. In his predominantly white kindergarten, Elfasa thought he was just like other Anglo-Australian children and felt part of the group. Only after his first family holiday at the age of eight did he start developing his identification with Indonesia. Similarly, Yarra believes that she needs time to develop her sense of belonging to both Australia and Indonesia. Her membership of both cultures has grown through a long process and fluctuates with contexts. When she was at primary school, she considered herself to be Australian. The feeling of being both Australian and Indonesian started growing stronger when she was at secondary school. At this time, she started to realize that her parents come from two different countries, that she lives in a family of two different cultures, Australia and Indonesia.

I think it is not instant. It was a progressive thing, I think. In my whole life, people keep asking where I come from. I started to realize more at early secondary college when I started to speak Indonesian more fluently and started to be able to perform more Indonesian dances. Then, I consider myself as Indonesian just anybody else. I come home to an Indonesian family style. But during the day, I eat sushi, fish and chips or at McDonald. I study at an Australian educational setting and work in an Australian company. I think it is exactly half (Yarra).

In the same way, the Indonesian-born young people have developed their sense of being Australian after several years of living in Australia. At the beginning of his life in Australia, Obri felt strongly Indonesian. He missed his Indonesian extended family very much and frequently contacted his grandparents over the phone. Finti also had similar experience. She was sad to leave her family in Indonesia. However, after living in

Australia for several years, both Obri and Finti have started enjoying their life in Australia, feel more Australian and have finally decided to take out Australian citizenship. A similar process was also experienced by Dafna who was brought to Australia when she was four years old. Finti, Obri, and Dafna started negotiating their 'betweenness' (Bhaba, 1994) when they had spent more than half of their life in Australia.

Most young people in the study have negotiated their hyphenated Indonesian-Australian identity. For instance, Yarra speaks both English and Bahasa Indonesia fluently, is familiar with Australian values and able to perform Indonesian dances. Holding Australian citizenship, Elfasa speaks both English and Bahasa Indonesia fluently, has benefited from the Australian education system, enjoys life as a young Australian as well as family holidays to Indonesia. Within varying levels of cultural practices, all the participating youth acknowledge their identification with both Indonesia and Australia. Hyphenated-selves are a common phenomenon among ethnic minority groups such as African, Spanish, and Muslim-Americans (Sirine & Fine, 2007). Research also supports the findings from this study, suggesting that Asian-Australians feel a detachment from their ethnic community (Clark, 2007) and tend to have a more complex and fragmented hybrid identity (Ang, 2001; Julian, 2004; Lee, 2006; Thomas, 2003).

Multiple identity is an accommodation to difference. Butcher & Thomas (2003) posit that most young people in Australia have more tolerant and open-minded attitudes, despite their conscious claim of ethnic identity, and show strong commitment to values of tolerance, equality and diversity. Almost all the participating young people, such as Abdi, Elfasa, Fatha, Dafna, Katrin, Andy, Binda, and Meskara, have experienced

how the majority of Australian people exercise tolerance at school, university, work and other public spheres. Most of them also feel that, as members of an ethnic minority, they have equal opportunities as other young Australians. On the other hand, as members of ethnic minority group, the participants also show tolerance to the dominant culture and the culture of other ethnic minority groups. They seem to have accepted that they are part of multicultural Australia.

Accommodation to difference may lead to intermarriage, which supports the development of hybrid identity. Luke and Luke (1999) point out that interracial marriage is the site for the development and articulation of hybrid identity. Khoo et al. (2009) found that the level of inter-ethnic marriage among European-Australians is higher amongst second and third generation migrants. This figure may rise with the increasing number of non-European migrants to Australia, as several participating parents in the study have indicated. Consequently, an increasing proportion of the Australian population has ancestors from more than one country (Roy & Hamilton, 1997). Accommodating such diversity, two young participants, Elfasa and Andy, reject their parents' suggestions to marry only Indonesians. They have seen intermarriage couples among the Indonesian community members who live happily. Following the example of their intermarriage parents, Finti and Dafna, would not mind marrying Australians. Other participants whose parents are both Indonesians such as Fatha, Katrin, and Abdi, would not mind marrying Australians but prefer those who share similar faith affiliations.

That the young participants have developed biculturalism supports the finding that most young Australians feel comfortable with multiple identities and use them

strategically, to be 'different people', depending on the situation (Vasta, 1995; White & Wyn, 2008). Due to their contested identification between parents (imagined) and peers (real) (Wenger, 1998; Andersen, 2006; Norton, 2000), the young people show a sense of belonging to Indonesia at home, the community center, during cultural festivals and family holidays, but identify with Australia at school, university, sport grounds and during parties. This phenomenon is in line with a similar bicultural identity development among Greek and Italian-Australian young people who do not see identity as essentialized and fixed but change by contexts (Rosenthal & Hrynevich, 1985; Marotta, 2008).

As an acculturation process, bicultural identity is strategic. First, bicultural identity integration happens when the two cultures (mainstream and ethnic) are compatible (Cheng, Lee & Benet-Martinez, 2006; Berry, 1990). In this study, switching between two cultures may be easy among young people of intermarriage parents such as Yarra, Obri, Fintri and Bob whose homes offer elements of both Indonesian and Australian cultures. It may also be easy for Katrin and Andy who, although not born to intermarriage parents, share similar faith affiliations with the mainstream Australian culture.

Second, when the two cultures are highly distinct, separate or oppositional, separation or alienation may take place (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999). Studies show that acculturation may become more stressful for non-white, non-Western, non-European immigrant people due to the greater cultural and phenotype differences between them and members of the mainstream cultural group, as experienced by most ethnic minority groups in the United States, Canada, Western Europe, and Australia, all of

which have an increased number of immigrants from Latin America, Africa, Middle East, and South and Southeast Asia (McKay & Wong, 2000; Richmond, 2002). Such switching may be harder for other participants of Hindu and Islam adherence –Abdi, Meskara, Elfasa, Fatha, Dafna, and Binda – who were born to Indonesian parents and who do not share similar faith affiliations with the mainstream.

However, this negative acculturation attitude does not appear to be true for the participating young people who seem to have developed their Indonesian and Australian identities independently but simultaneously, which shows ‘a broader and more valid framework of acculturation’ (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000; p. 62). Their positive acculturation attitude is influenced by birth place (nativity) and age of arrival in the host country as two important acculturation markers which play a significant role in the cross-cultural adaptation process (Maloof, Rubin & Miller, 2006; Schwartz, Pantin, Sullivan, Prado & Szapocznik, 2006). Most participants were born in Australia or were brought to Australia at an early age so they consider the country an integral part of their identity. They also spend most of their time with peers and place a greater importance on fitting in with their peer culture (Brown & Klute, 2003).

### **9.6.1 Dimensions of hybrid identity**

Bicultural identities have dimensions such as knowledge of cultural beliefs and values, positive attitudes towards minority and majority groups, communication ability and feeling confident in both cultures (LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993). As a sign of biculturalism, the participants acknowledge the importance of Anglo-Australia while maintaining their Indonesian identity. Dixon (2000) posits that these identities (Anglo-

Celtic and new ethnic) are two of three broad streams of Australian identity after Indigenous identity. The young people may have embodied the blending of two diverse cultures or traditions which enables them to select aspects of various backgrounds to formulate an identity which suits their individuality (Beltran, 2004; Pyonting, 2009). There are some dimensions of hybrid identity that the young participants have developed, which include name, language, holidays and leisure activities, cuisine and fashion, cultural and religion practices (Smolicz, 1989; Vasta, 1993; White, 1994; Clancy, 2004; Moua & Lamborn, 2010).

The first dimension of hybrid identity is naming. Some participants, especially the children of intermarriage, have Indonesian given but Anglo-Australian family names. For example, Obri uses his Australian father's family name. Others have Anglo-Australian given names but Indonesian last names. Andy, for instance, whose parents are both Indonesians, feels more Australian due to his given name which sounds more Australian than Indonesian. He prefers to be called by his Anglicized first name than his Indonesian family name. Several participants of intermarriage parents who have Anglo-Australian physical appearance, such as Putu's children, show a sense of belonging to Indonesia due to their Indonesian full names.

The second dimension of hybrid identity is language use. A few participants speak both English and Bahasa Indonesia fluently. For example, Abdi, Fatha, Katrin, Dafna and Elfasa have good English and Bahasa Indonesia speaking skills. Sometimes, they mix Bahasa Indonesia with English. A few of them such as Meskara, Andy, Binda, Bob and Yarra speak English more fluently than Bahasa Indonesia. However, all participants have better English than Bahasa Indonesia literacy skills. They can only read

simple texts and write short paragraphs in Bahasa Indonesia. This last aspect of language use shows their strong acknowledgement of Anglo-Celtic as the dominant Australian culture in which they have been raised.

Another dimension of hybridity is fashion. Almost all participants wear both Australian and Indonesian costumes in different contexts. On most occasions, the participants wear the clothing of the dominant Australian culture. For instance, all male participants wear casual dress of jeans and t-shirt when going to university and socializing with their peers. Based on photo discussion, Abdi who shows strong identification with Indonesia, wore a coat and tie when attending the wedding of an Indonesian couple. He did not wear batik shirt as many of his friends did. Another photo shows Elfasa and his friend, wearing shorts and t-shirts when spending a holiday on the beach. Meanwhile, photo discussion also shows that many participants such as Fatha, Meskara, Elfasa, Dafna, Abdi wore Indonesian cultural garments such as *batik* shirt/dress, *odang* (head scarf) and Muslim attire when attending cultural and religious festivals. A female Muslim, Dafna, goes to the swimming pool in her headscarf and long swimming wear.

The fourth dimension of hybrid identity is cultural practices. Most young participants are engaged in cultural practices such as the Festival Indonesia, the Satay Festival, the *Indo-Monashis* graduation, and the Independence Day. At the same time, the participants also engage themselves in Australian celebrations such as Australia Day and Christmas. They are also engaged in Australian popular culture such as sport, going to the beach and other outdoor leisure activities. Elfasa, for instance, prefers to play badminton, a famous sport among Indonesians, but likes watching Australian football.

The next dimension of hybridity is cuisine. All participants are familiar with Indonesian food through cultural events. My observation in several cultural events shows that parents provided various types of Indonesian food and drink such as *bakso* (meat bowl), *nasi goreng* (fried rice), *lontong* (rice cake) and *cendol* (rice-drop). On the other hand, they are also familiar with Australian food. Refreshments at cultural events also include lamb chops which are very familiar in Australia but not common in Indonesia. The participants are also exposed to Australian food in their daily life. For instance, most participants are accustomed to having cereals for their breakfast. One of Abdi's favorite foods is pavlova, a well-known dish among Australians.

The final dimension of hybridity is religion. This element is instrumental in the life of most participants. This does not mean that they adhere to more than one faith affiliation. Instead, while showing high commitment to religion practices, as is the case with their counterparts in Indonesia (Nilan et al., 2011), the young participants show tolerance to different faith affiliations. For instance, as a practicing Muslim, Fatha has a large circle of friends, both Indonesians and Australians, who have different faith affiliations. Abdi, who was sent to a faith-based secondary school, transferred to a public school, due to its more interesting school program, disregarding his parents' commitment to maintain his religious belief. As a practicing Hindu, Meskara also celebrates Christmas with his parents and siblings.

### 9.6.2 Benefits of hybrid identity

Studies show that identity is the 'fundamental property' of human beings (Crawford & Rossiter, 2006; p.89) and bicultural identity is considered the healthiest form of ethnic identity as it provides greater flexibility and facilitates adaptation (Domanico et al., 1994; Umana-Taylor et al., 2002). Biculturalism can be associated with feelings of pride, uniqueness, and a rich sense of community and history which is a potentially positive attribute in today's global world (Bell & Harrison, 1996; Haritatos & Benet-Martinez, 2003). Kim & Omizo (2006) argue that integration (biculturalism) into the mainstream culture seems to be 'the psychologically healthiest state' for Asian-Americans. This is also relevant to the young Australians of Indonesian origin in this study. They enjoy being bicultural and benefit from having hybrid identity.

First, hybrid identity provides psychological comfort. Three young people of intermarriage parents (Yarra, Obri, and Finti) show sense of belonging to both Indonesia and Australia. They enjoy their permanent life in Australia and feel like other young Australians. They also feel that they are Indonesian when they have family holidays and meet their extended Indonesian family. Another six young people (Abdi, Fatha, Meskara, Dafna, Elfasa and Katrin) who show stronger affiliation with Indonesia acknowledge the importance of Australia in their life. In fact, four of them have taken Australian citizenship but feel unique as young Australians of Indonesian origin. The other three participants (Andy, Bob and Binda) who show strong identification with Australia display association with Indonesia due to their parental origin. Bicultural competence is considered an element of resilience and a healthy psychological condition (Ryff, Singer, Love, & Essex, 1998).

Second, a part of biculturalism, being bilingual is also beneficial. Most participants can speak both Bahasa Indonesia and English. Bilingual individuals can have better cognitive and affective development (Bialystok, 2001), and enjoy better educational success (Felliciano, 2001). Fatha, Yarra, Finti, Abdi, Elfasa and Obri feel fortunate to be able to speak both languages and are convinced that this competence supports their current tertiary education and future careers. Their VCE score for Bahasa Indonesia supported their enrollment at university, whereas their Bahasa Indonesia skills enhance their opportunities for employment.

Next, some participants acknowledge the religious tolerance shown by the majority of Australians. At work, Fatha is allowed to observed daily prayers during break time. Dafna feels comfortable wearing her headscarf out of home, even when playing at recreation places. Elfasa and Abdi attend the religious celebrations in the hall of a secondary college hired by the community. They can also ask permission from university or work to attend religious festivals.

In addition, the young people enjoy the social acceptance of being young Australians of Indonesian origin. It seems that, although visible difference is considered a key factor in belonging to the mainstream Australian culture (Zelinka, 1995) as the case with Bosnian humanitarian refugees and other non-English speaking Europeans who have physical similarities to the dominant group despite their obvious cultural differences (Val Colic-Peisker, 2005), physical features do not really influence the participants' social acceptance. The participants emphasize similarity more than difference. For instance, all participants claim that they have never experienced racist treatment at school, university, or work. One participant, Elfasa, has heard racist

discrimination was experienced by his Asian friends but does not experience it himself. He believes that sport activities at school teach them how to develop essential life skills such as fairness, leadership and hard work (Danish, Taylor & Fazio, 2006). As the majority of Australian young people have positive attitudes towards minority migrant children (Griffith & Nesdale, 2006) and cultural diversity (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010), the study participants find positive acceptance from peers which supports their identification as young Australians of Indonesian origin. On the other hand, as members of ethnic minority group, they also show tolerance to the dominant culture and the cultural diversity of multicultural Australia.

### 9.7 Summary

Analysis of cultural contestation in this chapter yields several conclusions. First, influenced by the current dominant culture, tension occurs in several parental cultural practices such as the use of Bahasa Indonesia, parental expectations and cultural involvement. Despite their identification with Indonesia, most participating young people have limited Bahasa Indonesia skills. They speak English more fluently than Bahasa Indonesia and only a few speak both languages fluently. The Australian-born young people only understand the language but cannot speak it.

Second, tension also emerges in parental expectations such as family respect, current assistance, future support and religion. The young people have different perspectives to their parents in relation to addressing adults by first name, staying at home when they are above eighteen, providing personal home care, and observing

religious practices. However, the tension is not severe as parents are accommodative to the adjustment of their young people to the culture of current settlement. Finally, most young people have developed a beneficial hyphenated Indonesian-Australian identity and use it strategically. They have developed an integrative and accommodative hybrid identity.

The next chapter of this thesis presents several conclusions, implications for parental ethnic identity socialization practices, and recommendations for further studies on this issue.

## Chapter Ten

### CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 10.1 Introduction

This research is an urban ethnographic study of ethnic identity negotiation among young Australians of Indonesian origin, which is based on the social identity development (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Giddens, 1991; Hall, 1994) and Vygotsky's (1968) sociocultural identity development. In this study, aspects of identity include belonging (how much the participants feel Indonesian or Australian), centrality (how important the group is for personal identity), evaluation (positive or negative feelings about the group) and tradition (how much they practice ethnic behaviours and values) (Tajfel, 1978a; Phinney, 1990; Ward, 2001; Barrett and Davis, 2008). For a more comprehensive analysis of social identification, I also made use of Berry's (1997) acculturation process, the identity motives of Vignoles (2011), Wenger's (2008) modes of belonging; engagement, imagination and alignment, Norton's (2000, 2001) identity and investment, as well as Andersen's (2006) imagined communities.

Previous studies on ethnic identity socialization and maintenance in several multicultural countries with large migrant populations such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia, are also referred to in this study as a starting point and comparison. The studies include the maintenance of collectivistic family values among Asian and Spanish Americans (Fuligni et al., 1999), ethnic identity socialization in the United States (Phinney, 1990), practices of ethnic identity socialization among Asian-American families (Moua & Lambourn, 2010), ethnic

identity maintenance among immigrants from Latin America, Africa, Middle East, South and Southeast Asia in Canada and Western Europe (McKay & Wong, 2000; Richmond, 2002), ethnic language maintenance among young Australians of ethnic minority groups (Clyne, 2005; Willoughby, 2006; Lohm, 2012), ethnic identity negotiation among Indonesian-born Australian residents (Mulyana, 1995), and religious identity among young Indonesian-Muslims in Melbourne, Australia (Zulfikar, 2011).

In this last chapter, I provide an overall conclusion to the analysis discussed in the previous five chapters (Chapters 5-9) drawn from the twelve case studies. The conclusion is a synthesis of the summaries in these chapters analyzed by relevant theories and supported by previous studies. I also provide several implications for ethnic identity socialization practices and recommendations for the future study in this field.

## **10.2 Key conclusions**

The following are several key conclusions derived from the study findings, responding to three sub-questions put forward in Chapter One of this thesis. The questions are: How do the young Australian residents of Indonesian origin show their sense of belonging and attitudes towards both Indonesia and Australia? How do social contexts (parents and peers) influence the young participants' identification with both countries? How do the young participants develop their hybrid identity which emerges from both Indonesian and Australian cultures? The conclusions are divided into five sections: strong identification with Indonesia, strong sense of belonging to Australia, a balanced identification with both Indonesia

and Australia, parental contested ethnic identity socialization and the development of multiple or 'hybrid' identities. I put the word hybrid in quotation marks because, in this study, it may not mean a real 'third space' (Bhaba, 1994).

### 10.2.1 Strong identification with Indonesia

Based on the discussion in the first three sections of data discussion (Chapters 5-7), the young participants have different levels of identification with Indonesia. The majority of the participants (six young people) show strong identification with Indonesia, despite their acknowledgement of the beneficial life in Australia. As discussed in Chapter Five, the six participants show pride and confidence when presenting themselves as young Australians of Indonesian origin to their Australian friends and, therefore, selected more photos which show Indonesia as the setting. They have various reasons for this strong identification such as flag, people (family members) food (*bakso*), clothing (*batik* shirt), sport (badminton), beach (in Bali), and *gadang* house (at the miniature village of beautiful Indonesia). Following Tajfel and Turner's (1986) social identity theory, the six participants have developed associations with Indonesia, the ethnic group of their parents, and then, compared it with their association with Australia, their country of current settlement. Being self-reflexive (Giddens, 1991; Hall, 1994) they believe that identification with Indonesia is important, signifying their background, despite their acknowledgement of association with Australia, representing their new route.

As the result of their strong identification with Indonesia, this first group display positive attitudes towards Indonesia and have found many ways to associate themselves with the country while living in Australia. They involve themselves in

cultural promotion and fundraising programs to provide financial assistance for needy Indonesian people. These young participants also engage themselves in Indonesian culture through speaking Bahasa Indonesia, obeying Indonesian parental expectations of respect, current and future assistance, and being involved in cultural events. Bahasa Indonesia, which is considered as either their first or second language, is used in various contexts such as home, school, university and community center. Within their limited literacy skills of Bahasa Indonesia, the young people perceive many benefits of this ethnic language maintenance such as social, academic and future careers. In relation to identity, the participants consider Bahasa Indonesia an internal instrument which binds them into the feeling of being Indonesian as well as an external marker of identity which distinguishes them from other Australians (Hoed, 1999; Anderson, 2006).

In line with social identity development, most of the six participants have convincingly stated what they would like to become in the future (Markus & Nurius, 1986). That is, they want to become young people who inclusively feel both Indonesian and Australian. Therefore, they categorize themselves as young Australians of Indonesian origin who are distinctive from, but feel like, their Australian friends (Wenger, 2008; Vignoles, 2011).

However, despite their strong identification with Indonesia, these six participants also show a sense of belonging to Australia. They acknowledge the welfare benefits of living in Australia such as good health, education and leisure facilities. Four of the six participants have taken out Australian citizenship as a means of formally demonstrating their membership with Australia. They have nurtured values of tolerance, independence, punctuality, modesty and critical thinking. They

are also familiar with popular Australian outdoor leisure activities such as activities at beaches and parks.

Finally, influenced by Australian education values, several of them show critical attitudes towards the current social and political conditions of Indonesia such as people's lack of awareness of public cleanliness and social politeness.

### **10.2.2 Strong identification with Australia**

Discussion in Chapter Six reveals that another three participants show stronger identification with Australia than Indonesia by displaying positive attitudes towards living in Australia and taking out Australian citizenship. Due to their birthplace and permanent residence in Australia, they feel fortunate to experience Australian education, have access to proper education and jobs, and to enjoy the good life in the country. They feel like other young Australians, and are not very concerned with Indonesia and the ethnic culture of their parents.

Their strong sense of belonging to Australia is evidenced by their adoption of Australian values, which include English language, religious freedom, sport prowess and outdoor leisure (Jones, 1997; Smith & Philips, 2001; Purdue, 2003). This second group of the participants speak English fluently, like most Australians, and have limited skills in Bahasa Indonesia. As religion is instrumental in their life, they can find freedom in observing their religious practices, but are influenced by their English language proficiency. They prefer attending religious sermons delivered in English at their local church but feel reluctant to attend the religious programs at the Indonesian community center. As young people, they also enjoy outdoor leisure in Australia such playing and watching sports, and celebrating social events outdoor.

Adoption of Australian values demonstrates their sense of belonging to the country. After engaging in, and imagining themselves to be part of Australia, the three participants align themselves with the values and cultural practices of the community (Andersen, 2006; Wenger, 2008). In this study, the three participants adjust themselves to several values considered integral to Australia such as the use of English, religious freedom, fair-go, tolerance, understanding, diversity, security and wellbeing, sporting prowess, and outdoor life style (Jones, 1997; Smith & Philips, 2001; Purdue, 2003). They have adopted these values as part of their social identity.

In contrast, these three participants show weak identification with Indonesia due to their birthplace in Australia, limited contact with Indonesia, and parents who are more open-minded to the culture of current settlement. Their only reason for acknowledging that they are young Australians of Indonesian origin is because either or both of their parents are Indonesian.

### **10.2.3 Balanced identification**

As discussed in Chapter Seven, the other three participants show a balanced identification with both Indonesia and Australia by showing a strong sense of belonging and positive attitudes towards both countries. As photo discussion reveals, they display a relatively similar number of photos about their life in Indonesia and Australia.

Their reasons for identification with Indonesia include parental origin, birthplace and extended family. Most participants believe that Indonesia is an ethnic identity with which they identify themselves in their social interaction with their fellow Australians. In contrast, for the Australian-born particularly, they also show

sense of belonging to Australia because of birthplace and economic and social benefits of living in Australia.

As the result of their balanced identification with Indonesia and Australia, this third group of the participants has adopted both Indonesian and Australian values. Having taken out Australian citizenship, they feel confident and proud of being Indonesian-Australian and promote the culture of Indonesia such as dance, food and clothing to the public Australia. They also hold the Indonesian values of parental respect and assistance as well as Australian values of independence and tolerance and show engagement in both cultures. Although they speak English more fluently, they have good Indonesian speaking proficiency, and are engaged in both Indonesian cultural festivals and Australian popular cultures.

It seems that the last three participants have combined their real and imagined identities, by investing themselves to achieve the identity of Indonesian-Australian (Norton, 2000; Andersen, 2006). They acknowledge that they currently live in Australia but imagine themselves to be part of Indonesia. Following the notion of Markus and Nurius' (1986) possible selves, the three participants describe themselves as Australians who value their Indonesian identity. They combine their sense of belonging with both Indonesia and Australia, integrate both cultures as their social identity (Berry, 1997; Sam, 2000), and use them strategically in different contexts (Vasta, 1995; White & Wyn, 2008).

#### 10.2.4 Contested parental socialization

Chapter Eight explores parental efforts to instill their cultural identity. They use Bahasa Indonesia to socialize their ethnic identity to the young people and expect their young people to demonstrate family respect, provide current assistance, and future support in Indonesian ways. They also invite their young people to attend cultural festivals to introduce the Indonesian culture and family values. Among intermarriage couples, female parents tend to have stronger commitment to ethnic cultural maintenance than male parents, which is a common phenomenon in other ethnic groups in which females serve as culture carriers (Dion & Dion, 2001; Suarez-Orozco & Qin, 2006; Coltran & Adams, 2008).

Parental cultural socialization is contested and, therefore, leads to tension with the young people who have been more widely exposed to Australian values. Tension emerges in parental expectations such as family respect, current assistance, future support and religion. The young people have different perspectives to their parents in relation to addressing adults by first name, staying at home when they are above eighteen, providing personal home care, and observing religious practices. However, the tension is not severe as most parents are open-minded in their response to the culture of current settlement adopted by their young people.

Discussion suggests that parents consider their young people's use of Bahasa Indonesia an indicator of identification which shows belonging and distinctiveness to their ethnic group (Vignoles, Manzi, Regalia, Jemmolo & Scabini, 2008; Vignoles, 2011). They believe that speaking Bahasa Indonesia is a skill which can encourage a sense of belonging to Indonesia and distinguish them as young Australians of Indonesian origin (Hoed, 1990; Clyne, 2005). For parents, Bahasa Indonesia is a

means of expressing values of advice, wisdom, and prayer (Fishman, 1997). On the other hand, influenced by their socio-cultural context (Vygotsky, 1968), the young people prefer to speak English and, thus, have limited proficiency in Bahasa Indonesia. Most young people do not totally agree with the Indonesian values of parental respect, assistance, and cultural engagement introduced by their parents.

### **10.2.5 Hybrid identity development**

Chapter Nine shows that, as the result of contested cultural socialization, tension occurs between parents and their young people in several areas of socialization such as the use of Bahasa Indonesia, parental expectations and cultural involvement. Despite their identification with Indonesia, most participating young people have limited Bahasa Indonesia and better English proficiency. The Australian-born young people only understand this language but cannot speak it.

Therefore, most young people have developed a beneficial hyphenated Indonesian-Australian identity. All the twelve participants have developed multiple identities (Hoggs & Abrams, 1988) and use them strategically, to be 'different people', depending on the situation (Vasta, 1995; White & Wyn, 2008). Most of them feel Indonesian at home, Australian outside, and have not developed a 'third space' as their hybrid identity (Bhaba, 1994). With their parents and siblings, they speak Bahasa Indonesia, enjoy Indonesian food, watch Indonesian television channels, have family holidays to Indonesia, maintain parental respect, current support and religion practices as their cultural values. At the same time, in the wider social context, they speak English, eat Australian food, play on beaches, watch Australian football and, show stronger identification as Australian. They also enjoy their permanent residence

in Australia, receive social benefits and are familiar with Australian popular culture. They adopt Australian values of independence, tolerance to difference, religious freedom, sport prowess, outdoor leisure, and, have taken out Australian citizenship. In the cultural spaces of contention and compliance, among youth and across generations, 'culture is made, and remade, in the prayers, around the dining room table, in schools and gym class, and in the midst of family arguments' (Sirin & Fine, 2007; p. 161). Following Huang, Teo & Yeoh (2000), since cultures are not fixed, but are 'transient social constructions' (p. 394), for these young people, identity is not essentialized and fixed but is grounded both in their society of origin and in the host society (Glick, Schiller, Basch & Blaze, 1992; Marotta, 2008).

Furthermore, identification is more than verbal, it is 'produced through action and performance', through 'wearing and showing, not storing and keeping' (Merchant, 2005, p. 301). Despite their verbal association as Indonesian, most participants, as observational facts show, enjoy various aspects of living in Australia – schooling, sports, outdoor leisure, and other social events – indicating their inner sense of being Australian.

### **10.3 Study limitation**

The study has several limitations, particularly in relation to the data collection process. The process of data collection faces several problems. They include selection of participants, semi-structured interviews, photo discussion, and observation. What follows is the description of each problem.

### 10.3.1 Selection of participants

The first problem in selecting participants was identifying adequate representation of local ethnicity and faith groups. Since Indonesia is 'an imagined community' (Anderson, 2006) of different local ethnic groups, researching Indonesian people should include participants that include various local ethnicities. I have tried my best to find as many local ethnic representations as possible by including several major ethnic groups from the most Western to the most Eastern parts of Indonesia. However, I found it hard to involve participants from the most Eastern part of Indonesia such as the Western Papuans. So, they were not involved in this study.

In terms of faith group, I did not find problems when identifying the adherents of Islam and Christianity as both groups have a large number of members in Melbourne. However, I had difficulty identifying adherents of Hindu due to its limited membership. I had to make an extra effort to find young Hindu participants who met the requirements of my study. Although I contacted several Balinese families who were interested in my study, most of them did not have young people of a minimum of eighteen years old. I also received a slow response from Mahindra Bali as they rarely meet at the Consulate General of Indonesia. To overcome this problem, I used snowballing processes which enabled me to have one participant of eighteen years old. I also did not find a Buddhist participating youth but had a Buddhist parent who had converted to Christianity.

Finally, not all young participants completed their participation in the study. One participant withdrew due to her work commitment. She was interviewed but did not have sufficient time for photo discussions. Fortunately, she was replaced by two

other participants coming from the same ethnic group and with similar religious affiliation.

### **10.3.2 Semi-structured interview**

Several problems also occurred during the semi-structured interviews. Tight work schedules and school commitments were the main reasons. One participating female parent who works as a schoolteacher was only available for interview during school holidays, which was at the end of the year. A male parent who works as a chef has a very tight work schedule. He only had time during the weekend in between his work shift. Another young participant was having family holidays to Indonesia during the interview period and I had to wait until he returned to Australia. Other participants, both parents and young people, changed the interview appointment at the last minute, or even after the researcher had arrived at the interview venue. I remained patient to ensure the willingness of the participants to take part in the study.

### **10.3.3 Photo-interview**

Another problem occurred during the photo interviews. At the beginning, some participants were reluctant to show their photos as they considered them personal. However, when I told them that I would guarantee confidentiality and that the photos would remain their property, they started to share the photos with me.

Second, my position of insider researcher may have influenced their decision in selecting the photos. They may have wanted to please me by selecting more photos that represent their feelings of being Indonesian and fewer photos about Australia. To reduce this possibility of subjectivity, I reminded them several times that they were free to pick photos that may represent their feelings of being

Indonesian or Australian. They should not let my status as an Indonesian researcher influence their expressions of identification. This strategy seemed work well.

#### **10.3.4 Observation**

Most cultural events and religious festivals are annual. I had to find the right time for the observation to happen. For instance, one cultural festival passed before I obtained my ethics approval. Consequently, I had to wait another year for the event to take place.

In addition, identifying the motivation of youth attending the festival was not easy. I found it hard to identify if they came to the cultural events or religious festivals because they were interested in them or because their parents asked them to come along.

#### **10.4 Implications**

Identification with both Indonesia, the country of origin, and Australia, the country of current settlement, has significant implications, particularly for parents. To encourage continued identification with Indonesia, parents have to be flexible in socializing their ethnic identity to the young people. They need to be more open to the inevitable influence of the dominant culture and incorporate its values with those of their ethnic culture. With this awareness, the young people are likely to be more willing to maintain their ethnic culture and integrate its values with the values of the current culture of settlement. With this, tension will lessen and the relationship between parents and their children will become more harmonious.

Second, this identification also implies a beneficial relationship between the two countries. For the Indonesian government, the participating young people's

identification with Indonesia shows the level of their connection with their parents' country of origin. Despite their permanent residence in Australia, the young people still show association with Indonesia, have positive attitudes towards Indonesia and support the country. This is in line with the emerging awareness of the Indonesian government of the importance of the Indonesian diaspora worldwide.

Third, for the Australian government, the young participants' identification with Australia shows positive association. Despite their ethnic identification as Indonesian, the participating young people acknowledge the importance of permanent residence in Australia, as evidenced from their citizenship. Most participants integrate the values of Australia and Indonesia and proudly present their Indonesian-Australian identity, which is essential to strengthen the Australian national resilience. This phenomenon is also essential to maintain the good relationship between two neighbouring countries, especially people to people diplomacy.

### **10.5 Recommendations**

There is much more to understand about ethnic identity maintenance and development among the young Indonesian diaspora, in Australia particularly, and worldwide. Based on the conclusions above, this study puts forwards several recommendations. First, considering the importance of relations between Indonesia and Australia as two neighboring countries, the governments of both Australia and Indonesia should emphasize the importance of people-to-people diplomacy as an integral part of their government-to-government bilateral relations. To build a more mutual cooperation, young people of both nations, as future leaders, should have good understanding about each other as pioneered by the participating young

people in this study. They should be engaged in various cross-cultural activities which can open up their perspectives on the importance of neighborhood and bilateral cooperation.

Second, as this study only involves twelve young people and twelve parents of different families in Melbourne, more participants from Indonesian families across Australia should be included so that a future study can have more generalized findings. As is the case with quantitative inquiry, an increased number of cases within a qualitative study adds to the trustworthiness and generalizability of the study.

Third, with a larger number of participants, the method should include both survey (quantitative) and semi-structured interviews (qualitative). This mixed method may be able to explore the objective and subjective feelings of the participants so that it can provide more comprehensive information on the ethnic identity socialization process among a larger number of young Australians of Indonesian origin.

Fourth, since the Indonesian diaspora is not only in Australia, it would be valuable to have a comparative study of the maintenance of ethnic identity among Indonesians worldwide, such as in the United States, Europe, Africa, Middle East, Central Asia, and Canada. This comparative study may shed more comprehensive light on some possibly similar and different patterns of ethnic identity maintenance among young people of the Indonesian diaspora worldwide.

Furthermore, since language is the most important core value of ethnic identity maintenance, future research should consider Bahasa Indonesia proficiency achievement among the participants.

Due to the large number of local ethnic groups in Indonesia, further research should also include more representation of these local ethnic groups, especially from the eastern part of Indonesia. The inclusion of representatives of more local ethnic groups may represent more comprehensively Indonesia as an ethnic minority group in Australia.

As a final remark, I understand that researching the subjective feelings of a minority ethnic group is prone to subjectivity. Despite my strong efforts to adhere to research method so that I can manage 'objectiveness', as an 'insider' researcher, I acknowledge that my subjective interpretation of my participants' feelings and ideas may influence the analysis and result of this study. Therefore, further study should include both insider and outsider researchers to provide a more 'objective' account of the participants' lived experiences. Despite these reservations and the limitations of the study discussed above, I hope that my research is able to offer some understandings of the experiences of the participants and to contribute to the discussion of minority ethnic identification in major migrant countries such as Australia, the United States and Canada.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1

#### Semi-structured Interview Guide for Young People

Time allotted: 30 – 45 minutes

Venue : \_\_\_\_\_

Day/Date : \_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_ Time: \_\_\_\_\_

*First of all, thank you for your time to respond to this interview. I hope this interview will not take too long. Please feel free to respond.*

#### 1. Demography

*Let me first ask you questions about your demography. This personal information will be kept confidential.*

- a. What's your name?
- b. When and where were you born?
- c. If you were born in Indonesia, at what age did you move to Australia?
- d. If you were born in Indonesia, did you attend Indonesian school? How many years?
- e. Are your parents are both Indonesians? Mother or father only?
- f. What's your mother/father's local ethnic background?
- g. Do your grandparents (from your mother/father) live in Indonesia or Australia?
- h. How long have you been living in Melbourne?
- i. Have you ever lived in other cities (out of Melbourne) in Australia?
- j. What school/university do you go to in Melbourne? Why you go to this school/university?
- k. How often do you go back to Indonesia during your stay in Melbourne? Is it for holiday?
- l. How long does each visit take? What do you usually do during your visit to Indonesia?
- m. Do you work somewhere? What's the job?
- n. What's your favorite Indonesian food/drink? Why you like them?
- o. Do you have an Indonesian favorite sport? What?
- p. What's your favorite Australia food/drink? Why you like them?

#### 2. Ethnic identity socialization practices

*Having listened to your personal information, let's talk about some Indonesian identity practices that you may or may not have been doing.*

1. Do you speak Indonesian language at home? Why or why not?  
Do you also speak Indonesian with Indonesian friends? Why?  
Do you see any benefits of speaking Indonesian language?  
If yes, what are they?
2. Do you also speak other languages, such as Javanese, Sundanese, or Chinese?  
If yes, do you see any benefits from this language?
3. Do you maintain religious practices (e.g. Jum'at prayer, Sunday service or Puja)?  
If yes, where do you usually have it? If not, why?

4. Do you take part in religious celebrations (e.g. Idul fitri, Christmas, Nyepi)? Why?
5. Do you learn Indonesian traditional dances? What are they? What about Indonesian traditional music? What musical instrument have you learned?
6. Do you know about Indonesian history? What is the topic?
7. What about Indonesian cultural events (e.g. Indonesian Festival, Food and Trade Festival)? Do they encourage you to participate? Like what?
8. Do you learn how to prepare or make traditional foods? What are they?
9. What about traditional clothes (e.g. batik, kebaya, sarong)? If you like wearing them, in what occasions?
10. For your future plan, are you prepared to marry Indonesian only? What about non-Indonesian but having similar religious belief?

### 3. Influence of national identity socialization on identity formation

*Now, let's talk about your national identity formation.*

- a. How do you feel of being an Indonesian young person in Melbourne? Proud, happy or sad? Why?
- b. In what situations do you feel more Indonesian? When do you feel more Australian? In what situations?
- c. Do you feel proud or self confident of being an Indonesian young people in Melbourne? In what occasion and why?
- d. Have you ever embarrassed or shy of being a young Indonesian? When and why?
- e. Have you experienced any discrimination during your stay in Australia? When and how?
- f. How would you describe yourself? Still an Indonesian? Already an Australian? A combination of Indonesian-Australian? Or A Sundanese/Javanese/Chinese? Why?
- g. What do you like about Indonesia? Do you want to hold your Indonesian citizenship?
- h. About Australia, what do you like? Do you want to be an Australian citizen?
- i. If so, what makes you proud or self confident of being an Indonesian young person?
- j. What makes you proud of being an Australian young person, if you think so?

#### Reminder:

Please provide 5 photos of your own showing your affiliation with Indonesia or Australia.

## Appendix 2

### Semi-structured Interview Guide for Parents

Time allotted: 45-60 minutes

*First, let us talk about your family and ethnicity background.*

#### 1. Family background

- a. What's your name?
- b. When and where were you born?
- c. In which city of Indonesia did you spend most of the time?
- d. What is your ethnic background?
- e. What is your spouse's ethnic background?
- f. How long have you been a migrant to Australia?
- g. Why did you migrate to Australia?
- h. How many children do you have? Were all or any of them born in Australia?
- i. Do you have any relatives living with your family? If so, which ones?
- j. Do you plan to spend your retirement or old age back home in Indonesia? Why?

*Now, we will talk about self identification and attitude with Indonesia*

#### 2. Self identification and attitude with Indonesia

- a. Do you feel that you are still an Indonesian?
- b. What makes you feel as an Indonesian (language, religion, tradition)?
- c. Are you proud of being an Indonesian in Melbourne? Why?
- d. Do you want your children to share your Indonesian identity? Why or why not?
- e. Do you think it is important that your children share your Indonesian identity? Why?
- f. In the future, what advantages do you think your children may get if they maintain their Indonesian identity while living permanently in Melbourne?
- g. What practices have you done to socialize your Indonesian identity to your children?

*This time, we will talk about your Indonesian identity socialization to your young people.*

#### 3. National identity socialization practices

1. Do you always speak Indonesian at home with your children? Why?  
What about learning Indonesian? Do you ask them to take Indonesian classes?  
Where?  
Is there any benefit for your children to be able to speak Indonesian? What are they?
2. What about ethnic language? Do you still speak it at home? Can your children speak it?
3. Where do you send your school? Public or private? Why?
4. Do you ask your children to maintain their religious practices? If yes, like what?
5. What about celebrating religious holidays? Do you ask them to take part?
6. Do you also encourage your children to learn Indonesian dances? For instance?
7. What about Indonesian music? Where and for what?
8. Do you tell Indonesian or your ethnic history to your adolescents? Like what?
9. Do you also emphasize that your children be proud of being Indonesian? Why?
10. What about cultural event, do you ask your children to participate? Like what?
11. Do you involve your children when preparing Indonesian traditional foods/drinks?  
What are they and in what occasions?
12. What about wearing traditional clothes? If yes, in what events?

13. Do you also emphasize that family tie is important for them? How?
14. Do you also ask your adolescents to marry Indonesian? Or non-Indonesian but of similar religious belief?
  - a. How important is each of the above categories to your young people?
  - b. Which of the practices above is the most important to the Indonesian identity formation of your young people? Why?
  - c. Which category (s) is less important to the national identity formation of your young people? Why?
  - d. Do you think your young people will like or accept these identity socialization practices?
  - e. What other practices will you do to socialize your Indonesian identity to your young people?
  - f. In your opinion, which identity is more important for your young people to develop? National or religious identity? Why?

**(Indonesian Version for Parents)**  
**Panduan Wawancara untuk Orang Tua**

Tempat wawancara : \_\_\_\_\_  
 Hari/Tanggal : \_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_ Waktu : Pukul \_\_\_\_\_  
 Alokasi waktu: 45-60 menit

*Pertama, kita akan berbicara tentang latar belakang keluarga dan etnisitas.*

**1. Latar belakang keluarga**

- a. Siapa nama Anda?
- b. Kapan dan di mana Anda dilahirkan?
- c. Apa latar belakang etnis Anda?
- d. Apa latar belakang etnis pasangan (suami/istri) Anda?
- e. Di kota mana Anda tinggal sebelum pindah ke Australia?
- f. Sudah berapa lama Anda menetap di Australia? Di kota mana saja?
- g. Apakah Anda masih berstatus PR atau sudah menjadi Citizen? Mengapa memilih status tersebut?
- h. Apa keuntungan *dual citizenship* bagi orang Indonesia di Melbourne? Bagi Indonesia?
- i. Apa alasan utama memilih untuk menetap secara permanen di Australia?
- j. Berapa jumlah anak Anda sekarang? Apakah salah satu atau semuanya lahir di Australia?
- k. Apakah ada anggota keluarga lain yang tinggal bersama di rumah Anda? Jika ya, siapa saja?
- l. Apakah anak-anak merasa betah tinggal di Australia? Ingin tinggal Indonesia?
- m. Apakah Anda berencana menghabiskan masa tua (setelah pensiun dari pekerjaan) tinggal di Indonesia? Mengapa?

*Selanjutnya, kita akan berbicara tentang identifikasi diri dan sikap terhadap Indonesia.*

**2. Identifikasi diri dan sikap terhadap Negara asal (Barrett & Davis, 2008; Blank & Schmidt, 2003)**

- a. Sampai saat ini, apakah Anda masih merasa orang Indonesia? Apa alasannya?
- b. Jika ya, apa yang membuat Anda masih merasa orang Indonesia? Karena bahasa Indonesia, agama, atau tradisi?
- c. Jika tidak, apa pula alasannya?

- d. Apakah Anda merasa bangga atau percaya diri menjadi orang Indonesia di Melbourne Australia? Mengapa?
- e. Apakah pernah mengalami perlakuan diskriminasi karena menjadi orang Indonesia di Melbourne? Kapan dan di mana?
- f. Apakah Anda memiliki pandangan positif atau negatif terhadap Indonesia saat ini? Mengapa?

*Berikutnya, kita akan membicarakan kegiatan sosialisasi identitas Ke-Indonesia-an terhadap pembentukan identitas anak remaja Bapak/Ibu.*

### **3. Kategori sosialisasi identitas Ke-Indonesia-an terhadap pembentukan identitas**

1. Apakah Anda selalu berbicara bahasa Indonesia kepada anak-anak di rumah? Mengapa? Apakah mereka menjawab dalam bahasa Indonesia atau Inggris?
2. Menurut Anda, apakah kemampuan berbahasa Indonesia mereka baik? Dalam berbicara/menyimak atau membaca/menulis?
3. Apakah mereka juga diminta untuk mengikuti kelas bahasa Indonesia? Di mana dan untuk apa?  
Apakah ada manfaatnya jika anak-anak bisa berbahasa Indonesia?
4. Selain bahasa Indonesia, apakah anak-anak juga dikenalkan kepada bahasa daerah? Bagaimana caranya? Untuk apa?
5. Apakah anak dimasukan ke sekolah negeri atau swasta?  
Di sekolah mana? Apa alasannya?
6. Apakah Anda juga meminta anak-anak untuk melaksanakan kegiatan ritual keagamaan? Seperti apa dan mengapa?
7. Bagaimana dengan perayaan keagamaan, apakah anak-anak juga dilibatkan? Dalam kegiatan seperti apa?
8. Apakah anak-anak juga diarahkan untuk mempelajari kebudayaan Indonesia seperti tari-tarian dan musik? Untuk apa?
9. Apakah Anda juga memperkenalkan sejarah Indonesia kepada anak-anak? Seperti apa?
10. Apakah Anda melibatkan anak-anak dalam kegiatan kebudayaan Indonesia?  
Seperti apa?
11. Ketika membuat makanan khas Indonesia, apakah anak-anak juga dilibatkan?
12. Apakah anak-anak dikenalkan pada busana daerah Indonesia? Apa saja dan dalam kegiatan apa?
13. Apakah ada kegiatan lain dalam memperkenalkan anak-anak pada nilai dan budaya Indonesia?

### **4. Pewarisan Identitas Nasional**

1. Apakah Anda menekankan pentingnya keakraban keluarga pada anak-anak?  
Untuk apa?
2. Apakah Anda merasa perlu untuk mengenalkan nilai dan budaya Indonesia kepada anak-anak? Dalam kegiatan seperti apa?
3. Apakah Anda mengharapkan anak-anak untuk tetap mempertahankan identitas Ke-Indonesia-an mereka? Mengapa?
4. Apakah penting kalau anak-anak tetap merasa percaya diri atau bangga menjadi orang Indonesia di Melbourne?
5. Apakah manfaat yang bisa diperoleh jika anak-anak Anda masih mempertahankan budaya Indonesia selama tinggal di Melbourne?

6. Mana yang lebih penting untuk dimiliki anak remaja Anda di Melbourne, identitas nasionalisme (Indonesia) atau agama (Islam/Katolik/Hindu)? Mengapa?
7. Apakah anak-anak pernah menunjukkan sikap penolakan terhadap usaha Anda dalam memperkenalkan nilai dan budaya ke-Indonesia-an? Seperti apa? Apa pula reaksi Anda?

### Appendix 3

#### Guiding Questions of Photo Discussion

##### For young people only

Time allotted: 30 - 45 minutes

*First of all, thank you very much for taking these beautiful photos to this interview.*

1. What is the photo/picture about?
2. When did you take this photo/picture?
3. Why do you choose it?
4. What does this photo mean to you as an Indonesian youth in Melbourne?

##### Stages of identity development

1. Have you ever thought that you are different from white Australian? In which ways?
2. Do you sometimes wish to belong to White Australian?
3. Do you think that white Australians are better than you?
4. Do you experience any negative experience as an Indonesian in Melbourne?
5. Have you ever asked your parents about what it means to be an Indonesian in Melbourne?
6. Are you interested in learning your Indonesian/ethnic cultures?
7. Do you feel you are Indonesian, Australian, or not sure yet?
8. Do you feel good of being Indonesian/Australian?

## Appendix 4

### Brief profile of the participants

There are two cohorts of the study participants. The first group is the young people who are the main cohort of the study and the second is parents who serve as the context.

#### A. Young people

There are twelve young people who participated in this study. They are seven males and five females.

##### 1. Andy (male)

Andy was born in Jakarta, Indonesia. At the time of interview, he is eighteen years old and is currently in his final year of secondary education. His parents are Chinese-Indonesian. When Andy was two years old, his family moved to Singapore and lived there for three years. Although he left Indonesia when he was two years old, he has detailed knowledge of Indonesia due to regular family holidays to Indonesia. At the age of five, he and his family moved to Melbourne, Australia. He first went to a local primary school in an eastern suburb of the city before moving to a nearby secondary school. He has taken Australian citizenship.

There are no family members in Australia. Andy's contact with his Indonesian family members is limited to telephone conversation. The family has joined a local religion-affiliated Indonesian community in Melbourne. Although his parents speak Indonesian at home, Andy speaks little Indonesian. He also always speaks English to his younger brother who was born in Melbourne and speaks no Indonesian at all. His mother also participated in this study.

##### 2. Abdi (male)

Abdi was born in Sydney, when his mother was studying for a Master's degree. He is eighteen years old and is currently in his final year of secondary education. His parents are Javanese, from Central and East Java provinces of Indonesia. When he was eight months old, his mother finished her tertiary studies and Abdi and his parents had to return to Indonesia. When he was two years old, his family moved back to Australia. This time, they came to Melbourne as his mother had received a scholarship to pursue her doctoral degree in Melbourne. When his mother finished her study, the family returned to Indonesia for another three years.

In 2005, Abdi and his family returned to Melbourne to live permanently in Australia. Abdi went to a local public primary school before going to his current secondary school. Although he was born in Australia, Abdi can speak Bahasa Indonesia fluently. Abdi can also speak a little Javanese, the local ethnic language of his parents.

##### 3. Bob (male)

Bob was born in Perth, to an Indonesian-born father and South African-born mother. His father is Sundanese, from West Java province of Indonesia, and his mother is of South African-French descent. His father left when he was very young. Bob's mother married a Malaysian-Australian and he now has four step siblings. Bob did not meet his father until he was twenty. Bob works as a shop assistant at a local shopping centre and spends his spare time taking photographs. He is an Australian citizen. Although Bob was born and raised in Western Australia, he had intensive contact with Indonesians. He had an Indonesian-born foster grandmother and her children who lived nearby whom he often visited. Bob also attended cultural programs held by the Indonesian Consulate General in Perth.

Although his father is Indonesian, Bob speaks little Bahasa Indonesia. When he was living with his Malaysian step-father, he understood and spoke Malay better than Indonesian. Bob is now learning to speak Indonesian by attending several Indonesian festivals. He often has dinner at Indonesian restaurants where he is able to meet and chat with the restaurant owners and Indonesian visitors.

#### 4. Binda (male)

Binda was born in Melbourne. He is the youngest of three siblings. His parents are both Indonesian. His father is Sundanese and his mother is Betawi, an ethnic group in Jakarta. His father was also born in Melbourne but grew up in Indonesia. At the time of the study, he is in his second year at a university in Melbourne, majoring in international business. He is an Australian citizen, as are his two elder siblings. Binda has minimum contact with Indonesia. He has just visited Indonesia twice. His first visit was when he was one year old. The second visit was when he was in grade five. He and his family only go to Indonesia for emergency visits such as when one of their relatives is ill.

Binda can only understand and speak a little Indonesian. He cannot read or write Bahasa Indonesia at all and he is not really interested in learning the language. At home, his parents speak a mix of Bahasa Indonesia and English to him but he always responds in English. He also speaks English to his elder brother and sister. He rarely attends gatherings held by the Indonesian community in Melbourne. When he does, he always speaks English to his Indonesian friends.

#### 5. Katrin (female)

Katrin was born in Jakarta of Chinese-Indonesian parents. She completed her primary education until year eight in Indonesia when she moved to Queensland to live with her aunt who had married an Australian. She completed year nine at a local college there before she moved to Melbourne where she attended a Christian College for years 10-12. After finishing her secondary education in Melbourne, Katrin studied commerce. In Melbourne, she lives with her elder and younger brothers. Her parents live in Jakarta and visit her regularly. Born in Indonesia, she currently holds an Indonesian passport.

Katrin returns to Indonesia for holidays at the end of each year. At university, she was involved in The Association of Indonesian Students in Australia. Katrin currently works at a tutoring college in Melbourne where she teaches English and Maths. Katrin's proficiency in Bahasa Indonesia is excellent. In Melbourne, she speaks Indonesian to her two siblings and to other family members when they are visiting Melbourne. She also speaks Indonesian with her Indonesian friends at university and at Indonesian gatherings.

#### 6. Dafna (female)

Dafna was born in Jakarta. Her father is Padangese from West Sumatra province and her mother is Betawi from Jakarta. Dafna moved to Melbourne when she was four years old when her mother married an Australian. She has been living in Melbourne for 14 years and is currently in her final year of secondary education. Dafna holds an Indonesian passport. Dafna often attends gatherings of Indonesian people where she meets other Indonesian young people. Although she was born in Indonesia, Dafna speaks little Indonesian.

In Melbourne, Dafna speaks English to her mother, her step-father and brother. Dafna only speaks Indonesian to her grandmother who often stays for 3-4 months in Australia. Dafna's proficiency in Bahasa Indonesia automatically improves when she is around her Indonesian cousins in Jakarta. However, this language proficiency drops significantly when she comes back to Australia and speaks English with her friends in Melbourne.

#### 7. Elfasa (male)

Elfasa was born in Melbourne. He went to kindergarten, primary and secondary college in a Southern suburb, and is now in his third year of business at university. His parents are Javanese ethnics who have been living in Melbourne for more than 30 years. Their two children, Elfasa and his elder sister, were born in Australia and have Australian citizenship. Born in Melbourne, Elfasa has intensive contact with Indonesia. Some extended family members such as aunt and cousin lived with his family for several years. Elfasa's parents used

to have an Indonesian restaurant where he met other Indonesians. Elfasa and his family have regular family holidays to Indonesia.

Although he was born in Melbourne, Elfasa can speak Indonesian fluently. His parents always speak Indonesian at home. Out of home, he rarely speaks Indonesian. He speaks English with his friends at school and university. When he attends gatherings at the Indonesian community centre, he always speaks English with his Indonesian friends. He only speaks Indonesian with elder people and when he is joking with his friends.

#### **8. Fatha (female)**

Fatha was born in Jakarta and went to a local kindergarten and primary school there. Her mother has a Batakese father from North Sumatra and Padangese mother from West Sumatra. Her father has a Javanese father and a Sundanese mother. Fatha and her family came to Melbourne ten years ago. She completed her secondary education in a local college, before studying tourism and marketing at a local university. At the time of study, she has just started a new job as a receptionist in a hotel in Melbourne and is currently studying a master degree in marketing.

Fatha and her family have visited Indonesia annually. She started to Indonesia alone when she was in year 10. She still maintains her relationship with old friends in Indonesia, most of them her classmates in her primary and early secondary college in Jakarta. Fatha believes that she has more friends in Indonesia than in Australia. She is thinking of working in Indonesia when she has completed her master degree in marketing.

#### **9. Finti (female)**

Fithry was born in Sukabumi, a little town in the West Java province of Indonesia. Her parents are Sundanese. She completed year five of primary school at a local school. In 2001, she and her younger brother moved to Melbourne to be her mother who is married to an Australian. Finti finished her secondary education in Melbourne and is now at university majoring in electronic and communication. Fityr has minimum contact with Indonesia. During the time she has lived in Melbourne, she only visited Indonesia twice. Born in Indonesia, Finti has Australian citizenship.

Finti understands and speaks Indonesia fluently. She always speaks Indonesian mixed with Sundanese (the local language of West Java province) with her Sundanese mother. She also speaks Indonesian with her Indonesian-born younger brother. However, she speaks English mixed with little Indonesian or Sundanese with her Australian step-father. She also speaks English with her two Australian-born younger siblings. Fityr can also read and write in Bahasa Indonesia, but her writing is not as good as her reading and speaking skills. Out of home, she mostly speaks English. When she was at college, she used to work as a waitress at an Indonesian restaurant where she can practice her Indonesian with Indonesian customers and other Indonesian staff.

#### **10. Meskara (male)**

Meskara was born in Melbourne. He is one of a girl-and-boy twin and the only son in the family. His parents are both Balinese. His father works in a car factory and his mother is a rural worker. Meskara is now 18 years old and in his last year of secondary education. Meskara and his family have intensive contact with Indonesia. They visit Bali regularly, usually in December. Meskara's grandparents have visited him once when he was three years old. He and his family are active members of a Balinese association and have regular gatherings in Melbourne. Meskara still holds an Indonesian passport.

Meskara speaks Bahasa Indonesian fluently. He mostly speaks Bahasa Indonesia to his parents and little English. He speaks only English to his elder sisters and friends at school. At social gatherings, he speaks Indonesian to elder people but English to his peers.

**11. Obri (male)**

Obri was born in Surabaya, Indonesia. He attended a local private primary school in his hometown. His father is a Tasmanian-born Australian and his mother is Javanese-Indonesian. During their life in Indonesia, Obri and his family often spent their holidays in Australia. Obri's family moved to Melbourne when he was 11 years old. Obri is completing his last year at a local secondary college. During his seven years in Australia, Obri and his family have visited Indonesia three times. His grandparents sometimes visit them in Melbourne.

Obri can speak Bahasa Indonesia fluently. He speaks a mix of Indonesian and Javanese to his family members in Indonesia. Obri speaks English with his Australian father and he believes that his English is better than his Indonesian. In Melbourne, Obri speaks Bahasa Indonesia to his mother and younger Indonesian-born brother. However, he speaks English with his Australian-born youngest sister and Australian father. Out of home, he speaks Indonesian to elder people in the Indonesian community but speaks English with his Indonesian peers.

**12. Yarra (female)**

Yarra was born in Melbourne. She is the second of two siblings and is studying arts and health sciences at a local university. Her mother is Indonesian but her father is Anglo-Australian. Yarra and her family spend their regular family holiday in Indonesia. Each visit ranges from six weeks to six months. Her mother is the instructor of a dance school which focuses on teaching Indonesian traditional and modern dance for young Indonesians. Yarra and her family also often join gatherings and events held by the Indonesian community.

Born in Australia to an Anglo-Australian father and Indonesian mother, Yarra can speak Bahasa Indonesia fluently but with an Australian accent. Yarra always speaks Bahasa Indonesia to her mother, elder sister and younger foster brother. She speaks a little Indonesian to her father who can also speak Indonesian. Outside home, Yarra speaks a mix of Indonesian and English. She speaks English at her university and work. At the Indonesian gatherings, she usually speaks Indonesian to Indonesian elder people but mainly English to her Indonesian peers.

**Brief profile of parents**

The second cohort of the participant are parents who serve as the context of the study. Based on marital types, parents are divided into two groups; Indonesian and Indonesian-Australian couples.

**Indonesian couples**

As many as six parents involved in this study are Indonesian couples. They come from a similar local ethnic group in Indonesia or from different groups across the country.

**1. Anabela (female)**

Anabela was born in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia, of Chinese-Indonesian parents. She completed her primary, secondary and tertiary education in Indonesia. Her husband is also a Chinese Indonesian who was born in Bandung, the capital city of West Java province and completed his education in Indonesia. In 1998, the family left Jakarta to work in Singapore. She and her family moved to Melbourne in 2002. The main reason for their moving to Australia is better job opportunity and education for their children. They live in Southeastern suburb of Melbourne. Her first son was born in Jakarta and the second one was born in Melbourne. They both go to public school around her residence. His first son can speak a little Indonesian but the second son cannot speak at all. Anabela does not work out of home

as she wants to focus on her children's rearing. In her spare time, she joins her church volunteering at an aged care.

Anabela and her family have regular holidays to Indonesia. They usually go to Indonesia in December every year to celebrate Christmas with their large family. They visit Jakarta, her hometown and Bandung, the hometown of her husband. Her son is a participant in this study.

## **2. Hesti (female)**

Hesti was born in Jakarta, Indonesia. Her father is Batakese from North Sumatra and her mother is Padangese from West Sumatra. She completed her primary, secondary and tertiary education in Indonesia. Her husband is Javanese-Sundanese Indonesian. She has three daughters who were all born in Indonesia. Before moving to Melbourne, she served as a lecturer at a local university and was doing her doctoral degree. In 2001, she and her three children came to Melbourne to be with her husband who had been stationed by his Indonesian company one year earlier. Her reasons for migration to Australia are economy, family, and children's education. Having settled in Southeastern suburb, she continued her doctoral study at a local university. Her first daughter is married to an Australian-born Indonesian. Hesti currently works as a lecturer and researcher at a local university.

Hesti and her family have regular holidays to Indonesia. They generally go to Indonesia at the end of the year to visit her mother in Jakarta and her mother in law in Bandung. They spend one to two months in Jakarta, Bandung, and other cities. Out of annual family holiday, she never misses a single semester break but visiting her mothers in Jakarta and Bandung.

## **3. Hendi (male)**

Hendi was born in Makassar, Indonesia. Her parents are Chinese-Indonesian. Having completed his primary and secondary education in his hometown, he moved to Jakarta to study accounting at a local private university. His wife is also a Chinese-Indonesian who was born in Medan, North Sumatra, but grew up in Jakarta. He has an Indonesian passport but is thinking of taking Australian citizenship. Having a less promising career in Jakarta, Hendi and his family moved to Melbourne in 2002. Now he works in accounting at a housing company. Another reason for his migration to Australia is seeking better education for his children. Hendi has two children who were born in Indonesia. Currently, they live in Southeastern suburb where their two children go to a nearby primary school and secondary schools.

Hendi and his family have intensive contact with Indonesia. They have regular family holidays to Indonesia, in June every year. When they are in Australia, his children rarely contact their grandparents in Indonesia as they cannot speak Indonesian fluently.

## **4. Rubi (male)**

Rubi was born and completed his primary and secondary education in Jakarta. He moved to Bandung, West Java to study civil engineering at a local university. His wife is also a Chinese-Indonesian who was born in Madiun, East Java but grew up in Jakarta. Rubi has an Indonesian passport but is thinking of taking Australian citizenship. In 2003, Rubi and his family migrated to Melbourne, Australia. His main reason for migration is economy and better education for his children. In Melbourne, he first opened a computer service in a Southeastern suburb before moving to his current work in a local packaging company. When he first came to Melbourne, his first daughter was six years old and his second son was four years old.

Rubi and his family have less intensive contact with Indonesia. During their life in Melbourne, he has just visited Indonesia once. His family visit Jakarta more often without his company. His parents and parents in law have ever visited them in Melbourne once. His children rarely have contact with their grandparents due to language barrier.

### 5. Mahe (male)

Mahe was born in Bali. He spent his primary and secondary education in his home town. Having earned his bachelor in accounting from a local university, in 1996, he attended an English bridging program in Melbourne for six months. Then, he was enrolled at an Australian university to do his master degree in accounting in 1997. Having earned his master degree, he went to another local university to take a graduate diploma in Business Information System to accomplish his accounting degree.

His wife is also a Balinese Indonesian. They got married in 2004 when he has had his permanent residency in Southeastern Melbourne. At the time of study, he has two children who were both born in Melbourne. As a Balinese dancer, his wife starts to teach his daughter how to dance.

### 6. Marsono (male)

Marsono was born in Karang Anyar, Solo, Central Java. His wife is from Pasuruan East Java. So, they are both Javanese Indonesian. He spent his early childhood and primary education in Karang Anyar and went to a senior high school in Solo. He earned his bachelor of farming technology from Gadjah Mada University Yogyakarta, Indonesia where he met his wife for the first time.

He and his wife moved to Australia in 1992 when his wife pursued her master at Macquarie University, Sydney. They lived there for two years. During their short live in Sydney, his first son, Alwi was born in 1994. At the end of this year, when his son was still 8 months old, he and his family returned to Indonesia. His wife was recruited as a lecturer at Gadjah Mada University, her almamater.

Having lived in Indonesia for three years, in 1997, his family returned to Australia, this time Melbourne, because his wife received another scholarship to pursue her doctoral degree at Monash University. They spent another three years in Melbourne. In 1999, his second daughter, Iva, was born. When his wife finished her doctoral study in 2000, they returned to Yogyakarta where his wife resumed her position at Gadjah Mada University.

When his wife was doing her doctoral, he did not have any idea of living permanently in Australia. Having been back in Indonesia for five years, they felt they longed for Melbourne and thought of going back. With this reason, in 2005, after serving for five years at Gadjah Mada University, they applied for being a permanent resident as a researcher at CSIRO (The Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization) in climatology. The office is based in Melbourne. This decision to move to Melbourne was influenced by their experience of three years of living in Melbourne

At first, he believes that Sydney is more comfortable than Melbourne to live in. he does not like the weather of Melbourne which always changes every day. However, as he spent more years in Melbourne, he found Melbourne more interesting to live in than Sydney. Although Sydney has bigger Indonesian population than Melbourne, he socialized with other Indonesian people more frequently in Melbourne than in Sydney.

### Intermarriage couples

Another six parents are of intermarriage couples. Four females are married to Anglo-Australian men and another two males are married to Anglo-Australian women.

### 7. Agun (male)

Agun was born in Bali to Balinese parents. His father used to serve in military and his mother was a lecturer at a local university. He completed his primary school in Lombok but attended a vocational school for mechanic in Bali. Upon completion his secondary education, he moved to Jakarta to study mechanical engineering at a local university. In 1994, having earned his bachelor degree, he returned to Bali and started an automotive business. He

married an Anglo-Australian who used to work at a Bali-based Australian company and can speak Balinese and Indonesian fluently.

In 1998, his automotive business collapsed. He decided to sell it and move to Melbourne, following his Australian wife. In this city, Agun works as a mechanic at a local automotive company. He and his family currently live in a Southeastern suburb and have two children. Born in Melbourne to an Australian mother, the two children have Balinese family names. Agun and his family have regular family holidays to Bali. He speaks English with his two children but mixed with a little Indonesian with his wife. His mother visited them in Melbourne once and just spoke English to his two children. Married an Australian, Agun has an Indonesian passport.

#### **8. Cut (female)**

Cut was born and grew up in Aceh, Indonesia. Her parents are both Acehese. She completed her education in Aceh and met her Australian husband, in Aceh. They got married in 1990 in Islamic way as her husband had been a Muslim before his marrying her. In the beginning of their marriage, her husband worked in Aceh. When her son was born, the husband finished his work contract with a foreign company in Aceh and found a job in an oil rig in Australia. For more than two years, he had to go back and forth, between Indonesia and Australia.

Following her husband, in 1998, she decided to move to Melbourne. When her family moved to Melbourne, her first son was six years old and her second daughter was four months old. Her first son was enrolled at year one at an Indonesian school when they first moved. She and her family live in Southeastern Melbourne. At the time of study, her son is working and her daughter is sitting in grade ten.

#### **9. Putu (male)**

Born to Balinese parents, Putu is the fifth son. Most of his family members live in Bali and only one brother lives in Java Island. He completed his primary and secondary education in Bali. Having finished his secondary college, he took a diploma in cookery and worked in a local hotel in Bali. In 1988, he met an Anglo-Australian who was visiting Bali as a part of her Indonesian language course in Melbourne. They got married in Balinese or Hindu ceremony in 1989. Two years later, Putu and his Australian wife moved to Melbourne. He first worked in a restaurant bar, the job he had already served when he was in Bali. Feeling bored with his job, in 2001, he started taking cookery course and then becomes one of the chefs in the same hotel. His wife works in a government office.

Putu has three children who were born in Australia. The first child is a boy and the second two children are twin-girls. All his three children take his wife's gene but have Balinese family names. At home, he mostly speaks English to his children. So, they only know a little Indonesian. He regularly takes his family to Bali for holidays. They usually visit Bali once in three years, for one to two months. None of his family member in Bali has visited Melbourne and Putu holds an Indonesian passport.

#### **10. Risna (female)**

Risna was born in East Java province, but grew up in Bandung, West Java. She completed her primary, secondary and first tertiary education in Bandung. Having earned her bachelor of science from a famous university in her hometown, in 1985, she worked at The Indonesian National Aircraft Industry. In 1997, she received a scholarship to study master of IT at an Australian university in Melbourne. Upon returning from Australia, she decided to take early retirement and worked in Bali for two years and then in Jakarta for another year.

In March 2004, she moved to Melbourne, Australia and lives on a permanent basis in a Southeaster suburb. She currently works at an Australian government office. Having been a permanent resident for five years, in 2009, she changed her citizenship to Australia and

married an Australian. Risna and her husband have regular holidays to Indonesia, especially when her mother was still alive in Bandung. Now, they visit Indonesia less frequently.

### **11. Susan (female)**

Susan was born in Surabaya, Indonesia, to Javanese parents. In 1994, she married a Tasmanian-born Australian who was on work duty to Indonesia and lived in Indonesia for eleven years. Their first two children were born in Indonesia. During their living in Indonesia, Susan and her family often visited Melbourne and Tasmania. In 2005, she and her family finally decided to move to Melbourne and live permanently in Australia. They first lived in a Southeastern suburb for three years before moving to Sydney for one year. Now, they are back and settled permanently in the Southeastern suburb. Her last daughter was born in Melbourne and all her children go local primary and secondary schools. She is thinking of taking Australian citizenship.

Susan and her family have intensive contact with Indonesia. Her parents visit her regularly in Melbourne for 2-3 months every other year. They always speak Javanese and Indonesian to her and her children. Susan and her family also visit Indonesia regularly, every other year. At home, she speaks Indonesian and Javanese to her first two children but English to her husband and last daughter.

### **12. Yarsi (female)**

Yarsi was born in Bandung, Indonesia. She completed her primary, secondary and tertiary education in her hometown. Having earned her bachelor of science, she started her teaching career at a local high school. In 1999, she received a scholarship from the government of Indonesia to pursue a Master degree at an Australian university in Melbourne. During this time, she met her Australian husband and they got married in Indonesia in 2001. Then, she and her two Indonesian-born children moved to Australia to be with her Australian husband. They live in a Western suburb of Melbourne and have two other Melbourne-born children. Yarsi currently has an Indonesian passport but is thinking of taking Australian citizenship in the future.

Yarsi and her family have intensive contact with Indonesia. Although their Indonesian family members never visit them in Melbourne, they have regular family holidays to Indonesia, every year. Sometimes, they visit Indonesia more than once in a year. Her Australian husband likes spending holidays in Indonesia.