

A Qualitative Study on Inheritance of Language and Religion in Indonesian–Japanese Families in Japan

メタデータ	言語: eng 出版者: 公開日: 2016-03-10 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: 鈴木, 一代 メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	https://saigaku.repo.nii.ac.jp/records/162

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A Qualitative Study on Inheritance of Language and Religion in Indonesian–Japanese Families in Japan

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The purpose of this study is to clarify the inheritance state of language and religion in Hindu families as well as the influence of important factors (in the hypothetical model for the mechanism of language and culture inheritance [Suzuki, 2007]) on it. The participants were Indonesian-Japanese families living in Japan. They have at least one child, and Indonesian parents are Bali-Hindu. Semi-constructed interviews were conducted. In addition, field work was carried out. The analysis was qualitative in nature. The results showed the following: 1) the intercultural children with Japanese ancestry (ICJ) acquired Japanese, but Indonesian was not inherited in Indonesian-Japanese families. Here, “domicile determination” (Suzuki, 1997; Suzuki & Fujiwara, 1994) and “language prestige” (Yamamoto, 2007) played a great role. Besides, the role of the foreign parent was important for the inheritance of the mother tongue of foreign parents; 2) Bali-Hindu was not inherited in Indonesian-Japanese families because of “domicile determination” (no facilities/opportunities to practice Bali-Hindu, etc.). However, the ICJ had possibilities to become Bali-Hind in future in Bali because of flexible religious law of Bali-Hindu; 3) furthermore, it was suggested that “parents’ views on children’s language and religion,” “language and religion at home,” and “school selection/environments” also influenced the inheritance of language and religion in Indonesian-Japanese Hindu families in Japan.

The number of intercultural families which consist of interculturally married parents and their children are increasing more and more all over the world, also in Japan. Intercultural families have possibilities to maintain more than two languages and cultures, namely those of mothers, those of fathers and those of the domicile places. However, are two or more languages and cultures inherited in those families? Moreover, what factors

influence the inheritance of language and culture in the families?

Suzuki (2007) suggests a hypothetical model for the mechanism of language and culture inheritance in intercultural families in light of important factors (Figure 1). It is supposed that the domicile place plays the most important role for the language & culture inheritance, namely “domicile determination” (Suzuki, 1997; Suzuki & Fujiwara, 1994). In

キーワード：日本語の継承、宗教の継承、居住地の決定性、インドネシア・日本国際家族、質的研究

Key words : inheritance of language, inheritance of religion, domicile determination, Indonesian-Japanese Hindu families, qualitative study

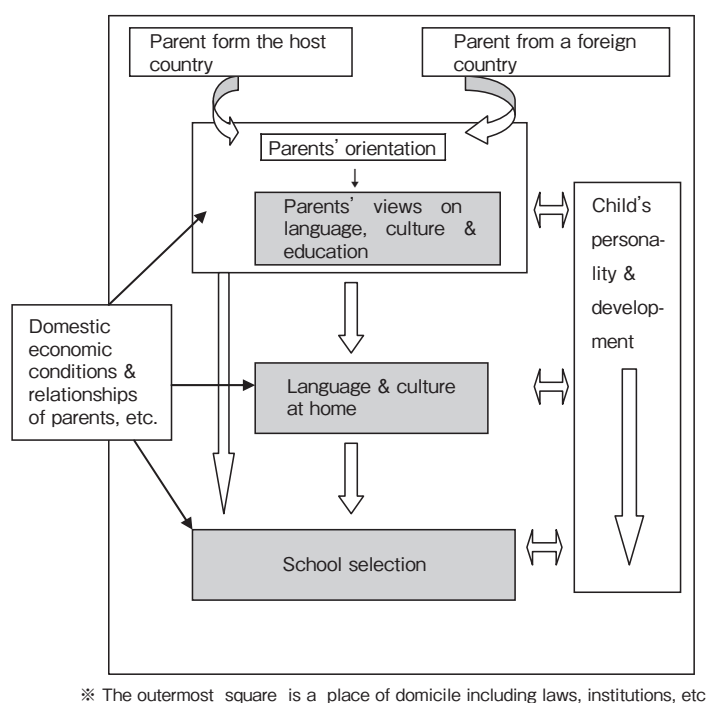


Figure 1 Mechanism of language & culture inheritance in intercultural families

terms of the definition (rules and regulations) for the domicile place, “language and culture at home” are directed by the “parents’ orientation (to the country of domicile or home country)” and the “parents’ views on children’s language, culture, and education” in the model. In this flow, there are two approaches to “school selection,” namely, one is related to “language and culture at home” and the other is independent of it. Moreover, the direction (flow) is influenced by the “domestic economic conditions” and “relationships of parents,” and change with time based on the “interaction between the parents and children according to the child’s personality and development (age).” Those are considered as major factors that influence the inheritance of language and

culture in intercultural families. It has also been pointed out that the parent who comes from a foreign country plays an important role. This paper focuses on the inheritance of languages and religion as well as the influence of the parents who moved to the spouses’ countries.

The purpose of this study is to clarify the inheritance state of language and religion in Hindu families as well as the influence of important factors in the hypothetical model for the mechanism of language and culture inheritance (Suzuki, 2007), especially the influence of “the language and religion of domicile,” “parents’ views on children’s language and religion,” “language & religion at home,” and “school selection/environments” on the inheritance of language and religion in

Indonesian-Japanese families in Japan, in focusing on the parents transferred to the spouses' country (Japan). This study has nature of a pilot study.

Background study: Japanese-Indonesian Hindu families in Indonesia

The background of this study is part of a longitudinal study started in 1991, which purpose is to clarify the process and factors of cultural identity formation in children born to parents from differing cultural backgrounds (one is Indonesian, the other is Japanese), as well as the inheritance of language and culture in those families (Japanese-Indonesian families) in Indonesia. In this paper, in particular, the inheritance of language and religion, as well as Japanese parents who moved to a new culture are focused.

Methods

Participants are 14 Japanese-Indonesian Hindu families, namely first-born "intercultural children with Japanese ancestry (ICJ)" (first-born because the birth order relates to language and culture acquisition [Nitta, 1996]), their Japanese mothers and Indonesian fathers living in Bali, Indonesia. The mothers (40s - 50s in 2014) became Bali-Hindu at the marriage, had lived in Indonesia for more than 20 years and managed the Indonesian language well. They graduated from vocational colleges or universities. 4 have occupations, and the others were housewives. Balinese (Bali-Hindu) fathers (40s - 50s in 2014) were born in Bali, spoke Japanese to

some extent and were self-employed (the educational level from high schools to graduate schools). The ICJ were the 20s (in 2014), five girls and nine boys, and had attended the local (12) or local bilingual schools (2) and additionally the Japanese Part-time School (JPS) from Kindergarten (8 ICJ were born in Indonesia and 6 in Japan). In particular, all of them have experienced visiting Japan temporally. The economic statuses of families are from middle to high.

"Cultural Anthropological - Clinical Psychological Approach [CACPA]" (Suzuki, 2002; Suzuki & Fujiwara, 1992) was employed from 1991 to 2014 (2-3 times per year, 2-6 weeks each) in Bali (urban area), especially JPS, homes of participants, etc. The characteristics of CACPA are longitudinal fieldwork, respect for rapport and support, long-term/frequently repeated interviews (semi constructed /unconstructed) and participant observations, as well as macro & micro viewpoint. The analysis was mainly of a qualitative nature.

Characteristics of general environments around Japanese-Indonesian families in Indonesia

To understand characteristics of the general environments of intercultural families is desirable for clarifying the inheritance of language and religion in those families. Here, the important characteristics of the environments around Japanese-Indonesian families in Bali are explained in five categories, namely country level, place of domicile,

community of home country, school environments and family environments (Suzuki, 2008).

Country level. Japan has good relationships with Indonesia. Japanese and ICJ are fully accepted, and the Japanese language is positively evaluated in Indonesia. Freedom of religion is permitted (Constitution), but Indonesian people have to believe a religion, and at local schools religion is a regular subject.

Place of domicile. The residents have diverse cultural backgrounds because of the influence of international tourism (diverse culture), but Bali-Hindu penetrates every part of Balinese life, and “Banjar” (local Balinese community) is a foundation for Bali-Hindu activities (ceremonies, rituals, etc.). The levels of education and economy of Balinese are high in Indonesia.

Japanese community. More than 2000 Japanese live in Bali (the Consul Japan in Denpasar), and there is a Japanese community (Japan club), in which interculturally married Japanese are predominant, and the Japanese Part-time School (JPS) that teaches the Japanese language and culture is centered.

School environments. At local schools, many of students have diverse cultural backgrounds in Bali. At the JPT, the majority are ICJ (about 250 Japanese and Japanese-Indonesian students from kindergarten to high school in 2014).

Family environments. At home, most Japanese-Indonesian families have maids, drivers, etc. Satellite TV (Japanese NHK) and

internet connection are available.

Inheritance of language

All of ICJ acquired both languages (Indonesian & Japanese), but Indonesian (language of the domicile) was predominant and near native according to the self-evaluation of ICJ and their mothers' evaluation.

It is because of “domicile determination” (Suzuki, 1997; Suzuki & Fujiwara, 1994). The Japanese language was inherited because the domicile itself (Bali) possessed the dimensions to facilitate the inheritance of Japanese, namely positive evaluation of the Japanese language, good relationships between Japan and Indonesia, positive acceptance of Japanese or ICJ, the existence of Japanese community (incl. JPS), and so on. Besides, “prestige of the Japanese language” (Yamamoto, 2007) played a role.

“Parents' views on the language of ICJ” and “language use at home” also influenced the language inheritance/acquisition of ICJ. The Japanese mothers expected their children to acquire both languages, with primary emphasis on the domicile language (Indonesian), and secondly Japanese. ICJ and their mothers spoke Japanese at home, and the fathers accepted the learning of Japanese of ICJ. Especially, the Japanese mothers' views on the inheritance of the language had a great role for their children's language acquisition. Furthermore, the parents decided to send their children to the JPS in order to give them opportunities to learn Japanese. It is a factor

“school selection (school environments).” Foreign parents’ mother tongues were inherited when the foreign parents intended and practiced the inheritance of those.

Inheritance of religion

ICJ inherited their father’s religion (Bali-Hindu). All fathers expected their children to follow Bali-Hindu, and the mothers also accepted that mostly (“parents’ view on religion of ICJ”). The religion was integrated into daily routine (“religion at home”) and also learned the religion through “the school education” (“school environments”) and “Banjar” activities (“domicile determination”). Therefore, Bali-Hindu is inherited by ICJ through the home, the school and the domicile, especially “Banjar” had a great role.

Research questions of this study

We have three research questions for Indonesian-Japanese Hindu families living in Japan concerning the inheritance of language and religion, on the base of the results from the above background study about Japanese-Indonesian Hindu families living in Indonesia, namely “Do ICJ living in Japan acquire Japanese predominately because of ‘domicile determination’?”, “Is Indonesian inherited only when Indonesian fathers are committed to teach ICJ Indonesian?”, and “Is Bali-Hindu not inherited because of “domicile determination?”, because of no facilities/opportunities to practice Bali-Hindu, etc.

Method

Participants. Participants were six Bali-Hindu Indonesian married to Japanese living in Japan, namely four men and two women. Indonesian women had to follow their spouse (religion, etc.) after their marriage according to the law, so that their children were not able to inherit Bali-Hindu. Here, only Indonesian-Japanese families with Indonesian fathers were focused. The fathers (their late thirties to early forties) had lived in Japan for 11-15 years, and had at least one child (ICJ). They could speak enough Japanese to have a normal everyday conversation.

Procedure. Semi-constructed interviews were employed from 2013 to 2014 in the Tokyo area (70–160 minutes per person). Interviews contained demographic data, family environments, inheritance of language and religion of ICJ, language use & religion at home, views on inheritance of language and religion, attitudes to education of ICJ, etc. The interview language was Japanese, supplementally Indonesian or English. In addition, fieldwork was carried out in the Bali-Hindu New Year at the Tokyo Indonesian School (Figure 2). The analysis was qualitative in nature on the base of case study.

Characteristics of general environments around Indonesian-Japanese Hindu families in Japan

Country level. Indonesian or ICJ are of medium acceptance, and Indonesian or Balinese (direct) is not popular. Freedom of religion is permitted, but religion is irrelevant

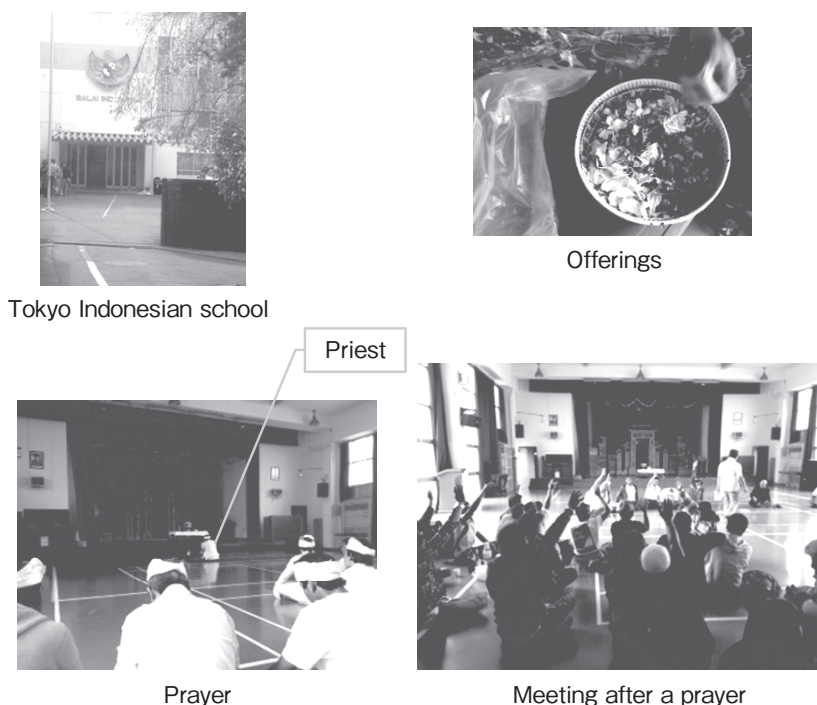


Figure 2 Activities of Banjar Bali Tokyo in the New Year (Nyupi)

in Japan.

Place of domicile. There are not many foreigners in Tokyo, and the number of Indonesian/Balinese is small.

Indonesian / Balinese community. There is no Indonesian/Balinese community. “Banjar Bali Tokyo” exists (2005-2007, 2011~), but it is an artificial community on Face Book and meet-up 1-2 times per year (about 300 members, but interpersonal relation is poor).

School environments. At local schools most students are Japanese (the rate of students with diverse cultural backgrounds is low). The Tokyo Indonesian School exists, but only a few Balinese-Japanese students learn there. Most ICJ visit Japanese public schools.

Family environments. Indonesian-Japanese families consist of parents and their children.

Cases

Table 1 shows the brief overview of cases. In all Indonesian-Japanese Hindu families, the children (ICJ) are first-born and visit local public schools. All Indonesian fathers and Japanese mothers are employed. The economic statuses of families are middle. Japanese mothers and ICJ are Bali-Hindu on paper. (C=Child [ICJ], F=Indonesian father and M=Japanese mother).

Case 1

C1 (boy, 8th grader) was born in Bali and stayed until 5 years old there.

[Language & religion] C1 spoke Indonesian in Bali, but had spoken Japanese since coming to Japan. C1 managed Japanese only. C1 attended religious ceremonies in Bali until 5 years old,

Table 1 Brief overview of cases

Cases	1	2	3	4
Fathers	Employee	Employee	Employee	Employee
Future domicile	Notyet decided	Bali	Notyet decided	Both countries
Mothers	Employee	Employee	Employee	Employee
Children (ICJ)	Grade 8/Boy	Grade 4/Boy	Grade 6/Girl	Grade 4 /Girl
Birth place	Bali (~5 years old)	Japan	Bali (~1years old)	Japan
Nationality	Japan/Indonesia	Japan/Indonesia	Japan	Japan
Language	Japanese only	Japanese only	Japanese ※English	Japanese ※English
School	Public	Public	Public	Public
Contact to Jap. Grand-parents	Neighborhood Both Often	Neighborhood Grandmother only Often	Not in Tokyo	Neighborhood Both Often

but did not inherit Bali-Hindu yet.

[Parents' views on language, religion & education] The first language of C1 was Japanese. F1 wanted his son to be Bali-Hindu, but thought that it depended on the child. M1 was not interested in Bali-Hindu. F1 did not decide a future domicile yet.

[Language & religion at home] The family spoke Japanese only because F1 wanted to improve his Japanese. But, F1 had tried to use Indonesian to the child since 3 months. M1 could speak Indonesian. Only F1 prayed at home (M1 kept quiet about it).

[School selection] C1 went to an Indonesian kindergarten (1 year) in Bali, a Japanese Kindergarten and a primary school in Japan. C1 had visited a junior high school.

[Others] C1 was growing up as Japanese. He stayed with his grandparents next door during the day because his parents worked.

Case 2

C2 (boy, 4th grader) was born in Japan.

[Language & religion] C2 managed only

Japanese and did not inherit Bali-Hindu yet, but realized that he was Bali-Hindu. C2 had finished all necessary ceremonies as Bali-Hindu at 2 years old when the family visited in Bali.

[Parents' views on language, religion & education] The first language of C2 was Japanese. C2 visited Bali every year. F2 thought that it was enough to manage Japanese if C2 would learn Japanese until the 9th grade and that C2 would be able to speak Indonesian as well as Balinese if C2 lived in Bali. F2 wanted the child to be Bali-Hindu and told C2 that C2 was Balinese (M2 kept quiet about it). By visiting Bali, C2 attended religious ceremonies and prayed. The family would go back to Bali after C2 finished the 9th grade. The future domicile would be Bali.

[Language & religion at home] The language at home was Japanese. F2 had no time to teach his child Indonesian. M2 could not speak Indonesian. F1 had prayed for 3 months after coming to Japan, but there was nothing about Bali-Hindu at home.

[School selection] C2 went to a Japanese

public nursery and had visited at a public primary school. F2 would send C2 to an international school after returning to Bali because C2 could not speak Indonesian.

[Others] The Japanese grandmother lived in the next door, and C2 often met her. The family belonged to “Banjar” in Bali even if they lived in Japan.

Case 3

C3 (girl, 6th grader) was born in Bali and had stayed until 1 year old there. She managed Japanese and a little English.

[Language & religion] C3 acquired Japanese (and English). C3 had ceremonies until 1 year old in Bali, but C3 was not Bali-Hindu yet. F3 was not sure if C3 realized that C3 was Bali-Hindu.

[Parents' views on language, religion & education] The first language of C3 was Japanese. F3 spoke to C3 Indonesian, but gave up that at the first-grade level. The family visited Bali every year until the third grade of C3, but did not go there after that because M3 did not want. M3 thought English was important. F3 wanted C3 to realize that C3 was Bali-Hindu. The future domicile was not yet decided.

[Language & religion at home] The family had spoken only Japanese since C3 visited a primary school, but English had spoken between parents. M3 could speak Indonesian. F3 had not practiced Bali-Hindu at home since coming to Japan, but sometimes attended the activities of “Banjar Bali Tokyo.”

[School selection] C3 visited/ had visited

a primary school after Japanese public kindergarten.

[Others] C3 had good relationships with Japanese grandparents (they were not in Tokyo). The family belonged to “Banjar” in Bali.

Case 4

C4 (girl, 4th grader) was born in Japan.

[Language & religion] C4 managed Japanese and a little English. C4 had no religion (not yet Bali-Hindu).

[Parents' views on language, religion & education] The first language of C4 was Japanese. F4 was very busy so that he could not teach C4 Indonesian. F4 gave M4 full authority to raise C4. The family had visited Bali around 3 times. C4 learned English once a week. F4 wanted C4 to be Bali-Hindu and would give C4 all the necessary ceremonies in Bali to be Bali-Hindu in future (in Bali-Hindu, they could catch up all religious ceremonies in later years). M4 accepted that. The parents would return to Bali in future, but C4 would stay in Japan, and M4 would be in both countries.

[Language & religion at home] The family used only Japanese. M4 could not speak Indonesian. Nothing had done about Bali-Hindu, but there was a small altar at home, and F4 sometimes made an offering to the Gods.

[School selection] C4 went to a Japanese public kindergarten and had visited a public primary school.

[Others] C4 had good relationships with the Japanese grandparents next door. The family belonged to “Banjar” in Bali.

Discussions

Inheritance of language

In Indonesian-Japanese Hindu families in Japan, the ICJ acquire Japanese, and neither Indonesian nor Balinese (direct) is inherited.

Because of “domicile determination” (Suzuki, 1997; Suzuki & Fujiwara, 1994), the language of domicile (Japanese) is predominant in Indonesian-Japanese families living in Japan. Here, the grandparents in their neighborhood promote also their grandchildren’s Japanese acquisition (case 1, 2, 4). Concerning “domicile determination”, there are no cohesive Balinese community (or “Banjar”), no facilities for Indonesian (e.g. an Indonesian language school for children), etc. Therefore, the inheritance of Indonesian language is difficult. Besides, “parents’ views on the language of ICJ” (all the parents thought that Japanese was the first language, and the foreign parents, namely Indonesian fathers were not earnest about the inheritance of Indonesian by diverse reasons), “language at home” (major language was Japanese at home) and “school selection” (ICJ visited Japanese public schools) influence the language inheritance in Indonesian-Japanese Hindu families in Japan. Moreover, “language prestige” (Yamamoto, 2007), namely the rank order between of languages (e.g. English>Japanese>Indonesian>Balinese) plays also an important role.

Inheritance of religion

Bali-Hindu is not inherited in Indonesian-Japanese families living in Japan. The reason is considered as “domicile determination.” Bali-

Hindu is strongly connected to Bali itself and “Banjar” because Bali-Hindu ceremonies are carried in “Banjar”. Therefore, ICJ have no opportunities to become Bali-Hindu as long as they live in Japan. However, the Indonesian fathers expect their children to become Bali-Hindu by doing the necessary religious ceremonies for Bali-Hindu someday in Bali. It is also parents’ obligation to bring their children to Bali-Hindu, and the obligation influences Indonesian parents (“parents’ views on religion”). A characteristic of Bali-Hindu is relatively mild religious laws (flexible religious laws of Bali-Hindu), so that temporal suspension of inheritance of Bali-Hindu is allowed during times they are out of Bali.

Conclusions

ICJ living in Tokyo/Japan acquire Japanese, but do not inherit Indonesian. “Domicile determination” plays a great role for the language inheritance of Indonesian-Japanese families, but “language prestige” could be also a factor. Furthermore, Indonesian fathers were not committed to teach their children Indonesian, so that no ICJ inherited Indonesian. Therefore, the role of the foreign parent is important for the inheritance of the mother tongue of foreign parents.

Bali-Hindu is not inherited in Indonesian-Japanese families because of “domicile determination” (no facilities/opportunities to practice Bali-Hindu, etc.). However, it is possible that someday ICJ become Bali-Hindu because of “flexibility of religious laws of Bali-Hindu.”

Moreover, it was suggested that “parents’ views on children’s language and religion,” “language and religion at home” and “school environments” were also important for the inheritance of the language and religion” of Indonesian-Japanese Hindu family in Japan.

Nevertheless, the number of participants was small, so that the results of this study should be examined by more numbers of participants, and the state of their language and religion inheritance could be further clarified from the developmental viewpoint by following up on the ICJ.

Acknowledgement

This paper is part of a larger study of a collaborative research involving 3 types of intermarried families, namely Japanese-Turks (Dr. Shuko Takeshita), Japanese-Filipinas (Dr. Fumiteru Nitta) as well as Japanese-Indonesians (Balinese) and was presented in the 22nd of International Congress of International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology (Deims, France) on the 18th of July, 2014.

This research was partly supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Numbers 20530782, 23402063, 24652177.

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