

THE IMPACTS OF ASSIMILATION ON SECOND-GENERATION BATAK-AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS' PERSPECTIVES TOWARDS BATAK GENDER NORMS

Clara Shinta Intan Berlian Cinta¹ & Yusuf Kurniawan¹

¹Universitas Sebelas Maret

Jl. Ir. Sutami No.36 A, Pucangsawit, Jebres, Surakarta, Indonesia

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Keywords	Abstract
Assimilation Egalitarian culture Gender norms Indonesian Batak-American Second-generation Immigrants	<i>Batak is one of the patriarchal ethnic cultures in Indonesia that has strong gender norms applied within its people. Second-generation Indonesian Batak-American that live in both Batak gender norms and Egalitarian gender norms might have a different perspective about their ethnic gender norms as assimilation in America impacts their view. This research aims to find the impacts of assimilation toward Second-generation Batak-Americans in viewing Batak Ethnic gender norms. This research is digital ethnography. In analyzing the data, the research applies segmented assimilation by Portes and Zhou to answer the research questions. The result, assimilation impacts second-generation Batak-American immigrants' perspective about Batak gender norms where they adapt more to the American Egalitarian gender norms and American Egalitarian family structure because of the human capital that they have.</i>
Corresponding Author Yusuf Kurniawan Universitas Sebelas Maret Indonesia Email & Phone: yusuf@staff.ums.ac.id & +628532575571	

INTRODUCTION

"America is White and Black and Latino and Asian. America is mixed. American is immigrants." – Jose Antonio Vargas (Speri, 2014)

After a long racist Chinese exclusion acts in 1882 (Barde & Bobonis, 2006, p. 105; William Wei, 2014), a new light came for Asian-American when Federal Law called Immigrant Nationality Act was signed in to law by President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1965 (Lee, 2016) which gave them rights to be treated as a citizen in the United States (Barde & Bobonis, 2006: 109).

After the immigrant nationality act was passed, the coming of Asian immigrants from different parts of Asia increased, included immigrants from Indonesia. The first Indonesian immigrant wave happened in 1965 (Schaefer, 2012). About 30.000 immigrants came at that time, and later the same amount number came again in 1972

(Schaefer, 2012). Voluntary immigrants dominated the migration although some were asylum seekers that need protection from the new order tyranny (Schaefer, 2012).

With the progressive Indonesian-American populations throughout the years, the population of Indonesia grew from 30.000 people in 1965 to 140.000 people in 2015 (Budiman, 2021). California becomes the center of Indonesian-Americans with 21.000 populations living in the South part of California in 2015 (Budiman, 2021). This amount of the population created a lot of Indonesian communities in the Southern part of California, one of them is the Batak Communities (Schaefer, 2012; Yang, 2008)

Batak is a paternal ethnic culture. The ethnic group follows the father's lineage and many of their principles are related to the gender norms of patriarchal society. Those gender norms include the right of inheritance on male, active roles in the family, which is dominated by male, the custom of "female belongs to her husband family lineage" once she is married off, and the married custom where the groom pays the bride's price to her family (Ihromi, 1994, pp. 530–531).

With Batak's principle which leads more into patriarchal traditions, there is somehow a clash between Batak's culture and the American egalitarian culture. American egalitarian culture emphasizes freedom and equality within every individual while the Batak cultures still on a patriarchal structure where men predominate the roles and power inside the culture and family. The teaching of egalitarian culture through education in the United States and the progressive movement on gender equality in America could create different mindsets and views among the Indonesia Batak-American immigrants, especially among the second-generation who were born and raised there. These raise the question of whether the second-generation Indonesian-Batak Immigrants still keep their culture and customs or fully assimilate with the American egalitarian culture. Especially on the topic of gender norms in the Batak cultures, which are the opposite of the American egalitarian culture.

The topic of second generations and their assimilation was raised before the arrival of the 1965's new immigrants, but after the post-1965's immigration era, the United States experienced more diverse economic, race, and ethnic among new immigrants. This has required assimilation scholars to rearrange their earlier theories of assimilation to fit the patterns shown by the "new immigrants". The classic assimilation theories cannot fit the patterns of their assimilation experiences as the classic theories are based on the late nineteenth and early twentieth European immigrant and their descendants (Alumkal, 1999, p. 127). Classic scholars that work on the assimilation have often assumed that immigration in the United States entails adjusting to a more egalitarian and more "modern" culture where their outcome later becomes the same level as the white middle-class American (Alumkal, 1999). These theories were met with much criticism from Asian-American individuals, scholars, and organizations as this view reinforced the Model minority stereotype of Asians (Lee & Kye, 2016, p. 1). One of the theories that rejected the classic theories is "Segmented Assimilation Theory" by Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Here, Alejandro and Zhou argue that assimilation has not only a single pattern in their process and result but has different types of modes and results where the assimilation outcomes are depends on human capitals that second-generation immigrants have (Portes & Zhou, 1993)

Studies about the assimilation of Second-generation Immigrants have been examined by many researchers, but their scopes were majorly limited to cultural identities identification, noting the impacts of ambiguous cultural identities for second-generation immigrants (Rumbaut, 1994; Zhou & Xiong, 2007) and the factors of second-generation immigrants' downward assimilation outcome of (Portes et al., 2009). There is also research that talks about ethnic gender roles as the factor of upwards assimilation outcomes like Lo (2017). She suggests that Hmong-American girls were impacted by racially constructed gender norms. In response to hegemonic and subordinated femininities, second-generation Hmong American girls pursue education to enter

mainstream America and reject Hmong ethnic culture and femininity, but the research itself focuses on education outcomes instead of second-generation immigrants' perspective about ethnic gender roles. There is barely any research that talk about the impacts of assimilation on their gender norms perspective aside from Alumkai (1999). Although in his research, Alumkai focuses on the American Evangelical impacts rather than the Egalitarian culture impacts like this research. The previous researcher's objects are also mainly focused on the known ethnic groups like East Asian immigrants (Alumkal, 1999; Chen et al., 2012; Wang, 2007) or known Southeast Asian immigrants (Chen et al., 2012; Lo, 2017), but there is barely any research that talk about Indonesia-American immigrants or the Batak-American immigrants itself.

This research purpose is to find out the impacts of assimilation towards second-generation Batak-American immigrants' perspectives about Batak gender norms. To answer the problem, the research explores the impacts of assimilations and the human capital that supports their assimilation by asking the factors that impacted them. In the end, the research describes the experience of second-generation Batak-American immigrants with Batak gender norms and the family structure to support the results.

METHOD

This research focuses on the impacts of assimilation towards *second-generation Batak-American immigrants'* perspective about Batak gender norms. The source of data were the results of online in-depth interviews with ten second-generation Batak-American immigrants. The interviews were conducted from November 19th 2019 to November 30th 2019. All of the interviewees live in Loma Linda, San Bernardino County, Los Angeles, the United States with five female informants and five male informants, thus made the results of the interview as the data of the research.

This research used purposive sampling in choosing the informants, after that the research used digital ethnography (Pink et al., 2015) by using the video call online interview as a technique to collect the data. First, the researcher contacted the informants through text-based conversation on different instant messenger platforms namely WhatsApp, Facebook, and Instagram to schedule their interview. The interviews were held at different times to follow the informants' free schedule, but all of the interviews were done from November 19th 2019 to November 30th 2019 by using the video calls feature on WhatsApp, Facebook, and Skype to provide similar experiences to face-to-face interaction. In the interview, the researcher asked them about their cultural identity, their opinion on Batak gender norms and gender equality among Batak-American, and their experiences with Batak's family structure. After that, the researcher transcribed the results of the interviews into text and sorting them by selecting the statements that are related to the topic of the research.

After the data was collected, there are a few steps used to analyze the data. (1) Examining the data that have been categorized into a different group based on the research topic (2) Identifying the statements from informants that are related to their view on Batak's gender norms (3) Using Portes and Zhou Segmented Assimilation theory to analyze the data related to the outcomes of assimilation of second-generation Batak-American immigrants on their perspective about Batak's gender norms (4) Drawing a conclusion.

DISCUSSION

Before discussing the data, this research needs to show the results of the interview. The results are divided into three parts based on the problem raised in the previous chapter: (1) The Impacts of Assimilation among Second-Generation Batak-American immigrants (2) How assimilation affected second-generation Batak-American gender

norms and family structure (3) Family structure and gender norms experienced by Second-Generation Batak-American immigrants

The Impacts of Assimilation among Second-Generation Batak-American Immigrants

This part presents the research findings which I found by doing interviews. It is related to the impacts of assimilation towards Second-Generation Batak-American immigrants on their perception of Batak gender norms and family structure. After I analyzed the informant's answers in the interview, finally I got the data. The results of the research findings are presented in the next paragraph.

From all ten informants, the interview data revealed that there are seven informants which were impacted by American egalitarian cultures in viewing Batak gender norms and family structure. The assimilation with American egalitarian cultures made second-generation immigrants view Batak gender norms and family structure as “stuck up cultures”. From what the seven informants stated, shows that their displeasures are led by Batak gender norms that value men more than women. One of the statements came from Febri in which she said:

I experience the bias that my parents have between me and my brother, and I think those are unfair and ridiculous. I mean my parents move to the United States so that we grow up here as American, not Indonesian

Source: Interview with Febri, 18 years old on November 29th 2019

When I talked with the informants who considered Batak gender norms as stuck-up culture, their usual reactions were mostly comparing Batak gender norms with the American culture. Other than female informants, several numbers of male informants expressed their displeasure with Batak gender norms. Larry is one of them, in which he quoted:

I think it's ridiculous, I don't like the idea of men should be like this, woman should be like that. We work together on whatever fits
 (Data-06)

Source: Interview with Larry on November 26th, 2019

Informants state their displeasure with Batak gender norms that divide them into certain roles. Meanwhile, the American egalitarian culture that they are exposed to teaches them well-nigh equality and expects both genders to work together in equal manners. On the other hand, the rest three informants expressed that they do not fully stipulate with Batak gender norms but still believe in some parts of the norms. In the interview with Adam, he stated:

Batak is very traditional and close-minded, but I kind of like how traditional it is when it comes to family, and I'm kind of proud of it? Considering Batak culture, we are family-oriented. I'm proud and considering those strong bonds, it kind of helps me in pursuing my career

(Data-02)

Source: Interview with informant Adam, on November 20, 2019

Here, the informant shared that he considered Batak Gender norms and family structure as “close-minded culture” but at the same time, he appreciated it as it helped him in pursuing his career as the pressure that comes in the Batak family to have a good career motivated him to do the best in his job.

Informants who did not fully assimilated with the Batak gender norms and family structure but believe in some part of norms showed that they considered some parts Batak gender norms and family structure are no longer relevant, but they accepted some parts of the cultures when it comes to the idea of family immigration in Batak family and with the family structure where man becomes the throne of the family. Meanwhile, the value which they considered no longer relevant was the patriarchal culture where women should follow the husband's family side and leave her family behind.

After looking up to the results, It can be concluded that the impacts of assimilation towards second-generation Batak American in viewing Batak gender norms are: First, they see Batak traditional gender norms as stuck up culture that is no longer relevant for their generation and second for the family structure, they adapted more into the American egalitarian culture way where partners have an equal relationship. The results of the research are different in compared to Alumkal (1999) research where object of research adapted to American evangelical culture.

How Assimilation Affected Second-Generation Batak-American gender norms and Family Structure

These are the findings of the problems on how second-generation Batak-American immigrants are affected by assimilations in viewing Batak gender norms and family structure. The results are categorized into four categories based on the informants' statements.

The research found out that Liberal Environment, Family, Oppression, and Education are the instruments that affected second-generation Batak-American immigrants in viewing Batak gender norms and family structure. Four informants stated that a liberal environment made them opened more to gender equality that affected them in viewing Batak's gender norms as stuck-up culture. Family affected second-generation immigrants in two different ways, one which led their mindsets into a more liberal view and two that led them into conservative view by being used to the traditional customs.

On the other hand, for the oppression, the results show that informants who got oppressed by their gender because of the existence of Batak's gender norms tend to reject the idea of Batak's gender norms and Batak's family structure, and because of the uncomfortable situation that they experienced. These results similar to (Lo, 2017) where the second generation of female *Hmong-American* assimilate to the white femininity as their rejection to their ethnic gender norms. Meanwhile, on Education, informants state that their views are more liberal because of the knowledge and gender class that they had at school.

Family structure and Gender norms experienced by Second-Generation Batak-American immigrants

These are the findings of the second-generation Batak-American immigrants' experience with Batak gender norms and their family structure. On this topic, the findings are categorized into two categories, one for gender norms experiences and the other for the family structure that the informants experienced

Batak gender norms experienced by second-generation Batak-American immigrants

Different gender has different experience about Batak gender norms. For female informants, knowing how to handle domestic jobs was one of the most common traits they were expected with, which was mentioned by 4 informants. According to Dhevi, a daughter was usually asked to handle almost every domestic job where their brother could just sit around. The second most answers were being expected to look attractive and are expected to follow parents' education choice mentioned by the two informants. Stephanie mentioned that due to colorism, Batak women were expected

to look lighter to be considered attractive and Cynthia mentioned how daughter was expected to be obedient to their parents by following the education that their parents have chosen which is something that she tried to against with for years. Meanwhile one of the other informants mentioned that having less freedom than a man was one of the things that Batak people expected. According to Febri, being a woman for her family means that you needed more protection than a man, but at the same time, it discriminated against her as a woman in having the freedom to socialize with her friends.

Meanwhile for male informants, being expected to have a promising career which was mentioned by two informants and being expected to be a good role model in the family which were mentioned by one informant are what they experienced with Batak gender norms. For male informants who were being expected to have a promising career, they mentioned the pressure to have a stable high-paying job was always there even though they already have jobs. For the informant who was expected to be a good role model, he mentioned that having a stable career and being a good role model in the family were related to each other. The rest of the informants (two informants) mentioned that they have never experienced Batak gender norms in real life.

Family structure experienced by second-generation Batak-American immigrants

Second-generation Batak-American immigrants experienced different kinds of family structures. Based on data collected in the interview, surprisingly, most of the informants have their mother became the head of the household with which were experienced by five informants. This happened due to the divorce of their biological parents with four of five informants came from a divorced family. The second is informants that have a family with equal partnership parents where both parents have equal positions in the family with two informants had this family conditions. The third one is informants who have traditional Batak family structure with two informants who had a father as the head of the family. The last one is the informant that has an “ambiguous” head of household in the family where the father took a role as a major the “decision” maker in the family while their mother is the breadwinner.

Segmented Assimilation among Second-Generation Indonesian Batak-American Immigrants on Gender Roles Topic

To know whether Second-generation Immigrants are affected by the assimilation or not on the topic of gender roles, we need to see their perspective on several issues that are connected with gender roles, including supports for equal treatments in the home, workforce, and public sphere.

Upwards Assimilation Outcome and Its relation to Advantages Human Capital

According to Portes and Zhou (1993), disadvantages human capital resulting downwards assimilation outcomes of second-generation immigrants. In the results of research, it shows that most of the second-generation Batak-American immigrants culturally assimilated to the American egalitarian culture when they talk about their perspective about Batak gender norms. Most of the second-generation immigrants considered Batak gender norms as stuck-up culture while the rest considered Batak culture as a stuck-up culture but still believed in some part of it. Those factors are found in the findings of the second research question which are living environments (Liberal State), family, gender discrimination, and education. Because of the advantages of human capital, the result of this research finds that the outcomes of the assimilation of second-generation Batak-American immigrants are

closer to the straight-line theory where second-generation immigrants directly adapt into the dominant culture.

Mixed Children vs Batak Children

In the findings, this research finds differences in the process of adaptation of gender norms in relation to the conditions of the parents of second-generation Batak-American immigrants. In comparison to second-generation immigrants who have fully Batak parents, second-generation immigrants from interracial marriage tend to adapt their mindset to the egalitarian culture, in which all of them chose to follow the American norms that are more progressive in comparison to Batak gender norms. Meanwhile, second-generation immigrants whose parents are both Batak have mixed outcomes, with the majority adapted to American egalitarian culture but still believe in some of the gender roles. The situation happened due to parenting differences. Second-generation immigrants who have Batak parents were taught by their parents to adapt to the American society, but at home, there were some conditions where they unconsciously followed and applied the Batak gender norms values such as dividing job based on gender and different treatment for their children based on their gender. Meanwhile, for the children who come from mixed parents, their Batak parents tended to follow western values. Some parents also originally rejected the Batak gender norms as some aspects were not in line with their beliefs. Therefore, they married a foreign man or woman to get away from the norms.

Gender Equality: Education and Career

The labor force gender gap is not obvious among the Batak-American immigrants as they live in the immigrant condition where their parents are required to work to economically survive. The informants expressed how the family usually made them work in certain occupations. In comparison to the male informants, among five male informants of all ten informants, all have different jobs and majors which are police, teacher, IT engineer, nurse, and musician. Although there's no tendency to push their children into certain jobs because of their gender, the researcher saw many female informants pursue nursing schools in comparison to their male relatives whose jobs are more diverse. The female informants expressed how the family usually pressures them to pursue nursing as their education and job as it is one of the high demand workforces (*Resgitered Nurse*, 2019) in the United States that gives immigrants a promising future:

...At school, my mom pushed me to continue my study as a nurse. I was interested in art but I'm a second-generation immigrant. I need the fastest job to stabilize my economy

(Data-05)

Source: Interview with informant Dhevi on November 24th 2019)

When I asked one of the only female informants, Cynthia, as the only female informant who is not pursuing nurse school or nursing job, about why many second-generation female informants become nurses, she answered:

I think it's because they (parents) wanted us to be successful and also because it is only 2 years of school to become a nurse, and four years to become a registered nurse and you will get more money from that. I also fought a lot with my mom in deciding me going to a psychology major

(Data 07)

Source: Interview with Cynthia, Female, 28 years old on November 28th 2019

Before she said this, she also said how usually Batak family spoiled their sons more in comparison to their daughter:

...I see many of Batak's parents think that their sons are more valuable than us (daughter), so they spoiled them (son) a lot, but I also see those daughters are usually smarter and more reliable than them, maybe because of that we usually are more successful

(Data 07) Source: Interview with Cynthia, Female, 28 years old on November 28th 2019

From what Cynthia said, because of the bias towards the son, Batak women usually work on their own and make them much more discipline compared to men. Similar to Lao's research (2017), this research also found the resistance of gender oppression among female informants made them listen to their parents decision more in choosing school and occupation as it is easier for them to maintain an upwards assimilation outcomes into the mainstream middle white society (Portes & Zhou, 1993) while at the same fulfilling the *hamaraon* (successful children) value (3H Batak's value) to show that they are more valuable than Batak's men.

Patriarchy: Acceptance or Resistance

To summarize so far, among female informants, four of them stated that they are agreed on equality between men and women in the household, meanwhile for one female informant and two male informants support the principle of male headship in the family, with varying degrees of qualifications. Stephanie as one of the examples of female informants who agreed the fully equal partnership in the household gave her opinion about the equal partnership:

I do think women and men, in the household, shouldn't have any certain gender roles. We need to contribute together to live happily

(Data-01)

Source: Interview with informant Stephanie, on November 19th 2019

On the other hand, some informants preferred the male headship in the family but within various degrees:

I do think marriage should be an equal partnership, but I would also like to become the head of the household just as the man who protects all my family as a whole. (Adam, 26)

(Data-02)

Source: Interview with informant Adam, on November 20, 2019

Different from Adam whose preference is on the male headship, Michael shared a different perspective on equal partnership in the household with him supporting on the fully equal partnership in the household as a man:

I think men and women in marriage should be in equal partnership, men don't have to become the head of the household and be the

*breadwinner of the family...and you know what, as a man, I actually
 okay becoming a house husband (laugh)*

(Data-03)

Source: Interview with informant Dave, 28 years old, on November
 21st 2019

Informants' views about gender roles are segmented, but the general view supported the idea of equal partnership among men and women. Most of the informants mention their growing up in American culture where both females and males are contributed to helping the economic burden of the family. The factors that help them assimilate to the white egalitarian culture in the view of gender roles come from the economic behavior where immigrants are fighting for the upwards economic outcome.

Second-generation Immigrants and their views on the "Purchasing Women" symbol in the Batak's marriage process "Sinamot"

Sinamot is one of the processes in Batak marriage before the wedding procession is held. There are several controversies in Sinamot due to the original symbol as "*tuhor ni boru*" or "money to buy a woman." it is also the idea that giving money to the bride's family as the gift for raising their daughter correlates with "transactions" that position woman as an object. Although the modern Batak people stated that the meaning behind *sinamot* is no longer treated as the symbol of "buying woman" but as the procession to strengthen the family ties, the name of the "*tuhor ni boru*" is still there. The researcher asked all my informants about their view in this procession as if they happened to marry someone from Batak ethnic and marry the Batak's traditional marriage procession in the future. As the result, the majority of women shared mixed feelings about this procession in marriage. Rebecca shared her opinions about this:

*I think the procession is weird because it's like the culture that
 happened in America before 1920s and I don't think it's good cause
 they see women as properties...But if I ever do Adat, I think it
 depends on the process like they also do the Americanized version of
 Adat in here but the giving money tradition is a no*

(Data-10)

Source: Interview with Rebecca on November 30th 2019

The same thing as the female informants, male informants also shared their mixed feelings about this, Larry is one of them:

*I think it's ridiculous, it's like treating women as property, but I ever
 do Batak's wedding, I think it depends on my partner whether she
 wants to do it or not. If yes, I'll just treat it as a symbol*

(Data-06)

Source: Interview with Larry on November 26th 2019

From the statements above, we can conclude that the majority of the second-generation Batak-American immigrants adapt more American egalitarian culture in viewing Batak traditional marriage procession. The reason is the symbol behind the process that positions women as property of family and men, although in the modern society they are no longer take the symbol in literal meaning the philosophy behind them still make the second-generation immigrants see it as "stuck up" culture.

Intuitions of Marriage

When I asked them about their ideal marriage, the statements among informants were mixed of egalitarian cultures and the progressive version of the Batak gender roles and family structures. Here, the majority of female informant state that their ideal marriage into a more westernized marriage where both of the partners are equal and there's no certain head of the household. Although the majority of the female informants decided to have an equal partnership in the future marriage, one of the informants had the opposite answer in comparison to the others. Dhevi stated that she prefers her husband to become the head of the household and emphasizes that the preference comes from herself. Her preference is based on the idea of a paternal society where the mother should be the one who takes care of their children (Girsang, Nasution, & Surbakti, 2014).

Different from the female informants, the descriptions of ideal marriage are mixed with the male informants. Among five of them, three of the informants described their ideal marriage where they can be the head of the household, Adam is one of them which he said:

I wish I can be the head of the family, but my wife still has roles in charge of the family... Well just say this, I am the head of the family, and my wife is the boss

Source: Interview with informant Adam, 26 years old on November 20, 2019

Within the difference of the ideal marriage among informants, who make the result of their view about marriage segmented where some of the informants that are dominated by women choose the egalitarian way as their ideal of marriage while the male informants are the divergent outcome by mixing Batak's values and egalitarian values as their ideals.

Family Structure of Second-Generation Batak-American Immigrants

Authority in the family

When the informants were asked about the authority in their family, they provided mixed answers on that matter. Most of the informants stated that their mother becomes the head of the household. However, it happened due to the divorce of the parents, and it did not erase the patriarchal structure of the Batak family because the father was still the head of the household before the divorce.

The second situation of the family structure that is experienced by second-generation immigrants is the father as the head of the household. Dhevi, one of the female informants stated about the traditional structure that her family still have while at the same time, her mom is still the one who manage the money

My family is still pretty much traditional. Most of the domestic jobs are done by my mom like washing laundry, cleaning the house, and take care of children while my dad is fully working, but my mom's voice is still the vector of the family

(Data-05)

Source: Interview with informant Dhevi on November 24th, 2019

Dhevi's family is the example of the second segmented assimilation, where the mixture of traditional Batak's gender roles. The traditional family still put the

father as the head of the household while most of the management and decision-making were controlled by the mother.

The third one is the family structure where both parents have an equal position in the house or what we call an equal partnership. This structure is what the egalitarian family structure looks like, where the mother and the father all have equal responsibilities in the household. Dave and Michael shared how their parents do not categorize their tasks within the household.

*My dad did the same things as my mother in the household.
They also don't divide jobs based on gender toward their children*
(Data-03)

Source: Interview with Michael, on November 22nd, 2019

Michael and Dave's cases are the representation of the fully assimilated Second-generation where the parents and their children no longer follow the traditional source country cultures where men are treated as the leader and do not touch the domestic jobs. Parents are their instruments that push the progress of their acculturation in the dominant environment of living in America.

Gender Bias in Parental Attitudes

Gender oppression is not only experienced by women, but also by men in society. Where the patriarchy still preserves in the society, both genders experience pressures to be in some roles and attitudes in certain ways. One of the examples of the gender bias that happened in the Batak-American household is from my informants Rebecca who described the different treatment as a daughter, their families expect them to do housework and follow some gender norms roles:

*I'm in nursing school and oftentimes, I feel so tired and hungry when
I just got back from school, but my mom asked me to do some
domestic work like cooking or washing dishes, instead of my brother
who just sits in front of computers for hours.*
(Data-10)

Source: Interview with Rebecca on November 30th 2019

Other informants also describe the similar experience like Rebeca's:

*I have a brother but somehow my mom always asks me to do all the
domestic job, even though there's my brother there*
(Data-09)

Source: Interview with Febri, 18 years old on November 29th 2019

Although a lot of the gender bias experiences come for the female informants, there are also some of the pressures that male informants faced as the sons in the Batak family, Dave shared the disappointment of his parents and some of his big family when he did not continue to study in the STEM field and prefer to work as an artist.

*Before, I studied Biology but didn't have any connection in studying
that. So, I dropped out and decided to pursue music. Some of the big
family members from my mom's side (Batak) were surprised and
disappointed about it, as you know, we immigrant children don't
usually take risks by studying arts or choosing our profession as an
artist, especially men*

(Data-04)

Source: Interview with Dave, on November 23rd, 2019

Dave shared his experience about how male Batak second-generation immigrants are pressured in working in certain fields to have stable jobs and incomes. This gender role has been there since thousands of years ago, as the idea of gender roles when the male become the one who provides the food while the women become the one who manages the household. (Ihromi, 1994; Manik, 2012; Revida, 2006; Sherman, 1987).

Accordingly, it can be summarized that most second-generation immigrants are assimilated to egalitarian cultures. They assimilated to egalitarian cultures (for gender norms and family structures) because of four factors: liberal living environment (liberal state), liberal family, gender oppression (that they experienced), and education (learned gender equality at school).

Moreover, Batak gender norms that are experienced by the second immigrants are as follows: women tend to be doing domestic works, following Asian beauty standards, and are obedient to parents. Then, men tend to being breadwinners and role models. In majority within the informants' family mothers become breadwinners due to a divorce and the rest are typical patriarchal family.

Most of the second-generation immigrants are segmented because of human capital advantages (education, living environment, and economy). Mixed children are more liberal in compared to the fully Batak children. Labor gender gap is not so obvious due to the Batak culture that appreciates careers, but women have lesser freedom in choosing their career. In viewing marriage, women tend to consider equal partnership. Meanwhile, men still become the leaders but with equal communications and economic opportunity.

This research differs from the prior ones since first, the previous research only focuses on the impacts of gender norms to the second-generation immigrants' level of educations and cultural identity (whether they are more American or their ethnic culture) not their perspective on their ethnic culture gender norms. Second, those which are like this research mainly focus on how evangelical culture in America impacted them (the second-generation immigrants) not the egalitarian one. Third, there are barely any research about Indonesian Immigrants (especially Batak). Thus, it is necessary because Batak people are one of the first Indonesian ethnic group that came to the United States and created ethnic community.

CONCLUSION

Based on the result of the research, it can be concluded that assimilation impacts second-generation immigrants in their view on traditional Batak-Toba gender norms and family in different manners. The outcomes of the assimilation are segmented but it is more towards the straight-line theory in which children of immigrants are acculturated into the normative structure of American egalitarian culture. The assimilation itself impacted them through different paths which are environments, family, oppression, and education. Meanwhile for gender roles, female experienced more roles applied in which they were expected to know how to handle domestic jobs, although for the family structure, they surprisingly, experienced their mother as the head of the family but with the exception that it happened cause of the divorce. From these, the research finds that the results of the research are following the segmented assimilation theory by Portes and Zhou (1993). Portes and Zhou argue that successful assimilation outcomes of second-generation immigrants are related human capital that second-generation immigrants

have in which second-generation Batak-American immigrants on this research own the human capitals.

As this research has been conducted on only ten second-generation Batak-American immigrants who live in the same area, the result is limited and not wide enough to represent second-generation Batak-American immigrants. Thus, future research can examine conduct their study to a larger research population so it can gain more factual findings on the impacts of assimilation towards second-generation Batak-American on their perspective of Batak ethnic gender norms or other Batak culture elements.

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