

813

Wa 314 A

0 3

AN ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS
AS PRESENTED IN THE WOMAN WARRIOR AND THE JOY LUCK CLUB

A THESIS

BY

WATCHAREE POONPIPATPON

29 MAR. 2539

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Master of Education Degree in English
at Srinakharinwirot University

March 1996

Copyright 1996 Srinakharinwirot University

B. 52322

คณะกรรมการควบคุมและคณะกรรมการสอบได้พิจารณาปฏิญานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้แล้ว
เห็นสมควรรับเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาการศึกษามหาบัณฑิต
วิชาเอกภาษาอังกฤษ ของมหาวิทยาลัยศรีนครินทรวิโรฒได้

คณะกรรมการควบคุม

..... ประธาน
(ผศ.ดร.อัมพร ศรีเสริมโชค)

..... กรรมการ
(Mr. John M. Allen)

คณะกรรมการสอบ

..... ประธาน
(ผศ.ดร.อัมพร ศรีเสริมโชค)

..... กรรมการ
(Mr. John M. Allen)

..... กรรมการที่แต่งตั้งเพิ่มเติม
(ดร.นิตยา สุขเสรีทรัพย์)

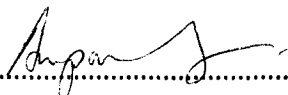
บัณฑิตวิทยาลัยอนุมัติให้รับปฏิญานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตาม
หลักสูตรปริญญาการศึกษามหาบัณฑิต วิชาเอกภาษาอังกฤษ ของมหาวิทยาลัยศรีนครินทรวิโรฒ

..... คณบดีบัณฑิตวิทยาลัย
(ดร.ศิริยุภา พูลสุวรรณ)

วันที่.....๘.....เดือน.....พฤษภาคม.....พ.ศ. ๒๕๓๙

The Thesis Committee and Oral Defense Committee have approved this thesis as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Education Degree in English of Srinakharinwirot University.

Thesis Committee

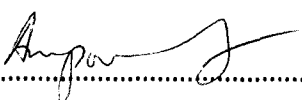
Chair: 

(Asst. Prof. Dr. Amporn Srisermbhok)

Advisor: 

(Mr. John M. Allen)

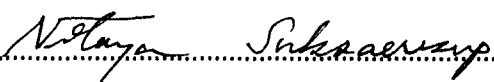
Oral Defense Committee

Chair: 

(Asst. Prof. Dr. Amporn Srisermbhok)

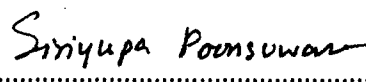
Advisor: 

(Mr. John M. Allen)

Reader: 

(Dr. Nitaya Suksaeresup)

The Graduate School has approved this thesis as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Education Degree in English of Srinakharinwirot University.

Dean of the Graduate School: 

(Dr. Siriyupa Ponsuwan)

8 March 1996

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The completion of this thesis was made possible by many individuals to whom I am greatly indebted. Deep gratitude is given to Asst. Prof. Dr. Amporn Srisermbhok, my chair, and Mr. John M. Allen, my advisor. Their guidance, valuable comments and encouragement made this thesis possible. Much appreciation is expressed to Dr. Nitaya Suksaeresup, my reader, for her constructive comments.

I am very grateful to the former Fulbrighters of the department: Prof. Ryan Bichop, Prof. Audrey Robert, Prof. Thomas Erskine, and Prof. Richard Buckstead for their fruitful assistance.

I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Pak Silavipaporn, Asst. Prof. Suphat Sotthitada, Ms. Patama Aksornjarung, and Ms. Wilai Auepiyachut for their kind assistance and untiring advice throughout my study program.

Finally, immeasurable indebtedness is expressed to my beloved parents, cousins, and friends for their unfailing encouragement during my study.

Watcharee Poonpipatpon

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	page
I INTRODUCTION	1
Background	1
Objectives of the Study	7
The Importance of the Study	7
Scope of the Study	8
Procedures	8
Related Literature	9
Part I: Related Literature on Chinese and	
Women in Chinese Culture	9
Part II: Related Literature on American	
Culture and Woman in American Culture	16
Part III: Related Literature on Maxine Hong Kingston's	
Biography and <u>The Woman Warrior</u>	18
Part IV: Related Literature on Amy Tan's	
Biography and <u>The Joy Luck Club</u>	23
II AN ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MOTHER AND	
DAUGHTER AS PRESENTED IN <u>THE WOMAN WARRIOR</u>	29
The Causes of the Conflicts between Brave Orchid and	
Kingston	29
Reconciliation	72

Chapter	page
III AN ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS AS PRESENTED IN <u>THE JOY LUCK CLUB</u>	84
The Causes of the Conflicts between Suyuan and Jing-mei	84
Reconciliation	97
The Causes of the Conflicts between An-mei and Rose	104
Reconciliation	110
The Causes of the Conflicts between Lindo and Waverly	112
Reconciliation	131
The Causes of the Conflicts between Ying-ying and Lena	135
Reconciliation	142
IV DESCRIPTION OF THE RESULT OF THE STUDY	146
V CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY	164
BIBLIOGRAPHY	178
THE RESEARCHER'S BRIEF BACKGROUND	185

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background

There are many ethnic groups in America, and Chinese is one of them. It is noticeable that the number of Chinese women in America did not approach equality with Chinese men until 1954, although it is reported that the first Chinese woman arrived in America as early as in the 1830's. One of the reasons is that when men have been driven by war and poverty in China to America, where the discovery of gold in California in 1848 and the demand for employees in mining and building railroads attracted them, few women were among them because according to cultural mores, women were supposed to be home to serve their parents-in-law (Ling. 1990 : 219 ; Ling. 1990 : 9 - 10). Moreover, the journey then was thought to be too dangerous for women. Furthermore, there was anti-Chinese sentiment in the West of America because when there was a lack of employment, the Chinese, constituting a highly visible group, were regarded by the natives as second-class citizens who deprived them of their rightful jobs (Yung. 1986 : 8). Above all, in 1924, a law was passed specially to prohibit Chinese women, including wives of American-born Chinese, from immigration to America. In 1930, it was revised and about 60 Chinese women were allowed to enter America each year. This continued for 10 years (Kung. 1962 : 98). Nonetheless, under pressure of World War II (1939 - 1945), Chinese women could immigrate more freely (Yung. 1986 : 43).

Despite the smaller number of Chinese women in America and the fact that according to Confucianism, women are expected to be modest and reticent, and because writing is regarded as an expression of extreme egotism and self-exposure, those women who write are regarded as rebels. Yet, there have been more women writers of Chinese ancestry than men; they have written more books, and their works have been considered more authentic than men's. They have written more

because the more strongly they have been repressed, the more vehemently they have tried to liberate themselves. Women of Chinese ancestry not only have been oppressed by men of their race but they also have been negatively viewed by the whites. There have been two stereotypes of them. One has been the Shy Lotus Blossom or China Doll, and the other has been the Dragon Lady. The China Doll is demure and deferential while the Dragon Lady is a seductive woman who can poison a man easily. Women's works have been considered authentic because fewer of them have been categorized as either "tourist guides" or "alien observers." The works in the "tourist guide" category amuse Western readers by describing exotic things in China while those in the "alien observer" category titillate Western readers by emphasizing the funny reactions of Chinese men to Western customs (Ling. 1990 : 11 - 16).

Apart from Ling, who concludes that women write more because as members of ethnic groups and as women in a world dominated by males, especially by males of these two different races, their lives are problematic, Li (1988 : 497) also notes, "As a consequence of Feminist and Civil Rights movements, women and minority writers have been active in exploring their experiences and developing their voices in the literary scene." Consequently, it is prime time for ethnic novelists, especially women. To name a few, among them are African-Americans like Toni Morrison and Alice Walker, or Chinese-Americans like Maxine Hong Kingston and Amy Tan (Homans. 1994 : 73 ; Ling. 1990 : 130).

Feminists have tried to point out why women have been negatively viewed and mother-daughter relationship has been devalued. They believe that since almost all societies are patriarchies, male derived conceptualizations of the nature of women and their relationships can be distorted by masculinism. Patriarchy is used by feminists to denote "a culture whose driving ethos is an embodiment of masculinist ideal and practices" (Ruth. 1990 : 45). Ruth notes that the essence of

the masculine ideal is the warrior image. For example, detectives and policemen are warriors against crime and tough doctors are warriors against disease, ignorance, or the hospital administration. In order to be winners, men believe that because such qualities as delicacy, sensitivity, emotionality, tenderness, and pity are not desirable, they must be rejected and projected onto women, their complement. Under this belief system, women become support mechanisms for the masculist self-image. The softer, weaker, and more dependent women are, the stronger and more powerful men appear. In patriarchal societies, women are described as "less intelligent; less competent; less able physically, psychologically, and spiritually; small of body, mind and character; often bad or destructive" (Ruth. 1990 : 82, 89). Women are taught that their roles as men's helpmates, wives and mothers complement their nature (Smelser. 1981 : 246). Consequently, that they have been assigned to the domestic, private sphere while men have been free to form broader associations in the outside world is also said to be natural (Tischler. 1983 : 359).

Although mother is patriarchy's most positive image of women--for example, they are said to be endowed with qualities of caring-tenderness, frailty, love, charity, loyalty, submission and sacrifice--feminists also argue that the institution of motherhood in patriarchal societies places unrealistic demands on mothers. The cult of motherhood has been enforced on women to ensure that women supply sons to fight in battles of power between clans and nations and to become factory workers in industrial societies. Feminists suggest that men who are exposed to children and care for them have much the same "maternal" instinct as women (Ruth. 1990 : 85 ; Phillips. 1981 : 9 - 10).

Feminists point out that Freud was a product of the patriarchal views of his day, so his masculinism and misogyny distorted his conceptualization of mother-daughter relationship (Flax. 1978 : 177 ; Chodorow. 1974 : 52 ; Nickerson. 1989 : 2 - 3). Nickerson also states that Freud's insistence on the desirability of breaking the mother-daughter bond fits industrialized economics of countries like

America because inter-generational attachments have been considered impediments to job mobility and success (Nickerson. 1989 : 2 - 3).

Apart from explaining why women and mother-daughter relationships have been devalued, feminists also conclude the reasons why women have adopted what men have expected to be women's nature. In most societies, education and learning have historically been the private preserve of men; therefore, knowledge and the formation of knowledge have been in the hands of men. What they have studied has been carried into research, hardened into accepted theories and became science, and as science, rarely argued. Women have also been studied by men, so they, their relationships and lives as women and mothers have been described by men. Women have been convinced of their own nature as described by men because social institutions that determine behavior and attitudes are also in men's control (Ruth. 1990 : 2 - 7).

However, as a consequence of Feminist and Civil Rights movements, women writers have discussed their experiences as members of ethnic groups, their condition in patriarchal societies, and mother-daughter relationships. Kingston is a major American writer and the most formidable Asian-American writer in this nation's history. She is best known for her autobiographical fiction, The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood among Ghosts. It presents her experience of growing up in two drastically different cultures: American and Chinese (Byfonski. 1980 : 312). Ling points out that since immigrant and sojourner Chinese-American writers' sensibilities were shaped in China, and they have a stable, single center, they usually write to explain China and Chinese ways to Western readers. On the contrary, American-born Chinese American writers have grown up in two cultures, and they have to comprehend and balance the bicultural clashes, so they seem to write to explain themselves to themselves (Ling. 1990 : 220).

Apart from being an analysis of Kingston's experience of growing up in the two different cultures, The Woman Warrior also examines a mother-daughter

relationship. Baer notes that one of the characteristics of women's autobiography is its concentration on personal life rather than the emphasis on the history of time. Women usually talk about one of the parents who influence them rather than about siblings, mates, romantic love, and children. This is true of The Woman Warrior because it is apparent that Kingston deals with her mother (Baer. 1991 : 127). Rolf also agrees that the book can be read in many ways and the mother-daughter relationship is a major theme. He states that:

There are many thematic avenues of interpretation in The Woman Warrior, but three approaches seem the most promising: as a record of cultural conflict and assimilation; as a study of the complex and emotional psychological relationship between mother and daughter; and, as a feminist statement. However, whichever becomes the focus of discussion, all three aspects must be taken into account, for they seem intricately interwoven.

(Rolf. 1982 : 2 - 3)

Apart from Kingston's The Woman Warrior, Amy Tan's The Joy Luck Club also reveals the Chinese mother, Chinese-American daughter relationships. Shear (1993 : 198) notes that in both books, much of the focus springs out of the mother-daughter relationships and the way the diaspora has created a contrast in the experience of mothers and daughters. Ling (1990 : 130 - 131) agrees that both books illuminate the mother-daughter relationships, and they are equally poetic, painful and often funny, but The Joy Luck Club is less angry in tone. It has been accepted that the mother is the first and strongest nurturant figure in any child's life. Although courts are granting child custody to fathers more often than they did, single parent usually means single mother (Smelser. 1981 : 241, 247).

According to Chodorow (1974 : 43), women are largely responsible for early child care and for later female socialization. Moreover, normally, parents are expected to transmit the culture of their society to their children and to make them fully socialized members of society (Coklin. 1987 : 320). Tischler (1983 : 70) notes that culture is a blueprint for living in a particular society because it is "all that human beings learn to do, to use, to produce, to know, and to believe as they grow to maturity and live out their lives in the social group to which they belong."

Recently, mother-daughter relationships have commanded attention. Mothers and daughters have expressed their experience of being mothers of daughters and daughters of mothers. Moreover, Chinese-American works have been well received, so I would like to analyze the relationships of Chinese immigrant mothers and first generation Chinese-American daughters in Maxine Hong Kingston's The Woman Warrior and Amy Tan's The Joy Luck Club so that readers will better understand their relationships, and learn from their experiences. D.H. Lawrence notes that novels are books of lives, and insists that we develop an instinct for life by reading them. He states that:

Let's learn from the novel. In the novel, the characters can do nothing but live. If they keep on being good, according to pattern, or bad, according to pattern, or even volatile, according to pattern, they cease to live, and the novel falls dead. A character in a novel has got to live, or it is nothing. We, likewise, in life have got to live, or we are nothing.

(Lawrence. 1972 : 135)

Faulkner also has a similar idea. In acceptance of the Nobel Prize in 1950, he made a brief but important statement about his belief that "man will not merely endure: he will prevail...because he has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and

sacrifice and endurance” and “the writer’s duty is to write about these things” (Hart. 1983 : 243). Matuz (1990 : 91; citing Dorris. 1989 : 11) states “Literature is writing that makes a difference, that alters the way we understand the world and ourselves.” Consequently, it is good to learn from the experience of the mothers and daughters of these two books.

Objectives of the Study

1. To study the relationships of Chinese immigrant mothers and Chinese-American daughters in The Woman Warrior and The Joy Luck Club so as to see the nature of the bond in the following aspects:

1.1 The Causes of the Conflicts

1.1.1 feminine identity

1.1.2 drives for achievement

1.1.3 superstitions

1.1.4 food

1.1.5 home

1.1.6 ethics of serving parents

1.2 Reconciliation

2. To compare the Chinese-American experience in the two novels.

2.1 Cross-Cultural Problems

2.1.1 the way they have been brought up and assimilation

2.1.2 racism

✓2.2 Sexism

The Importance of the Study

1. The study of the mother-daughter relationships in the two Chinese American novels will help the reader to better understand the relationship of the Chinese immigrant mothers and the first generation Chinese-American daughters.

2. The study of the mother-daughter relationships in the two novels will help the reader to better understand the Chinese immigrants and the experiences of first generation Chinese-Americans.

3. The study will promote a better understanding of “mainstream American society.”

4. The study will help the reader to better appreciate the value of Chinese culture.

5. The study will help the reader to understand patriarchy and feminism.

Scope of the Study

This study focuses on two books:

1. Maxine Hong Kingston's The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood among Ghosts

2. Amy Tan's The Joy Luck Club

Procedures

1. Survey related literature

1.1 Study Chinese culture and women in Chinese culture

1.2 Study American culture and women in American culture

1.3 Study Maxine Hong Kingston's biography and related literature on The Woman Warrior

1.4 Study Amy Tan's biography and related literature on The Joy Luck Club

2. Analyze The Woman Warrior

3. Analyze The Joy Luck Club

4. Describe the result of the study

5. Conclude and suggest topics for further study

Related Literature

Part I: Related literature on Chinese culture and women in Chinese culture

Part II: Related literature on American culture and women in American culture

Part III: Related literature on Maxine Hong Kingston's biography and The Woman Warrior

Part IV: Related literature on Amy Tan's biography and The Joy Luck Club

Part I: Related Literature on Chinese Culture and Women in Chinese Culture

Chinese Culture

The fundamental concept of Chinese culture is Confucianism. It is accepted that if the Chinese ways of life for the last two thousand years were to be characterized in one word, it would be "Confucian" because the life and thought of the Chinese have been deeply influenced by Confucianism. Although they say that they are Taoists, Buddhists or Christians, they rarely cease to be Confucianist (De Bary and others. 1967 : 15).

There are reasons why Confucianism has governed Chinese society for many centuries without being challenged by other important theories until the end of the nineteenth century. Confucianism was backed by the ruling class because they realized that its concept requiring that subjects completely obey their masters could help maintain their power. Lang (1946 : 8) adds that the anarchistic quietism of Lao tsu (Taoism) did not serve the centralization of the imperial period. Yum (1994 : 76) states that the ruling class supported Confucianism through their formal educational system and through the selection process of government officials. Confucian classics were required textbooks before modern educational curricula were used, and to be government officials, applicants were mostly examined on their knowledge and understanding of Confucianism. It has had a

strong impact because it is a pragmatic and present-oriented philosophy. Confucius put more emphasis on serving men than serving the spirits and on understanding life than understanding death.

Confucianism emphasizes social relationships and ethical responsibilities that are expected from the relationships, especially filial piety.

Social Relationships and Ethical Responsibilities

According to Confucianism, the "Five Relationships" --ruler-subject, father-son, husband-wife, elder and younger brother, and friend and friend--are stressed. The responsibilities of the relationships are mutual and reciprocal. For example, while a subject is to be loyal to his sovereign, the sovereign is to care for his subjects (Ching. 1977 : 96 - 97). Confucius did not expect a ruler to exercise physical power (Lang. 1946 : 9). Instead, he believed a ruler's good conduct could give him moral prestige, and the prestige could make him powerful. He compared a good ruler to wind and people to grass. When the wind blew, the grass would be inclined (Fairbank. 1958 : 56 - 57).

Chen (1972 : 68 - 69) notes that Confucius was the first to point out the importance of the relationships between sovereign and subordinate in the state and between father and son in the family, and Mencius, one of his disciples, extended his idea. Chen represents the relationships and responsibilities well as follows:

Relationship	Moral Principle
sovereign - subordinate	benignity - loyalty
father - son	parental love - filial piety
husband - wife	harmony
brother - brother	brother - love and respect
friend - friend	fidelity

Since reciprocity is important in Confucianism, dependence is not despised but considered necessary. It is believed that individualism, such as “going Dutch,” is unusual to those who adopt Confucianism (Yum. 1994 : 79).

The goal of Confucius and his followers is to establish a peaceful country, but out of the five relationships, three pertain to family. The reason is that if a family succeeds in producing good members, they will also be good members of a state and a country. According to Confucianism, the root of the empire is in the State. The root of the State is in the family. The root of the family is in the individual (Lang. 1946 : 9).

Confucius points out that jen--humanity or benevolence of an individual--is the solution to the problems of evil, cruelty and violence in society. Theoretically, a man should love all people, but he and his disciples agree that a man cannot simply do so without being cultivated. Therefore, he should practice benevolence. However, he should start with loving his own parents, and step by step he can expand his love to others. Finally, he can reach the goal of universal love. On the contrary, if he begins with loving others, he will get confused, and that will impede his development (Hsieh. 1967 : 169 - 173).

Filial Piety

Filial piety had been the most powerful moral force in China long before Confucius was born, but he was the one who defined it (Rofe and others. 1979 : 70). He never claimed originality, but considered himself one who tried to perpetuate the best things of ancient times (Smith. 1973 : 61 - 62). Chao gives the meaning of filial piety as duties that children have to do for parents and adults. He states that:

“Hsio” (孝), filial piety means what the children “tzu” (子) owe to the aged “lao” (老), the old in general, and to their

parents in particular...Thus the word "filial piety" refers in general to the punctiliousness in the performance of duties naturally owed to parents and relatives.

(Chao. 1983 : 71)

The doctrine of filial piety requires that children obey their parents, and if the latter are wrong, the former have to point that out to them gently. Besides, children are expected to serve and devote themselves to their parents with reverence or the latter are not different from horses and dogs that are also fed. Some Chinese even cut off a slice of their flesh to cook for their seriously sick parents. Even when they are dead, the children have to give offerings to them according to propriety. A son cannot love his wife or children more than his parents. Moreover, the wife and children are expected to treat his parents as he does. The Chinese must have a son to continue their lineage and to worship their ancestors. If they fail to do so, they will be regarded as unfilial. Therefore, if their wives cannot give birth to a son, they can divorce them or have a concubine (Smith. 1900 : 171 - 185). To honor one's parents by achievement is also considered filial while to humiliate oneself is unfilial because the disgrace reflects on the parents (Gheng. 1947 : 19). In conclusion, all bad conduct results from lack of filial piety. Hsieh states that:

Those who lack propriety in private life, loyalty in serving the sovereign, seriousness in discharging official duties, faithfulness in treating friends, or bravery in waging war are all found wanting in filial piety.

(Hsieh. 1967 : 174)

Women in Chinese Culture

In prehistoric times women in China had a privileged position in the family and society, but as time passed, they became inferior to men and even expendable. This can be seen from such terrible practices as footbinding, concubinage, female slavery, and infanticide.

The inferiority of Chinese women resulted from economic and ideological factors. Economically, men played a more important role in production when agriculture replaced food gathering by women. Moreover, when civil service, which could be the main source of income, was open to common people, especially in the imperial period, women were much inferior to men because all they could do as occupations were prostitution, matchmaking, procuring, or midwifery. Furthermore, women had no property rights. They could be heirs only when no male relatives in the clan survived, but this situation was rare. In addition, what women earned would go to the family, and only the father, husband, or father-in-law could dispose of it.

Ideologically, philosophers of the Confucian school concluded that the world was created by the interaction of two elements: yin and yang. Although the two were complementary, and one could not exist without the other, yin was inferior because it was the attribute of all things female, dark, weak, and passive, whereas yang was that of things male, bright, strong, and active. Building on this ideology, Confucius and his followers assigned women to a subordinate status (Lang. 1946 : 42 - 53). He even classified women with slaves and "hsiao ren" (小人) or small humans (Ling. 1990 : 3).

Moreover, when the observance of ancestor worship of the feudal ruling class extended to common people, especially in the imperial period, sons were valued much more than daughter because only sons could take the duty, and ancestor worship was considered so important that having no son to practice it was unfilial (Lang. 1946 : 18 - 19).

Due to these factors and the fact that a girl would be married off and belong to her husband's family, the Chinese received the birth of a son more joyfully than that of a daughter. A poem from the Chinese classic, Book of Songs, revealed it clearly.

So he bears a son,
And puts him to sleep upon a bed,
Clothes him in robes,
Gives him a jade scepter to play with.
The child's howling is very lusty;
In red greaves shall he flare,
Be lord and king of house and home.

The reception of a girl baby was drastically different.

Then he bears a daughter,
And puts her upon the ground,
Clothes her in swaddling clothes,
Gives her a loom-whorl to play with.
For her no decorations, no emblems;
Her only care, the wine and food,
And how to give no trouble to father
and mother.

(Yung. 1986 : 10 ; citing Waley. 1960 : 283 -284)

Since in the imperial period, common people could change their status more easily than in the feudal period by being educated and becoming government officials, the Chinese made an effort to educate their sons while they considered

education unnecessary for daughters (Yung. 1986 : 10). A girl without talent was thought to be virtuous. They even believed that to educate a girl would be harmful or cause calamity.

Girls in China were trained for domestic work and prepared to be obedient wives. According to Confucianism, the aim of female education is "perfect submission, not cultivation and development of the mind" (Ling. 1990 : 3). In the first century A.D. imperial decree promulgated a code called the Three Obediences and Four Virtues to govern the behavior and training of women, so patriarchal power remained strong until the early twentieth century. According to the Three Obedience's, a girl was required to obey her father at home, husband after marriage, and eldest son when widowed (Ling. 1990 : 3). In fact, in her husband's family she had to obey his parents as he did, and according to the law, she could be divorced if she did not obey his parents (Lang. 1946 : 40). Moreover, the Four Virtues of the code required that a girl be chaste, reticent, have graceful deportment but not extravagant, and have domestic skills (Ling. 1990 : 3).

Furthermore, to be easily married off, a girl had to have small "lily feet" because they were thought to be beautiful and a symbol of gentility. Such small feet could be got by footbinding, and the ideal size of a bound foot was not more than three inches. This custom began in the tenth century when a Chinese prince was impressed by the small feet of his concubine. Apart from suffering the pain of footbinding, a girl was kept from wandering because it was difficult for her to walk without assistance. Since the Chinese expected a girl not to be seen in public or in men's company, the custom of footbinding served them (Yung. 1986 : 11). In an effort to give women more freedom, the Manchus had tried to forbid the custom, but the Chinese did not follow them because they deeply believed in its esthetic ideal, and they also did it as a symbol of the opposition to the Manchus, who to them were foreigners (Lang. 1946 : 45). However, it was outlawed at the end of the nineteenth century (Yung. 1986 : 11).

In her husband's family, apart from being obedient to him and his parents, she had to bear children, especially a son; otherwise she could be divorced or he would have a concubine to have a son. However, in rich families, a man could have a concubine to serve his sexual desire. Polygyny was protected by the law. For example, if a wife exhibited jealousy, she could be divorced. If a woman committed adultery, she would be severely punished or even divorced (Lang. 1946 : 40,50). When her husband died, she was expected not to remarry (Yung. 1986 : 11), and she was even encouraged to commit suicide, but the practice of committing suicide after the death of a husband was forbidden by imperial edict in the eighteenth century (Ling. 1990 : 3 - 4).

A woman would get more respect when she was older because Confucianism required that the young respect the old. When her husband died, she would be more powerful, especially when there was no adult male relative to act as the family head. However, due to her female inferiority, she could not completely dominate her son, although he respected her. She, in fact, had to obey him.

The patriarchal family was not invented by Confucius and is not characteristic of China alone, but the Chinese family has unique traits and was perhaps the most extreme expression of the patriarchal family in history (Lang. 1946 : 52 - 54).

Part II: Related Literature on American Culture and Women in American Culture

American Culture

The Chinese and American ways of life may be reduced to two sets of contrasts. First, while the Chinese way of life puts the emphasis on an individual's appropriate place and behavior among his fellowmen, the American way of life places the emphasis on the predilections of an individual. The first one is termed

situation-centered and the second individual-centered. Second, while the Chinese tend to underplay all matters of the heart, Americans express emotions. These two sets of contrasts are interrelated. Being more situation-centered, the Chinese is inclined to be socially or psychologically dependent on others, for this situation-centered individual is tied closer to his world and his fellowmen. Being individual-centered, the American moves toward social and psychological isolation (Hsu. 1981 : 12 - 13).

Yum (1994 : 75 - 76) agrees that while China and East Asian countries influenced by Confucianism emphasize social relationships, North American countries emphasize individualism. Yum states that:

Individualism lies at the very core of American culture...Anything that would violate our right to think for ourselves, judge for ourselves, make our own decisions, live our lives as we see fit, is not only morally wrong, it is sacrilegious.

(Yum. 1994 : 76 ; citing Bellah and others. 1985 : 142)

Anderson (1994 : 232 - 234) notes that "individualism has been elevated to the status of a national religion in America." People in individualistic cultures are encouraged to express emotions because individual freedom is valued. In individualistic countries like America, dating, small-talk, and initial acquaintance are more important than in countries like China where the social network is more fixed. Hui and Triandis (1992 : 29 - 30) note that Asians value the rights and needs of the group and emphasize duty, obligation, and hierarchy. By contrast, in Western societies individualistic values prevail and the focus is on independence, equality, individual achievement, and personal growth.

According to Williams, a sociologist, Americans value individualism and self-reliance. When they succeed, they take credit as individuals. Moreover, they

value science and rationality as ways to control nature to meet people's needs, and believe that science and technology will bring them a brighter future (Coklin. 1987 : 65).

Women in American Culture

Although America has been a patriarchal society, since Americans emphasize individualism, girls can have sexual relations within or without marriage and they can express their ecstasy in public. Sex is individualized (Hsu. 1981 : 59). Apart from individualism, masculinity is another dimension of American culture. Masculine traits are assertiveness, competitiveness, strength, and ambitiousness, so people of both sexes in America seem loud, aggressive, and competitive by world standards (Anderson. 1994 : 234 - 235).

Part III: Related Literature on Maxine Hong Kingston's Biography and The Woman Warrior

Maxine Hong Kingston's Biography

Maxine Hong Kingston is a Chinese-American autobiographer, novelist, journalist, and short story writer. She was born Maxine Ting Ting Hong on October 27, 1940 in Stockton, a California Chinatown, to parents who were Chinese immigrants. In China, Tom, her father, was a scholar and Ying Lan, her mother, was a practitioner of medicine and midwifery (Ryan. 1991 : 1633 ; Matuz. 1990 : 307). Tom had struggled in America for many years before Ying Lan joined him when she was 45 (Komenaka. 1988 : 107). In America, they operated a hand laundry, and she was also a field hand. However, before the business, he worked as the manager of a gambling house, and there he was impressed by a big blond American named Maxine because she always won, so when Kingston was born, he named her Maxine. Later on, the family operated a laundry because they

wanted to have their own business, and all members had to work hard. In her interview with Brownmiller, Kingston states that:

It was awfully hard work, I used to make up kid games to keep going. If I did ten T-shirts, I'd allow myself to take a break, okay? The laundry also influenced how I thought about money. Twenty-five cents was one white starched shirt.

(Brownmiller. 1977 : 210)

She wanted to be a writer since she was nine years old, and always wrote things, but she never thought that she would make a living from writing. Since she was good at mathematics, she had decided to major in engineering at the University of California, Berkeley, before she switched to the English department. She revealed that without eleven scholarships, she would not have been able to finish her studies (Brownmiller. 1977 : 211). She also got a teaching certificate in 1965 (Ryan. 1991 : 1633). She did not pursue a master's degree because she felt that majoring in English interfered with her writing. Writing formal papers on literary criticism in the university made it difficult for her to create work because she would look at her writing too critically (Brownmiller. 1977 : 211). Before she became a writer, she worked as a teacher of mathematics, English, English as a Second Language, and language arts in schools and colleges, mostly in Hawaii. She lived in Hawaii for many years with her husband, Earl Kingston. He is a Caucasian, and his profession is acting. They married on November 23, 1962 (Ryan. 1991 : 1633).

The Woman Warrior was published in 1976 and won the general nonfiction award from the National Book Critics Circle in the same year (Byfonski. 1980 : 312). It also won the Mademoiselle Magazine Award and the Anisfield-Wolf Race Relations Award in 1977 and 1978 respectively (Ryan. 1991 : 1633). She was

also named Pulitzer Prize runner-up (Bischoff. 1989 : 62). The Woman Warrior was rated by Time magazine as one of the top ten nonfiction books of the decade, and she may be the most widely taught living American author (Fishkin. 1991 : 782). Speaking about the popularity of her book, Chun notes that:

Recommended by the National Board of Education to high school students, the work is often located under "Sociology" in bookstores, placed in mainstream anthologies by literary pundits, acclaimed by Colored and White feminists alike as a manifesto about "women breaking silence," and adopted by instructors at the University of California, Berkeley, in some twelve departments, ranging from Comparative Literature, Sociology, Anthropology, Rhetoric, History, Political Science, to Ethnic Studies.

(Chun. 1991 : 85)

In 1980, she was designated a "Living Treasure of Hawaii" by the Honpa Hongwanji of Honolulu for her fame and achievement for Asian-American, although she was considered quite young for the Japanese honor (Rolf. 1982 : 2). She revealed that she started to write the book when she was ten years old, but she did not have the words. Twenty-five years later she was able to do it (Brownmiller. 1977 : 214). She said that she wrote about the great emotional struggles (Fishkin. 1991 : 789).

Apart from The Woman Warrior, her novels are China Men and Tripmaster Monkey: His Fake Book. There are also stories and articles contributed to periodicals, including New York Times, Ms., New Yorker, New West, New Dawn, American Heritage, and Washington Post (Ryan. 1991 : 1633).

Related Literature on The Woman Warrior

The Woman Warrior is an outgrowth of the Civil Rights and Women's Liberation movements of the 1960's and 1970's (Ling. 1990 : 120) and it has been praised as a feminist work (Schueller. 1989 : 412). Kingston uses feminist ideas to examine a Chinese-American woman's dilemma (Shear. 1993 : 198). She also examines a complex mother-daughter relationship (Matuz. 1990 : 313 ; citing Greenspan. 1977 : nd.). The book seeks to "resolve psychological conflicts and come to terms with an unresolved past in order to move into the future" (Ling. 1990 : 121). Mainstream Americans usually think what Kingston writes about is exotic, but she states that she writes about the most chaotic, tragic, hard-to-deal-with events, and she hopes that the reader will find how to get the meaning out of them.

Apart from her mother's "talk story," she uses her imagination to know history and to see what happens because she believes that a strong imagination can approximate the truth, and that a good strong imagination does not go off into wild fantasy. Her mother accepts that she describes China accurately, though when she wrote the book, she had never been there (Moyers. 1977 : 11 - 13). She is imaginative in creating dramas that she did not witness such as the No Name aunt's adultery and punishment, Fa Mulan's mystical training, and Brave Orchid's exorcising of the sitting ghost (Ling. 1990 : 121).

Kingston uses Chinese myths in her book, but she transforms them and is attacked for this by some Chinese-Americans. In her interview with Pfaff, she states that:

We have to do more than record myth. That's just more ancestor worship. The way I keep the old Chinese myths alive is by telling them in a new American way. I can't help feeling that people who accuse me of misrepresenting the myths are

looking at the past in a sentimental kind of way. It's so easy to look into the past. It's harder to look into the present and come to terms with what it means to be alive.

(Pfaff. 1980 : 26)

Some readers wonder whether the story she is telling is fact or fiction. In her interview with Moyers, she states that she intends to give them challenges. She believes that:

All human beings have this burden in life to constantly figure out what's true, what authentic, what's meaningful, what's dross, what's hallucination, what's a figment, what's madness. I think we all need to figure out what is valuable, constantly. As a writer, all I'm doing is posing the question in a way that people can see very clearly. I'm being very helpful. I'm saying, "This is one of your challenges as a human being," and you work it out in this book and then you work it out in life, too.

(Moyers. 1977 : 13)

The structure of the book appears to be random and fragmentary. There are five chapters. Chapter one, "No Name Aunt," presents a woman who is forced to commit suicide. Chapter two, "White Tigers," presents the daydream of a young girl who yearns to be respected and loved by her family. Chapter three, "Shaman," presents Kingston's mother as a very strong woman--well educated, a doctor in China, the owner of slaves, independent and self-sufficient--and as a poor immigrant woman, a laundress, a field hand, so she is herself a paradox. Chapter four, "At the Western Palace," is about Moon Orchid, who succumbs to madness.

Chapter five, "Song for the Barbarian Reed Pipe," tells something about Kingston and Ts'ai Yen, who is like the woman warrior and a symbol for the woman artist (Bear. 1991 : 27 - 28).

Part IV: Related Literature on Amy Tan's Biography and *The Joy Luck Club*

Amy Tan's Biography

Amy Tan was born on February 19, 1952 in Oakland, California. Her father, John Tan, was a minister and electrical engineer educated in Beijing, and her mother, Daisy Tan, was a vocational nurse and member of the Joy Luck Club (Trosky. 1992 : 414). Daisy was from a well-to-do Shanghai family. Tan's parents emigrated from China in 1949, leaving behind three young daughters. They had planned to find a place to live first, and then send for them, but the Communist Revolution made their plan impossible, and eventually, their contact was lost. Their existence was revealed to Tan when she was 12. She always believed that in her mother's mind the lost daughters were perfect while she was bad (Ling. 1990 : 137).

While she was young in California, she hated her Chinese features so much that she always dreamed of getting plastic surgery to westernize herself. She pointed out that children of Chinese ancestry usually chose American things and ignored Chinese ones, so the concept of a melting pot in America was to her a myth. When her family moved to Switzerland she began to accept her dual status slowly and painfully. However, she was finally able to say that she was both Chinese and American when she was 35 because that year she went to China for the first time, and met her sisters. She described, "Suddenly some piece fit in the right place, and something became whole" (Matuz. 1990 : 45; citing Wang. 1989 : 69).

Tan concluded from her experience of being a daughter of a Chinese mother that there were three precepts: "First, if it's too easy, it's not worth pursuing. Second, you have to try harder, no matter what other people might have to do in the same situation-- that's your lot in life. And if you're a woman, you're supposed to suffer in silence" (Ling. 1990 : 138). Tan stated that she was never good at the last precept. Tan also noted that Chinese mothers would not take no for an answer and that children could never tell mothers to shut up. Once when she went to a Buddhist retreat in Marin County and saw many people try to learn how to act Chinese, she wanted to tell them that they could act Chinese only if they lived with a Chinese mother for 20 years.

Tan attended the College Monte Rosa International in Montreux, Switzerland when her mother took her there to avoid disaster because she believed that the death of Tan's 16-year-old brother when she was 15 and the death of Tan's father the following year were caused by the imbalance in feng shui (風水) (wind and water) in their house in Santa Clara. In fact, they died of brain tumors. In Switzerland, Tan nearly eloped with an escaped mental patient. The man claimed to be a German army deserter (Ling. 1990 : 137 -138).

Tan completed her bachelor's and master's degrees in English and linguistics in 1973 and 1974 respectively from San Jose State University. From 1974 to 1976, she studied toward a Ph.D. in linguistics at the University of California, Berkeley, but dropped out because she was saddened by the murder of a close friend. After that she worked as a consultant to programs for disabled children from 1976 to 1981, and once was very happy to have succeeded in making a two-year-old blind boy who had never spoken speak to her. From 1981 to 1983 she worked as a reporter, managing editor, and associate publisher for Emergency Room Reports (now Emergency Medicine Reports). She then became a free-lance technical writer, and was considered a workaholic by her friends because she worked ninety hours per week. When she was dissatisfied with her work life, she

tried to be a psychological counselor, but seeing her therapist fall asleep several times during her counseling sessions, she quit and spent her time taking jazz piano lessons and writing fiction. She wrote short stories first and got a position in the Square Valley Community of Writers, a fiction writers' workshop (Trosky. 1992 : 414). In fact, she showed a talent for writing at age 8 by winning a writing contest. She revealed that Bible stories told by her father and fairy tales, both by Grimm and Chinese, influenced her (Matuz. 1990 : 95 ; citing Wang. 1989 : 69).

Tan's hobby was developed into a new career when her first novel, The Joy Luck Club was published in 1989. Apparently, her literary career was not planned, but she began writing fiction as a form of therapy of her workaholic tendencies. The Joy Luck Club won the "Commonwealth Club gold award for fiction, Bay Area Book Reviews award for best fiction, American Library Association's best book for young adult award, nomination for National Book Critic award for best novel, and nomination for Los Angeles Times book award, all in 1989" (Trosky. 1992 : 414). Apart from Kingston's The Woman Warrior, few works by Chinese-Americans reach a wide readership, and Tan's The Joy Luck Club is one (Baer. 1991 : 27). Her other works, such as The Kitchen God's Wife (novel) and The Moon Lady (children's book), are also applauded (Trosky. 1992 : 415).

Summary of The Joy Luck Club

It is the story of four Chinese mothers who emigrated from China to America during World War II and their four Chinese-American daughters. The mothers are Suyuan Woo, An-mei Hsu, Lindo Jong and Ying-ying St. Clair, and the daughters are Jing-mei Woo, Rose Hsu Jordan, Waverly Jong and Lena St. Clair. The mothers meet in America, and become friends and sometimes rivals.

Suyuan Woo and Jing-mei Woo

In China, Suyuan Woo initiated the Joy Luck Club. She invited other women to join her, and each week they gambled at mahjongg, told outrageous stories and laughed, and feasted on the food they had saved. She did all these activities to keep her spirits while waiting for the approach of the Japanese army in the town of Kweilin.

She was forced to abandon her twin daughters by the roadside because she was very sick during her escape from the Japanese soldiers to meet her husband. She left jewelry and her address with the babies, hoping those who found her children would return them to her. Her parents and her husband died in the war, her family home was destroyed, and her twin daughters were lost.

Later on, she remarried and emigrated to America with her husband. She had a new daughter, Jing-mei, who always disappointed her. She asked her friends in China to find her lost daughters, but she died before the good news arrived. In America, she formed the Joy Luck Club again, inviting An-mei Hsu, Lindo Jong and Ying-Ying St. Clair to join her. The club expanded to include their spouses. They played mahjongg, ate Chinese food, gossiped about their children, and bought stock. All money won or lost in mahjongg was shared in common, an emergency bank on which any member could draw.

After Suyuan died, Jing-mei was invited to sit in at her mother's place in the game. The aunts told her about her two half sisters in China, who she believed were dead, and instructed her to meet them to fulfill her mother's wish. Eventually, she went there with her father.

An - mei Hsu and Rose Hsu Jordan

In China, An-mei Hsu lived with her grandmother and cousins, and they did not want her to contact her mother, or even talk about her because she became a concubine of a rich man. Her act defamed her family. However, when her

grandmother died, An-mei, paying no attention to her cousins' scolding, decided to accompany her mother. Living with her, An-mei realized her mother's sufferings because even her son belonged to another powerful concubine. Her mother timed her suicide in such a way that her ghost could come back to haunt the house on New Year's Day to secure An-mei's future. An-mei married in China, and went to America with her husband.

Rose Hsu Jordan, married an American despite her mother's objection. Her husband wanted to divorce her to marry another girl and possess the house they jointly owned. She was saddened and had to see a psychiatrist, but her mother did not agree with her doing that. Finally, she summoned up the courage to defy her husband.

Lindo Jong and Waverly Jong

In China, Lindo Jong was betrothed at 2, and delivered at 12 to live with her future mother-in-law to learn housework and obedience. Her husband was younger and spoiled, so she wanted to get out of the horrible marriage. She used superstition to terrorize her mother-in-law, and eventually, she was given money and begged to go away.

Waverly Jong was a chess champion when she was young and now she is a tax attorney. She got divorced from her American husband and she is going to marry another American. She thought that her mother always found fault with her boyfriend, so she blamed her mother.

Ying-ying St. Claire and Lena St. Claire

Ying-ying St. Claire was a daughter of a rich Chinese family. When her father told her to marry a man, she did not refuse to do so. She lost her spirit after her husband had left her for another girl. Finally, she decided to marry an English-Irish man, and went with him to America.

Lena St. Claire is an architect. She married an American who always takes advantage of her, so now she has a troubled marriage.

Related literature on The Joy Luck Club

Tan wrote The Joy Luck Club because she was inspired by her relationship with her mother and the loss of loved ones through death. For example, she transferred her own father's death to the fictional mother in order to center her book on women (Ling. 1990 : 138). The book is composed of sixteen interconnected stories told by the Chinese mothers and four Chinese-American daughters, and they present the nature of mother-daughter relationships (Matuz. 1989 : 89). Her writing was influenced by Louise Erdrich's Love Medicine, a set of interwoven stories (Matuz. 1990 : 95 ; citing Wang. 1989 : 69).

Tan used the four sides of the mahjongg table called "winds" in the game as a structural and symbolic device. The book has four sections, and in each section four families take turns telling their stories, so there are four stories in each section. Tan indicated that the Woo story is central by letting Jing-mei begin and end the book (Ling. 1990 : 132).

CHAPTER TWO

An Analysis of the Relationships between Mother and Daughter as Presented in The Woman Warrior

In this chapter, I will study the relationships between Brave Orchid and Maxine Hong Kingston in the aspects of the causes of the conflicts and reconciliation.

1. The Relationships between Brave Orchid and Kingston

1.1 The Causes of the Conflicts

Normally, children learn how to behave in accordance with the norms of their society through the teaching or the models of their parents, teachers, peers or mass media. This process is called socialization. Although parents are considered the most important socialization agents, because they are the first to take care of children, mothers are the ones who transmit the culture of their society to their children to make them fully socialized members of society. Feminists point out that women in patriarchies are assigned by men to take care of children (Barbu. 1971 : 149 - 151). Consequently, there can be conflicts between mothers and children. Moreover, according to Chodorow (1974 : 43), a psychoanalytic theorist, mother is a caretaker and a later female socializer, so there can be conflicts between mothers and daughters.

Since the mother in The Woman Warrior is an immigrant living among her Chinese fellows in a Chinatown while the American-born daughter is educated in an American school, which according to Lee (1991 : 62), is the principal site of acculturation and assimilation, I would like to analyze the causes of their conflicts as seen in the book. They are as follows:

1.1.1 feminine identity

1.1.2 drives for achievement

1.1.3 superstitions

1.1.4 food

1.1.5 home

1.1.6 ethics of serving parents

1.1.1 Feminine Identity

Feminine Identity is a cause of conflict between Kingston and Brave Orchid. In fact, every culture has its feminine ideal. Women in Chinese society have a secondary position, and they are reminded of their low status so that they know their place and act as they are expected to. According to Confucianism, due to their inferiority, women are supposed to put aside their desires and sacrifice themselves for the betterment of their families, communities, or states, and generally, they are willing to do so to justify their existence (Lin. 1991 : 39 - 40). Furthermore, they are trained to behave in accordance with a code called the Three Obediences and Four Virtues.

1.1.1.1 Chastity

Chastity is a virtue that Brave Orchid tried to inculcate into Kingston. She told her about her husband's sister in China, who was forced by the villagers to kill herself and her illegitimate baby on the night that she gave birth to it. The aunt had been intentionally erased from her family's memory because her adultery brought shame to the Hong family. Brave Orchid had to tell the aunt's story secretly as a cautionary tale to Kingston because she was afraid that her daughter, who began to menstruate, might violate the Chinese code of female chastity and have the same fate as her aunt. Above all, her behavior would reflect on her family. In fact, the name of their families is what the Chinese are concerned about most as Queen, Robert and Jill (1985 : 85) note:

Approval of family and sibling was of the utmost significance to any Chinese so much so that the concept of "gaining face" or "losing face" gained universal currency in describing one form of social motivation. Family disgrace was abhorred. To be outcast from one's family was perhaps the most excruciating thing that could happen to a Chinese, and it was certainly to be avoided at all costs.

(Queen, Robert and Jill. 1985 : 85)

For the sake of her family and Kingston, Brave Orchid told her the story of the no name aunt:

"You must not tell anyone," my mother said, "what I am about to tell you. In China your father had a sister who killed herself. She jumped into the family well. We say that your father has all brothers because it is as if she had never been born."

(Kingston. 1981 : 11)

Brave Orchid continued:

"Don't let your father know that I told you. He denies her. Now that you have started to menstruate, what happened to her could happen to you. Don't humiliate us. You wouldn't like to be forgotten as if you had never been born. The villagers are watchful."

(Kingston. 1981 : 11)

When Kingston was young, she did not realize that her not talking about her aunt as she was told by Brave Orchid was tantamount to joining her family in punishing her aunt. According to Confucianism, women have to be self-abnegating for the sake of their families or communities, so to pursue individual desires is regarded as disruptive of them (Miller. 1983 : 15). Consequently, when the aunt committed adultery, she was seen as self-indulgent and her behavior a sign of defying tradition, so to the Hong family and the villagers, she deserved punishment, in this case anonymity and hunger because she was not worshipped. Rolf notes that silence is a punishment in The Woman Warrior, concluding:

The punishment for her community-threatening transgression is silence, a conspiracy of silence to erase her name from the collective memory of her ancestor-worshipping Chinese family.

(Rolf. 1982 : 7)

Kingston said about her unintentional joining in the punishment:

I have believed that sex was unspeakable and words so strong and father so frail that "aunt" would do my father mysterious harm. I have thought my family having settled among immigrants who had also been their neighbors in the ancestral land, needed to clean their name, and a wrong word would incite the kinspeople even here. But there is more to this silence, they want me to participate in her punishment. And I have.

(Kingston. 1981 : 21 - 22)

Lin also agrees that Kingston presents the condition of women who dare to defy patriarchy as follows:

The consequences for women who do not know their places is a recurrent theme in The Woman Warrior: No Name Women, for instance, is condemned to eternal anonymity for violating the stringent Chinese codes of female chastity.

(Lin. 1991 : 41)

Realizing that silence was a punishment, Kingston finally told her aunt's story in the book. By doing so, she not only gave her immortality but also worshipped her. This means that she adored her.

My aunt haunts me - her ghost drawn to me because now, after fifty years of neglect, I alone devote pages of paper to her, though not origarnied into houses and clothes.

(Kingston. 1981 : 22)

Above all, to tell her aunt's story and to call her "my forerunner" indicate that she identified with her because she realized that she and her aunt were not different in rebelling against tradition. This means she adored her and agreed with her rebellion; as a result, this presents her own feminine identity that was not in accordance with what her mother tried to inculcate her. Kingston stated:

But perhaps my aunt, my forerunner, caught in a slow life, let dreams grow and fade and after some months or years went towards what persisted.

(Kingston. 1981 : 15)

Kingston emphasizes that in a patriarchal society women are expected to be self-abnegating and punished or blamed when they violate the code of chastity, while

men can have sex freely; to her it is unfair to women who in fact are human beings also. She compares her aunt's life and her men cousins' as follows:

They expected her alone to keep the traditional ways, which her brothers, now among the barbarians, could fumble without detection. The heavy, deep-rooted women were to maintain the past against the flood, safe for returning.

(Kingston. 1975 : 15)

Women in Chinese society have low status and they are expected to accept it, and if they rebel, they will be regarded as outcasts and unfilial and deserve punishment. Consequently, those who adore outcasts are rebels and outcasts themselves. To tell her aunt's story is an act of rebellion against patriarchy which also presents Kingston's identity. Ling also agrees that her writing represents Kingston's identity.

Giving voice to the prodigal aunt's experience in the opening chapter is to assert not only the aunt's existence but Kingston's own.

(Ling. 1983-1984 : 161)

Talking about her unfilial act of telling her aunt's story, although she was forbidden to reveal it, Kingston said in her interview:

Sometimes I get really tricky, like a lawyer, and I think, My mother says, "Don't tell what I am about to tell you," and I think, well, I'm not going to "tell," I'm just going to write. Or she says, "Don't tell what I am about to tell you," and

she tells it in Chinese. But what if I told it in English?

(Fishkin. 1991 : 785)

1.1.1.2 Reticence

Reticence is another virtue that the Chinese expect women to keep in mind. Brave Orchid also wanted her female children to adopt it because to her, reticence was an attribute that a good girl needed. Her use of reticence as a criterion of good girls can be seen in the scene in which Moon Orchid criticized her children and Brave Orchid insisted that they were good enough because they rarely talked.

“Why didn't you teach your girls to be demure?” she ventured.

“Demure!” Brave Orchid yelled. “They are demure. They're so demure, they barely talk.”

(Kingston. 1981 : 122)

Brave Orchid wanted Kingston to be reticent as a good girl in Chinese society is supposed to be, but Kingston, trained by an American school to express herself, realized that one needed to do so or she would not have an identity. Peterson and Deirdre (1991 : 106 ; citing Young. n.d. : unpagged) state, “A person shaped by Chinese culture doesn't see herself as having been silenced until she has looked at the culture from the outside.” Although at first Kingston was influenced by Brave Orchid so much, her desire to express herself is clear in the scene in which she forced a Chinese girl in her American school to speak because to see the silent girl was to see herself. Kingston observed:

“...And you, you are a plant. Do you know that? That's all you are if you don't talk, you can't have a personality...

You've got to let people know you have a personality and a brain..."

(Kingston. 1981 : 130)

Since Brave Orchid wanted Kingston to adopt the virtue of reticence, she viewed Kingston's trying to express herself as nonsense, so it can be said that the atmosphere in her house discouraged her from having a voice. She recounted one incident:

On my two nights off, I had sat on the floor too but had not said a word.

"Mother," I whispered and quacked.

"I can't stand this whispering," she said looking right at me, stopping her squeezing. "Senseless gabblings every night. I wish you would stop. Go away and work. Whispering, whispering, making no sense. Madness. I don't feel like hearing your craziness."

(Kingston. 1981 : 178 - 179)

Young Kingston's tension of being expected to be silent was so strong that she felt uneasy. Kingston stated:

So I had to stop, relieved in some ways. I shut my mouth, but I felt something alive tearing at my throat, bite by bite, from the inside.

(Kingston. 1981 : 179)

Finally, Kingston refused to be silent. When she was a teenager, she poured forth a tirade to her mother as a sign of rebellion, showing her own identity.

Moreover, to assert her identity, she also rebelled against silence about her no-name aunt that her mother had imposed on her. Rolf (1982 : 5) concludes that her silence is "the silence of the insecure minority student at school, the silence of the daughter unable to communicate with her mother, the silence of the superfluous, unfulfilled female." Chen (1992 : 30) agrees, "The low status of Chinese girls leads to the submergence of their voices." However, Lee (1991 : 57) adds that apart from Confucianism that prolongs patriarchy and dictates that women be silent, the fear of deportation also forces them to be silent.

1.1.1.3 Obedience

In Chinese patriarchal society, girls are required to be obedient to their fathers at home, to husbands after marriage and to eldest sons when widowed. Brave Orchid wanted Kingston to be an obedient girl in her family so that she could be an obedient wife and a submissive daughter-in-law in the future. However, since Kingston sometimes did not do as she was told by her mother-- for example, she refused to do housework because she thought it was unfair for girls to be expected to be responsible for it while boys could play or be free-- she was regarded as a disobedient girl and this would lessen her chance of getting married. Brave Orchid scolded her:

"Who'd want to marry you anyway? Noisy. Talking like
a duck. Disobedient. Messy..."

(Kingston. 1981 : 180)

Learning from her mother, father, folk songs, and Chinese operas that no matter how stupid her husband and parents-in-law were, a wife had to obey and be willing to be punished, Kingston decided not to get married. This is against patriarchy that expects girls to get married and be in their husbands' control or be

scornfully called old maid or spinster, patriarchal terms (Phillips. 1981 : 6). Kingston remembered hearing the emigrant villagers sing a folk song that taught girls to be obedient to their husbands as follows:

Marry a rooster, follow a rooster.
 Mary a dog, follow a dog.
 Married to a cudgel, married to a pestle,
 Be faithful to it. Follow it.

(Kingston. 1981 : 173)

Kingston also recalled that in an opera a girl asked her mother-in-law to punish and train her to be a good daughter-in-law. Consequently, she feared marriage and finally rebelled against patriarchy and her mother, who gave her the message of patriarchy.

She was standing on a chair and she sang, "Beat me, then, beat me."

"She is playing the part of a new daughter-in-law," my mother explained.

(Kingston. 1975 : 172 - 173)

Kingston rejected Confucianism when her father told her that it required that wives have to obey their husbands and that the latter could punish the former even to death for their disobedience. Her doing so is a rebellion against patriarchy because Confucianism prolongs it in Chinese society. Kingston satirically noted:

"Chinese smeared bad daughters-in-law with honey and tied them naked on top of ant nests," my father said. "A husband may kill a wife who disobeys him. Confucius said that." Confucius, the

rational man.

(Kingston. 1981 : 173)

1.1.1.4 Graceful Deportment

In a patriarchal society, a woman's graceful deportment is desirable and is said to be a virtue that allows her to get married easily. Brave Orchid wanted Kingston to get married, so seeing her rubbing her nose as clumsy deportment, she scolded her:

"Couldn't you just stop rubbing your nose?" she scolded.

"All the village ladies are talking about your nose. They're afraid to eat our pastries because you might have kneaded the dough."

(Kingston. 1981 : 174)

Kingston learned that Brave Orchid wanted her to get married and that girls with a graceful manner were considered attractive and could get married easily. But Kingston did not want to marry because she had also learned from her mother and from Chinese operas that wives and daughter-in law were little more than slaves. She decided to act counter to Brave Orchid's wishes by trying to appear clumsy and unattractive in front of young immigrants (whom she and other Chinese-American children called FOBs or Fresh-off-the-Boats) brought to her house by Brave Orchid in an effort to get Kingston married off. Her rebellion against her mother was also a rebellion against patriarchal arranged marriages and the very language of patriarchy which her mother used.

I dropped two dishes. I found my walking stick and limped across the floor. I twisted my mouth and caught my hand in the knot of my hair. I spilled soup on the FOB when I handed

him his bowl.

(Kingston. 1981 : 173 - 174)

Moreover, whenever the adults gathered to talk about marriages, Kingston tried to appear unattractive in front of them to make Brave Orchid's dream about her marriage impossible. Kingston observed:

I put on my shoes with the open flaps and flapped about like a Wino Ghost. From then on, I wore those shoes to parties, whenever the mothers gathered to talk about marriages.

(Kingston. 1981 : 174)

1.1.1.5 Domestic Skills

In a patriarchal society, if women do not have domestic skills, they are regarded as unqualified for marriage. Moreover, since being single is always looked down upon and there are words such as "old maid" or "spinster" to name them, daughters may feel bad if they cannot get married. As immediate agents of female socialization, mothers try to train daughters in domestic skills so that they can get married. Consequently, conflict between mothers who want to do their duty and daughters who want to rebel against patriarchy is inevitable. Young Kingston was not willing to do household chores because in her opinion, it was not fair for girls to do them while boys could be free. Because of Kingston's attitude, Brave Orchid scolded her and called her "Bad girl." Kingston noted:

I refused to cook. When I had to wash dishes, I would crack one or two. "Bad girl," my mother yelled,...

(Kingston. 1981 : 49)

When she did not do housework, Brave Orchid called her "Bad girl," but to her, a bad girl was not different from a boy. Kingston observed:

Isn't a bad girl almost a boy?

(Kingston. 1975 : 49)

Apart from spilling soup on an FOB to show that she was clumsy, she also tried to show that she did not have domestic skills so that she would not be chosen to marry him. This was her way of rebelling against her mother and patriarchy. Kingston recalled:

I spilled soup on the FOB when I handed him his bowl. "She can sew, though," I heard my mother say, "and sweep." I raised dust swirls sweeping around and under the FOB's chair--very bad luck because spirits live inside the broom.

(Kingston. 1981 : 174)

1.1.1.6 Worthlessness of Girls

Women in Chinese patriarchal society have such low status that they are expendable. For example, female infanticide is common while a baby-boy is warmly welcomed. Girls are even sold to be slaves or married off to be obedient wives and daughters-in-law. Women are supposed to realize their low status so that to justify their existence, they will give priority to families or communities over their own needs or desires (Lin. 1991 : 39 - 40). Consequently, since Kingston learned of the worthlessness of girls from her mother's stories and from her direct experience in her community, she was angry at those who seemed to give her the message of patriarchy and who told her that she was worthless.

Since in Chinese society sons are to perpetuate the family lineage and practice ancestral worship while daughters will marry off and belong to their new families, many Chinese consider girls worthless (Lang. 1976 : 18 - 19 ; Young. 1986 : 10). Kingston remembered hearing anti-female adages in her Chinatown and because this hurt and made her angry, later she tried to assert her identity, not letting her parents, especially her mother, and her community, to shape her identity as inferior and worthless. The misogynist proverbs that Kingston heard are as follows:

“There is no profit in raising girls. Better to raise geese than girls.”

(Kingston. 1981 : 48)

“When fishing for treasures in the flood, be careful not to pull in girls.”

(Kingston. 1981 : 53)

It can be said that the environment around Kingston reminded her of the worthlessness of girls, including herself. The Chinese hatred for girls was evident even in Kingston's parents' ink drawing.

I looked at their ink drawing of poor people snagging their neighbors' floatage with long flood hooks and pushing the girl babies on down the river.

(Kingston. 1981 : 53)

Kingston also remembered that her great-grandfather's brother in Chinatown called her and her female cousins maggots to remind them of their worthlessness and to show his dislike for them. All he wanted was a grandson, as the Chinese always consider worthy. Kingston recalled:

We had three girl second cousins, no boys; their great-grand-father... was the old man who lived with them...When my sisters and I ate at their house, there we would be--six girls eating. The old man opened his eyes wide at us and turned in a circle, surrounded. His neck tendons stretched out. "Maggots!" he shouted. "Maggots! Where are my grandsons? I want grandsons! Give me grandsons! Maggots!" He pointed at each one of us, "Maggot! Maggot! Maggot! Maggot! Maggot! Maggot!" Then he dived into his food, eating fast and getting seconds. "Eat, maggots," he said. "Look at the maggots chew."

"He does that at every meal," the girl told us in English.

"Yeah," we said. "Our old man hates us too. What assholes."

(Kingston. 1981 : 171)

Moreover, that her cousins celebrated the birth of their son joyfully and treated him and their daughters unequally made it clear that girls were considered worthless. This made Kingston angry at them and the Chinese for their senseless hatred for girls. Kingston noted:

Third Grand-Uncle finally did get a boy, though, his only great-grandson. The boy's parents and the old man bought him toys, bought him everything - new diapers, new plastic pants - not homemade diapers, not bread bags. They gave him a full-month party inviting all the emigrant villagers; they deliberately hadn't given the girls parties, so that no one would notice another girl. Their brother got toy trucks that were big enough to climb inside. When he grew older, he got a bicycle and let the girls play with his old tricycle and wagon. My mother

bought his sisters a typewriter. "They can be clerk-typists," their father kept saying, but he would not buy them a typewriter.

"What an asshole," I said, muttering the way my father muttered "Dog vomit" when the customers nagged him about missing socks.

(Kingston. 1981 : 172)

Kingston once was also hurt by her Great-Uncle's refusal to for girls and his belief that they were worthless. Kingston recalled:

"Come, children. Hurry. Hurry. Who wants to go with Great-Uncle?" "Get your coats, whoever's coming."

"I'm coming. I'm coming. Wait for me."

When he heard girls voices, he turned on us and roared, "No girls!"

(Kingston. 1981 : 48)

Since a Chinese girl will belong to her husband's family after marriage, she is usually considered worthless by her parents' families and may be badly treated. Kingston was told by Brave Orchid that girls in China could even be sold as slaves by their parents. Her story terrified young Kingston and made her believe that she was worthless in her parents eyes since she was also a girl. Brave Orchid said to Kingston:

There were fathers and mothers selling their daughters, whom they pushed forward and pulled back again.

(Kingston. 1981 : 75 - 76)

Kingston also learned that to the Chinese, girls were so worthless that they sometimes were given away free of charge. She sensed that her mother seemed to

think that she should not have had to pay so much for Kingston's birth because girls were worthless. This made her believe that she meant nothing to her mother and the belief hurt her. Kingston recalled her conversation with her mother on the low price of slave girls.

"How much money did you pay to buy her?"

"One hundred and eighty dollars."

"How much money did you pay the doctor and the hospital when I was born?"

"Two hundred dollars."

"Oh."

"That's two hundred dollars American money."

"Was the one hundred and eighty dollars American money?"

"No."

"How much was it American money?"

"Fifty dollars. That's because she was sixteen years old. Eight-year-olds were about twenty dollars. Five-year-olds were ten dollar and up. Two-year-olds were about five dollars. Babies were free. During the war, though, when you were born, many people gave older girls away for free. And here I was in the United States paying two hundred dollars for you."

(Kingston. 1981 : 79)

Kingston often heard village women say to her mother that they wanted to buy her sister to be their maid and they laughed. These incidents made young Kingston believe that the story about slave girls in China told by her mother was true. Consequently, she was sure that as a Chinese, her mother would view her and her sisters as worthless and sell them. The story of girl slavery made Kingston

worried about her worthlessness. The neighbors said to Brave Orchid about Kingston's sister:

"Now when you sell this one, I'd like to buy her to be my maid." Then they laughed.

(Kingston. 1981 : 170)

Apart from the story of girl slavery that showed that girls were worthless to their parents, the story about infanticide also gave Kingston the impression that she, as a girl, was worthless to her parents and this thought hurt her. To her, girl infanticide could be credible because it was told by her mother, a midwife in China. Kingston even wondered if Brave Orchid killed the babies herself as she described:

"The midwife or a relative would take the back of a girl baby's head in her hand and turn her face into the ashes," said my mother. "It was very easy." She never said she herself killed the babies, but perhaps the holeless baby was a boy.

(Kingston. 1981 : 82)

The message that Kingston received from her parents, cousins or neighbors in Chinatown reminded her of the worthlessness of girls, including herself, so she was hurt and exasperated. Finally, she wanted to show that she, as a girl, was not worthless as patriarchy wanted her to be.

1.1.2 Drives for Achievement

In Chinese patriarchal society, sons are to perpetuate the family lineage and to take care of parents or be considered unfilial, while daughters are to be married off and belong to their husbands' families. Since a good education can also provide

offspring with opportunities to upgrade their status, the Chinese try to educate sons because they bear the status and hope for them. On the contrary, daughters are expected to be obedient wives, so to educate them can be harmful and a waste of time and parents' money (Yung. 1986 : 10 ; Ling. 1990 : 3). Some parents are pleased with their daughters' educational accomplishments since they reflect well on the parents, but their sons' education is more important to them and it brings them more happiness (Chen. 1992 : 239).

Brave Orchid believed that marriage was more important to girls than education. She wanted Kingston to marry so much that she answered the advertisements that young men placed in the newspaper. According to Lang (1946 : 35), arranged marriage was usual in China molded by Confucianism stressing family interests more than the desire of brides and grooms. Misogynist sayings, the community and Brave Orchid's talk stories told Kingston that girls were worthless and all they could do was to marry off and be obedient wives, but for that reason, Kingston did not want to marry. Moreover, she did not think that she was worthless. Her academic performance and her teachers' words told her that she was clever, and, as a result, she wanted to achieve.

Brave Orchid tried to convince Kingston that it was time she got married, saying:

“Though you can't see it,” my mother said, “a red string around your ankle ties you to the person you'll marry. He's already been born, and he's on the other end of the string.”

(Kingston. 1981 : 174)

Brave Orchid even took young immigrants to her laundry and took one to her house to let them decide if they would marry Kingston. Kingston recalled their conversation:

"This one," he said, picking up my sister's picture.

"No. No," said my mother. "This one," my picture. "The oldest first," she said.

(Kingston. 1981 : 173)

Kingston was angry when she learned that Brave Orchid wanted her to marry a rich mentally retarded boy. Even after her mother found out that pornography was in the boxes that he always carried, she did not dismiss him. This gave Kingston the impression that to Brave Orchid, she was so worthless that she wanted to marry her off as quickly as possible. Finally, she declared her independence by asserting that as a girl, she was not worthless and, because she was clever, she did not need to depend on men. She lashed out against her mother, telling her to stop marrying her off to the mentally retarded boy or others. Kingston observed:

"I want you tell that hulk, that gorilla-ape, to go away and never bother us again. I know what you're up to. You're thinking he's rich, and we're poor. You think we're odd and not pretty and we're not bright. You think you can give us away to freaks. You better not do that, Mother. I don't want to see him or his dirty boxes here tomorrow. If I see him here one more time, I'm going away. I'm going away anyway. I am. Do you hear me? I may be ugly and clumsy, but one thing I'm not, I'm not retarded. There's nothing wrong with my brain. Do you know what the Teacher Ghosts say about me? They tell me I'm smart, and I can win scholarships. I can get into colleges. I've already applied. I'm smart. I can do all kinds of things. I know how to get A's, and they say I could be a scientist or a mathematician if I want. I can make a living and take care of myself. So you don't have to find me a keeper who's too

dumb to know a bad bargain. I'm so smart, if they say write ten pages, I can write fifteen. I can do ghost things even better than ghosts can. Not everybody thinks I'm nothing. I am not going to be a slave or a wife. Even if I am stupid and talk funny and get sick, I won't let you turn me into a slave or a wife. I'm getting out of here. I can't stand living here any more."

(Kingston. 1981 : 179 - 180)

Kingston declared her independence and asserted her identity. Melton also think that Kingston did not allow her mother to shape her identity, concluding:

Despite the ongoing messages Kingston receives telling her that as a woman she is worthless, she pursues her independent identity. She is determined to grow up to be somebody--not a slave, a castoff, a crazy.

(Melton. 1991 : 78)

Kingston also showed her autonomy not only by refusing to marry as Brave Orchid wished, but also by choosing a career that she liked instead of becoming a mathematician as her teachers suggested.

"But I didn't say I wanted to be a mathematician either. That's what the ghosts say. I want to be a lumber-jack and a newspaper reporter."

(Kingston. 1981 : 181)

Seeing that Kingston would never get married as she wished and would become a newspaper reporter, Brave Orchid told her to work as a typist, as a position suitable for girls. Brave Orchid shouted:

“I don’t see why you need to go to college at all to become either one of those things. Everybody else is sending their girls to typing school. Learn to type if you want to be an American girl. Why don’t you go to typing school?” The cousins and village girls are going to typing school.”

(Kingston. 1981 : 181)

Apparently, patriarchy influences women in every aspect of their lives, including their careers. Normally, they are assigned to work as men’s helpmates, so they are paid less even when they have the same positions as men, they still get smaller salaries (Smelser. 1981 :239). Brave Orchid, speaking in the language of patriarchy, wanted Kingston to be a typist. Chen (1992 : 239) also agrees that although Brave Orchid bragged about her own accomplishment as a doctor in China, she wanted her daughters to learn to do housework in order to get married easily, or become a typist. In fact, she was independent. For example, left in her homeland for many years, she decided to attend a medical school and became a doctor in her village. Sato (1991 : 141), notes, “Brave Orchid is nothing if not a contradiction of her own pronouncements on the unworthiness of females.” However, since she wanted her daughter to be a good girl in the eyes of her Chinese community, she tried to make her a fully socialized member. Although she also told young Kingston the story of Fa Mulan, a woman warrior, that made her believe that there was another choice for girls apart from being wives or slaves, what she stressed was women’s roles in patriarchal society. Juhasz also has the same idea, saying:

In telling her daughter stories of female heroism that directly contradict many of her other messages about the position of women, the mother shows her daughter another possibility for women that is not revealed in her equally strong desire for her daughter's conformity and thus safety in a patriarchal system.

(Juhasz. 1985 : 180)

1.1.3 Superstition

Brave Orchid's superstition is another factor in the conflicts between her and Kingston. According to Williams, a sociologist, Americans value science and rationality as ways to control nature to meet people's needs (Coklin. 1987 : 65), so science is stressed in schools since schools are important agents of children's socialization. For her part, Brave Orchid lived in a village in China during the early to the mid-twentieth century and China then was far less developed than nowadays, with little modern science and technology. The Chinese then were typically very superstitious. Although it can be said that Brave Orchid was a science student, because she earned a medical degree and became a physician in her village, she was still superstitious. She had probably lived in the village so long that what she studied in the medical school, which she attended when she was over thirty, could not change her old beliefs. Consequently, Kingston found that what her mother expected her to do was inconsistent with what she learned in her American school. Schueller (1989 :429) concludes that The Woman Warrior presents Chinese life as illogical and superstition-ridden.

Because Brave Orchid believed that an eclipse was caused by a frog's swallowing the moon, she wanted her children to help the moon by using the old way that people in her village did. Kingston observed:

She'd already been hinting that during the next eclipse
we slam pot lids together to scare the frog from swallowing
the moon.

(Kingston. 1981 : 152)

When the shadow kept receding although her children did not bang lids at the
last eclipse, she reasoned that the villagers in China were scaring the frog. Brave
Orchid said:

The villagers must be banging and clanging very loudly
back home in China.

(Kingston. 1981 : 153)

In fact, Kingston, in accordance with the filial piety of Confucianism, did not
want to argue with Brave Orchid, but she could not help trying to point the fact out
to her. She had learned from her American school that an eclipse is a phenomenon
of nature, and that when people in America have an eclipse, people in China cannot
because America and China are on the opposite sides of the world, so to her, her
mother was illogical. Kingston argued:

On the other side of the world they aren't having an eclipse,
Mama. That's just a shadow the earth makes when it comes
between the moon and the sun.

(Kingston. 1981 : 152 - 153)

While she felt uneasy about her mother's superstition, Brave Orchid was
angry because children's belief in what the white teachers taught implies that she, as
the protector of Chinese heritage, lost her children to American culture. To her, the

Non-Chinese were ghosts, so what belonged to them was unreal and what they said was untrue, while the Chinese were human beings and everything Chinese, or what they believed was true. Brave Orchid complained angrily:

You're always believing what those Ghost Teachers tell you.

(Kingston. 1981 : 153)

Rolf (1982 : 5) concludes, "Under the influence of her American education, she becomes a logical person, which only widens the gap between her and her mother." Ling (1990 : 123) also agrees that as a child attending schools with Americans and accepting American ways as the norm, Kingston found the Old-World teachings of her mother embarrassing.

Another incident that shows that Brave Orchid's superstition was a cause of conflicts between her and Kingston is when a delivery boy of a drugstore owned by an American mistakenly handed to her family medicine supposed to be sent to another Chinese family. Brave Orchid was furious because she believed that the boy intended to bring curses to her family. To her, medicine is for the sick, so being given it despite the fact that all members are fine is forecasting that they will be sick in the future. Consequently, she could not bear the delivery. She shouted:

The ghost! That dead ghost! How dare he come to the wrong house?... Revenge. We've got to avenge this wrong on our future, on our health, and on our lives. Nobody's going to sicken my children and get away with it.

(Kingston. 1981 : 152)

Again, this proves that Brave Orchid's experience in the medical school and of being a physician in her village in China did not teach her to be rational and do

things scientifically. With such a belief, she wanted the druggist to be responsible for the mistaken delivery by giving her family candy or the curse could not be warded off. Consequently, she forced Kingston to the drugstore, believing that the druggist would repent for his mistake and be willing to make the situation better. Kingston recalled the memory:

“Aha!” she yelled. “You! The biggest.” She was pointing at me. “You go to the drugstore.” ... “You get reparation candy,” she said. “You say, ‘You have tainted my house with sick medicine and must remove the curse with sweetness.’ He’ll understand.”

(Kingston. 1981 : 153)

Since young Kingston was powerless, she had to follow her mother’s demand, although she felt embarrassed because she was sure that the druggist would not understand the Chinese belief and would mistake her for a beggar. But she did not dare to object to her mother’s demand. She describes the awkward situation when she was facing the druggist as follows:

“Mymotherseztatagimme somecandy,” I said to the drugstore. Be cute and small. No one hurts the cute and small.

“What? Speak up. Speak English,” he said, big in his white druggist coat.

“Tatagimme somecandy.”

The druggist leaned way over the counter and frowned. “Some free candy,” I said. “Sample candy.”

“We don’t give sample candy, young lady,” he said.

“My mother said you have to give us candy. She said that is the way the Chinese do it.”

"What?"

"That is the way the Chinese do it."

"Do what?"

"Do things." I felt the weight and immensity of things impossible to explain to the druggist.

"Can I give you some money?" he asked.

"No, we want candy."

(Kingston. 1981 : 153 - 154)

Kingston could not express herself in front of the druggist. Kim points out the cause of her dumbness:

She knows that her mother will never understand how the druggist will view her and that the druggist will never comprehend her mother's anger about medicine being mistakenly delivered to her house. As a result, the Chinese-American go-between is reduced to hopeless inarticulateness.

(Kim. 1982 : 204)

However, Kingston's assumption that the druggist would mistake her for a beggar was proved true when she was given candy after the holidays had passed.

They gave us Halloween candy in December, Christmas candy around Valentine's day, candy hearts at Easter, and Easter eggs at Halloween.

(Kingston. 1981 : 154)

While Kingston felt humiliated to be mistaken for a beggar, Brave Orchid had never anticipated Kingston's suffering. She was happy to learn that her daughter was given candy because to her, it was reparation and this indicated that the druggist understood her Chinese custom.

"See" said our mother. "They understand. You kids just aren't very brave."

(Kingston. 1981 : 154)

Ling concludes Kingston's predicament well as follows:

Uncomprehending the insult, their mother was pleased, thinking she had taught "the Druggist Ghosts a lesson in good manners." For his part, the druggist felt that these little Chinese children, living behind their parents' laundry, were to be pitied, for they could not afford to buy a treat. Neither party understood the other; only Maxine understood both, but as a child, she was powerless to explain one to the other. Furthermore, to add to her own psychic pain and confusion, Maxine found the druggist (an outsider) more comprehensible than her mother (to whom she owes her life), and as a small child she had to carry out the wishes of this incomprehensible mother.

(Ling. 1990 : 124 - 125)

Another incident that shows that Brave Orchid's children felt uneasy with her superstition is when Moon Orchid, her sister, arrived at her house from Hong Kong. On her first day, Brave Orchid forced her children to eat candy because she believed that it would make them speak sweetly to their aunt, an auspicious beginning.

With a slam of her cleaver, she cracked rock candy into jagged pieces. "Take some," she urged. "Take more." She brought the yellow crystals on a red paper plate to her family, one by one. It was important that the beginning be sweet... They'd put the bad mouth on their aunt's first American day; you had to sweeten their noisy barbarous mouths.

(Kingston. 1981 : 111 - 112)

Her children realized that Brave Orchid did so out of superstition, so they were not willing to eat the candy. To them, their mother's act was nonsense while she did not understand why they did not want to eat the candy despite the fact that to love candy is in the nature of children. Consequently, when she saw them take a small piece, she was angry. In fact, they took a small piece as a sign of the only rebellion they could express because as young children, they were powerless.

"Take a big piece," she scolded.

(Kingston. 1981 : 112)

Nevertheless, when Kingston was very young she was also influenced by Brave Orchid's superstition, and this resulted in a misunderstanding between her and people outside the Chinese community. Generally, Chinese peasants fear that mentioning a subject may cause it to happen (Mitchell. 1981 : 6), and death is a horrible one. Consequently, it is not surprising that young Kingston, influenced by her mother, could not dare even to sing "land where our fathers died" because she was afraid that to say the words "fathers died" could cause her father actually to die, while the teacher thought that she meant politics.

I remember telling the Hawaiian teacher, "We Chinese can't sing 'land where our fathers died.' " She argued with me about politics, while I meant because of curses.

(Kingston. 1981 : 151)

Sometimes, Brave Orchid performed rituals alone, and there was a sense of embarrassment on her part because she probably believed that her children viewed her customs as silly superstition (Mitchell. 1981 : 6), or she did not trust them. For example, when she performed a Chinese jinx-breaking ritual at the doors of the house, she did not explain it to them. Consequently, she did not get along well with her children.

"What do you say when you open the door like that?" her children used to ask when they were younger.

"Nothing. Nothing," she would answer.

"Is it spirits, Mother? Do you talk to spirits? Are you asking them in or asking them out?"

"It's nothing," she said. She never explained anything that was really important. They no longer asked.

(Kingston. 1981 : 112)

It is apparent that while the mother stuck to her old Chinese beliefs, the daughter adopted American values based on science and viewed what her mother performed as superstition, so the conflicts between them were inevitable because the mother expected her daughter to follow her.

1.1.4 Food

Food is another factor that brings about conflict between the mother and

the daughter. Brave Orchid seemed barbaric to Kingston because the animals that she prepared for meals for her family were not what most people ate in daily life. Kingston noted:

My mother has cooked for us: raccoons, skunks, hawks,
city pigeons, wild ducks, wild geese, black-skinned bantams,
snakes, garden snails, turtles that crawled about the pantry
floor and sometimes escaped under refrigerator or stove,
catfish that swam in the bathtub.

(Kingston. 1981 : 85)

Apart from being disgusted by Brave Orchid's strange food, Kingston was also terrified by her killing animals for food cruelly and she had pity for them. In fact, generally, the Chinese believe in cooking animals while their blood is warm instead of cooking frozen meat, so they sometimes keep them alive in their house until the time of cooking. This is true with Brave Orchid.

We children used to hide under the beds with our fingers
in our ears to shut out the bird screams and the thud, thud of
the turtles swimming in the boiling water, their shells hitting
the sides of the pot.

(Kingston. 1981 : 85 - 86)

Apart from her mother's cruel act, Kingston had to bear the repulsive odor of killed animals that spread in the house. She remembers that her aunt comforted her while her mother was busy cooking awful food.

Once the third aunt who worked at the laundry ran out and bought us bags of candy to hold over our noses; my mother was dismembering skunk on the chopping block. I could smell the rubbery odor through the candy.

(Kingston. 1981 : 86)

No matter how disgusting she found the food cooked by her mother, Kingston had to eat it because according to Confucianism, parents have authority over children and the latter have to obey the former or they will be considered unfilial. Moreover, she was powerless. She suffered because she and her brothers and sisters were forced by Brave Orchid to eat it.

“Eat! Eat!” my mother would shout at our heads bent over bowls, the blood pudding awobble in the middle of the table... We’d have to face four- and five-day-old leftovers until we ate it all. The squid eye would keep appearing at breakfast and dinner until eaten.

(Kingston. 1981 : 86 - 87)

In fact, Brave Orchid was acting in accordance with Confucianism which requires that parents bring up their children well. To her, feeding them with good food was her duty and one way of showing her love for them. She even taught them to distinguish good food from bad.

“If it tastes good, it’s bad for you,” she said. “If it tastes bad, it’s good for you.”

(Kingston. 1981 : 87)

In fact, people in China suffered poverty, so they ate everything. Brave Orchid was a citizen of China and had also experienced hardship there, so she also developed the habit of eating everything. Wong (1988 : 12) states that while Kingston is sensitive to her mother's killing animals cruelly and eating everything, her mother and the Chinese are driven by Necessity in their struggle for survival, and this results in insensitivity. Wong also note:

But to Brave Orchid, squeamishness of any kind was a luxury-an Extravagance that the serious-minded could not afford. That's why she could "eat anything"

(Wong. 1988 : 12)

Apart from her direct horrible experience of her mother's cooking in her family in America, Kingston was also terrified by her mother's talking story about eating monkey brains from a living monkey as a delicacy in China, and all these factors gave her the impression that Chinese food is repulsive. Her mother explained a monkey feast to her:

"Do you know what people in China eat when they have the money?" my mother began. They buy into a monkey feast. The eaters sit around a thick wood table with a hole in the middle. Boys bring in the monkey at the end of a pole. Its neck is in the collar at the end of the pole, and it is screaming. Its hands are tied behind it. They clamp the monkey into the table; the whole table fits like another collar around its neck. Using a surgeon's saw, the cooks cut a clean line in a circle at the top of its head. To loosen the bone, they tap with a tiny hammer and wedge here and there with a silver pick. Then an old woman reaches out

her hand to the monkey's face and up to its scalp, where she tufts off the lid of the skull. The eaters spoon out the brains."

(Kingston. 1981 : 86)

Brave Orchid also told her children of the strange food that the emperors ate because it was thought to be nutritious.

"The emperors used to eat the peaked hump of purple dromedaries," she would say. "They used chopsticks made from rhinoceros horn, and they ate ducks' tongues and monkeys' lips."

(Kingston. 1981 : 85)

Young Kingston did not want to hear her mother's stories about eating strange food but she could hardly avoid them because according to Confucianism, she could not tell her mother to shut up, although she was tortured by her stories.

I did not always listen voluntarily, though. She would begin telling the story, perhaps repeating it to a homesick villager, and I'd overhear before I had a chance to protect myself. Then the monkey words would unsettle me; a curtain flapped loose inside my brain. I have wanted to say, "Stop it. Stop it," but not once did I say, "Stop it."

(Kingston. 1981 : 86)

From her direct experience and her mother's stories, Kingston is willing to eat plastic instead of Chinese food. She concludes :

I would live on plastic.

(Kingston. 1981 : 87)

Critics like Amy Ling and Wong reason why Kingston presents Chinese food as repulsive.

Non-Chinese may find Chinese food tasty, but Kingston, unflinching, shows there is another side, nightmarish and seemingly unspeakable.

(Ling. 1990 : 129)

Wong has a similar idea, saying:

This Rabelaisian list, in part an “anti-exotic” jab at Chinatown tourist types whose understanding of Chinese-American life is limited to admiration for the bastardized Chinese food served up in restaurants, is at the same time a measure, only half-satirical, of the lengths to which Necessity can drive one in one’s struggle for survival.

(Wong. 1988 : 12)

It is clear that Brave Orchid leads her life in accordance with the concept of Necessity, so she can eat everything, while her daughter may have the impression that she is insensitive and finds the food she cooks repulsive.

1.1.5 Home

Home is another cause of conflicts on Kingston’s part in her relationship with her mother. Although Brave Orchid has lived in America for forty years and managed to own a house in a Chinatown of California, she has never thought of

America as home, and the idea of making America her permanent home has never come to her mind. On the contrary, she has yearned to go back to her village in China, which she has regarded as real home.

Whenever my parents said "home" they suspended America.

(Kingston. 1981 : 92)

It can be concluded that she has a sojourner mentality or the sense of being merely a sojourner in America (Rolf. 1982 : 4 ; Ling. 1990 : 122). The sojourners' ideal is to earn enough money as evidence of their economic betterment as soon as possible and to return to China. They feel that they belong to the Chinese village and district, their hometown. They separate psychologically and socially from the larger society and insulate themselves against the full impact of the dominant culture (Lee. 1960 : 69-74). Consequently, as a sojourner, Brave Orchid has worked hard hoping to return to her home in China.

Brave Orchid has a sojourner mentality, thinking that she belongs to China, so she also believes that China and things Chinese are superior to America and things American. For example, to her, America is Ghost country and non-Chinese are ghosts, so what belongs to them is unreal while China is real and Han people are human beings. What belongs to them is real. Even flowers in China are real and fresh. Therefore, although her poverty and Communist China are obstacles to her return to China, the idea remains with her.

"Someday, very soon, we're going home, where there are Han people everywhere. We'll buy furniture then, real tables and chairs. You children will smell flowers for the first time."

(Kingston. 1981 : 92)

Hom (1984 : 3) points out that Chinese immigrants reject things American due to traditional Chinese ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism is a sociology term and is defined as a “universal tendency for any people to put its own culture and society in a central position of priority and worth” (Porter and Lary. 1994 : 13 ; citing Keesing. n.d. : unpagged). This is true with Brave Orchid.

Nostalgia for the good old days in China is another reason why Brave Orchid has always yearned to return to her village. In China, as a physician, she was highly respected and had a comfortable life while in America she has had to work hard.

“When I stepped out of my sedan chair, the villagers said
“Ahhh,” at my good shoes and my long gown. I always dressed
well when I made calls. Some villages brought out their lion
and danced ahead of me. You have no idea how much I have fallen
coming to America.”

(Kingston. 1981 : 74)

In China, she had a comfortable life. She even bought slave girls to do housework for her, so she did not need to use physical energy.

“In China I never even had to hang up my own clothes. I
shouldn’t have left, but your father couldn’t support you without
me. I’m the one with big muscles.”

(Kingston. 1981 : 97)

We can see that, compared with her life in China, her life in America was filled with hardship. In China, she did not even have to hang up her own clothes, let alone wash them. Ironically, in America she had to work hard in the laundry. Moreover, she was highly respected in her village, but in this new country, she

sometimes was offended by customers. As an immigrant, she did not want to get into trouble with them, so all she could do to take revenge on them was to name them secretly.

“No tickee, no washee, mama-san?” a ghost would say, so embarrassing.

“Noisy Red-Mouth Ghost, she’d write on its package, naming it, marking its clothes with its name.

(Kingston. 1981 : 98)

Brave Orchid also described her peaceful life in China and her busy life in America as follows:

“I have worked too much. Human beings don’t work like this in China. Time goes slower there. Here we have to hurry, feed the hungry children before we’re too old to work. I feel like a mother cat hunting for its kittens. She has to find them fast because in a few hours she will forget how to count or that she had any kittens at all. I can’t sleep in this country because it doesn’t shut down for the night. Factories, canneries restaurants-- always somebody somewhere working through the night. It never get done all at once here. Time was different in China. One year lasted as long as my total time here; one evening so long, you could visit your women friends, drink tea, and play cards at each house, and it would still be twilight. It even got boring, nothing to do but fan ourselves. Here midnight comes and the floor’s not swept, the ironing’s not ready, the money’s not made. I would still

be young if we lived in China.”

(Kingston. 1981 : 98)

In fact, Brave Orchid's hardship is also related to racism in America. Lin concludes the cause of her downfall as follows:

The economic, political, and social ostracism that Chinese-Americans faced formed the backdrop against which Kingston's own family struggled to survive between the 1930's and the 1960's. Kingston's mother, a qualified doctor in China, for instance, was unable to practice medicine in America and had to find employment in one of the few occupations allowed the Chinese--that of a laundry worker.

(Lin. 1991 : 38)

It can be said that Brave Orchid has always longed to return to China due to her sense of belonging to China and nostalgia and alienation. Wong (1991 :33) notes that the immigrant parents do feel a sense of involuntariness in leaving their ancestral land to pursue a better life among American “barbarians” and that the immigrant generation suffers from nostalgia and alienation.

Conflicts are caused by the fact that Brave Orchid not only has longed to return to China, but also has wanted her children to identify themselves as Chinese and to go back to live there for good. As a result, she always reminded them of China and the way to get to their father's village.

Not when we were afraid, but when we were wide awake and lucid, my mother funneled China into our ears: Kwangtung Province, New Society Village, the river Kwoo, which runs past

the village. "Go the way we came so that you will be able to find our house. Don't forget. Just give your father's name, and any villager can point out our house."

(Kingston. 1981 : 73)

Apart from trying to make her children realize that their home was in China, Brave Orchid also kept reminding them of their cousins in China so that their ties would not be severed by the distance. For example, she told them that the reason why they tasted something in their mouths was that their grandmother in China was sending them candy.

"Mother! Mother! It's happening again. I taste something in my mouth, but I'm not eating anything."

"Me too, Mother. Me too. There's nothing there. Just my spit. My spit tastes like sugar."

"Your grandmother in China is sending you candy again," said my mother.

(Kingston. 1981 : 92)

While Brave Orchid had a sense of belonging to China, Kingston did not. Born and raised in America, young Kingston felt that China was a mysterious far off land at the distant end of the world which she could never feel familiar with. As a result, she did not want to go there as her mother insisted.

As a child I feared the size of the world. The farther away the sound of howling dogs, the farther away the sound of the trains, the tighter I curled myself under the quilt. The trains sounded deeper and deeper into the night. They had not reached

the end of the world before I stopped hearing them, the last long moan diminishing towards China.

(Kingston. 1981 : 93)

Kingston also complained to herself of her mother's expectation that she and brothers and sisters went back to China.

I am to return to China where I have never been.

(Kingston. 1981 : 73)

Apart from the fact that she did not feel that she belonged to China, the inferior and expendable status of girls in China that she learned from her mother's talk-story, such as girl infanticide, girl slavery, obedient wives and concubinage is another reason why she did not want to go to China. She feared that she would have the same fate. Kingston is against Chinese sexism in this case.

"... but I did not want to go to China. In China my parents would sell my sisters and me. My father would marry two or three more wives, who would spatter cooking oil on our bare toes and lie that we were crying for naughtiness. They would give food to their own children and rocks to us."

(Kingston. 1981 : 92 - 93)

Moreover, since she does not sense that she belongs to China, Kingston does not seem to understand why her mother clings to the idea of returning to China.

"We're not going back to China for sure now."

"You've been saying that since nineteen forty-nine."

“Now it’s final. We got a letter from the villagers yesterday. They asked if it was all right with us that they took over the land. The last uncles have been killed, so your father is the only person left to say it is all right, you see. He has written saying they can have it. So. We have no more China to go home to.”

(Kingston. 1975 : 99)

Apparently, the topic concerning home is a cause of conflicts between mother and daughter. Lingo concluded:

Kingston shows the gulf between a mother’s insistence that her daughter’s real home is her father’s boyhood home and the daughter who sees only the impossibility of “returning” to a place where she has never been. Nor can she understand her parents’ persistence in holding tightly for 40 years to the idea of returning to China.

(Ling. 1990 : 123)

1.1.6 Ethics of Serving Parents

The contrasting ideas of Confucianism which require that children give priority to their parents even at the cost of their own happiness or they will be regarded as unfilial and the American concept of individualism also cause Kingston to be uneasy. Lonely old Brave Orchid wanted her children, who had grown up and moved away to live on their own as Americans normally do, to live under the same roof and take care of her and to form an extended family as is popular in China. She did not want her children to form nuclear families, common in America. She observed:

"...There's only one thing that I really want any more. I want you here, not wandering like a ghost from Romany. I want every one of you living here together. When you're all home, all six of you with your children and husbands and wives, there are twenty or thirty people in this house. Then I'm happy. And your father is happy. Whichever room I walk into overflows with my relatives, grandson, sons-in-law. I can't turn around without touching somebody. That's the way a house should be."

(Kingston 1981 : 100)

In spite of the fact that as a filial Chinese daughter, she had to offer to live with her mother and to take good care of her, but since she cannot bear her in many aspects, although she loves her mother, she asserted her independence as the American do by refusing her request. In this case she thought that her mother wanted her to be responsible for her coming to face with hardship in America because she complained about her problems of living in this country before she asked her to live with her. Kingston described her reaction when she was asked to stay by Brave Orchid:

A spider headache spreads out in fine branches over my skull.
She is etching spider legs into the icy bone. She prises open my
head and my fists and crams into them responsibility for time,
responsibility for intervening oceans.

(Kingston. 1981 : 100)

In fact, Kingston and her brothers and sisters did not want to hurt their mother, so normally what they could do was to keep quiet instead of arguing with her.

I shut my teeth together, vocal chords cut, they hurt so. I
would not speak words to give her pain. All her children gnash
their teeth.

(Kingston. 1981 : 94 - 95)

However, Kingston felt guilty about refusing to remain in her mother's household and all she could do was to rationalize her decision by saying that since her parents asserted their independence by leaving their parents in China, so they deserved her assertion of a similar independence. Kingston said:

The gods pay her and my father back for leaving their parents.
My grandmother wrote letters pleading for them to come home, and
they ignored her. Now they know how she felt.

(Kingston. 1981 : 100)

It can be concluded that Kingston loved her mother, but since to live with her would make herself unhappy, she had to assert her independence, despite the fact that to do so made Kingston herself unhappy and it was against Confucianism.

1.2 Reconciliation

Although there was conflict between Kingston and Brave Orchid, Kingston also presented their reconciliation. After she poured forth a tirade and left her mother, she only came home for a visit. When she was asked to live with her old mother permanently, she refused to do so because she felt unhappy to be near her, although she loved her mother. For example, she was annoyed by her mother's illogicality to complain that she had to leave China to help her husband support Kingston in spite of the fact that Kingston would not have been born if she had not arrived. Moreover, she was worried by her mother's careless behavior as to take

medicine prescribed for Kingston. However, Kingston felt guilty about her refusal, but she was let go by Brave Orchid when she learned that Kingston was always sick at home. Kingston confessed to her mother:

“When I’m away from her,” I had to tell her, “I don’t get sick. I don’t go to the hospital every holiday. I don’t get pneumonia, no dark spots on my x-ray. My chest doesn’t hurt when I breathe. I can breathe. And I don’t get headaches at three o’clock. I don’t have to take medicines or go to doctors. Elsewhere I don’t have to lock my doors and keep checking the locks. I don’t stand at the windows and watch for movements and see them in the dark.”

(Kingston. 1981 : 100)

Kingston had to tell her frankly that one of the reason why she could not live with her was her superstition.

“I don’t want to hear Wino Ghosts and Hobo Ghosts. I’ve found some places in this country that are ghost-free. And I belong there, where I don’t catch colds or use my hospitalization insurance. Here I’m sick so often, I can barely work. I can’t help it. Mama.”

(Kingston. 1981 : 101)

After hearing Kingston’s confession, Brave Orchid let her go; this shows her love for her daughter. Moreover, the term of endearment that she used also shows her love and forgiveness for Kingston’s leaving.

“It’s better, then, for you to stay away. The weather in California must not agree with you. You can come for visits.” She got up and

turned off the light. "Of course, you must go, Little Dog."

(Kingston. 1981 : 101)

Kingston could sense that her mother forgave her for leaving because her mother used the words "Little Dog," a term of endearment. There is a belief that gods or ghosts will take a cute baby away and it will die young, so parents or others should not praise it for its cuteness but criticize it. The words "Little Dog" are used to make gods or ghosts think that the baby is not a human being but an animal despised by people in some countries, and this can save its life. Consequently, "Little Dog" can be regarded as a term of endearment that erased the guilt in Kingston's mind:

A weight lifted from me. The quilts must be filling with air.
The world is somehow lighter. She has not called me that
endearment for years - a name to fool the gods.

(Kingston. 1981 : 101)

Apparently, their reconciliation occurs in that scene. Miller (1983 : 28) notes, "Home for a visit and oppressed by her sense of responsibility for having left her mother, Kingston finally obtains Brave Orchid's blessing on their separation" Nickerson (1989 : 11) concludes that generally, mother-daughter conflict is caused by the fact that mothers normally expect daughters not to individuate while daughters struggle for autonomy and a sense of identity. Consequently, to solve the problem both need acceptance, a coming to term of mutual respect for their difference. It is clear that what TuSmith says about their reconciliation is in accordance with Nickerson's conclusion. TuSmith stresses the importance of the scene to the relationship between mother and daughter as follows:

The narrator tells us that the clincher is when her mother called her "Little Dog," a term of endearment. In this critical scene, not only does a mother learn to let go of her child, but the two women have established grounds for mutual respect.

(TuSmith. 1991 : 257)

Couser also has the same idea as TuSmith, saying:

It is appropriate, then, that the chapter ends with a tender scene in which the aged mother resigns herself to her married daughter's reluctance to spend long period at "home." When Brave Orchid addresses her daughter as "Little Dog," an intimate nickname she had not used in years, a weight lifts from Kingston; she had been released by, and thus reconciled with, her own (s)mothering ghost.

(Couser. 1989 : 236)

Kingston also presents the reconciliation between mother and daughter in their collaboration on telling the story of Ts'ai Yen. In fact, Ts'ai Yen was a historical figure, born about AD 177. She was the daughter of Ts'ai Yung, a scholar-statesman. She was a young widow and captured to be the wife of a commander of Southern Hsiung-nu horsemen in the year 195. She lived in the alien land for 12 years and had two children with him before she could return after Ts'ao Ts'ao the new emperor of Wei, who was a good friend of her father, gave ransom gifts to her husband because Ts'ao Ts'ao was afraid that Ts'ai Yung would not have an heir. She was married a third time. Kingston uses parts of Ts'ai Yen and adds some details (Wong. 1991 : 32 - 33). Kingston talks about her and her mother's collaboration as follows:

Here is a story my mother told me, not when I was young, but recently, when I told her I also am a story-teller. The beginning is hers, the ending, mine.

(Kingston. 1981 : 184)

Ling also suggests that the story of Ts'ai Yen reflects the relationship between mother and daughter, noting:

The Woman Warrior ends with resolution of the conflict between parent and child, metaphorically, in their collaboration in the final story of Ts'ai Yen, a story begun by the mother and ended by the daughter.

(Ling. 1990 : 129)

The story of Ts'ai Yen also represented Brave Orchid's and Kingston's lives. As Kingston emphasized, during Ts'ai Yen's sojourn, the barbarians and even her two children did not understand her, and her children also ridiculed her language. She was like Brave Orchid, who had to leave her homeland to join her husband in America, where the non-Chinese and her children did not respect her culture. To show the past relationship between her and Brave Orchid when she was immature, Kingston described the relationship between Ts'ai Yen and her children as follows:

Her children did not speak Chinese. She spoke it to them when their father was out of the tent, but they imitated her with senseless singsong words and laughed.

(Kingston. 1981 : 185)

Eventually, Ts'ai Yen's alienation and nostalgia were understood by her children and the barbarians when she sang a Chinese song about her homeland. It

communicated her sadness and anger, and they understood her, although they did not understand Chinese. This is also like Brave Orchid, who was finally understood by Kingston, who was mature now. Kingston presented Ts'ai Yen's expression as follows:

Then, out of Ts'ai Yen's tent, which was apart from the others,
the barbarians heard a woman's voice singing, as if to her babies,
a song so high and clear, it matched the flutes. Ts'ai Yen sang
about China and her family there. Her words seemed to be
Chinese, but the barbarians understood their sadness and anger.

(Kingston. 1981 : 186)

Just as Ts'ai Yen's children had not understood their mother, immature Kingston had not understood why Brave Orchid kept talking about their return to China someday. But when she was mature, she realized that her mother had suffered alienation and nostalgia:

She sends me on my way, working always and now old, dreaming
the dreams about shrinking babies and the sky covered with airplanes
and a Chinatown bigger than the ones here.

(Kingston. 1981 : 101)

Apparently, understanding brought about reconciliation. Kingston is also proud of her mother's strength and her devotion to her family by working hard:

This mother can carry a hundred pounds of Texas rice up and
downstairs. She could work at the laundry from six thirty a.m. until

midnight,...

(Kingston. 1981 : 97)

It is apparent that Kingston uses the story of Ts'ai Yen to symbolize Brave Orchid, who once was not understood by Kingston. Moreover, Ts'ai Yen can also be Kingston. The story echoes Kingston's uneasiness in this country, and because it suggests an emotional kinship with her mother, it leads to reconciliation, as Wong notes:

She has also taken advantage of the symbolist's license to concentrate in the person of Ts'ai Yen two different predicaments: that of the immigrant generation and that of the American-born.

(Wong. 1991 : 33)

Ling also has the same idea as Wong about the story of Ts'ai Yen, concluding:

Not only is Ts'ai Yen's story narrated by mother and daughter but it symbolizes both their lives. Ts'ai Yen, the victim, abducted by barbarians and forced to live among them many years, ridiculed and misunderstood by even her own children is Brave Orchid, who had a great falling off in coming to America, where hard physical labor and uncomprehending "half-ghost" children are her lot. And Ts'ai Yen is Maxine as a child, unprepared for American School, alienated by the fearful "ghosts" created all around her by her mother. Ts'ai Yen, the victor, inspired by the barbarians' flutes reaching over and over for a high note, which they found and held "an icicle in the desert," who begins to sing in a way that communicates her sadness

and anger to the barbarians and touches her children who then sing with her, is Brave Orchid after Maxine has reached a level of maturity when resentment and anger are replaced by understanding and affection. And it is Kingston, whose retelling of her mother's stories "translated well." Embracing her confused childhood, translating her mother's stories, revealing their beauty and power, Kingston transforms her victim's state of cut frenum into a victor's state of full-throated song.

(Ling. 1990 : 129 - 130)

After Kingston understands her mother, a sign of their good relationship, she can eventually identify with her, saying that both of them were born in the year of the dragon.

I am really a Dragon, as she is a Dragon, both of us born in dragon years. I am practically a first daughter of a first daughter.

(Kingston. 1981 : 101)

Ling comments on Kingston's use of the year of dragon as follows:

The Woman Warrior consciously seeks to break stereotypes by providing an insider's perspective. In informing us that she and her mother were both born in the year of the dragon, Maxine subverts and converts the white stereotype of "dragon-lady" from an image of sinister threat to one of strength of will and courage; Brave Orchid and Maxine do not endanger the lives of others but are fierce in defending their own against

encroachments and repression.

(Ling. 1990 : 129)

Apart from identifying with her mother as a dragon-lady, Kingston also identifies with Brave Orchid as a story-talker. Moreover, when she is mature, she does not reject her mother's heritage as she did when she was young. When she was immature, she perceived America and China as drastically different, and China was inferior. To her, while America was substantial, practical, and real, China was intangible, superstitious, and dreamlike (Couser. 1989 :232). Kingston notes:

To make my waking life American-normal, I turn on the lights before anything untoward makes an appearance. I push the deformed into my dreams, which are in Chinese, the language of impossible stories.

(Kingston. 1981: 82)

After she left her family and community, studied at Berkeley, and lived in American society, Kingston finally realizes that the simple and logical life of Americans was not impressive. Aubrey (1991 : 85) states, "Her mature way of seeing, however, is no longer desperately Western but ironically detached." Kingston ironically declared:

Be careful what you say. It comes true. It comes true. I had to leave home in order to see the world logically, logic, the new way of seeing. I learned to think that mysteries are for explanation. I enjoy the simplicity. Concrete pours out of my mouth to cover the forests with freeways and sidewalks. Give me plastics, periodical tables, TV dinners with vegetables no more complex

than peas mixed with diced carrots. Shine floodlights into dark corners; no ghosts.

(Kingston. 1981 : 182)

Kingston is not completely pleased with her American way of seeing things. Rolf (1982 : 6) notes that her sense of loss is clear. Kim (1990 : 109) states, "the escape into the "American-normal" world gives her a new, antiseptic way of seeing things, but it has diminished her." Kingston confessed:

Now colors are gentler and fewer; smells are antiseptic. Now when I peek in the basement window where the villagers say they see a girl dancing like a bottle imp, I can no longer see a spirit in a skirt made of light, but a voiceless girl dancing when she thought no one was looking.

(Kingston. 1981 : 183)

Consequently, as an adult, Kingston is trying to understand her Chinese heritage because she is not sure that what she has learned from her community is really Chinese. She complained:

Chinese-American, when you try to understand what things in you are Chinese, how do you separate what is peculiar to childhood, to poverty, insanities, one family, your mother who marked your growing with stories, from what is Chinese? What is Chinese tradition and what is the movie?

(Kingston. 1981 : 13)

Kingston indicates that her search for her roots is continuing.

I continue to sort out what's just my childhood, just my imagination, just my family, just the village, just movies, just living.

(Kingston. 1981 : 183)

It is not surprising that Kingston is wondering what Chinese tradition really is because what she has learned from her community is full of paradoxes. Kim notes:

For the Chinese-American girl, the maddening paradox is that the same culture that has produced the No-Name Woman and Moon Orchid has also produced Fa Mulan and Brave Orchid. The mother tells the daughter that she will be "a wife and slave" while firing her imagination with stories of the woman warrior.

(Kim. 1982 : 203)

Furthermore, in her childhood, Kingston was afraid when her mother told her that they would return to China someday, but when she is mature she is interested in learning as much about China as possible. For example, she even hints that she would visit China. Kingston said:

I'd like to go to New Society Village someday and find out exactly how far I can walk before people stop talking like me.

(Kingston. 1981 : 183)

Couser points out that the story of Ts'ai Yen is also related to Kingston's interest in China and Chinese heritage.

Insofar as Kingston is analogous to the poet, the heroine's eventual return to her own tribe is mirrored in Kingston's new openness to Chinese culture. Indeed, the narrative hints that she has come to view China, if not as home, then as a homeland worth investigating.

(Couser. 1989 : 236)

It can be said that there is reconciliation between mother and daughter eventually when Kingston is mature, but before that there was conflict between them because Brave Orchid wanted to pass on her heritage to her daughter while young Kingston tried to reject it. Later on when she is mature, she does not want to cling exclusively to American culture, but is interested in learning what Chinese tradition really is. She is proud of her mother's strength and understands her alienation and nostalgia. Finally, she is reconciled with her mother, and her anger at her mother's trying to shape her identity in her childhood is resolved. Miller describes their relationship well:

In this book, as much a celebration of Brave Orchid as it is an autobiography of Maxine Hong Kingston, the autobiographer both separates from and rejoins her mother, her family's and community's chief representative.

(Miller. 1983 : 23)

CHAPTER THREE

An Analysis of the Relationships between Mothers and Daughters as Presented in The Joy Luck Club

In this chapter, I will study the relationships between Suyuan and Jing-mei Woo, Lindo and Wavely Jong, An-mei Hsu and Rose Hsu Jordan, and Ying-ying and Lena St. Clair in the same aspects as I did with The Woman Warrior, namely the causes of the conflicts and reconciliation. I will start with the relationships between Suyuan and Jing-mei.

1. The Relationships between Suyuan and Jing-mei Woo

1.1 The Causes of the Conflicts

1.1.1 Feminine Identity

1.1.1.1 Obedience

Although Confucianism requires that both boys and girls obey their parents, the virtue of obedience is specially instilled into the latter because China is a patriarchal society. Wives have to obey their husbands and parents-in-law after marriage. However, I find that Suyuan never said that she wanted Jing-mei to obey her so that she would be a good, obedient wife or daughter-in-law, but she wanted her to have the quality so that it would be easier for her to shape her daughter's identity. Suyuan declared:

(N)

“Only two kinds of daughters,” she shouted in Chinese. “Those who are obedient and those who follow their own mind! Only one kind of daughter can live in this house. Obedient daughter!”

(Tan. 1994 : 142)

Willard also agrees that the mothers in The Joy Luck Club expect their daughters to be obedient because they want them to live their lives as the mothers consider best for them.

They believe that anything is possible for a daughter if the mother wills it. And so the mothers visit on their daughters the sin of demanding perfect obedience.

(Matuz. 1990 : 97 ; citing Willard. 1989 : 12)

② Educated in an American school, Jing-mei, having adopted the individualism valued by Americans did not agree that she had to obey her mother all the time and regarded Suyuan's expectations, that sometimes discouraged her, as a violation of her private rights. Jing-mei recalled:

"Turn off TV," she called from the kitchen five minutes later. I didn't budge. And then I decided. I didn't have to do what my mother said anymore. I wasn't her slave. This wasn't China. I had listened to her before and look what happened. She was the stupid one.

(Tan. 1994 : 141)

1.1.2 Drives for Achievement

In China, after Suyuan lost her husband, twin daughters, cousins, and family home during World War II, she was hopeless. Poverty and suffering drove her and her new husband to pursue material betterment in America. To her, America could provide an easier life and various opportunities to be famous and rich. Jing-mei noted:

My mother believed you could be anything you wanted to be in America. You could open a restaurant. You could work for the government and get good retirement. You could buy a house with almost no money down. You could become rich. You could become instantly famous.

(Tan. 1994 : 132)

The conflicts were caused by the fact that Suyuan, driven by poverty and suffering in China, reinforced by her belief that people could be anything they wished in America and induced by the fact that Waverly, the daughter of both her friend and rival, Lindo, became a chess champion, wanted to shape Jing mei's identity to turn her into a prodigy. But Jing-mei did not want to live up to Suyuan's expectations. Suyuan told her daughter her wish, saying:

"Of course you can be prodigy, too," my mother told me when I was nine. "You can be best anything. What does Auntie Lindo know? Her daughter, she is only best tricky."

(Tan. 1994 : 132)

At first, inspired by Shirley Temple, Suyuan wanted Jing-mei to be a Chinese Shirley Temple. Jing-mei recalled:

We'd watch Shirley's old movies on TV as though they were training films. My mother would poke my arm and say, "Ni kan"-- You watch. And I would see Shirley tapping her feet, or singing a sailor song, or pursing her lips into a very round O while saying, "Oh my goodness."

"Ni kan," said my mother as Shirley's eyes flooded with tears.

“You already know how. Don’t need talent for crying!”

(Tan. 1994 : 132 - 133)

After she found that Jing-mei with her new haircut did not look similar to a Chinese Shirley Temple in her imagination, Suyuan read stories of remarkable children and tried to make her into a prodigy by encouraging her to imitate them. Jing-mei exemplified the tests that her mother gave her as follows:

The tests got harder--multiplying numbers in my head, finding the queen of hearts in a deck of cards, trying to stand on my head without using my hands, predicting the daily temperatures in Los Angeles, New York, and London.

(Tan. 1994 : 134)

Seeing that Jing-mei could not be one of the amazing children in the magazines given to her by the owners of the houses that she cleaned, Suyuan decided that her daughter should be a pianist. However, since she was poor, she cleaned a piano teacher’s room on the condition that he would teach Jing-mei to play the piano and allow her daughter to practice on it every day. Jing-mei stated:

Three days after watching The Ed Sullivan Show, my mother told me what my schedule would be for piano lessons and piano practice. She had talked to Mr.Chong, who lived on the first floor of our apartment building. Mr.Chong was a retired piano teacher and my mother had traded house cleaning services for weekly lessons and a piano for me to practice on every day, two hours a day, from four until six.

(Tan. 1994 : 136)

Apparently, Suyuan tried to pass on her wish for achievement to Jing-mei. According to Chodorow (1974 : 47), normally, mothers tend to identify more strongly with girl children, seeing the latter as extensions of themselves and barely allow the latter to individuate. Phillips (1981 : 13 - 14) notes that it is easier for mothers to project themselves into daughters because they are of similar body and same sex.

In fact, at first, inspired by her mother's words, Jing-mei herself wanted to be a prodigy, so there were no conflicts regarding achievement between them.

In fact, in the beginning, I was just as excited as my mother, maybe even more so. I pictured this prodigy part of me as many different images, trying each one on for size. I was a dainty ballerina girl standing by the curtains, waiting to hear the right music that would send me floating on my tiptoes. I was like the Christ child lifted out of the straw manger, crying with holy indignity. I was Cinderella stepping from her pumpkin carriage with sparkly cartoon music filling the air.

(Tan. 1994 : 133)

Apart from being inspired by her mother's words, the belief that her parents would be proud of her and would not scold her any more was also a drive for Jing-mei to strive to become a prodigy. This shows that she cared about their feelings as she said:

In all of my imaginings, I was filled with a sense that I would soon become perfect. My mother and father would adore me. I would be beyond reproach. I would never feel the need to sulk

for anything.

(Tan. 1994 : 133)

The conflicts regarding achievement began when Jing-mei could not fulfill her mother's expectations and saw that she was disappointed many times. Jing-mei was hurt and hated herself at first, but eventually, she decided not to live up to Suyuan's expectations. Jing-mei remembered that Suyuan was sad to see that Jing-mei looked like a Negro-Chinese after having her hair cut instead of a Chinese Shirley Temple as she wished. Jing-mei recalled:

"You look like Negro-Chinese," she lamented, as if I had done this on purpose.

(Tan. 1994 : 133)

At first, Jing-mei was hurt to see that her mother was disappointed to see her not being able to fulfill her expectations while being trained to be a prodigy, but finally, she was determined not to follow her mother. Jing-mei revealed:

And after seeing my mother's disappointed face once again, something inside of me began to die. I hated the tests, the raised hopes and failed expectation. Before going to bed that night, I looked in the mirror above the bathroom sink and when I saw my face staring back--and that it would always be this ordinary face--I began to cry. Such a sad, ugly girl! I made high-pitched noises like a crazed animal, trying to scratch out the face in the mirror.

And then I saw what seemed to be the prodigy side of me--because I had never seen the face before. I looked at

my reflection, blinking so I could see more clearly. The girl staring back at me was angry, powerful. This girl and I were the same. I had new thoughts, willful thoughts, or rather thoughts filled with lots of won'ts. I won't let her change me, I promised myself. I won't be what I'm not.

(Tan. 1994 : 134)

After she had decided to be her own person, she began to rebel against her mother secretly by pretending that her tests bored her. Jing-mei said:

So now on nights when my mother presented her tests, I performed listlessly, my head propped on one arm. I pretended to be bored. At last she was beginning to give up hope.

(Tan. 1994 : 135)

Although she was disappointed that Jing-mei did not reach her expectations during the tests that she gave her, Suyuan did not give up her efforts to turn her into an amazing girl. Finally, she had a new idea that her daughter could be a pianist, and this resulted in conflicts between them because while the mother tried to shape her identity, the daughter was determined not to be made into whatever her mother wished. Jing-mei began to speak her mind for the first time to resist Suyuan's authority, but Suyuan did not listen to her and considered her an ungrateful daughter. Jing-mei recalled the argument over her achievement with her mother:

"Why don't you like me the way I am? I'm not a genius! I can't play the piano. and even if I could, I wouldn't go on TV if you paid me a million dollars!" I cried.

My mother slapped me. "Who ask you be genius?" she

shouted. "Only ask you be your best. For you sake. You think I want you be genius? Hnnh! What for! Who ask you!"

"So ungrateful," I heard her mutter in Chinese. "If she had as much talent as she had temper, she would be famous now."

(Tan. 1994 : 136)

Suyuan regarded Jing-mei's refusal to accept her expectations as an act of an ungrateful person because from her viewpoint they were her best wishes and she manipulated her out of her love and for Jing-mei's sake. Raised in the Chinese way and influenced by Confucianism which stresses the responsibilities of both parents and children-parents are to bring up their children well or the latter's bad behavior and failure will reflect on the former, and children are to obey their parents and to make themselves successful and famous so that their parents will be well-known thereby (Rofe. 1979 : 71)-- Suyuan thought that she did her duty well as a mother and believed that Jing-mei did not as a daughter because she did not obey her and she was not willing to strive for achievement as a faithful child should. Suyuan did not think that she violated Jing-mei's rights to be her own person. In fact, the Chinese consider the individualism of Americans to be destructive to the peace and harmony of Chinese families. Consequently, Americans and Chinese have drastically different ideas about children. While the former are concerned about children's rights and proud of their many child protective associations or psychological research and material on children, the latter are proud of Confucian filial piety which stresses what children should do for their parents (Hsu. 1981 : 79 - 80). Consequently, to see that Jing-mei was ungrateful and unfilial, from Suyuan's Chinese point of view, this hurt her and made her angry.

However, since she was powerless, what young Jing-mei could do after her mother insisted on her having piano lessons was to rebel against her secretly by taking advantage of her teacher's deafness and Suyuan's ignorance of music to give

them the impression that she practiced playing the piano hard while she did not. She maintained the rhythm, but did not pay attention to the notes. By doing so, she could practice the virtue of obedience while she could also free herself slightly. Jing-mei said:

It was a simple, moody piece that sounded more difficult than it was. I was supposed to memorize the whole thing, playing the repeat parts twice to make the piece sound longer. But I dawdled over it, playing a few bars and then cheating, looking up to see what notes followed. I never really listened to what I was playing. I daydreamed about being somewhere else, about being someone else.

(Tan. 1994 : 138 - 139)

Eventually, Jing-mei rebelled against her mother openly and liberated herself. This happened when her mother still insisted on her practicing the piano to become a pianist in the future, although she had failed in a talent show. Jing-mei lashed out against Suyuan and since she knew that her mother's weak point was her twin daughters whom she left on the roadside in China during World War II, she mentioned them to hurt her. It is apparent that due to their close relationship, they could hurt each other painfully. Jing-mei was hurt when she was unable to satisfy her mother, and after that the feeling became anger, while Suyuan was hurt by her words about the lost twin daughters. Jing-mei recalled:

"You want me to be someone that I'm not!" I sobbed. "I'll never be the kind of daughter you want me to be!"

"Only two kinds of daughters," she shouted in Chinese. "Those who are obedient and those who follow their own mind! Only

one kind of daughter can live in this house. Obedient daughter!"

"Then I wish I wasn't your daughter. I wish you weren't my mother," I shouted. As I said these things I got scared. It felt like worms and toads and slimy things crawling out of my chest, but it also felt good, as if this awful side of me had surfaced, at last.

"Too late change this," said my mother shrilly.

And I could sense her anger rising to its breaking point. I wanted to see it spill over. And that's when I remembered the babies she had lost in China, the ones we never talked about. "Then I wish I'd never been born!" I shouted. "I wish I were dead! Like them."

It was as if I had said the magic words. Alakazam!-- and her face went blank, her mouth closed, her arms went slack, and she backed out of the room, stunned, as if she were blowing away like a small brown leaf, thin, brittle, lifeless.

(Tan. 1994 : 142)

Later on, to assert her independence from her mother, she tried to be different from whatever Suyuan expected her to be. It is clear that she adopted the individualism of the American. This is also in accordance with the finding that mother-daughter conflicts are normally caused by mothers' not allowing their daughters to individuate while the latter struggle for autonomy and a sense of identity (Nickerson. 1989 : 11). Jing-mei noted:

It was not the only disappointment my mother felt in me. In the years that followed, I failed her so many times, each time asserting my own will, my right to fall short of expectations.

I didn't get straight As. I didn't become class president. I didn't get into Stanford. I dropped out of college.

For unlike my mother, I did not believe I could be anything I wanted to be. I could only be me.

(Tan. 1994 : 142)

Apparently, Suyuan's drives for achievement resulted in the conflicts between her and Jing-mei although they loved each other. Shear (1993 : 198) agrees that the conflicts between the mother and daughter were caused by the mother's ambition. She "pushes her beyond her abilities, at least beyond her desires."

1.1.3 Superstitions

In fact, there was no incident in the book showing that Jing-mei had the conflicts with her mother regarding superstitions. Nevertheless, studying in an American school and associating with Americans, who normally value rationality and science, she clearly despised superstitions in her saying that she regarded her mother's criticisms as Chinese superstitions. Jing-mei observed:

I used to dismiss her criticisms as just more of her Chinese superstitions, beliefs that conveniently fit the circumstances.

(Tan. 1994 : 31)

1.1.4 Food

Jing-mei was scared by her mother's insensitivity when killing the crab that she had played with, so she pitied it and did not want to eat it. It is clear that they had drastically different experiences. Most of the Chinese at the time when Suyuan had grown up in China were peasants, so they were forced by necessity to eat anything. Moreover, The Chinese believe in preparing food with meat from animals

that have just died instead of from frozen ones. Because life in America is much easier, people can shop conveniently instead of killing animals themselves. Jing-mei expressed her feeling when her mother boiled the crab for her birthday dinner:

When I was eight, I had played with a crab my mother had brought home for my birthday dinner. I had poked it, and jumped back every time its claws reached out. And I determined that the crab and I had come to a great understanding when it finally heaved itself up and walked clear across the counter. But before I could even decide what to name my new pet, my mother had dropped it into a pot of cold water and placed it on the tall stove. I had watched with growing dread, as the water heated up and the pot began to clatter with this crab trying to tap his way out of his own hot soup. To this day, I remember that crab screaming as he thrust one bright red claw out over the side of the bubbling pot. It must have been my own voice, because now I know, of course, that crabs have no vocal cords. And I also try to convince myself that they don't have enough brains to know the difference between a hot bath and a slow death.

(Tan. 1994 : 201)

Although she did not like some of the food that her mother cooked, she could not refuse it because she realized that it was a way that Chinese mothers showed their love to their children. Consequently, in relation to her mother, she could not speak her mind and had to eat what she disliked.

I was not too fond of crab, ever since I saw my birthday crab boiled alive, but I knew I could not refuse. That's the way

Chinese mothers show they love their children, not through hugs and kisses but with stern offerings of steamed dumplings, duck's gizzards, and crab.

(Tan. 1994 : 202)

Ling understands Jing-mei's uneasiness to have to eat what she was disgusted with in relation to her mother.

... the paradoxical usage of the adjective "stern" for an offering of love seems antithetical and yet sadly appropriate for a gift that cannot be refused because it carries the weight of authority.

(Ling. 1990 : 134)

1.1.5 Home

There were no conflicts regarding home between Suyuan and Jing-mei. In fact, Suyuan never told Jing-mei to regard China as home or asked her to return to live there for good, so Jing-mei was not confused and never wondered which she should consider home.

1.1.6 Ethics of Serving Parents

There were no conflicts between Suyuan and Jing-mei on this matter either. Jing-mei usually visited her parents as a dutiful child should. She said:

Their place was only six blocks from where I worked as a copywriter for a small ad agency, so two or three times a week I would drop by after work.

(Tan. 1994 : 198)

Moreover, she helped her mother do things as a child was expected to do. Jing-mei said:

That year, Chinese New Year fell on a Thursday, so I got off work early to help my mother shop. My mother was seventy-one, but she still walked briskly along, her small body straight and purposeful, carrying a colorful flowery plastic bag. I dragged the metal shopping cart behind.

(Tan. 1994 : 198)

Later, after her mother had died, she took good care of her father.

My father hasn't eaten well since my mother died. So I am here, in the kitchen, to cook him dinner. I'm slicing tofu. I've decided to make him a spicy bean curd dish. My mother used to tell me how hot things restore the spirit and health. But I'm making this mostly because I know my father loves this dish and I know how to cook it.

(Tan. 1994 : 209)

1.2 Reconciliation

Although there were conflicts between Suyuan and Jing-mei, there was also their reconciliation. Their reconciliation resulted from the fact that later, Jing-mei was mature enough to realize that she criticized and manipulated her because she wanted her to do well for Jing-mei's own sake, and when Suyuan understood and accepted that her daughter wanted to be her own person, not what she was told to be, although she had talent. Accepting her daughter's nature, Suyuan was not angry at her, and she told Jing-mei to take the piano because she really believed that she had talent.

"Are you sure?" I asked shyly. "I mean, won't you and Dad miss it?"

"No, this your piano," she said firmly. "Always your piano. You only one can play."

"Well, I probably can't play anymore," I said. "It's been years."

"You pick up fast," said my mother, as if she knew this was certain. "You have natural talent. You could been genius if you want to."

"No I couldn't."

"You just not trying," said my mother. And she was neither angry nor sad. She said it as if to announce a fact that could never be disproved. "Take it," she said.

(Tan. 1994 : 143)

Jing-mei also agreed with her mother that she picked up fast, so if she had tried harder, she could have become a good pianist. Jing-mei confessed to herself:

So maybe I never really gave myself a fair chance. I did pick up the basics pretty quickly, and I might have become a good pianist at that young age. But I was so determined not to try, not to be anybody different that I learned to play only the most ear-splitting preludes, the most discordant hymns.

(Tan. 1994 : 137 - 138)

Before she was mature, Jing-mei tried to assert her independence by acting counter to her mother's wishes whenever she had a chance. However, she felt unhappy and guilty deep inside. Chong (1990 : 96) agrees that The Joy Luck Club presents "the imperfect ways in which mothers and daughters love each other."

Even when she was over thirty, she still felt guilty about her lashing out against her mother when she tried to force her to continue her piano lessons after she failed in the talent show. Consequently, she felt that she was forgiven when Suyuan gave her the piano. This was their reconciliation. Jing-mei expressed her feelings as follows:

So she surprised me. A few years ago, she offered to give me the piano, for my thirtieth birthday. I had not played in all those years. I saw the offer as a sign of forgiveness, a tremendous burden removed.

(Tan. 1994 : 143)

The fact that Jing-mei felt that she was forgiven by her mother when she offered her the piano showed that she loved and cared about Suyuan's feelings, or her forgiveness did not mean that much to her. Consequently, in her opinion, the piano that her mother gave her was comparable to a trophy. Jing-mei observed:

But I didn't at first. It was enough that she had offered it to me. And after that, every time I saw it in my parents' living room, standing in front of the bay windows, it made me feel proud, as if it were a shiny trophy I had won back.

(Tan. 1994 : 143)

Another example that showed that Suyuan understood and accepted Jing-mei's nature -- which was different from others, because while others tried to be the best or get the best, Jing-mei wanted to be her own person and get simple things--was the scene in which she told Jing-mei that she knew that Jing-mei would take the worst crab and she was not angry at her for doing so. Jing-mei recalled:

“What if someone else had picked that crab?”

My mother looked at me and smiled. “Only you pick that crab. Nobody else take it. I already know this. Everybody else want best quality. You thinking different.”

(Tan. 1994 : 208)

Moreover, Suyuan was proud of Jing-mei because she was not tricky like Waverly, so to her, Jing-mei was different, and a girl of virtue. This can be seen in the scene in which Jing-mei was worried by Waverly's scornful words and her mother told her that she was worthy, while Waverly was worthless like the crab that died before being cooked, so it was not good for eating. Suyuan observed:

“Tss! Why you listen to her? Why you want to follow behind her, chasing her words? She is like this crab.” My mother poked a shell in the garbage can. “Always walking sideways, moving crooked. You can make your legs go the other way.”

(Tan. 1994 : 208)

That Jing-mei carefully kept Suyuan's belongings well or took them home with her after her death showed that she loved her very much. For example, she kept Suyuan's sweaters, the colors of which she did not like and took home her Chinese dresses which she once had considered funny. She even had the piano tuned.

Last week I sent a tuner over to my parents' apartment and had the piano reconditioned, for purely sentimental reasons. My mother had died a few months before and I had been getting things in

order for my father, a little bit at a time. I put the jewelry in special silk pouches. The sweaters she had knitted in yellow, pink, bright orange--all the colors I hated--I put those in moth-proof boxes. I found some old Chinese silk dresses, the kind with little slit up the sides. I rubbed the old silk against my skin, then wrapped them in tissue and decided to take them home with me.

(Tan. 1994 : 143)

Moreover, the fact that she wanted to learn as much about her mother as possible showed that she loved her very much.

Right after my mother died, I asked myself a lot of things, things that couldn't be answered, to force myself to grieve more. It seems as if I wanted to sustain my grief, to assure myself that I had cared deeply enough.

But now I ask the questions mostly because I want to know the answers. What was that pork stuff she used to make that had the texture of saw dust? What were the names of the uncles who died in Shanghai? What had she dreamt all these years about her other daughters? All the times when she got mad at me, was she really thinking about them? Did she wish I were they? Did she regret that I wasn't.

(Tan. 1994 : 278)

The fact that Jing-mei wore the jade pendant after her mother's death, although before that she kept it in a box because it was not to her taste, and the fact that she decided not to ask her aunts the meaning of the pendant because she was

sure that their answers would not be the same as her mother's, showed that she loved and cared for her mother.

I now wear that pendant every day. I think the carving means something, because shapes and details, which I never seem to notice until after they're pointed out to me, always mean something to Chinese people. I know I could ask Auntie Lindo, Auntie An-mei, or other Chinese friends, but I also know they would tell me a meaning that is different from what my mother intended.

(Tan. 1994 : 197)

After Suyuan's death, Jing-mei got more interested in learning her Chinese heritage while before that, she stuck to American values only. For example, she wanted her father to speak to her in Chinese or she wanted to know the meaning of her name. Before that, she mistook individual habits or things the Chinese, driven by poverty, did for things Chinese, so she refused to identify herself as a Chinese and she was afraid when her mother once told her that she would feel and think Chinese.

"Cannot be helped," my mother said when I was fifteen and had vigorously denied that I had any Chinese whatsoever below my skin. I was a sophomore at Galileo High in San Francisco, and all my Caucasian friends agreed: I was about as Chinese as they were. But my mother had studied at a famous nursing school in Shanghai, and she said she knew all about genetics. So there was no doubt in her mind, whether I agreed or not: Once you are born Chinese, you cannot help but feel and think Chinese.

“Someday you will see,” said my mother. “It is in your blood, waiting to be let go.”

And when she said this, I saw myself transforming like a werewolf, a mutant tag of DNA suddenly triggered, replicating itself insidiously into a syndrome, a cluster of telltale Chinese behaviors, all those things my mother did to embarrass me-- haggling with store owners, pecking her mouth with a toothpick in public, being color-blind to the fact that lemon yellow and pale pink are not good combinations for winter clothes.

(Tan. 1994 : 267)

However, when Jing-mei met her sisters, she realized the Chineseness in her. Apparently, she eventually could identify herself as Chinese. Jing-mei recalled:

My sisters look at me, proudly. “Meimei jandale,” says one sister proudly to the other. “Little Sister has grown up.” I look at their faces again and I see no trace of my mother in them. Yet they still look familiar. And now I also see what part of me is Chinese. It is so obvious. It is my family. It is in our blood. After all these years, it can finally be let go.

(Tan. 1994 : 288)

Apparently, there was reconciliation between Jing-mei and Suyuan and after her death she was genuinely interested in her Chinese heritage.

2. The Relationships between An-mei and Rose

2.1 The Causes of the Conflicts

2.1.1 Feminine Identity

2.1.1.1 Chastity

The book does not indicate that An-mei and Rose had conflicts concerning chastity, but it shows that Rose adopted American individualism by not following the code of chastity of the Chinese. She had dates and lived with Ted, her boyfriend, before their marriage. In fact, she did not have sex with him after they had known each other for a short time, not because she valued the virtue of chastity, but because they lived with their parents, and it was inconvenient for them to have private lives. Rose observed:

Although we had dated only a few times in the last month--and certainly had never slept together, since both of us lived at home-- Ted introduced me to all his relatives as his girlfriend, which, until then, I didn't know I was.

(Tan. 1994 : 117)

In fact, Rose was not sure that she really loved Ted, but when she was under pressure from her mother, who did not want her to marry him because he was not a Chinese, and from his mother, who did not want her son to marry a member of an ethnic group, she believed the feeling was love, so she lived with him to prove that nobody could destroy their love. The fact that Rose violated the code of chastity shows her individualism because sex is individualized in American society. Rose noted:

"What should we do?" I continued to ask him. And within a year of our first meeting we were living together. The month

before Ted started medical school at UCSF we were married in the Episcopal church, and Mrs. Jordan sat in the front pew, crying as was expected of the groom's mother.

(Tan. 1994 : 119)

2.1.1.2 Reticence

The book does not show that An-mei was angry at Rose for arguing with her, because Rose chose to rebel silently by ignoring her mother's words. Rose observed:

I still listened to my mother, but I also learned how to let her words blow through me. And sometimes I filled my mind with other people's thoughts--all in English--so that when she looked at me inside out, she would be confused by what she saw.

(Tan. 1994 : 191)

On the contrary, An-mei wanted Rose to speak up for Rose's own benefit instead of being reticent, because to her, the difference between women in America and women in China was that the former had so many choices they did not have to suffer silently. An-mei complained:

She cried, "No choice! No choice!" She doesn't know. If she doesn't speak, she is making a choice. If she doesn't try, she can lose her chance forever.

I know this, because I was raised the Chinese way: I was taught to desire nothing, to swallow other people's misery, to eat my own bitterness.

(Tan 1994 : 215)

2.1.1.3 Obedience

There were conflicts regarding obedience between An-mei and Rose because while An-mei wanted Rose to obey her, Rose tended to find others' opinions, especially American thoughts, credible. An-mei believed that to obey mothers would benefit daughters because the former would never harm the latter. She learned from her experience in China that maternal love was the greatest because her mother even sacrificed herself to secure her daughter's future by timing her suicide in such a way that her ghost could return to haunt the house on New Year's Day when debts had to be paid or there would be curses on the family. She also learned that she was nearly cheated by Second Wife when she did not listen to her mother's warning that Second Wife did not mean her well. After her mother had proved that the necklace given to her by Second Wife was fake, she realized that no other love was as true as maternal love. Realizing the result of her disobedience to her mother, An-mei wanted Rose to obey her for Rose's sake. Rose recalled:

She said that if I listened to her, later I would know what she knew: where true words came from, always from up high, above everything else. And if I didn't listen to her, she said my ear would bend too easily to other people, all saying words that had no lasting meaning, because they came from the bottom of their hearts, where their own desires lived, a place where I could not belong.

(Tan. 1994 : 185)

An-mei stressed the importance of daughters' obedience to mothers pointing out that to obey mothers would make them strong, while to obey others would be so destructive to them that they would become worthless eventually. Rose stated:

My mother once told me why I was so confused all the time. She said I was without wood. Born without wood so that I listened to too many people. She knew this, because once she had almost become this way.

“A girl is like a young tree,” she said. “You must stand tall and listen to your mother standing next to you. That is the only way to grow strong and straight. But if you listen to other people, you will grow crooked and weak. You will fall to the ground with the first strong wind. And then you will be like a weed, growing wild in any direction, running along the ground until someone pulls you out and throws you away.”

(Tan. 1994 : 191)

The conflicts resulted from the fact that Rose was not willing to follow her mother's words because to her, what she learned from her American school was more credible. Rose observed:

Over the years, I learned to choose from the best opinions. Chinese people had Chinese opinions. American people had American opinions. And in almost every case, the American version was much better.

(Tan. 1994 : 191)

The feeling that she did not want to obey her mother was so strong that she was against her even in her dreams. In one dream her mother had Old Mr. Chou, the guardian of a door that opened into dreams, as her ally, because he wanted her to be obedient to her mother. Rose recalled:

I remember one time I dreamt of falling through a hole in Old Mr. Chou's floor. I found myself in a nighttime garden and Old Mr. Chou was shouting, "Who's in my backyard?" I ran away. Soon I found myself stomping on plants with veins of blood, running through fields of snapdragons that changed colors like stoplights, until I came to a giant playground filled with row after row of square sandboxes. In each sandbox was a new doll. And my mother, who was not there but could see me inside out, told Old Mr. Chou she knew which doll I would pick. So I decided to pick one that was entirely different.

"stop her! Stop her!" cried my mother. As I tried to run away, Old Mr. Chou chased me, shouting, "See what happens when you don't listen to your mother!" And I became paralyzed, too scared to move in any direction.

The next morning, I told my mother what happened, and she laughed and said, "Don't pay attention to Old Mr. Chou. He is only a dream. You only have to listen to me."

(Tan. 1994 : 186)

Ling (1990 : 139) agrees that the daughters in The Joy Luck Club rebel against their mothers openly or secretly even in dreams.

2.1.2 Drives for Achievement

There were no conflicts concerning achievement between An-mei and Rose.

2.1.3 Superstitions

There were no conflicts regarding superstitions between An-mei and Rose. In fact, Rose realized that her mother loved her children, and that she used superstitions

to protect them from danger. An-mei had a Chinese book that said that a child was likely to have a certain danger on a certain day, but since she was not sure that the Chinese birthdates of her children fell on certain American dates, she had to protect them from all danger every day. Rose noted:

My mother had a superstition, in fact, that children were predisposed to certain dangers on certain days, all depending on their Chinese birthdate. It was explained in a little Chinese book called *The Twenty-Six Malignant Gates*. There, on each page, was an illustration of some terrible danger that awaited young innocent children. In the corners was a description written in Chinese, and since I couldn't read the characters, I could only see what the picture meant...

It would have been enough to think that even one of these dangers could befall a child. And even though the birthdates corresponded to only one danger, my mother worried about them all. This was because she couldn't figure out how the Chinese dates, based on the lunar calendar, translated into American dates. So by taking them all into account, she had absolute faith she could prevent every one of them.

(Tan. 1994 : 124)

2.1.4 Food

There were no conflicts regarding food between An-mei and Rose.

2.1.5 Home

There were no conflicts concerning home between An-mei and Rose.

2.1.6 Ethics of Serving Parents

There were no conflicts concerning ethics of serving parents between An-mei and Rose.

2.2 Reconciliation

There was reconciliation between An-mei and Rose when Rose began to realize that what her mother said proved true and drove her to speak up, so she was not taken advantage of by her husband eventually. At first, Rose thought that it was impossible that Ted would leave her and remarry another girl as her mother believed, but later she realized that her mother was right. She also realized that a psychiatrist did not really help her because he would get the benefit from her sorrow and confusion, as her mother told her. Rose recalled:

“A mother is best. A mother knows what is inside you,” she said above the singing voices. “A psyche-atricks will only make you hulihudu, make you see heimongmong.”

Back home, I thought about what she said. And it was true. Lately I had been feeling hulihudu. And everything around me seemed to be heimongmong. These were words I had never thought about in English terms. I suppose the closest in meaning would be “confused” and “dark fog.”

(Tan. 1994 : 188)

Eventually, Rose spoke up for herself as her mother suggested. She even refused to sign divorce papers that let Ted possess the house that they owned together as Ted told her to do, because she remembered her mother's warning that if she listened to others, she would be like worthless weeds that would be got rid of at last. Rose recalled:

Ted pulled out the divorce papers and stared at them. His x's were still there, the blanks were still blank. "What do you think you're doing? Exactly what?" he said.

And the answer, the one that was important above everything else, ran through my body and fell from my lips: "You can't just pull me out of your life and throw me away."

I saw what I wanted: his eyes, confused, then scared. He was hulihudu. The power of my words was that strong.

(Tan. 1994 : 196)

Apparently, Rose was driven by her mother to be strong, so when she finally could speak up for herself, she was sure that her mother would be glad because she did not want her to be taken advantage of. She even dreamt that she, her mother, and Old Mr. Chou met happily. She also realized that she was not ordinary, like weed anymore, but she became strong like a tall tree. Rose said:

That night I dreamt I was wandering through the garden. The trees and bushes were covered with mist. And then I spotted Old Mr. Chou and my mother off in the distance, their busy movements swirling the fog around them. They were bending over one of the planter boxes.

"There she is!" cried my mother. Old Mr. Chou smiled at me and waved. I walked up to my mother and saw that she was hovering over something, as if she were tending a baby.

"See," she said, beaming. "I have just planted them this morning, some for you, some for me."

And below the heimongmong, all along the ground, were weeds

already spilling out over the edges. running wild in every direction.

(Tan. 1994 : 196)

3. The Relationships between Lindo and Waverly

3.1 The Causes of the Conflicts

3.1.1 Feminine Identity

3.1.1.1 Chastity

Chinese patriarchy expects women to be chaste, so they cannot have a sexual relation without marriage. Moreover, since according to Confucianism, violation of what they are expected to do, including the code of chastity, will reflect on their parents. It can be said that sex is not individualized in Chinese society. On the contrary, although America is also a patriarchal society, people of both sexes can have sexual relations within or without marriage, because Americans value individualism, so sex is also individualized (Hsu. 1981 : 59). These contrasting attitudes of the American and the Chinese resulted in conflicts between Lindo and Waverly because Lindo, taught in Chinese ways, wanted her daughter to have the virtue of chastity, but Waverly, adopting American individualism, thought that she was her own person, and could do whatever she wanted to, including having sexual relations before marriage. Lindo was furious when she found out that her teenage daughter had eloped with her boyfriend, Marvin. Waverly told of the experience to her friend, Marlene, who suggested that she elope with her prospective husband, Rich, after she told her friend that her mother never thought that anybody was good enough for anything.

“So elope with the guy,” said Marlene.

“That’s what I did with Marvin.” Marvin was my first husband,
my high school sweetheart.

“So there you go,” said Marlene.

“So when my mother found out, she threw her shoe at us,” I said.
 “And that was just for openers.”

(Tan. 1994 : 167)

Even after she had lived in American until she was old, Lindo never changed her mind about the virtue of chastity, so she was angry to find out that Waverly lived with Rich without being married. However, she tried to calm herself and did not mention it because she thought that it would be futile to chastise her over thirty-year-old Americanized daughter who valued American individualism.

“Aren’t you going to say anything else?”
 “What I should say?”
 “About the apartment? About this?” I gestured to all the signs of Rich lying about.

She looked around the room, toward the hall, and finally she said,
 “You have career. You are busy. You want to live like mess. What I can say?”

(Tan. 1994 : 169)

It is clear that their different viewpoints about chastity resulted from their being brought up in different cultures.

3.1.1.2 Reticence

Since according to Confucian filial piety, both boys and girls have to obey their parents, they have to point out to them gently if they disagree with their parents. To argue with or to scold or to tell their parents to shut up is forbidden and

considered unfilial. If they still cannot change their parents' ideas, they have to keep silent and find another chance to explain their viewpoint to them (Smith. 1900 : 171). However, since Chinese society is patriarchal, girls are expected to be reticent, so it is more difficult for them to express themselves. Brought up in Chinese ways, Lindo wanted Waverly to be reticent as a filial child and was angry at her for contradicting her. Lindo complained:

“What are you talking about?” she asked. My daughter likes to speak back. She likes to question what I say.”

(Tan. 1994 : 253)

In fact, Lindo wanted Waverly to be reticent not because she wanted her to suffer silently as a girl in Chinese patriarchal society must, but because she wanted her to be good to their parents as a filial child was supposed to, and because she thought that reticence would be advantageous for her daughter. Lindo got the idea that reticence was powerful from realizing that the wind could not be seen, and it was so powerful that it could influence the environment, and men, without their noticing its existence. Lindo recalled:

I asked myself, What is true about a person? Would I change in the same way the river changes color but still be the same person? And then I saw the curtains blowing wildly, and outside rain was falling harder, causing everyone to scurry and shout. I smiled. And then I realized it was the first time I could see the power of the wind. I couldn't see the wind itself, but I could see it carried the water that filled the rivers and shaped the countryside. It caused men to yelp and dance.

(Tan. 1994 : 58)

Lindo learned to act like the wind by pretending that she was sad to leave the Huang family for its benefits. She was powerful like the wind because by doing so the family did not realize that she tried to liberate herself. Consequently, she used her successful experience of acting like the wind to teach Waverly to be reticent and comply, so that her daughter would win, or control a situation at last. She compared the North wind to powerful persons who could be defeated not by being against them directly, but by reticence, and complying first, in order to find their weak points and control them. Waverly noted:

“Bite back your tongue,” scolded my mother when I cried loudly, yanking her hand toward the store that sold bags of salted plums. At home, she said, “Wise guy, he not go against wind. In Chinese we say, Come from South, blow with wind--poom!--North will follow. Strongest wind cannot be seen.”

(Tan. 1994 : 89)

Ling also agrees that Lindo wanted Waverly to have the virtue of reticence and complying, comparing their power to South wind. Ling notes:

In other words, victory over hostile forces (the cold North wind) may be achieved not through direct confrontation but by apparent accommodation and giving in (warm South wind). A simple maneuver in Chinese martial arts illustrates this principle well. If someone of greater weight pushes against you, attempting to knock you over, instead of pushing back you simply step backward, and your opponent, expecting resistance, will be knocked off balance by the force of his own thrust.

(Ling. 1990 : 132)

Lindo wanted Waverly to get the benefits of rights and opportunities that American society provided and also from Chinese characters like reticence that she considered as powerful as the wind which could not be seen. Lindo stated:

It's my fault she is this way. I wanted my children to have the best combination: American circumstances and Chinese character. How could I know these two things do not mix?

I taught her how American circumstances work. If you are born poor here, it's no lasting shame. You are first in line for a scholarship. If the roof crashes on your head, no need to cry over this bad luck. You can sue anybody, make the landlord fix it. You do not have to sit like a Buddha under a tree letting pigeons drop their dirty business on your head. You can buy an umbrella. Or go inside a Catholic church. In America, nobody says you have to keep the circumstances somebody else gives you.

She learned these things, but I couldn't teach her about Chinese character. ---How not to show your own thoughts, to put your feelings behind your face so you can take advantage of hidden opportunities. Why easy things are not worth pursuing. ---Why Chinese thinking is best.

(Tan. 1994 : 254)

Since Chinese children are expected to respect their parents, they cannot hate them or be angry at them. If they have such feelings, they have to get rid of them or repress them, or they will be viewed as unfilial. Consequently, when Waverly showed her anger by scolding her mother because she thought that she intended to

use her to show off, Lindo was furious and regarded her as an unfilial daughter and ignored her. Waverly recalled:

Standing there waiting for my punishment, I heard my mother speak in a dry voice.

“We not concerning this girl. This girl not have concerning for us.”

(Tan. 1994 : 100)

Waverly also recalled:

That evening and the next day she wouldn't speak to me. She would say stiff words to my father and brothers, as if I had become invisible and she was talking about a rotten fish she had thrown away but which had left behind its bad smell.

(Tan. 1994 : 170)

In their relationships, Lindo was always angry when Waverly was not reticent and always argumentative, while Waverly felt uneasy because she realized that although she was annoyed by her mother's criticism, she could not tell her to shut up as her American friend suggested she do. Thus, it can be said that although she adopted American individualism, she was also influenced by Confucian filial piety.

“You know, I really don't understand you,” said Marlene when I called her the night after I had shown my mother the mink jacket. “You can tell the IRS to piss up a rope, but you can't stand up to your own mother.”

“I always intend to and then she says these little sneaky things,

smoke bombs and little barbs, and..."

"Why don't you tell her to stop torturing you," said Marlene. "Tell her to stop ruining your life. Tell her to shut up."

"That's hilarious," I said with a half-laugh. "You want me to tell my mother to shut up?"

"Sure, why not?"

"Well, I don't know if it's explicitly stated in the law, but you can't ever tell a Chinese mother to shut up. You could be charged as an accessory to your own murder."

(Tan. 1994: 173)

3.1.1.3 Obedience

In China, Lindo was taught to be obedient to her parents and she was. For example, told by her mother to marry the son of the Huangs and to obey her mother-in-law and her husband, she followed her because her disobedience would reflect on her parents, but she found her way out of marriage without bringing shame to them. Raised in Chinese ways, Lindo also expected Waverly to be obedient to her. However, she never said that she wanted her to have the virtue of obedience so that she would be an obedient wife or daughter-in-law. She wanted her daughter to obey her because a filial child was expected to and because she thought that she loved her and knew what was best, so, if Waverly followed her advice, she would be successful. Furthermore, she believed that reticence and complying were powerful like the wind and would be advantageous to Waverly, eventually.

The conflicts were caused by the fact that Waverly did not obey her because she studied in an American school where she began to learn American values and accept American norms that were drastically different from Chinese ones. For example, while Americans value individualism, the Chinese value social relationships

and ethical responsibilities that are expected from relationships, especially filial piety. While Americans adore science and rationality, the Chinese stick to superstitions. Lindo also realized that American ways had changed her daughter. Lindo complained:

And I know it is too late. All those years I tried to teach
her! She followed my Chinese ways only until she learned how
to walk out the door by herself and go to school.

(Tan. 1994 : 253)

The reasons why Waverly did not obey her mother were that she found that her mother's words, which echoed her Chinese beliefs, were ridiculous and irrational. When she was told to do anything contrary to what she believed, Waverly did not listen to her mother, so she was considered disobedient. Lindo complained about Waverly's disobedience:

"Finish your coffee," I told her yesterday. "Don't throw your
blessings away."

"Don't be so old-fashioned, Ma," she told me, finishing her coffee
down the sink. "I'm my own person."

And I think, How can she be her own person? When did I give
her up?

(Tan. 1994 : 254)

3.1.2 Drives for Achievement

Facing hardship in China, Lindo was eager to come to America. She prepared herself by having an American-raised Chinese girl in Peking teach her to answer the questions of the American immigration officials and about American things. She

came to America with hope and since she was strong and ambitious, she also wanted Waverly to achieve. In fact, at first there were no conflicts regarding drives for achievement between them because Waverly was also ambitious and was good enough to become a chess champion. However, Waverly's achievement caused conflicts between them eventually because Waverly thought that her mother wanted to take the credit. The fact that Lindo did not know how to play chess, but always told others that playing chess was easy made Waverly angry because she thought that her mother would take the credit of her being a chess champion. Shear (1993 : 198) also states, "Waverly feels that her mother leeches off her chess achievements with an appropriating pride..." Jing-mei recalled:

"I told my daughter, Use your horses to run over the enemy," she informed one shopkeeper. "She won very quickly this way." And of course, she had said this before the game--that and a hundred other useless things that had nothing to do with my winning.

To our family friends who visited she would confide, "You don't have to be so smart to win chess. It is just tricks. You blow from the North, South, East, and West. The other person becomes confused. They don't know which way to run."

(Tan. 1994 : 170)

In fact, the conflicts regarding achievement between Lindo and Waverly resulted from their different cultures. Chinese parents can be well-known through their children's success because according to Confucian filial piety, children have to make themselves successful so that their parents will also be respected while their bad behavior can also reflect on their parents. It can be said that to the Chinese, success is not individualized. Americans do not have this concept. Williams, a

sociologist finds that the Americans value individualism and self-reliance, so when they succeed, they take credit as individual (Coklin. 1987 : 65). While Waverly, adopting individualism, thought that her success depended on her own ability, so she could take credit as an individual, Lindo thought that her daughter's success meant the name of the family and she could gain face. Being proud of Waverly, Lindo took her to the market and told those she met that Waverly was her daughter. This made Waverly angry and she scolded her mother because Waverly thought that the success was hers, and that if Lindo wanted to gain face, she had to be successful herself. Waverly recalled:

I had to accompany my mother on Saturday market days when I had no tournament to play. My mother would proudly walk with me, visiting many shops, buying very little. "This my daughter Wave-ly Jong," she said to whoever looked her way.

One day, after we left a shop I said under my breath, "I wish you wouldn't do that, telling everybody I'm your daughter." My mother stopped walking. Crowds of people with heavy bags pushed past us on the side walk, bumping in to first one shoulder, then another.

"Aiii-ya. So shame be with mother?" She grasped my hand even tighter as she glared at me.

I looked down. "It's not that, it's just so obvious. It's just so embarrassing"

"Embarrass you be my daughter?" her voice was cracking with anger.

"That's not what I meant. That's not what I said."

"What you say?"

I knew it was a mistake to say anything more, but I heard

my vice speaking. "Why do you have to use me to show off?
If you want to show off, then why don't you learn to play chess?"

My mother's eyes turned into dangerous black slits. She
had no words for me, just sharp silence.

(Tan. 1994 : 99)

Waverly was irritated by Lindo not only because she believed that her mother wanted to take credit for her being a champion but also because she bothered Waverly while she was practicing playing chess by exclaiming when she saw that she did it well. It is clear that Lindo's pride in her daughter's achievement and Waverly's individualism resulted in the conflicts between them. Privacy is important in American individualized society. Hsu (1981 : 78) states, "Space and possessions are individualized. Parents have little liberty in the rooms of the children." On the contrary, the Chinese enjoy social relationships between kin and clans, so privacy is not valued in their society. Children's privacy is even out of the question because Chinese parents have authority over their children, and they can do anything with their children without asking for their permission and the children have no right to say anything that will hurt their parents' feelings. Consequently, as a Chinese child, Waverly should not tell Lindo to stop bothering her, but she did because she thought that she was her own person and that she had a right to have privacy. Lindo was exasperated because from her traditional viewpoint, her daughter's behavior showed lack of respect. Waverly recalled:

But I found it difficult to concentrate at home. My mother
had a habit of standing over me while I plotted out my games.
I think she thought of herself as my protective ally. Her lips
would be sealed tight, and after each move I made, a soft
"Hmmpmph" would escape from her nose.

“Ma, I can’t practice when you stand there like that,” I said one day. She retreated to the kitchen and made loud noises with the pots and pans. When the crashing stopped, I could see out of the corner of my eye that she was standing in the doorway. “Hmmmph!” Only this one came out of her tight throat.

(Tan. 1994 : 98)

The fact that Waverly stopped playing chess when she was angry at her irritated Lindo because, to her, a child had no right to feel angry at her own mother. She wanted Waverly to be more concerned with her achievement because her habit of playing and stopping when she wanted to give Lindo the impression that what Waverly was concerned with in deciding whether she would play chess or not, was her own pleasure, not her achievement. She wanted Waverly to set her heart on achievement instead of listening to her own mind. Waverly’s individualism in this case was against Confucian filial piety requiring that children make themselves successful and famous so that their parents will also be well-known. Waverly recalled:

“I am ready to play chess again,” I announced to her. I had imagined she would smile and then ask me what special thing I wanted to eat.

But instead, she gathered her face into a frown and stared into my eyes, as if she could force some kind of truth out of me.

“Why do you tell me this?” she finally said in sharp tones. “You think it is so easy. One day quit, next day play. Everything for you is this way. So smart, so easy, so fast.”

(Tan. 1994 : 171)

Although Waverly was successful enough to become an attorney, she was always criticized by Lindo, and this upset her. Lindo did so because she was ambitious, and nothing seemed to be good enough to satisfy her. Because she loved her daughter, she wanted her to do the best she could, mostly, for Waverly's own sake. Waverly said to Marlene, her friend, about her mother:

"You don't know my mother," I said. "She never thinks anybody is good enough for anything."

(Tan. 1994 : 167)

Lindo loved her daughter and believed that as a girl, Waverly was not worthless, and since there were many opportunities in America, she wanted Waverly to do the very best she could. Lindo complained:

She learned these things, but I couldn't teach her about Chinese character. ---How to know your own worth and polish it, never flashing it around like a cheap ring. Why Chinese thinking is best.

(Tan. 1994 : 254)

3.1.3 Superstitions

Superstitions also resulted in conflicts between Lindo and Waverly. Educated in an American school, Waverly viewed her mother's superstitions as outdated, and she ignored those warnings that her belief originated in superstition. Waverly's doing so made Lindo angry because, to her, a filial child had to obey her parents. Warned by Lindo not to throw her coffee away because to do so was to throw her blessing away, Waverly did the opposite in front of her. Lindo complained:

“Finish your coffee,” I told her yesterday. “Don’t throw your blessing away.”

“Don’t be so old-fashioned, Ma,” she told me, finishing her coffee down the sink. “I’m my own person.”

And I think, How can she be her own person? When did I give her up?

(Tan. 1994 : 254)

3.1.4 Food

The book does not indicate that Waverly had conflicts with her mother regarding food, but it shows that she realized that some organs of animals that the Chinese in her community enjoyed eating were disgusting to people outside Chinatown. Waverly mentioned them to irritate a tourist so that she would have fun by being chased. Waverly recalled:

Tourists never went to Hong Sing’s, since the menu was printed only in Chinese. A Caucasian man with a big camera once posed me and my playmates in front of the restaurant. He had us move to the side of the picture window so the photo would capture the roasted duck with its head dangling from a juice-covered rope. After he took the picture, I told him he should go into Hong Sing’s and eat dinner. When he smiled and asked me what they served, I shouted, “Guts and duck’s feet and octopus gizzards!” Then I ran off with my friends, shrieking with laughter as we scampered across the alley and hid in the entryway grotto of the China Gem Company, my heart pounding with hope that he would chase us.

(Tan. 1994 : 91)

3.1.5 Home

Waverly did not have conflicts with Lindo concerning home because Lindo never told her daughter to regard Taiyuan, her hometown in China, as home. Nevertheless, Lindo's patriotism made her angry when she learned that Waverly thought that her home was Taiwan because to Lindo, Taiwan was not China. To say that she was from Taiwan was like an insult. Waverly was also upset because she did not understand why such a slight mistake as to confuse Taiyuan and Taiwan could irritate her mother so much.

"This is true, we always know how to win. So now you know what is inside you, almost all good stuff from Taiyuan."

"I guess we've evolved to just winning in the toy and electronics market," I said.

"How do you know this?" she asked eagerly.

"You see it on everything. Made in Taiwan."

"Ai!" she cried loudly. "I'm not from Taiwan!"

And just like that, the fragile connection we were starting to build snapped.

"I was born in China, in Taiyuan," she said. "Taiwan is not China."

"Well, I only thought you said 'Taiwan' because it sounds the same," I argued, irritated that she was upset by such an unintentional mistake.

"Sound is completely different! Country is completely different!" she said in a huff. "People there only dream that it is China, because if you are Chinese you can never let go of China in your mind."

(Tan. 1994 : 182 - 183)

The conflict was caused by the fact that Lindo had a sentimental attachment to China because it was her homeland, but she did not realize that China might be beyond the knowledge of those who were not born in China, and the fact that Waverly did not realize that Taiyuan and Taiwan meant so much difference to her mother. Ling also has a similar idea, concluding:

This tragic-comic incident perfectly exemplifies the mother-daughter gulf, for the mother cannot understand how a daughter of hers could be so ignorant as to confuse Taiwan and Taiyuan while the daughter cannot understand why the mother is in a passion over such an inadvertent, minor slip. Clearly, they share neither the same realm of experience and knowledge nor the same priorities. Their differences, however, are not marked by a slip of the tongue or even the generation gap, but by a deep cultural and geographical chasm.

(Ling, 1990 : 134)

3.1.6 Ethics of Serving Parents

Ethics of serving parents also caused conflicts between Lindo and Waverly. According to Confucian filial piety, children, even at their own cost, have to satisfy their parents' wishes and pay attention to their health and safety. To the Chinese, parents come first and nothing is too difficult in the service of the elders, especially their parents (Hsu, 1981 : 81). Raised in Chinese ways, Lindo adopted the ethics of serving parents. She even sacrificed herself by marrying the son of the Huangs in spite of realizing that he was spoiled. If she had refused to do so, her family would have been in trouble. Lindo wanted Waverly to devote herself to her more. She was annoyed when Waverly told her that she could not visit her as she had promised because something else happened. Waverly, an individualist, thought that she would

do what she liked while Lindo wanted her to make greater efforts to satisfy her. Lindo believed that individualistic Americans always broke their promises easily while the Chinese tried to keep them even at the expense of themselves. Since Lindo and Waverly had different values, they felt uneasy in their relationship. Lindo complained:

I once sacrificed my life to keep my parents' promise. This means nothing to you, because to you promises mean nothing. . . . A daughter can promise to come to dinner, but if she has a headache, if she has a traffic jam, if she wants to watch a favorite movie on TV, she no longer has a promise.

I watched this same movie when you did not come. The American soldier promises to come back and marry the girl. She is crying with a genuine feeling and he says, "Promise! Honey-sweetheart, my promise is as good as gold." Then he pushes her onto the bed. But he doesn't come back. His gold is like yours, it is only fourteen carats.

To Chinese people, fourteen carats isn't real gold. Feel my bracelets. They must be twenty-four carats, pure inside and out.

(Tan. 1994 : 49)

In fact, Waverly also cared for Lindo and wanted to please her. For example, she took her to eat out in a Chinese restaurant. However, her serving her mother on the basis of individualism could not reach the expectations of Lindo, who expected Confucian filial piety.

The main reason why Waverly did not want to be near Lindo was that she was always irritated by her criticism. Sometimes, Lindo's habit of criticizing things

embarrassed Waverly. For example, she criticized the food and the service of a restaurant in public. Waverly said:

She wore her tight-lipped, pinched-nose look as she scanned the menu, muttering, "Not too many good things, this menu." Then she tapped the waiter's arm, wiped the length of her chopsticks with her finger, and sniffed: "This greasy thing, do you expect me to eat with it?" She made a show of washing out her rice bowl with hot tea, and then warned other restaurant patrons seated near us to do the same. She told the waiter to make sure the soup was very hot, and of course, it was by her tongue's expert estimate "not even lukewarm."

(Tan. 1994 : 166)

Waverly did not want to hear Lindo's criticisms because they influenced her too much, but Lindo thought that Waverly did not pay attention to her mother's words. For example, her criticisms made her change her attitude toward her first husband, Marvin. Waverly observed:

This happened to my first marriage, to Marvin Chen, with whom I had eloped when I was eighteen and he was nineteen. When I was in love with Marvin, he was nearly perfect. He graduated third in his class at Lowell and got a full scholarship to Stanford. He played tennis. He had bulging calf muscles and one hundred forty-six straight black hairs on his chest. He made everyone laugh and his own laugh was deep, sonorous, masculinely sexy. He prided himself on having favorite love positions for different days and hours of the week; all he had

to whisper was “Wednesday afternoon” and I’d shiver.

But by the time my mother had had her say about him, I saw his brain had shrunk from laziness, so that now it was good only for thinking up excuses. He chased golf and tennis balls to run away from family responsibilities. His eye wandered up and down other girls’ legs, so that he didn’t know how to drive straight home anymore. He liked to tell big jokes to make other people feel little. He made a loud show of leaving ten-dollar tips to strangers but was stingy with presents to family. He thought waxing his red sports car all afternoon was more important than taking his wife somewhere in it.

(Tan. 1994 : 174)

Waverly also thought that she and her mother were drastically different because while Lindo had the habit of criticizing things, Waverly was sensitive to her words. When she was near her mother, there were conflicts between them. Waverly concluded:

And she was right. Despite all the tension she places on herself--and others--the doctors have proclaimed that my mother, at age sixty-nine, has the blood pressure of a sixteen-year-old and the strength of a horse. And that’s what she is. A horse born in 1918, destined to be obstinate and frank to the point of tactlessness. She and I make a bad combination, because I’m a Rabbit, born in 1951, supposedly sensitive, with tendencies toward being thin-skinned and skittery at the first

sign of criticism.

(Tan. 1994 : 167)

In fact, Lindo criticized Waverly and her belongings because she loved her and wanted her to get the best, but Waverly thought that she intended to belittle her. For example, Lindo criticized the mink jacket that Rich gave her daughter because she believed that the poor quality of the gift showed how much he loved her. Since in her eyes it was not good enough, she wondered if he really loved her, while Waverly thought that her mother did not mean her boyfriend well.

“This is not so good,” she said at last. “It is just left over strips. And the fur is too short, no longer hairs.”

“How can you criticize a gift!” I protested. I was deeply wounded. “He gave me this from his heart.”

“That is why I worry,” she said.

(Tan. 1994 : 169)

3.2 Reconciliation

There was reconciliation between Lindo and Waverly at last. In fact, at first Waverly decided to scold her mother to protect Rich from being criticized by her but when she saw her lying powerless, she realized that she was not as frightening as she had thought. Her fear that her mother would manipulate her or shape her identity disappeared and she became reconciled with her. She also realized that her mother wanted to be part of her life. Waverly observed:

And really, I did understand finally. Not what she had just said. But what had been true all along.

I saw what I had been fighting for. It was for me, a scared

child, who had run away a long time ago to what I had imagined was a safer place. And hiding in this place, behind my invisible barriers, I knew what lay on the other side: Her side attacks. Her secret weapons. Her uncanny ability to find my weakest spots. But in the brief instant that I had peered over the barriers I could finally see what was really there: an old woman, a wok for her armor, a knitting needle for her sword, getting a little crabby as she waited patiently for her daughter to invite her in.

(Tan. 1994 : 183 - 184)

With the realization that her mother was old and wanted to be part of her life, Waverly even let Lindo go to China with her and Rich during their honeymoon in an effort to forget their difference.

“You must go in October. That is the best time. Not too hot, not too cold. I am thinking of going back then too,” she says authoritatively. And then she hastily adds: “Of course not with you!”

I laugh nervously, and Rich jokes: “That’d be great, Lindo. You could translate all the menus for us, make sure we’re not eating snakes or dogs by mistake.” I almost kick him.

“No, this is not my meaning,” insists my mother. “Really, I am not asking.”

And I know what she really means. She would love to go to China with us. And I would hate it. Three weeks’ worth of her complaining about dirty chopsticks and cold soup, three meals a day--well, it would be a disaster.

Yet part of me also thinks the whole idea makes perfect sense. The three of us. Leaving our differences behind, stepping on the plane together, sitting side by side, lifting off, moving West to reach the East.

(Tan. 1994 : 184)

There was reconciliation between Lindo and Waverly eventually, but before this, Lindo always believed that Waverly was not proud of her, due to her Chineseness. Lindo complained:

My daughter is getting married a second time. So she asked me to go to her beauty parlor, her famous Mr. Rory. I know her meaning. She is ashamed of my looks. What will her husband's parents and his important lawyer friends think of this backward old Chinese woman?

(Tan. 1994 : 254 - 255)

In China, although she had to marry the son of the Huangs as her mother told her, Lindo was not angry because she loved and understood her mother. Lindo believed that her mother had to prevent herself from thinking that her daughter still belonged to her. Lindo observed:

Because I was promised to the Huangs' son for marriage, my own family began treating me as if I belonged to somebody else. My mother would say to me when the rice bowl went up to my face too many times, "Look how much Huang Taitai's daughter can eat."

My mother did not treat me this way because she didn't love

me. She would say this biting back her tongue, so she wouldn't wish for nothing that was no longer hers.

(Tan. 1994 : 51)

Ling agrees that Tan shows sympathy for her mother, explaining the reasons why her mother seemed to reject her daughter. Ling points out:

Seeking the motivation behind a hurtful remark-- "Look how much Huang Taitai's daughter can eat"--leads Tan to an understanding of, and sympathy for, her mother whose seeming rejection is but a self-defensive mask for her own vulnerability and love. The conventional words are not spoken with glibness and hostility but with difficulty, as bitter pills the mother herself must swallow and learn to like the taste of.

(Ling. 1990 : 136)

Since Lindo loved and understood her own mother and she also loved and was proud of Waverly, she was hurt by her belief that her daughter was not proud of her. Lindo observed:

I smile. I use my American face. That's the face Americans think is Chinese, the one they cannot understand. But inside I am becoming ashamed. I am ashamed she is ashamed. Because she is my daughter and I am proud of her, and I am her mother but she is not proud of me.

(Tan. 1994 : 255)

However, the fact that Waverly began to accept their differences and Lindo was invited to join her and Rich on the trip to China during their honeymoon promised a good relationship. Waverly's planning to visit China indicated that she may be interested in her Chinese heritage, while when she was young she rejected things Chinese, including her Chinese features. Lindo stated:

My daughter did not look pleased when I told her this, that she didn't look Chinese. She had a sour American look on her face. Oh, maybe ten years ago, she would have clapped her hands-hurray!-as if this were good news. But now she wants to be Chinese, it is so fashionable.

(Tan. 1994 : 253)

4. The Relationships between Ying-ying and Lena

4.1 The Causes of the Conflicts

4.1.1 Feminine Identity

4.1.1.1 Chastity

The book does not indicate that Lena and Ying-ying had conflicts regarding chastity, but certainly Lena did not follow the Chinese code of chastity, because she had sexual relations with Harold, her boyfriend, before their marriage. It can be said that she valued individualism since sex is also individualized in American society, while to the Chinese, violating the code of chastity can reflect on one's parents. Lena recalled:

"Lena, you're really extraordinary," Harold said after six months of dinners, five months of post-prandial lovemaking, and one week of timid and silly love confessions. We were lying in bed, between new purple sheets I had just bought for him. His

old set of white sheets were stained in revealing places, not very romantic.

(Tan. 1994 : 155)

4.1.1.2 Reticence

There were conflicts regarding reticence between Ying-ying and Lena because Ying-ying wanted Lena to listen to her silently instead of asking for reasons. Since her ex-husband in China left her for another girl, and she finally decided to kill her unborn child, Ying-ying was afraid that, like her, her daughter would be fooled by men, and she warned her not to go out of the way between her house and school. She was upset when Lena asked her why. Lena recalled:

“You must not walk in any direction but to school and back home,” warned my mother when she decided I was old enough to walk by myself.

“Why?” I asked.

“You can’t understand these things,” she said.

“Why not?”

“Because I haven’t put it in your mind yet.”

“Why not?”

“Aii-ya! Such questions! Because it is too terrible to consider.

A man can grab you off the streets, sell you to someone else, make you have a baby. Then you’ll kill the baby. And when they find this baby in a garbage can, then what can be done? You’ll go to jail, die there.”

(Tan. 1994 : 106)

4.1.2 Drives for Achievement

Ying-ying and Lena did not argue about achievement because when Lena was young, Ying-ying was saddened by her own past, and was lifeless and not ambitious enough to manipulate her daughter. However, as time passed by, Ying-ying was upset to see that Lena had no chi, but she did not show her disappointment. Shear gives the meaning of chi as follows:

The chi that she refers to may be impossible to render wholly into English, but it involves a fundamental self-respect, a desire to excel, a willingness to stand up for one's self and one's family, to demonstrate something to others.

(Shear. 1993 : 197)

Ying-ying did not show her anger to her daughter because she blamed herself for Lena's having no chi. She believed that she was filled with sorrow after being left by her husband and had become a ghost eventually, so Lena was the daughter of a ghost (1990 : 135) states, "Ying-ying St. Clair, emotionally drained by the cruelty of a philandering husband, allows herself to be turned into "a tiger ghost." Consequently, Ying-ying decided to help her daughter by giving her tiger spirit to Lena so that her daughter would live a meaningful life." Ying-ying observed:

Now Saint is a ghost. He and I can now love equally. He knows the things I have been hiding all these years. Now I must tell my daughter everything. That she is the daughter of a ghost. She has no chi. This is my greatest shame. How can I leave this world without leaving her my spirit?

So this is what I will do. I will gather my past and look. I will see a thing that has already happened. The pain that cut

my spirit loose. I will hold that pain in my hand until it becomes hard and shiny, more clear. And then my fierceness can come back, my golden side, my black side. I will use this sharp pain to penetrate my daughter's tough skin and cut her tiger spirit loose. She will fight me, because this is the way a mother loves her daughter.

(Tan. 1994 : 254)

4.1.1.3 Superstitions

There were no conflicts regarding superstitions between Ying-ying and Lena, but Ying-ying's superstitions made young Lena anxious. Ying-ying believed that the imbalance in feng shui (風水) (wind and water) in her house could cause disaster to her family, and she arranged her house again and again. Her doing so made Lena worried that bad things would happen to her family. Lena recalled:

And the next day, when I came home from school, I saw she had again rearranged everything. Everything was in a different place. I could see that some terrible danger lay ahead. "Why are you doing this?" I asked her, afraid she would give me a true answer. But she whispered some Chinese nonsense instead: "When something goes against your nature, you are not in balance. This house was build too steep, and a bad wind from the top blows all your strength back down the hill. So you can never get ahead. You are always rolling backward."

(Tan. 1994 : 108 - 109)

Young Lena was influenced by Ying-ying's superstitions and she was worried that what her mother told her would come true. Ying-ying told her that her future

husband would have a pit in his cheeks for every rice grain she left in her bowl and she also told her that she once knew a bad man with pock marks. As a result, Lena was afraid that Arnold, who always hurt her by shooting rubber bands at her legs and who damaged her doll, would be her future husband because his face was not smooth. When she learned from a film that people in Africa and India who suffered leprosy had pits and pustules on their faces, she left more food so that Arnold would have more pits and die. Lena noted:

After seeing this film, I did a terrible thing. I saw what I had to do so I would not have to marry Arnold. I began to leave more rice in my bowl. And then I extended my prodigal ways beyond Chinese food. I did not finish my creamed corn, broccoli, Rice Krispies, or peanut butter sandwiches. And once, when I bit into a candy bar and saw how lumpy it was, how full of secret dark spots and creamy goo, I sacrificed that as well.

(Tan. 1994 : 153)

Lena was shocked to realize that her mother believed that she was the cause of Arnold's death because she did not finish her food. In fact, later, Lena was on a diet to look slim like many teenagers who were always worried about their appearance and weight. Lena recalled:

"This is shame," said my mother, looking at me. "This is terrible shame." And I thought she could see through me and that she knew I was the one who had caused Arnold to die. I was terrified.

(Tan. 1994 : 154)

Lena then was influenced by her mother, so she also felt guilty about Arnold's death. As a result, she tried to eat as much as possible and was sick eventually. Lena recalled:

And I thought she could see through me and that she knew I was the one who had caused Arnold to die. I was terrified. That night, in my room, I gorged myself. I had stolen a half-gallon of strawberry ice cream from the freezer, and I forced spoonful after spoonful down my throat. And later, for several hours after that, I sat hunched on the fire escape landing outside my bedroom, retching back into the ice cream container. And I remember wondering why it was that eating something good could make me feel so terrible, while vomiting something terrible could make me feel so good.

(Tan. 1994 : 154)

Young Lena was indeed worried and scared by Ying-ying's superstitions.

4.1.4 Food

There were no conflicts concerning food between Ying-ying and Lena.

4.1.5 Home

There were no conflicts regarding home between Ying-ying and Lena.

4.1.6 Ethics of Serving Parents

Ying-ying was upset to see that Lena always enjoyed herself instead of paying more attention to her as a filial child should do because according to Confucian filial piety, parents come first. Ying-ying complained:

For all these years I kept my mouth closed so selfish desires would not fall out. And because I remained quiet for so long now my daughter does not hear me. She sits by her fancy swimming pool and hears only her Sony Walkman, her cordless phone, her big, important husband asking her why they have charcoal and no lighter fluid.

All these years I kept my true nature hidden, running along like a small shadow so nobody could catch me. And because I moved so secretly now my daughter does not see me. She sees a list of things to buy, her checkbook out of balance, her ashtray sitting crooked on a straight table.

(Tan. 1994 : 67)

The Chinese are always worried about gaining face and losing face; if they are visited, they have to welcome their guests as best as they can, let alone when they are visited by their parents, since according to Confucian filial piety, parents come first. Raised in Chinese ways, Ying-ying was not pleased with her daughter providing her the tiniest room, but she tried to calm herself because she realized that her Americanized daughter would not understand Chinese ways. Ying-ying recalled:

My daughter has put me in the tiniest of rooms in her new house.

"This is the guest bedroom," Lena said in her proud American way. I smiled. But to Chinese ways of thinking, the guest bedroom is the best bedroom, where she and her husband sleep. I do not tell her this. Her wisdom is like a bottomless pond. You throw stones in and they sink into the darkness and dissolve. Her eyes looking back do not reflect anything.

I think this to myself even though I love my daughter. She and I have shared the same body. There is a part of her mind that is part of mine. But when she was born, she sprang from me like a slippery fish, and has been swimming away ever since. All her life, I have watched her as though from another shore. And now I must tell her everything about my past. It is the only way to penetrate her skin and pull her to where she can be saved.

(Tan. 1994 : 242)

Since children have to serve their parents well, they cannot even laugh at their wrongdoing because to do so would be considered unfilial. Ying-ying was upset to see that Lena laughed when she mispronounced the word “architect.” Ying-ying recalled:

“Arty-tecky,” I once pronounced it to my sister-in-law.

My daughter had laughed when she heard this. When she was a child, I should have slapped her more often for disrespect. But now it is too late. Now she and her husband give me money to add to my so-so security. So the burning feeling I have in my hand sometimes, I must pull it back into my heart and keep it inside.

(Tan. 1994 : 243)

4.2 Reconciliation

There was reconciliation between Ying-ying and Lena eventually when Lena was driven by her mother to speak up. Before that, she had not fought for herself but had shared expenses equally, although her salary was much smaller than that of her husband and had shared the cost of ice cream which she did not eat. Seeing that her mother began to speak up for her, Lena began to rebel against her husband.

Because Ying-ying loved her daughter, she could not bear to see Lena, having no chi in her eyes, let Harold take advantage of her. Lena recalled:

“Who’s ready for dessert?” he asks, reaching into the freezer.

“I’m full,” I say.

“Lena cannot eat ice cream,” says my mother.

“So it seems. She’s always on a diet.”

“No, she never eat it. She doesn’t like.”

And now Harold smiles and looks at me puzzled, expecting me to translate what my mother has said.

“It’s true,” I say evenly. “I’ve hated ice cream almost all my life.”

Harold looks at me, as if I, too, were speaking Chinese and he could not understand.

“I guess I assumed you were just trying to lose weight-- Oh well.”

“She become so thin now you cannot see her,” says my mother. “She like a ghost, disappear.”

(Tan. 1994 : 163)

The main reason that Lena yielded to Harold was that she felt that he was too good for her. She did not take into consideration the fact that while she was not very beautiful, he was not very handsome and that she was the one who had encouraged him to start his own business. Moreover, later, he used her ideas to make it prosperous. Lena recalled:

Now that I’m angry at Harold, it’s hard to remember what was so remarkable about him. And I know they’re there, the

good qualities, because I wasn't that stupid to fall in love with him, to marry him. All I can remember is how awfully lucky I felt, and consequently how worried I was that all this undeserved good fortune would someday slip away. When I fantasized about moving in with him, I also dredged up my deepest fears: that he would tell me I smelled bad, that I had terrible bathroom habits, that my taste in music and television was appalling. I worried that Harold would someday get a new prescription for his glasses and he'd put them on one morning, look me up and down, and say, "Why, gosh, you aren't the girl I thought you were, are you?"

And I think that feeling of fear never left me, that I would be caught someday, exposed as a sham of a woman.

(Tan. 1994 : 155 - 156)

Seeing that Lena had no chi because she did not have self-respect, Ying-ying began to speak up for her daughter, and this drove Lena to refuse to share the cost of ice cream that she did not eat as her rebellion against Harold. Lena stated:

And before I even do it, I know I'm starting a fight that is bigger than I know how to handle. But I do it anyway. I go to the refrigerator and I cross out "ice cream" on Harold's side of the list.

"What's going on here?"

"I just don't think you should get credit for your ice cream anymore."

(Tan. 1994 : 164)

Lena spoke her mind eventually instead of choosing to keep silent as she had done after she was driven by her mother. Lena observed:

"I just think we have to change things," I say when I think I can control my voice. Only the rest comes out like whining. "We need to think about what our marriage is really based on---not this balance sheet, who owes who what."

(Tan. 1994 : 164)

CHAPTER FOUR

Description of the Result of the Study

First, I will describe the result of the study of the relationships between the mothers and daughters as presented in both books, and then I will compare the Chinese-American experience.

1. The Result of the Study of the Relationships between Mothers and Daughters

1.1 The Nature of the Conflicts

1.1.1 Gender Conflicts

1.1.1.1 Chastity

It is apparent that Brave Orchid and Lindo wanted their daughters to keep the virtue of chastity as Chinese patriarchy expects them to. However, in spite of the fact that Waverly, Rose, and Lena had sexual relations with their boyfriends before their marriage and there were no overt conflicts concerning virtue between the mothers and daughters except between Lindo and Waverly, it can be assumed that the mothers did not approve of their doing so because they were against the American individualism which their daughters adopted. Lindo threw her shoe at Waverly and Marvin when she found out that she eloped with him in her teens. And although Waverly was over thirty and had a daughter from her first marriage, she was upset to learn that she had sexual relations with Rich before marriage. However, there was a difference between Brave Orchid and Lindo. Learning from the experience of her husband's sister, Brave Orchid was afraid that if Kingston violated the code of chastity, she would have the same fate as her aunt, who became an outcast, driven to commit suicide and erased from family history. On the contrary, Lindo did not worry that Waverly would be treated as an outcast, but she still believed that the behavior was degrading and careless. It can be said that patriarchy still influenced her, although she found her way to get out of Chinese

patriarchy by making the Huangs believe that she was not good for them. Hsu points out that Chinese and Americans have different attitudes toward sexual relations:

In the Chinese pattern of thinking, attraction between a man and a woman, outside of prostitution, should invariably be a prelude to marriage. Therefore Chinese girls who date, and especially those who become intimate with many boys, are considered to be merely practicing self-degradation, while American girls can justify sexual relations within or without marriage by invoking love.

The Chinese approach to a man-woman relationship is a straight line. Sexual relations (and for modern people, love) leads to marriage, which leads to children. The American approach tends to be in a straight line where love and sex are concerned; the latter must be linked with the former to be respectable, whether the couple begins with one or the other. But the roads to marriage and to children are not in that straight line because love and sexual relations are not necessarily bound up with them.

For these reasons the conduct of unattached Chinese men and women toward each other must look tame to American eyes, just as American behavior in the same situation often appears careless and even lewd to the Chinese observer.

(Hsu. 1981 : 59)

1.1.1.2 Reticence

Kingston and Brave Orchid had conflicts regarding reticence, one of the virtues that Chinese patriarchy expects girls to have. While Brave Orchid wanted her to comply with it, Kingston refused to accept an inferior status as a Chinese girl.

On the contrary, the mothers in The Joy Luck Club expected their daughters not to argue with them, but they did not want them to comply with patriarchy. For example, An-mei encouraged Rose, who was having problems with Ted, to speak for herself, and Ying-Ying was not pleased to see that Lena was so reticent that she was taken advantages by Harold. Yin-Ying began to hint that her daughter should not have had to share the cost of ice-cream because she did not eat it and that he did not care for her enough, thereby letting her disappear like a ghost. Learning that the wind was powerful, Lindo wanted Waverly to adopt the virtue and to take advantage of it because to her, to confront an enemy was not the clever way of defeating him.

1.1.1.3 Obedience

There were conflicts regarding obedience between the mothers and the daughters in both books. However, there were differences. Brave Orchid wanted Kingston to adopt the quality so that she would be an obedient wife and daughter-in-law in the future. According to the Three Obedience, girls are required to obey their parents at home and their husbands and parents-in-law after marriage. With her good intentions, Brave Orchid wanted Kingston to conform with patriarchy so that she would be accepted by her community and could also be married off, but Kingston did not want to be an obedient wife. Wong has the same view, noting:

There are the Chinese values which put “double binds around her feet” by teaching her that submission was the price of being loved by men.

(Wong. 1988 : 21)

On the contrary, the mothers in The Joy Luck Club did not expect their daughters to be slavishly obedient as wives, but they wanted to shape their daughters' identity more easily for the daughters' sake. They believed that with their good intention and their experience they could make their daughters successful if they followed their words, but the daughters wanted to be their own persons. Ling has the same idea:

Thus, though the eight characters are divided into four families and given different names, the book itself is concerned more with a simple bifurcation along generational lines: mothers, whose stories all took place in China, and daughters, whose stories are being lived in America; mothers who are possessively trying to hold fast and daughters who are battling for autonomy.

(Ling. 1990 : 131)

1.1.1.4 Domestic Skills

Brave Orchid and Kingston had conflicts concerning domestic skills because Brave Orchid believed that the quality would help her daughter be married off more easily, but Kingston did not want to be an obedient wife, so she tried to lessen her chances of getting married by refusing to acquire domestic skills. Moreover, Kingston thought that it was unfair for girls to have to do housework while boys were free. The mothers in The Joy Luck Club did not have conflicts regarding the virtue because they wanted their daughters to be successful instead of being trained to be perfect wives by the Chinese standard.

1.1.1.5 Worthlessness of Girls

While Kingston was upset when told by her parents and her community that girls were worthless, the mothers in The Joy Luck Club were angry to see that their

daughters did not realize their own worth. Suyuan believed that Jing-mei had a talent and wanted her to make use of it for Jing-mei's own benefit. Lindo wanted Waverly to develop self-esteem. An-mei wanted Rose to be strong so that she would not be gotten rid of like weeds. Ying-Ying wanted Lena to have chi so that she would have self-respect. According to Shear (1993:197), the daughters in The Joy Luck Club lack a quality called chi which includes "a fundamental self-respect, a desire to excel, a willingness to stand up for one's self and one's family, to demonstrate something to others."

1.1.2 Drives for Achievement

There were conflicts between Kingston and Brave Orchid because driven by the inferior status of Chinese girls, Kingston wanted to study for a brighter future, but Brave Orchid wanted her to get married in spite of the fact that when left in China, she did not let herself be helpless by living on only the money that her husband sent her, but studied in a medical school at an age over thirty and became a doctor in her village.

On the contrary, driven by their hard life in China, the mothers in The Joy Luck Club wanted their daughters to try their best so that they would get the best from the opportunities that America provided, but their daughters wanted to be their own persons instead of being what their mothers expected them to be. Painter has a similar idea:

The mothers in these stories expect more of their daughters than they can ever realize, their ambitions for them are lavish beyond all hope, the judgment they bring to bear extreme and punishing to both themselves and their children. The consequence is almost always an alienation filled with an estranged, anguished love.

(Matuz. 1990 : 98; citing Painter. 1989 : 15 - 17)

Apparently, while Brave Orchid expected Kingston to comply with Chinese patriarchy by sinking into the roles that are required of girls, the mothers in The Joy Luck Club did not.

1.1.3 Superstitions

The daughters in both books disapproved of their mothers' superstitions and sometimes felt embarrassed and worried by their beliefs. For example, Kingston was embarrassed when mistaken for a beggar by the druggist due to Brave Orchid's superstitions, and young Lena was worried that bad things would happen as Ying-Ying told her about feng shui (風水).

1.1.4 Food

In both books the daughters viewed their mothers as insensitive when they killed animals and ate everything, including disgusting organs like guts, ducks' feet, and octopus gizzards, and they felt uneasy when forced to eat them. The Chinese developed the habit of killing animals for meals and eating everything, and the practices are common because most Chinese are poor peasants and the mothers in both books were not different.

1.1.5 Home

While Brave Orchid wanted Kingston to regard China as home, and wished that her family could return to live there permanently, the mothers in The Joy Luck Club did not, but they were still loyal to their homeland. For example, Lindo was irritated by Waverly's belief that she came from Taiwan because she did not consider it China. Suyuan was not so angry at her neighbor who believed that she killed his cat for showing her his fist as a threat, but his calling her worst Fukien landlady angered her because her hometown was not Fukien.

I believe the mothers in The Joy Luck Club did not think about returning to live in China, although they loved it, because they had faced hardship and had painful lives in China, so they would like to snatch more opportunities open to them, and their daughters, in America. On the contrary, Brave Orchid had a comfortable life as a doctor there and had to come to America as her husband told her, and she always wanted to return to China.

1.1.6 Ethics of Serving Parents

The mothers in both books wanted their daughters to devote themselves to them. By Chinese standards based on Confucian filial piety, them others thought that what their daughters did for them was not enough. Although the daughters loved their mothers, whether they would do something or would not do anything for their parents seemed to depend on their pleasure because they valued American individualism, and never reached their mothers' standard. For example, Brave Orchid wanted Kingston to visit her more often or to live with her. Lindo was upset by Waverly's breaking her promise to visit her when something else happened because from Lindo's Chinese viewpoint, parents came first. Ying-Ying was angry at Lena for paying more attention to herself and her husband than to her mother.

1.2 Reconciliation

There was reconciliation between the mothers and daughters in both books when the latter were mature enough to understand that the former had tried in good faith to shape their identity. They forgave each other. Kingston could eventually identify with her mother telling that both of them were born in the year of the dragon and were story-talkers. Ling agrees that their reconciliation resulted from understanding noting:

The daughters' battles for independence from powerful commanding mothers is fierce, but eventually, as in Kingston's book, a reconciliation is reached. The daughters realize that the mothers have always had the daughter's own best interests at heart. Because their own lives in China had been circumscribed by parental and societal constraints that had led invariably to humiliation, pain, and tragedy, the mothers had all come to America to give their daughters a better life, a life of greater choice. Great is the mothers' exasperation, then, when the daughters do not take advantage of the choices available to them or choose unwisely. The daughters realize, too, that their American marriages, with freely chosen mates, have not worked out any better than the arranged marriages of their mothers.

(Ling. 1990 : 140)

It can be said that the relationships between the mothers and daughters in the two books that were full of conflicts and anger, were replaced with understanding and love, as Ling also concludes:

Like The Woman Warrior, Tan's The Joy Luck Club ends on a note of resolution and reconciliation. The struggles, the battles, are over, and when the dust settles what was formerly considered a hated bondage is revealed to be a cherished bond.

(Ling. 1990 : 141)

Moreover, the daughters in both books eventually became interested in their Chinese heritage. Ling also views that they do not stick completely to their American culture. Ling says:

To be truly mature, to achieve a balance in the between-world condition then, according to Wong, Kingston, and Tan (American daughters all), one can not cling solely to the new American ways and reject the old Chinese ways, for that is the way of the child. One must reconcile the two and one's peace with the old. If the old ways cannot be incorporated into the new life, if they do not "mix" as Lindo Jong put it, then they must nonetheless be respected and preserved in the pictures on one's walls, in the memories in one's head, in the stories that one writes down.

(Ling. 1990 : 141)

2. The Comparison of the Chinese-American Experience

2.1 Cross-Cultural Problems

2.1.1 The Way They Have Been Brought up and Assimilation

The way young Kingston had been brought up made it more difficult for her than the daughters in The Joy Luck Club to assimilate American culture because while Brave Orchid tried to prevent Kingston from identifying with Americans and their culture by telling her that they were ghosts, the mothers in The Joy Luck Club seemed to be more willing to let their daughters interact with their country of birth so that they would get the best from the opportunities that girls in America were given, although they wanted them to have Chinese character. Consequently, unlike Kingston, the daughters were not scared of the Americans and were ready to adopt American culture, although their having American character was objected to by their mothers. Ling agrees that Brave Orchid tried to keep Kingston from the Americans and American culture by naming them ghosts in an effort to devalue them:

Her mother's use of the word "ghosts" to designate the non-Chinese "barbarians" is indicative of the older generation's need

to set apart their family from the world around them, a world that is ignorant of the customs brought from China, which from the mother's perspective, was the only right way to do anything.

(Ling. 1990 : 122-123)

Li points out that the fact that the Chinese naming foreigners ghosts has a political background:

The usage of "ghost" for foreigners became a common practice probably in the late nineteenth century when Western imperial powers invaded the Chin Empire of China with guns and opium. For the first time in history the citizens of the "Central Kingdom" were decentered and they strove to retain their centrality by defining their oppressor as the other, the "ghost," the "Kuei" which takes on the meaning of "devil" and "demon." Such negative connotations associated in English language with Satanic forces are more or less dropped as Kingston opts for the word "ghost" which accentuates the insubstantiality and neutrality of a specter. Notice that the word "ghost" has its highest frequency in Brave Orchid's speech, a first immigrant who speaks little English and who probably finds it sufficient to release her frustration by showing "Kuei" on her foes, therefore achieving some allegorical solution to problems in reality.

(Li. 1998 : 508 - 509)

Brave Orchid's calling non-Chinese "ghosts" influenced Kingston so much that she felt uneasy or even scared when she met them when she was young. Kingston recalled:

But America has been full of machines and ghosts-Taxi Ghosts, Bus Ghosts, Police Ghosts, Fire Ghosts, Meter Reader Ghosts, Tree Trimming Ghosts, Five-and-Dime Ghosts. Once upon a time the world was so thick with ghosts, I could hardly breathe; could hardly walk, limping my way around the White Ghosts and their cars. There were Black Ghosts too, but they were open eyed and full of laughter, more distinct than White Ghosts.

(Kingston. 1981: 90-91)

While the mothers in The Joy Luck Club wanted their daughters to learn English, Brave Orchid discouraged Kingston from doing so by telling her that it was the ghost language. Knowing nothing about English, Kingston had trouble studying in her American school, and she was said to have no IQ in first grade. Rolf (1982 : 4) states, "Her IQ score becomes a gauge of her Americanization. As a first-grader who knows only Cantonese, she is the possessor of a zero IQ." Kingston recalled:

We have so many secrets to hold in. Our sixth grade teacher, who liked to explain things to children, let us read our files. My record shows that I flunked kindergarten and in first grade had no IQ- a zero IQ. I did remember the first grade teacher calling out during a test, while students marked Xs on a girl or boy or a dog, which I covered with black.

(Kingston. 1981 : 164)

Moreover, since she was told that the Chinese with the same surnames were brothers and sisters and were expected not to marry each other, Kingston felt that the Chinese boys she met were kin and did not want to have dates as American girls do. Apparently, the way she had been brought up was the obstacle to her assimilation. Kingston noted:

All the village were kinsmen, and the titles shouted in loud country voices never let kinship be forgotten. Any man within visiting distance would have been neutralized as a lover- "brother" "younger brother," "older brother"-- one hundred and fifteen relationship titles. Parents researched birth charts probably not so much to assure good fortune as to circumvent incest in a population that has but one hundred surnames. Everybody has eight million relatives. How useless then sexual mannerisms, how dangerous.

As if it came from an atavism deeper than fear, I used to add "brother" silently to boys' names. It hexed the boys, who would or would not ask me to dance, and made them less scary and as familiar and deserving of benevolence as girls.

But, of course, I hexed myself also-no dates.

(Kingston. 1981 : 18)

The daughters in The Joy Luck Club wanted to be Americanized, although their mothers wanted them to have Chinese character. However, in their assimilation, they were lost in American culture. For example, although Rose did not like the Chinese ways of upbringing that expected her to be obedient, she found that there were too many choices in American society and that it was divorce prone. While Confucian Chinese devalued independence, such as the desire to go "Dutch,"

Lena liked independence and the equality of American culture and was taken advantage of by her Caucasian husband who asked that she share even the cost of what she did not use. Apparently in their assimilation, the daughters were lost in American culture. Lena observed:

So really, we're equals, except that Harold makes about seven times more than what I make. He knows this, too, because he signs my monthly check, and then I deposit it into my separate checking account.

(Tan. 1994:159)

2.1.2 Racism

Both The Woman Warrior and The Joy Luck Club include racism in the experiences of Kingston and Rose in their relations with Caucasians. Kingston was called by such derogatory words as "chink" and "gook" by the dominant group. She was exasperated and took revenge by writing about American racism. Comparing her writing about it for the sake of her oppressed community to Fa Mulan's fighting for the sake of her village, she hoped that she would be admired the same way as Fa Mulan was by her people after she had been against and left her community.

The swordswoman and I are not so dissimilar. May my people understand the resemblance soon so that I can return to them. What we have in common are the words at our backs. The ideographs for revenge are "report a crime" and "report to five families." The reporting is the vengeance not the beheading, not the gutting but the words. And I have so many words-- "chink"

words and “gook” words too-- that they do not fit on my skin.

(Kingston. 1975 : 53)

In her working world, Kingston faced employers who were racists. One of her employers showed his racism by choosing intentionally to have his banquet in a restaurant that was being boycotted by CORE and the NAACP. She rebelled against him by refusing to type his invitations. Kingston recalled:

“Did you know the restaurant you chose for the banquet is being picketed by CORE and the NAACP?” I squeaked.

“Of course I know.” The boss laughed. “That’s why I chose it.”

“I refuse to type these invitations,” I whispered, voice unreliable.

(Kingston. 1975 : 53)

Another employer showed his racism by calling one color nigger yellow. Kingston recalled:

I once worked at an art supply house that sold paints to artists
“Order more of that nigger yellow willya” the boss told me. “Bright, isn’t it? Nigger yellow”

“I don’t like that word,” I had to say in my bad, small- person’s voice that makes no impact.

(Kingston. 1975 : 53)

In The Joy Luck Club, racism is presented in the scene in which Ted’s mother was not willing to accept Rose as her future daughter-in-law because she belonged to an ethnic group. Rose recalled:

"I'm so glad to meet you finally" Mrs. Jordan said. I wanted to tell her I wasn't really Ted's girlfriend, but she went on.

"I think it's nice that you and Ted are having such a lot of fun together. So I hope you won't misunderstand what I have to say."

And then she spoke quietly about Ted's future, his need to concentrate on his medical studies, why it would be years before he could even think about marriage. She assured me she had nothing whatsoever against minorities; she and her husband, who owned a chain of office-supply stores, personally knew many fine people who were Oriental, Spanish, and even black. But Ted was going to be in one of those professions where he would be judged by a different standard, by patients and other doctors who might not be as understanding as the Jordans were. She said it was so unfortunate the way the rest of the world was, how unpopular the Vietnam War was.

"Mrs. Jordan. I am not Vietnamese," I said softly, even though I was on the verge of shouting, "And I have no intention of marrying your son."

(Tan. 1994:118)

2.2 Sexism

There was sexism in the experience of Chinese-American daughters in The Woman Warrior and The Joy Luck Club. However, there were differences in their experiences. While Kingston mostly faced sexism in her Chinese community, Lena and Rose faced the sexism of their Caucasian husbands. The message that Kingston's parents community gave her was that girls were worthless. For example, they compared girls to maggots and celebrated the birth of boys joyfully. Hearing their anti-female sayings, young Kingston threw a tantrum. Kingston said:

I would thrash on the floor and scream so hard I couldn't talk. I couldn't stop.

(Kingston. 1975 : 48)

When she was older, Kingston wrote about the Chinese sexism that she experienced in her community and her rebellion against it. Ling has a similar idea:

The injustice that is the target of Kingston's revenge is the domination or repression of one person by another, the denial of an individual's full worth. The sexist sayings that her own parents quoted infuriated the young Maxine. Yet, in repeating all these hated sayings, Kingston forces her people and her readers to see them afresh. Her hope is that the Chinese will no longer continue to pass on, automatically and unthinkingly, a misogynist legacy but will realize the injustice of it and the pain it inflicts on young women. And she hopes that the censure of non-Chinese will assist in humiliating the Chinese into abandoning such maxims.

(Ling. 1990 : 160)

Although Kingston mainly wrote to rebel against Chinese sexism, she explicitly did not admire American standards of femininity to attract men either. Since American society is patriarchal, such quality as speaking softly is still expected from women, although both American men and women appear loud and aggressive by world standards due to the individualism and masculinity of American culture. Kingston's community wanted her to be reticent and American society expected her to be American-feminine by speaking softly. Kingston stated:

Normal Chinese women's voices are strong and bossy.
 We American-Chinese girls had to whisper to make ourselves
 American-feminine. Apparently, we whispered even more softly
 than the Americans.

(Kingston. 1981 : 155)

It is a dilemma for Kingston to be a Chinese or American because she also realized that American girls were inferior to boys, because while the former were cheerleaders or pompom girls, the latter were players. Rolf (1982 : 8) states that her mentioning cheerleaders and pompom girls, in her persuading a Chinese girl to talk, revealed her mockery of American femininity. Li also agrees that to be a cheerleader shows the inferiority of girls to boys:

The popularity conferred on the cheerleader lies in the
 secondary position that her role typifies and her "rah-rah"
 shout is less a product of brain than an acquiescence to
 male power.

(Li. 1988 : 509)

In The Joy Luck Club, the daughters were not told that they were worthless by their mothers, but Lena and Rose faced sexism in their relationships with their Caucasian husbands. Although Lena encouraged Harold to begin his own business and gave him ideas that made it prosperous, he did not promote her, reasoning that to promote his wife would not be fair to other employees. She had to work as his helpmate because women in a patriarchal society are expected to be men's helpmates. Moreover, she got a much smaller salary, but she had to share their expense equally. See agrees that Lena faced sexism:

In the name of feminism and right thinking, this husband is taking Lena for every cent she's got, but she's so demoralized, so "out of balance" in the Chinese sense, that she can't do a thing about it.

(Matuz. 1990 : 90 ; citing See. 1989 : 1, 11)

In a patriarchal society, men give orders and women are expected to follow them. Rose was told by her husband to sign divorce papers so that he would marry another girl, and to leave the house that they shared and lived in together. Rose recalled:

I had started to inventory the bookshelves when I got a letter from Ted, a note actually, written hurriedly in ball-point on his prescription notepad. "Sign 4x where indicated," it read. And then in fountain-pen blue ink, "enc: check, to tide you over until settlement."

(Tan. 1994 : 190)

Apparently, in a patriarchal society the daughters in both books experienced sexism.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion and Suggestions for Further Study

I can conclude that the relationships between the immigrant mothers and their Chinese-American daughters and their Chinese-American experiences in both books are affected because mothers and daughters are members of an ethnic group in a patriarchal society.

1. Being Members of an Ethnic Group

In families of an ethnic group, conflicts between parents and children can happen when the former want to pass their cultural heritage to the latter who want to adopt the dominant culture. Moreover, conflicts can also be caused when immigrant parents, driven by hardship in their homeland to leave for new countries that they believe will provide more opportunities, force their children to over-achieve, but their children may not reach their expectations or do not want to honor their wishes. In a sociological book called Children's Ethnic Socialization, Rosenthal discusses bicultural conflicts in families as follows:

It is more plausible to expect that culture conflict will be manifested in tension within families. Immigrant parents may feel threatened by their lack of knowledge of the majority culture, and insecure and confused about roles. They may thus become increasingly authoritarian in the family, which is the only system over which they now feel that they have control. Increasing demands for obedience are likely to result in frustration and resentment from an adolescent seeking to test his or her ideas in a new found world. The pressure on immigrant children and adolescents to achieve academic excellence and thus a "better life" than their parents has

been documented and may well be a source of conflict as the younger generation attempts to meet aspirations that are frequently unrealistic. Given that adolescents may have only a limited command of their parents' language and that parents may have an equally limited facility with the new language, communication about the complex and abstract issues confronting both parents and their children may be inadequate, resulting in frustration or misunderstanding. Perhaps most important, in these immigrant families in which parents cling to the old culture and resist the new, problems are likely to arise if the younger generation seeks to be assimilated to the majority culture.

(Rosenthal. 1987 : 175)

Kingston's The Woman Warrior, Tan's The Joy Luck Club, and other writers' works present cultural conflicts between parents and children of Chinese ancestry in America. For example, in Jade Snow Wong's autobiography Fifth Chinese Daughter, she learned from a sociology class that besides being a Chinese girl, she was an individual. When she told what she discovered to her father, he scolded her because he valued Confucianism, which emphasizes social relationships and considers American individualism destructive and undesirable.

"Where," he demanded, "did you learn such an unfilial theory?" ...How can you permit a foreigner's theory to put aside the practical experience of the Chinese, who for thousands of years have preserved a most superior family pattern? Confucius had already presented an organized philosophy of manners and conduct when the foreigners were unappreciatively persecuting Christ... You owe honor to us before you satisfy your personal whims... What would happen to

the order of the household if each of you four children started to behave like individuals? Would we have one peaceful moment if your personal desires came before your duty?

(Miller. 1983 : 15 ; citing Wong. 1950 : 128)

Jade Snow Wong's autobiography and other writings that emphasize that it is difficult for children of Chinese ancestry in America to be independent because their refusal to obey their parents will be considered unfilial by their families and community. They may follow their parents' words, although they feel angry deep inside or they may rebel against them eventually. According to Hom (1984 : 42 - 43), in Pardee Lowe's autobiography, his father forbade him to marry a white American, but he did not listen to his objection. In Frank Chin's The Year of The Dragon, Fred had to obey Wing Eng, his father and lived with his family in Chinatown instead of being a writer as he wished. Hom also concludes:

The interpretation of Chinese culture is manifested in various immigrant roles created by Chinese-American writers. It is the typical immigrant mentality to want to maintain ethnicity and culture in form and practice in the new country. However, imposing such an immigrant way of life on the American-born Chinese will result in conflicts. The issue is most commonly expressed through the depiction of family situations in the writings.

(Hom. 1984 : 41)

Children of an ethnic group face conflicting demands from two cultures. America values individualism and China adores Confucianism, which emphasizes social relationships and ethical responsibilities that are expected from the

relationships, especially filial piety, children of Chinese ancestry in America can hardly avoid vacillating between "Chinese-ness" and "American-ness" (Lin. 1991 : 41).

Conflicts in families are caused not only by parents' expecting their children to adopt old Chinese ways but also by their expecting them to identify themselves as Chinese. For example, in Bai Xianyong's short story One Day in Pleasantville, Rose, an immigrant mother, wanted Polly, her American-born daughter, to identify herself as Chinese, while Polly declared that she was an American. The mother believed that only the whites were Americans and that others were American citizens or Americanized (Hom. 1984 : 33 - 34).

Apart from conflicts in their families or community, members of an ethnic group may suffer racism from the dominant group. Many works examine Caucasian racism against the African-American, such as James Baldwin's Go Tell It on the Mountain, Another Country, If Beale Street Could Talk (Rodbamroong. 1987 : 67 - 165) or Faulkner's Light in August, Intruder in The Dust and Go Down Moses (Santatiwongchai. 1989 : 79 - 189). Chinese-American writers like Kingston and Tan also present racism in their works.

Members of an ethnic group may feel that they belong to neither their group nor the dominant group. This situation is called marginality, and such persons are "marginal." In American Minority Relations, Vander Zanden explains marginality and marginal men:

Although Park was probably the first to employ the concept of "the marginal man," the term has since become largely linked with the name of Everett V. Stonequist. Stonequist viewed the marginal man as an individual who, by virtue of migration, education, marriage, or some other influence, leaves one cultural group without making a satisfactory adjustment to another. Accordingly, he finds

himself on the margin of each culture but a member of neither.

"He does not quite 'belong' or feel at home in either group."

Marginality may arise from (1) incomplete cultural assimilation in one or both societies, (2) failure to gain social acceptance within one or both societies, or (3) the persistence of inhibitions and loyalties derived from previous socialization.

(Vander Zanden. 1966 : 313)

Marden and Gladys also agree that members of an ethnic group may suffer marginality. They conclude:

For some individuals who did correctly perceive the expectations and values of the dominant society, the situation in which they found themselves was often marginal. Taking the dominant group as their reference group and incorporating dominant norms and goals, they found themselves at a competitive disadvantage, and were often made to feel inferior.

(Marden and Gladys. 1978 : 73)

Ling calls the feeling of being at home nowhere the feeling of being between worlds. She points out that the feeling is caused by being made to think of themselves as others view them. According to her, Chinese-Americans are not different from the African-Americans whom W.E.B. Du Bois characterizes with the term "double consciousness": "this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity." She exemplifies a situation that can make Chinese-Americans feel that they do not belong to America:

To further complicate the question of identity, not only are biological and geographical factors significant, but external or social factor impinge as well. That recent immigrants feel a sense of alienation and strangeness in a new country is to be expected, but when American-born Chinese Americans, from families many generations in the United States, are asked where they learned such good English, they too are made to feel foreign and alien.

(Ling. 1990 : 105)

Kim also presents situations which show that the dominant group does not regard Asian-Americans as Americans.

Kim cited some letters in the "Dear Abby" column that reflect a gulf between Asian Americans and the descendants of European immigrants: "Two Irish Americans wrote that they could not understand why an American of 'Oriental' descent would complain about being asked 'what are you' within five minutes of being introduced to a 'Caucasian.' " Asian-American readers responded by pointing out that the same question may sound innocent when asked of a Caucasian: however, "when it is asked of an Asian, it takes on a different tone... When I say, 'I'm from...Portland, Oregon!' they are invariably surprised... because they find it hard to believe that an Asian-looking person is actually... American... Being white is not a prerequisite for being... American."

(Chen. 1992 : 231 ; citing Kim. 1977 : 87)

There are many works that present the between-world condition of children of Chinese immigrants, including Kingston's The Woman Warrior and Tan's The Joy

Luck Club. In Ouyang Zi's short story Autumn Leaves, Minsheng, an American-born son of Qirui, a Chinese immigrant and a Caucasian woman who later ran away with a white man, was expected to adopt Chinese values by his father. As a filial son, he tried to be a perfect Chinese at home, but outside his community he acted as he was expected to by the dominant society. However, since to switch back and forth between the two drastically different cultures was not easy, he painfully felt that he belonged nowhere (Hom. 1984 : 35 - 37). In Mai-mai Sze's autobiography Echo of a Cry, she was taken to England and America when she was very young and was brought up in America. When she visited her relatives in China, she felt that she did not belong to China, although she received a warm welcome because her sense of self had been shaped by her experience in America. However, in America she suffered racism, so she was in a between-world condition, feeling that she belonged nowhere (Ling. 1990 : 106 - 108).

Marginality, or the feeling of being between worlds, drives members of an ethnic group to search for their identity. Writers like Kingston and Tan do not cling to American culture, but show their interest in their roots. Shear has a similar idea:

Both these authors testify to a rupture in the historical Chinese family unit as a result of the diaspora, but both seem to believe in a cultural healing. However, as her conclusion suggests, Tan seems to place more emphasis on the Chinese identity as the healing factor.

(Shear. 1993 : 199)

Many ethnic writers show their interest in quest for their identity and roots such as Sally Morgan, an Australian aborigine, Toni Morrison and Alice Walker, African-Americans, and Jung Chang, a Chinese-English.

2. Being Women in a Patriarchal Society

It is accepted that most societies are patriarchal. Women have inferior status in these societies because patriarchy dictates that they be led by men and be their helpmates because they are weaker and less clever. Being helpmates, they have to do housework and take care of children while men work outside the home. In workplaces, while men take positions of management, women have to be their helpmates by working as their secretaries, receptionists, or in positions that serve others because they are told that they have qualities that suit such positions (Ruth. 1990 : 82,89). In families, men are the ones who make decisions on important matters (Smelser. 1981 : 290).

According to Phillips (1981 : 12), mothers in a patriarchal society are under stress because as caretakers, they are to blame if their children become bad, or have psychological problems.

Apart from being burdened with childcare, mothers take charge of later female socialization. Daughters internalize femininity and female role activities from their relationships with their mothers (Chodorow. 1974 : 43). Girls are trained to be feminine so that they will attract boys and can be married. A patriarchy expects women to serve men's sexual desire, so there are derogatory terms to name single women such as old maids and "spinsters." Many are affected by patriarchy to the extent that they feel bad about themselves if they are not married (Phillips. 1981 : 6). Moreover, divorced women are looked down upon or there are doubts of their femininity.

There are many works showing that mothers, as immediate agents of a child's socialization, try to instill patriarchal values such as domestic skills, chastity, compliance and reticence in their daughters or the younger female generation. In Sopak Suwan's Sai Lobit (The Lineage), which presents Thai society in the late eighteenth century, Dawrueng, the heroine, learned femininity from her grandmother, and later she passed the teachings on to her daughters. In the twentieth century,

many patriarchal values still persist. Panpanich (1991 : 318) states that in W. Winitchaikul's novel Yu Fa Diew Kan (In the Same World), Pink's mother, who married a Caucasian and moved to America, where sexual relations without marriage are usual, expected her to value chastity as the Thai patriarchal society dictates.

Conflicts between mothers and daughters in a patriarchal society result from the fact that some daughters refuse to adopt patriarchal values that their mothers, as socializers try, to pass on to them. The Women's Liberation movements influence women, so there are those who want to resist patriarchy. The conflicts between older and younger generations cannot be avoided when the latter, inspired by Women's Liberation movements, do not follow the former whose old ideas of femininity can hardly be erased. In Kingston's The Woman Warrior, which is an outgrowth of the Civil Rights and Women's Liberation movements of the 1960's and 1970s, the conflicts regarding such values are presented. Recently, there have been many women's works that have feminist content such as Charlotte Perkins Gilman's The Yellow Wallpaper and Marlilyn French's The Women's Room.

It is apparent that since women take the role of later female socialization in patriarchal society, they are the ones who help prolong patriarchy. Melton has a similar idea:

As these examples show, this patriarchal culture placed women in the role of destroying or abusing other women. It was the mothers who bound the feet of their young daughters, and a stereotypical figure in the literature of nineteenth-century or early twentieth-century China is the mother-in-law who abuses her new daughter-in-law, as the story "The Child Bride" in Dorothy Shimer's anthology Rice Bowl Women illustrates.

(Melton. 1990 : 77)

In a patriarchal society, most mothers are powerless, and they usually side with their husbands, sons, or other men instead of their daughters or other women. According to Phillips (1981 : 3 - 4), sexually abused women are often jeered at by society, including their fellow women who have been influenced by patriarchy. Mothers may join in scolding their raped daughters, and this infuriates the latter, so their relationships become bad. Kennedy and Deborah discuss mothers' taking side with men and causing bad relationships with their daughters. Kennedy and Deborah state:

Some mothers abandon or betray their daughters in order to make their own way or to accommodate themselves to the father-
 Angelou's mother in I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings sends her daughter away after the rape she has herself unwittingly facilitated; in Bronx Primitive Kate Simon's mother allows her daughter to be denied an education as punishment for refusing to provide her father with a glamorous life by becoming a concert pianist; Marguerite Duras's mother in The Lover sees her daughter as a whore, while she holds a fierce allegiance to the elder son. Mothers are in some deep sense the audience in women's autobiography, those who are to watch the performance of the daughter-narrator writing herself.

(Kennedy and Deborah. 1990 : 126)

There are mothers who want to resist patriarchy, but they are not strong enough, so they have to join in prolonging it. Brave Orchid hinted that there was another choice for girls instead of being wives or slaves by telling Kingston the story of Fa Mulan, a Chinese woman warrior. Her message was not as strongly emphasized as her insistence that Kingston be a good girl. Although Brave Orchid

was strong, she could not resist the demands of patriarchy. Kennedy and Deborah have a similar view:

The ambivalent message that *Brave Orchid* imparts to her daughter can be linked to the betrayals by the mothers in other women's autobiographies. The mother, acculturated in the patriarchy, teaches lessons of submission, in which the daughter is told she is worthless, told she is crazy. But at the same time, the daughter is burdened with a covert expectation, the mother's desire that she will subvert the order. Kingston learns, from her mother's talk-stories, that most women are born to be wives and slaves, but that an extraordinary few may be warriors like the mythical Fa Mulan- or shamans, as *Brave Orchid* herself was in China.

(Kennedy and Deborah. 1990 : 126 - 127)

However, due to the Women's Liberation movements, more mothers and women work outside their domestic sphere and they can depend on themselves. Realizing the flows of patriarchy and being strong enough, more mothers and the older generation teach the younger female generation to be more independent. Literature is like a mirror that reflects society, and more works show that the older generation wants its daughters to depend on themselves. They even encourage them to resist patriarchy as do the mothers in Tan's *The Joy Luck Club*. Women in Thailand are also inspired by the Women's Liberation movements; many works show that the older generation's teachings are more or less changed. According to Panpanich (1991 : 300), in W. Winitchaikul's *Settee Teen Paw (Bare Footed Millionaire)*, the aunt stated that girls in a patriarchal society had a disadvantageous status, so she would educate her niece to depend on herself.

Apparently, mother-daughter relationships are affected by patriarchy as feminists also point out, although Freud, who was a product of patriarchy, devalued their relationships and his theory encourages daughters to separate from their mothers and cling to their fathers and husbands. Chodorow, a psychoanalytic theorist (1974 : 48 - 51) explains that since fathers usually work outside the house, boys learn their male roles by suppressing what they regard as femininity that they devalue, while girls are expected to adopt such devalued roles. As a result, conflicts between mother and daughters are hardly avoided because the former, as immediate agents of the child's socialization, are the ones who instill patriarchal values in the latter. Moreover, Flax (1978 : 174) agrees with Chodorow that mothers tend to identify with their daughters and Phillips (1981 : 14) adds that the former regard the latter as extensions of themselves, so battles for autonomy can be caused when the former do not let the latter to individuate themselves. Chodorow suggests that to lessen the conflicts of mothers and daughters in a patriarchal society, father should take part in childcare.

However, in research, daughters reveal that they do not regard themselves mature unless their conflicts with their mothers are resolved. In The Woman Warrior and The Joy Luck Club, the daughters felt relieved when they were forgiven by their mothers as Willard comments on their relationships in The Joy Luck Club:
Club:

Amy Tan's special accomplishment in this novel is not her ability to show us how mothers and daughters hurt each other, but how they love, and ultimately forgive each other. If the book has a plot, it is her characters' slow progress from confusion to understanding.

(Matuz. 1990 : 98 ; citing Willard. 1989 : 12)

The mother-daughter relationship in The Woman Warrior is also a cherished bond as Hom also notes:

Recently, there have been some attempts by both immigrant and Chinese-American writers to understand each other. Maxine Hong Kingston has acknowledged the influence of her immigrant mother on the formation of her personal and Chinese American identity. Her relationship with the immigrant mother reveals conflicts and resolutions, but also inspiration and growth.

(Hom. 1984 : 44)

In conclusion, although mother-daughter relationships are affected by patriarchy and those in The Woman Warrior and The Joy Luck Club are doubly influenced by cultural change, their bonds remain strong and their relationships are meaningful and inspiring.

Due to the Women's Liberation movements, women's issues become world's interest, and many women's works are well received. Besides, under the Civil Rights movements, the voice of members of an ethnic group is heeded more by a dominant society and they tend to search for their identity and roots instead of clinging solely to dominant culture, so works of women writers and ethnic writers are worth studying.

Recommendations for Further Study

1. Mother-daughter relationships in works of ethnic groups in various countries should be studied.
2. Sisterhood in women's works such as Tan's The Kitchen God's Wife should be studied.

3. Women's search for their identity such as Charlotte Perkins's The Yellow Wallpaper and Marilyn French's The Women's Room should be studied.

4. Quest for identity and roots of members of an ethnic group such as Sally Morgan's My Place and Jung Chang's Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China should be studied.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, Peter. "Explaining Intercultural Differences in Non-Verbal Communication," in Intercultural Communication: A Reader. edited by Larry A. Samovar and Richard E. Porter. p. 229 - 237. California : Wadsworth, 1994.
- Aubrey, James R. "Woman Warrior and Military Students," in Approaches to Teaching Kingston's The Woman Warrior. edited by Shirley Geok-lin Lim. p. 80 - 86. New York : Modern Language Association of America, 1991.
- Baer, Elizabeth. "The Confrontation of East and West: The Woman Warrior as Postmodern Autobiography," Redneck Review of Literature. 21 : 26 - 29 ; Fall, 1991.
- Barbu, Zevedie. Society, Culture and Personality. Oxford : Basil Blackwell, 1971.
- Bischoff, Joan. "Fellow Rebels: Annie Dillard and Maxine Hong Kingston," English Journal. 78 (8) : 62 - 67 ; December, 1989.
- Brownmiller, Susan. "Susan Brownmiller Talks with Maxine Hong Kingston, Author of The Woman Warrior," Mademoiselle. 84 : 143 - 216 ; March, 1977.
- Byfonski, Dedria. "Maxine Hong Kingston (1940-)," in Contemporary Literary Criticism Vol. 12. edited by Dedria Byfonski. p. 312 - 315. Detroit : Gale Research, Inc., 1980.
- Chang, Jung. Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China. London : Flamingo, 1991.
- Chao, Paul. Chinese Kinship. London : Kegan Paul International Ltd., 1983.
- Chen, Li Fu. Eastern and Western Cultures: Confrontation or Conciliation. New York : St. John's University Press, 1972.
- Chen, Victoria. "The Construction of Chinese American Women's Identity," in Women Making Meaning. edited by Lena F. Rakow. p. 225 - 243. New York : Routledge, 1992.
- Ching, Julia. Confucianism and Christianity: A Comparative Study. 2nd ed. Tokyo : Kodansha International, 1977.
- Chodorow, Nancy. "Family Structure and Feminine Personality," in Women Culture and Society. edited by Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere. p. 46 - 66. California : Stanford University Press, 1974.
- Chun, Gloria. "The High Note of the Barbarian Reed Pipe: Maxine Hong Kingston," The Journal of Ethnic Studies. 19 (3) : 85 - 94 ; Fall, 1991.
- Coklin, John E. Sociology. 2nd ed. New York : Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987.

- Couser, Thomas G. "Maxine Hong Kingston: The Autobiographer as Ghost-Writer," in Biography: East and West, edited by Carol Ramelb. p. 231 - 237. Honolulu : University of Hawaii Press, 1989.
- De Bary, Wm. Theodore and others. Source of Chinese Tradition Volume I. New York : Columbia Press, 1967.
- Fairbank, John King. The United States and China. 4th ed. Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1958.
- Fishkin, Shelley Fisher. "Interview with Maxine Hong Kingston," American Literary History. 3 : 782 - 791 ; 1991.
- Flax, Jane. "The Conflict Between Nurturance and Autonomy in Mother-Daughter Relationships and Within Feminism," Feminist Studies. 4 (2) : 171 - 189 ; June, 1978.
- French, Marilyn. The Women's Room. New York : A Jove Book, 1982.
- Gheng, Tien-Hse. China Moulded by Confucius: The Chinese Way in Western Light. London : Stevens, 1947.
- Gilman, Perkins Charlotte. The Yellow Wallpaper. New Jersey : Rutger University Press, 1993.
- Hart, James D. The Oxford Companion to American Literature. 5th ed. New York : Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Hom, Marlon K. "A Case of Mutual Exclusion: Portrayals by Immigrant and American-born Chinese of Each Other in Literature," Amerasia. 11 (2) : 29 - 45 ; 1984.
- Homans, Margaret. "Women of Color Writers and Feminist Theory," New Literary History. 25 : 73 - 94 ; 1994.
- Hsieh, Yu-Wei. "Filial Piety and Chinese Society," in The Chinese Mind, edited by Charles A. Moore. p. 160 - 180. Honolulu : East-West Centre Press, 1967.
- Hsu, Francis L. Americans and Chinese: Passage to Difference. 3rd ed. Honolulu : University Press of Hawaii, 1981.
- Hui, C.H. and H.C. Triandis, "Individualism-Collectivism: A Study of Cross-Cultural Researchers," Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology. 17 : 225 - 248 ; 1992.
- Juhasz, Suzanne. "Narrative Technique & Female Identity," in Contemporary American Women Writers Narrative Strategies, edited by Catherine Rainwater and William J. Scheick. p. 173 - 189. Lexington : University Press of Kentucky, 1985.
- Kenedy, Coleen and Deborah Morse. "A Dialogue with(in) Tradition: Two Perspectives on The Woman Warrior," in Approaches to Teaching Kingston's The Woman Warrior, edited by Shirley Geok lin Lim. p. 120 - 130. New York : Modern Language Association of America, 1991.

- Kim, Elaine H. Asian American Literature: An Introduction to the Writings and Their Social Context. Philadelphia : Temple UP, 1982.
- Kim, Elaine H. "Defining Asian American Realities Through Literature," in The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse. edited by Abdul R. JonMohamed and Davil Lloyd. p. 87 - 111. New York : Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Kingston, Maxine Hong. The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood among Ghosts. London : Pan Books Ltd., 1981.
- Komenaka, April R. "Autobiography as a Sociolinguistic Resource: Maxine Hong Kingston's The Woman Warrior," International Journal of the Sociology of Language. 69 : 105-118 ; 1988.
- Kung, Shien-woo. Chinese in American Life. Connecticut : Greenwood Press, 1962.
- Lang, Olga. Chinese Family and Society. New York : Archon Book, 1946.
- Lawrence, D.H. "Why the Novel Matters," in 20th Century Literary Criticism. edited by David Lodge. p. 132 - 137. London : Longman, 1972.
- Lee, Robert G. "The Woman Warrior as an Intervention in Asian American Historiography," in Approaches to Teaching Kingston's The Woman Warrior. edited by Shirley Geok-lin Lim. p. 52 - 63. New York : Modern Language Association of America, 1991.
- Lee, Rose Hum. The Chinese in The United States of America. Hong Kong : Hong Kong University Press, 1960.
- Li, David Leiwei. "The Naming of a Chinese American 'I' : Cross-Cultural Sign/ifications in The Woman Warrior," Criticism: A Quarterly for Literature and the Arts. 30 (4) : 497 - 515 ; Fall, 1988.
- Lin, Patricia. "Use of Media and Other Resources to Situate The Woman Warrior," in Approaches to Teaching Kingston's The Woman Warrior. edited by Shirley Geok-lin Lim. p. 37 - 43. New York : Modern Language Association of America, 1991.
- Ling, Amy. "Thematic Threads in Maxine Hong Kingston's The Woman Warrior," Tamkang Review: A Quarterly of Comparative Studies between Chinese and Foreign Literature. 14 (1-4) : 155 - 164 ; Autumn-Summer, 1983 - 1984.
- Ling, Amy. Between World : Women Writers of Chinese Ancestry. New York : Pergamon Press, 1990.
- Ling, Amy. "Chinese American Women Writers: The Tradition behind Maxine Hong Kingston," in Redefining American Literary History. edited by A. La Vonne Brown Ruoff and Jerry W. Eard, Jr. p. 219 - 236. New York : Modern Language Association of America, 1990.
- Marden, Charles F. and Gladys Meyer. Cultural Patterns and Technical Change. 5th ed. New York : D. Van Nostrand, 1978.

- Matuz, Roger. "Amy Tan," in Contemporary Literary Criticism Vol. 59, edited by Roger Matuz. p. 89 - 98. Detroit : Gale Research, Inc., 1990.
- Melton, Judith M. "The Woman Warrior in the Women's Studies Classroom," in Approaches to Teaching Kingston's The Woman Warrior, edited by Shirley Geok-lin Lim. p. 74 - 79. New York : Modern Language Association of America, 1991.
- Miller, Margaret. "Threads of Identity in Maxine Hong Kingston's The Woman Warrior," Biography: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly. 6 (1) : 13 - 33 ; Winter, 1983.
- Mitchell, Carol. "Talking-Story in The Woman Warrior: An Analysis of the Use of Folklore," Kentucky Folklore Record. 27 (1-2) : 5 - 12 ; January - June, 1981.
- Morgan, Sally. My Place. South Fremantle : Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1994.
- Moyers, Bill. "Maxine Hong Kingston," in A world of Ideas, edited by Andie Tucher. p. 11 - 18. New York ; Doubleday, 1977.
- Nickerson, Eileen T. "Mothers and Daughters/Daughters and Mothers: An Unbroken Cycle in Female Development," Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association of Counseling and Development. (Boston, March 15 - 18, 1989).
- Panpanich, Srichan. An Analysis of the Female Characters in W. Winitchaikul's Novels. Dissertation : Srinakharinwirot University, 1991. photocopied.
- Peterson, Marlyn and Deirdre Lashgari. "Teaching The Woman Warrior to High School and Community College Students," in Approaches to Teaching Kingston's The Woman Warrior, edited by Shirley Geok-lin Lim. p. 101 - 107. New York : Modern Language Association of America, 1991.
- Pfaff, Timothy. "Talk with Mrs. Kingston," The New York Times Book Review. 1 : 25 - 27 ; June, 1980.
- Phillips, Shelley. "Mother Daughter Relationship: From Infancy to Adulthood," Paper presentde at a seminar at the Unit for Child Studies. University of New South Wales. (Kensington, Australia, July 24, 1981).
- Porter, Richard E. and Larry Samovar A. "An Introduction to Intercultural Communication," in Intercultural Communication: A Reader, edited by Larry A. Samovar and Richard E. Porter. p. 4 - 25. California : Wadsworth, 1994.
- Queen, Stuart A., Robert Habenstein and Jill Quidagno. The Family in Various Cultures. 5th ed. New York : Harper & Row, 1985.
- Rodbamroomg, Orasa. The Negroes' "Quest For Identity" in James Baldwin's Fiction. Dissertation : Srinakharinwirot University, 1987. photocopied.
- Rofe, Husein and others. Things Chinese. 3rd ed. Kowloon : Swindon Book, 1979.
- Rolf, Robert. "On Maxine Hong Kingston and The Woman Warrior [1976]," Kyushu American Literature. 23 : 1 - 10 : May, 1982.

- Rosenthal, Doreen A. "Later Childhood and Adolescence," in Children's Ethnic Socialization. edited by Jean S. Phinney and Mary Jane Rotheram. p. 160 - 180. California : SAGE Publications, 1987.
- Ruth, Sheila. Issues in Feminism : An Introduction to Women's Studies. California : Mayfield Publishing Company, 1990.
- Ryan, Bryan. "Kingston, Maxine (Ting Ting) Hong (1940-)," in Major 20th Century Writers. edited by Bryan Ryan. p. 1633 - 1636. Detroit : Gale Research, Inc., 1992.
- Santatiwongchai, Rabiab. Black Americans in William Faulkner's Novels Dissertation : Srinakharinwirot University, 1989. photocopied.
- Sato, Gayle K. Fujita. "The Woman Warrior as a Search for Ghosts," in Approaches to Teaching Kingston's The Woman Warrior. edited by Shirley Geok-lin Lim. p. 138 - 145. New York : Modern Language Association of America, 1991.
- Schueller, Malini. "Questioning Race and Gender Definitions : Dialogic Subversions in The Woman Warrior," Criticism : A Quarterly for Literature and the Arts. 31 (4) : 421 - 437 ; Fall, 1989.
- Shear, Walter. "Generational Differences and the Diaspora in the The Joy Luck Club," Critique. 34 (3) : 193-194 ; Spring, 1993.
- Smelser, Neil J. Sociology. New Jersey : Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1981.
- Smith, Arthur H. Chinese Characteristics. 5th ed. London : Oliphant, 1900.
- Smith, D. Howard. Confucius. New York : Chales Scribner's Sons, 1973.
- Tan, Amy. The Joy Luck Club. London : Mandarin Paperbacks, 1994.
- Tischler, Henry L. Introduction to Sociology. New York : DBS College Publishing, 1983.
- Trosky, Susan M. "Tan, Amy (1952-)," in Contemporary Author Vol. 136. edited by Susan M. Trosky. p. 414 - 415. Detroit : Gale Research, Inc., 1992.
- TuSmith, Bonnie. "Literary Tricksterism Maxine Hong Kingston's The Woman Warrior : Memoirs of a Girlhood among Ghosts," Lit: Literature Interpretation Theory. 2 (4) : 249 - 259 ; 1991.
- Vander Zanden, James W. American Minority Relations. 2nd ed. New York : Ronald Press, 1966.
- Wong, Sau-Ling Cynthia. "Kingston's Handling of Traditional Chinese Sources," in Approaches to Teaching Kingston's The Woman Warrior. edited by Shirley Geok-lin Lim. p. 20 - 36. New York : Modern language Association of America, 1991.

- Wong, Sau-Ling Cynthia. "Necessity and Extravagance in Maxine Hong Kingston's *The Woman Warrior* : Art and the Ethnic Experience," MELUS. 15 (1) : 3 - 26 ; Spring, 1988.
- Yum, June Ock. "The Impact of Confucianism of Interpersonal Relationships and Communication Pattern in East Asia," in Intercultural Communication : A Reader. edited by Larry A Samovar and Richard E. Porter. p. 75 - 86. Seattle : University of Washington Press, 1994.
- Yung, Judy. Chinese Women of America : a Pictorial History. Seattle : University of Washington Press, 1986.

THE RESEARCHER'S BRIEF BACKGROUND

Name: Miss Watcharee Poonpipatpon
Date of Birth: March 10, 1960
Place of Birth: Narathiwat
Address: 293/57 Prachachuen Road, Bangsue, Bangkok 10800
Position: ---
Office: Rajamangala Institute of Technology (Bophit Phimuk
Maha Mek Campus)

Educational Background:

1979	Certificate of Arts (French) from the Demonstration School of Prince of Songkla University
1983	Bachelor of Arts (English) from Chulalongkorn University
1996	Master of Education (English) from Srinakharinwirot University

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS
AS PRESENTED IN THE WOMAN WARRIOR AND THE JOY LUCK CLUB**

**AN ABSTRACT
BY
WATCHAREE POONPIPATPON**

**Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Master of Education Degree in English
at Srinakharinwirot University**

March 1996

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationships between the immigrant mothers and their Chinese-American daughters in Kingston's autobiographical fiction The Woman Warrior, and Tan's novel The Joy Luck Club to better understand their relationships.

The result of the study shows that the bonds between the mothers and daughters remained strong, although there were conflicts that were caused by two main factors--biculturalism and patriarchy. Because the mothers in both books were ethnocentric, they wanted their daughters to adopt their Chinese heritage while the latter wanted to assimilate American culture. Kingston's mother, Brave Orchid, even reiterated that China was her children's home and hoped that her family could return there someday. She trained Kingston to be feminine as patriarchy expected girls to be so that she could be married off, but Kingston did not want to be an obedient wife and daughter-in-law, and she decided to further her studies instead of serving her mother's wish to see her marry. On the contrary, the mothers in The Joy Luck Club expected their daughters to strive for achievement and success so that they could depend on themselves, and although their attempts to instill patriarchal values such as obedience, reticence, and chastity showed that they were more or less still influenced by patriarchy, they did not want their daughters to comply with patriarchy, encouraging the latter to speak for themselves instead of letting their husbands take advantage of them.

The daughters in both books were angry at their mothers for trying to shape their identities because they wanted to be autonomous, but when they reached maturity, they understood that their mothers had done everything for them out of love, so there was reconciliation eventually. Moreover, they began to be interested in their Chinese heritage and search for their roots.

การวิเคราะห์ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างแม่และลูกสาวในนวนิยายเรื่อง
THE WOMAN WARRIOR และ THE JOY LUCK CLUB

บทคัดย่อ
ของ
วัชรีย์ พูนพิพัฒน์ผล

เสนอต่อมหาวิทยาลัยศรีนครินทรวิโรฒ ประสานมิตร เพื่อเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษา
ตามหลักสูตรปริญญาการศึกษามหาบัณฑิต วิชาเอกภาษาอังกฤษ

มีนาคม 2539

ปริญญานิพนธ์นี้มีจุดมุ่งหมายเพื่อศึกษาความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างแม่ซึ่งเป็นชาวจีนอพยพ และลูกสาวซึ่งเกิดและเติบโตในอเมริกา ในงานเขียนของคิงส์ตันเรื่อง The Woman Warrior และงานเขียนของ เอมี คัน เรื่อง The Joy Luck Club เพื่อจะได้เข้าใจความสัมพันธ์ ระหว่างแม่และลูกสาวในงานเขียนทั้งสองเรื่องได้ลึกซึ้งยิ่งขึ้น

ผลของการศึกษาปรากฏดังนี้คือ ความผูกพันระหว่างแม่และลูกสาวยังคงแน่นแฟ้น แม้ความขัดแย้งระหว่างพวกเขาจะเกิดขึ้นจากปัจจัยหลักสองประการ คือ การเป็นผู้มีสองวัฒนธรรม และการอยู่ในสังคมที่มีค่านิยม ซึ่งทำให้ผู้ชายได้เปรียบผู้หญิง เนื่องจากแม่ในงานเขียนทั้งสองเรื่องมองว่าวัฒนธรรมของตนดีกว่าวัฒนธรรมของชาวอเมริกัน พวกเขาจึงต้องการให้ลูกได้รับมรดกทางวัฒนธรรมของตน แต่ลูกต้องการที่จะรับวัฒนธรรมของชาวอเมริกัน แม่ของคิงส์ตันคือ เบรฟ ออร์คิด พร้าบอกเสมอว่า ประเทศจีนคือบ้านของลูก ๆ และหวังว่าสักวันหนึ่ง ครอบครัวจะได้กลับไปอยู่ประเทศจีน เธอพยายามอบรม สั่งสอนให้คิงส์ตันเป็นกุลสตรีตามค่านิยม ที่ผู้ชายกำหนดไว้ เพื่อที่เธอจะได้แต่งงาน แต่คิงส์ตันไม่ต้องการที่จะเป็นภรรยาที่ต้องเชื่อฟังสามี และพ่อแม่ของสามี เธอจึงตัดสินใจศึกษาต่อ แทนที่จะแต่งงานตามที่แม่ของเธอปรารถนา ในทางกลับกัน แม่ในเรื่อง The Joy Luck Club คาดหวังให้ลูกไขว่คว้าหาความสำเร็จเพื่อที่จะได้ ฟังพาดตนเองได้ แม้ว่าพวกเขายังคงปลูกฝังค่านิยมที่ผู้ชายกำหนดว่าหญิงพึงจะเป็น เช่นการเป็น คนหัวอ่อน เชื่อฟังผู้อื่น การเก็บความรู้สึก และการรักษาพรหมจรรย์ อันแสดงให้เห็นว่า พวกเขายังคงได้รับอิทธิพลจากสังคมที่ผู้ชายเป็นฝ่ายกำหนดค่านิยม แต่พวกเขาก็ไม่ต้องการให้ ลูก ๆ ต้องยอมผู้ชาย พวกเขาสนับสนุนให้ลูกพูดเพื่อตนเอง แทนที่จะยอมให้สามีเอาเปรียบโดย ไม่ปริปากใด ๆ

ลูกสาวในงานเขียนทั้งสองเรื่องโกรธแม่ที่จะพยายามกำหนดให้พวกเขาเป็นตามที่แม่ต้องการ ในขณะที่พวกเขาต้องการเป็นตัวของตัวเอง แต่เมื่อพวกเขาเป็นผู้ใหญ่ขึ้นก็เข้าใจว่า แม่ทำทุกอย่างด้วยความรักลูก ดังนั้น จึงกลับมีความสัมพันธ์ที่ดีกับแม่