

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter shows a depth analysis of Jing Mei's categories of acculturation strategy as a second-generation Chinese American. The first part of this chapter focuses on the way Jing Mei as a Chinese-American identifies herself. Therefore, Kennedy and Hall's (2006) ethnic indicator theory is used to understand Jing Mei's cultural orientation or her sense of belonging to Chinese and American cultures. The second part of this chapter reveals the outcome of Jing Mei's cultural orientation that is expressed through the category of acculturation strategy. Berry's (2006) acculturation strategy theory is used to show Jing Mei's cultural orientation. The four categories consist of separation, integration, marginalization, and assimilation.

4.1. The way Jing Mei as a Chinese American identifies herself

After analyzing *Two Kinds* short story, the writer found that Jing Mei's identification of Chinese and American cultures is dominated by her American culture because her Americanness is superior to her Chineseness. As a second-generation immigrant Jing Mei blends into American culture perfectly because the analysis of this study found that Jing Mei feels affiliated with American culture and accepts the culture as her anchor of life because Jing Mei's behavior and way of thinking reflect American culture. Therefore, the writer's focus of discussion is Jing Mei's way of identifying herself by adopting American culture. The writer came up with that statement because the whole story is found to have described Jing Mei's interaction with American culture

more than her interaction with her culture of origin, Chinese culture. Jing Mei's contact with American culture is more dominant because she was introduced to American culture at a very young age by her mother, Mrs. Suyuan Woo, who is an immigrant from China. The idea of the American dream is the main cause of the mother's act to introduce Jing Mei to American culture. Jing Mei's mother's principle of the American dream is shown below:

“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. “Of course, you can be a prodigy, too,” my mother told me when I was nine. “You can be best at anything”.” (Tan, 1989, p. 1)

The phrase you could be anything you wanted to be in America strongly prove that *Two Kinds* short story is opened with a strong statement of the American dream. It can be said that the main idea of the whole story tends to be about the Americans. Being an immigrant in the U.S. draws people to have the American dream. The American dream is an equal opportunity that applies to every human to achieve anything which can make life better and richer (Batta & Baghwar, 2021). To live out the American dream, Jing Mei's mother showered Jing Mei with American culture. The analysis of the story finds three elements of American culture introduced by Jing Mei's mother (see table 4.1). The process to achieve the American dream indirectly draws Jing Mei to be more familiar with American culture than Chinese culture.

The three elements of Jing Mei's introduction to American culture play a part in Jing Mei's Americanization. Likewise, the writer found that Jing Mei's experiences with American culture through the three elements introduced by her mother such as film watch, magazines, book read, and talk Shows reveal six ethnic indicators. Those six ethnic indicators help to acknowledge Jing Mei's cultural orientation (see table 4.1).

Table 4.1

Jing Mei's Introduction to American Culture by her mother and the Six Ethnic Indicators

No	Element	Description	Ethnic Indicator
1	Film watched	Jing Mei watches an American film starring <i>Shirley Temple</i>	. Language used at home . Mass media consumption . Attachment to cultural icon
2	Magazine and Book read	Jing Mei gets tests about the American culture inspired by American magazines such as Ripley's Believe It or Not, Good Housekeeping, and Reader's Digest. The tests consist of remembering the capital of the States and Europe, Finding the queen of hearts in a playing card, gymnastics, and predicting the daily temperature in Los Angeles, New York City, and London. The last test given to Jing Mei is retelling the story of Jehoshaphat in Christian scripture; the holy bible:	. Pride in being a member of a cultural group . Cultural life view . Attitude towards in-group and out-group

3	Talk show	Jing Mei watches an American talk show which is <i>Ed Sullivan's</i> show
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Source: Tan (1989)

These six indicators validated the writer's argument for Jing Mei's Americanization because this theory aims to define a person's cultural orientation (Kennedy & Hall, 2006). Those six ethnic indicators are divided into two sections; The first three indicators comprise language used at home, mass media consumption, and attachment to icons are identified in the stage when Jing Mei is pursuing the American dream told by her mother whereas the next three indicators such as pride in being a member of a cultural group, cultural life view, and attitude towards in-group and out-group are shown in the phase of Jing Mei cultural values transformation or Jing Mei's changes of values (see figure 4.5). The forming of Jing Mei's Americanization is known through her journey in exploring American culture introduced by her mother and the validity shown in the six indicators of ethnic indicator theory.

Jing Mei's first introduction to American culture to reach the idea of the American dream is seen through the option of a film watched which is an American film. Instead of watching Chinese films, Jing Mei is suggested by her mother to watch an American movie starring Shirley Temple. "We'd watch Shirley's old movies on TV as though they were training films" (Tan, 1989, p. 1). The phrase as though they were training films is very interesting because it shows the idea that the film is not shown as mere entertainment but as a part of her training as an American. On the other hand, that

dialogue indicates two ethnic indicators in Kennedy and Hall's theory. The second and fifth ethnic indicators are shown here such as the language used at home and Mass media consumption in the language of the culture concerned (see table 2.1). Jing Mei uses the English language in communication and she consumes American films starring Shirley Temple as her mass media consumption.

Shirley Temple is an American actress who was a popular child film star in the 1930s (Harmetz, 2014). Hatch (2015) added that Shirley Temple's known as the most recognized child star in the history of Hollywood. Jing Mei's mother is very enthusiastic about introducing Shirley Temple's film, she will not let Jing Mei miss it. "My mother would poke my arm and say, Ni Kan. You watch." (Tan, 1989, p. 1). This dialogue shows the mother's attempts to make Jing Me pay attention to the film. The action poke done by the mother expresses her determination to make Jing Mei watch the film. Similarly, the mother's speech you watch technically sounds intimidating like a command for people to do something quickly in an aggressive way.

In association with watching a film, culture is also reflected through them. In this respect, Shirley Temple's film portrays American culture because Shirley Temple is a famous child film star in the United States. In this case, Shirley Temple is the representation of American culture that complies with the film. There are three aspects of American culture that are shown in this film (see figure 4.1). The first is the dress that Shirley Temple wears. The second is the utilization of the English language as a main tool of communication. The last aspect of American culture that is expressed in this film is Shirley Temple's model of hairstyle.

Figure 4.1

The Physical Appearance of Shirley Temple



Source: (<https://www.google.com/search?q=shirley+temple+dress+in+1930s&source>)

This picture portrays the figure of Shirley Temple who wears a sophisticated dress with a touch of ruffles on the shoulder and a puff-sleeved one. The material used is also a lightweight cotton fabric that contains polka dots and a check pattern. Al-Rifai (2019) proclaimed that those characteristics of fashion match the 1930s American fashion era. The era when people tend to wear simple dresses due to the economic crisis. Then, this kind of dress was popular in the 1930s which also made Shirley known as an influencer in American children's fashion (Reddy, 2020). Hence, watching Shirley Temple's film is Jing Mei's first introduction to American culture. Shirley's fashion indicates the American culture. Likewise, American culture also expresses through the use of a correct pronunciation of the American expression in Shirley

Temple's film. "I would see Shirley pursing her lips into a very round O while saying "Oh, my goodness". (Tan, 1989, p. 1). Jing Mei said this while she was watching the film. In this matter, oh my goodness is a Western expression that is used to express different emotional states. In Western society, it is used as a well-mannered expression of cursing because the phrase oh my goodness is a euphemism for oh my god. Euphemism refers to the polite way of swearing by substituting a word free of negative connotation (Lynneng, 2015). Oh, my goodness is used to avoid unpleasant or inappropriate words which can offend people's feelings. Additionally, this expression has diverse functions whether to express anger, shock, surprise, worry, and excitement. This expression is commonly used by Americans to express their feelings. Lastly, the other factor that portrays American culture in *Shirley Temple's* film is her hairstyle. Reddy (2020) has explained earlier that Shirley is the trend mark of fashion, then her hairstyle is not an exception. Jing Mei's mother makes Jing Mei copy Shirley's haircut and hairstyle.

"At first my mother thought I could be a Chinese Shirley Temple...Soon after my mother got this idea about Shirley Temple, she took me to the beauty training school in the Mission District and put me in the hands of a student who could barely hold the scissors without shaking. Instead of getting big fat curls, I emerged with an uneven mass of crinkly black fuzz." (Tan, 1989, p. 1)

Watching Shirley Temple's film gives Jing Mei's mother an idea to transform her into a Chinese Shirley Temple to make her fit in American society. Jing Mei's mother even took her to the saloon to have her haircut and hairstyle done just like Shirley's hair;

short-length hair with a big fat curl (see figure 4.1). In short, the above explanation vividly shows how much desire Jing Mei's mother has to make Jing Mei American. This action is the best evidence to prove that the mother is very excited and deeply oriented about Jing Mei's Americanization.

The second introduction to American culture that Jing Mei received through her mother is learning plenty of things that are inspired by American magazines. Those inspirational magazines consist of *Ripley's Believe It or Not*, *Good Housekeeping*, and *Reader's Digest* (see figure 4.2). The first magazine is *Ripley's Believe It or Not*. It is an entertaining magazine because it provides shocking and interesting content about strange cultural practices, artifacts, abilities, and bodies of people and animals from around the world (Haughenbury, 2016). This magazine provides educational information for children which wraps in a humorous style.

The second magazine is *Good Housekeeping*. It is a women's magazine published in the United States of America. The magazine specialized in the feminized world which embraces all girl's and women's issues. Liu and Malik (2022) elaborated that *Good Housekeeping* magazine dominantly talks about constructing femininity by shaping women's ideas, values, and behavior. Thus, this magazine specializes in a spectrum of girls and women's worlds.

Finally, the last magazine is *Reader's Digest*. This magazine was initially launched specifically for Latin American audiences (Andrade, 2019). Andrade said that this magazine indirectly asserts the American cultural campaign to the people in Latin America, expecting that this international edition might bring Latin American readers

further into the U.S. cultural and political information. This magazine is a tool of propaganda during the cold war which later the professional and educated ones in Latin America viewed as a broader cultural and commercial diplomatic strategy (Andrade, 2019). Along the way, *Reader's Digest* becomes a global family magazine that talks about plenty of topics and articles for instance, health, food, arts, knowledge, beauty, entertainment, etc. (“About Reader’s Digest,” 2023).

Figure 4.2

American Inspirational Magazines such as Ripley’s Believe It or Not, Good Housekeeping, and Reader’s Digest



Source: (<https://www.google.com/search?q=Ripley%27s+Believe+It+or+Not%2C+Good+Housekeeping%2C+and+Reader%27s+digest+1980+magazine>)

After reading those three magazines, Jing Mei’s mother presents several tests about American culture to Jing Mei, inspired by the story in the magazine. “She would present new tests, taking her examples from stories of amazing children that she read in Ripley's Believe It or Not or Good Housekeeping, Reader's Digest...she kept in a

pile in our bathroom.” (Tan, 1989, p. 1). There are four kinds of tests the mother gives to Jing Mei after she read those magazines. Each of the tests presented by the mother indirectly increased Jing Mei’s knowledge about America. The first test is remembering all the States and Europe’s capital.

“The first night she brought out a story about a three-year-old boy who knew the capitals of all the states and even most of the European countries. A teacher was quoted as saying that the little boy could also pronounce the names of foreign cities correctly. "What's the capital of Finland? My mother asked me, looking at the story.” (Tan, 1989, p. 1)

These dialogues denote Jing Mei’s mother’s seriousness in accustoming Jing Mei to American society because the mother even took an initiative to teach her the States and Europe Capital herself rather than making Jing Mei study the capital of China and the city in China.

The second test that makes Jing Mei more familiar with American culture is playing a deck of cards. Playing cards first arrived in Europe around 1370 and were reported in France in 1377 (Velasco E et al., 2017). The arrival of playing cards in Europe developed into several kinds of cards but the most popular one is the French playing card. The fame of the French playing card in Europe spreads to the United States of America. The Americans then adopted a French playing card—the French deck—which was later called the Anglo-American deck card in America (Velasco E et al., 2017). The Anglo-American deck card is a playing card that people commonly know nowadays. It contains fifty-two playing cards clustered in four suits such as clubs,

spades, diamonds, and hearts. The suits differ in two colors; clubs and spades with black, diamonds, and hearts with red. Besides, each suit includes numbers from two to ten, an Ace, Jack, Queen, and King (see figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3

The Americans Playing Card Games and China's Mahjong Games



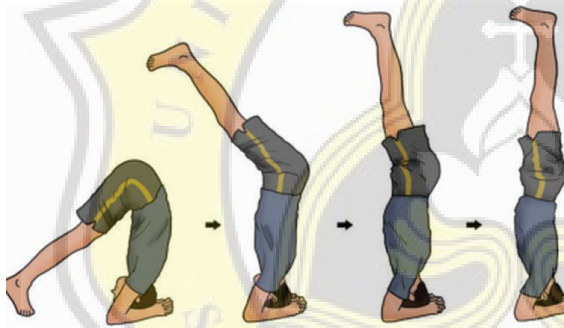
Source: (<https://www.google.com/search?q=52+deck+of+playing+cards+and+mahjong>)

This playing card is associated with Western society, in this case, Europe and the States. Considering that this playing card is related to Western culture has strengthened the writer's argument that the mother introduces Jing Mei to the American playing card games because the mother commands Jing Mei to find or figure out one specific card in a deck of cards, "Finding the queen of hearts in a deck of cards." (Tan, 1989, p. 1). This dialogue explained the interest of Jing Mei's mother to make Jing Mei understand the American games card rather than the Chinese mahjong game (see figure 4.3). Mahjong is a Chinese traditional game for four players (Greene, 2016).

Gymnastics is the third test inspired by the magazine's story. Wibowo (2019) explained that gymnastics help to maintain the body's physical strength, flexibility, balance, and confidence. Boyle (2019) elaborated that gymnastics require the use of the entire body from head to toe. "Trying to stand on my head without using my hands" (Tan, 1989, p. 1) is the test the mother gave to Jing Mei. This pose is called a headstand (see figure 4.4). Headstand is one of the variations of poses included in gymnastics.

Figure 4.4

The Example of Headstand Pose.



Source: (<https://www.google.com/search?q=headstand&rlz>)

According to the Federation Internationale de Gymnastique or FIG—the governing institute for gymnastics around the world—gymnastics is a very popular sport in America (Galic, 2013). Carl Charles Beck, Carl Charles Follen, and Francis Lieber are the three people who started the history of Gymnastics in America (Grossfeld, 2010). The love of U.S. people in gymnastics makes the existence of gymnastics in America grow bigger. Historically, gymnastics was initially established at the University of Harvard in 1932. At this time, gymnastics began to be one of the

majors on the college campus. As time goes by, in 1826 the University of Yale also add gymnastics to the college campus. Gymnastics not only occurs in university but also spreads to the school course and athletic club. Gymnastics competitions started to make an appearance around the 1800s and 1900s in the U.S. (Grossfeld, 2010). Thus, studying gymnastics is one of the ways to be a part of American society, especially in the sports field. By doing so, Jing Mei is introduced to the famous sport in America.

Jing Mei's fourth test which takes an example from the magazine is guessing the daily temperature in a few cities in the States and Europe. This test is absurd and hard because Jing Mei has to predict the daily temperature of certain cities. "Predicting the daily temperatures in Los Angeles, New York, and London" (Tan, 1989, pp. 1) is the test given by her mother. This test sounds odd because Jing Mei is not a psychic. It is impossible to make a right guess. Nevertheless, the test depicts the pathetic side of the mother in affiliating Jing Mei with American society. On the contrary, the mother might know that the test is somehow ridiculous but she put her best effort to make Jing Mei attached to American society.

The last test set up by Jing Mei's mother which makes Jing Mei familiar with American culture is reading Christian scripture—the Holy bible. "One night I had to look at a page from the Bible for three minutes and then report everything I could remember. "Now Jehoshaphat had riches and honor in abundance and... that's all I remember, Ma,"." (Tan, 1989, p. 2). This line shows that Jing Mei is trying to retell the story about Jehoshaphat and reported it to her mother. By doing so, Jing Mei practiced a sense of Christianity since the holy bible is Christian scripture. On the other

hand, Chinese people traditionally embrace Confucianism or Taoism. Confucianism and Taoism are two kinds of Chinese traditional religions that are diffused in Chinese societies and those religions also affect their cultural values (Ting et al., 2020) while Christianity is connected to American culture. Jacobs and Theiss-Morse (2013) found, in 2008, 78 percent of Americans identify themselves as Christian. Later, Kramer et al (2020) updated the data in 2020, where 64 percent of the people in the U.S. are Christian. These data explicitly show that Christianity is a dominant religion in America. As a country that embraces Christian beliefs and values then the aspect of Christianity is seen in America. For instance, putting the phrase God we trust on the currency, the president always takes the oath of office using the bible, saying god bless you if someone is yawning, praying is led in a Christian way in each legislative session, the post office does not deliver the package on Sunday, and the government and business activity are close on the major of Christian holiday yet remain open on the major holiday of other religions (Jacobs & Theiss-Morse, 2013). Christianity is also associated with American traditions such as Christmas, Easter, and Thanksgiving (Oboye, 2020). Jacobs and Theiss-Morse (2013) elaborated that one must be Christian to be truly American. According to that explanation, the act of Jing Mei who read the Jehoshaphat story in a bible strongly proves that she is practicing American culture.

On the other hand, the bible qualified as the eighth indicator in Kennedy and Hall's (2006) ethnic indicators theory. The eighth indicator is a person's level of attachment to the cultural icon representing their culture (see table 2.1). In this case, the bible is the icon of Christianity that represents American culture. The other

American icon that Jing Mei brings into this discussion is the Disney character, Cinderella. Cinderella is related to American culture because it is one of the characters in Walt Disney—the American company founded in 1923 (Schmidt, 2019). “I was Cinderella stepping from her pumpkin carriage with sparkly cartoon music filling the air.” (Tan, 1989, p. 1). This dialogue expresses Jing Mei’s imagination about becoming a perfect daughter to her Chinese mother by accomplishing the mother’s American dream. Jing Mei’s comparison of her perfection to Cinderella signifies her sense of American culture.

The writer’s analysis also found that the English language is the tool of communication that Jing Mei used in delivering her speech. All of Jing Mei’s dialogues that she delivers in this second introduction to the American culture—American magazine and the holy bible—are in English. In this matter, the second ethnic indicator in Kennedy and Hall’s (2006) theory is proven. The second ethnic indicator is the language used at home (see table 2.1). The use of English in Jing Mei’s speech shows her engagement with the English language.

Watching the *Ed Sullivan Show* is the last element of Jing Mei’s introduction to American culture introduced by her Chinese mother. A person’s preferences for a television show can be an indicator to understand one’s cultural interests. For instance, Indonesians who watch Korean entertainment programs feel affiliated with Korean culture. It is proven by the emergence of Korean food, Korean vocabulary in daily activities, Korean makeup looks, and Korean outfit styles in Indonesia (Indrawan et al., 2022). Therefore, TV shows or entertainment programs indeed show a person’s cultural

interest. In this respect, Jing Mei's mother suggests Jing Mei to watch *Ed Sullivan's* show which is the most influential entertainment show in America from 1948 to 1971 (Inglis, 2006). *Ed Sullivan's* show attracted Jing Mei's mother's attention when the show appeared on TV. When the show is running, Jing Mei's mother will adjust the TV's settings considering that the TV is old and has sound trouble, making it difficult to catch the narrative. The mother fixed the TV's setting because she wants to get clear audio to watch *Ed Sullivan's* show.

“The TV was old and the sound kept shorting out. Every time my mother got halfway up from the sofa to adjust the set, the sound would come back on and Sullivan would be talking. As soon as she sat down, Sullivan would go silent again. She got up - the TV broke into loud piano music. She sat down - silence. Up and down, back and forth, quiet and loud. It was like a stiff, embrace-less dance between her and the TV set.” (Tan, 1989, p. 2)

The act of going back and forth fixing the TV can be interpreted as the persistence of Jing Mei's mother to be able to watch the TV show. Then, when the TV operates well the mother quickly calls Jing Mei, “Ni Kan, my mother said, calling me over with hurried hand gestures “Look here”.” (Tan, 1989, p. 2). The use of hurried hand gestures functions to give Jing Mei a signal to move quickly so that she does not miss the show. Thus, *Ed Sullivan's* show is Jing Mei's introduction to the American entertainment program. Additionally, watching *Ed Sullivan's* shows denotes the second and fifth ethnic indicators in Kennedy and Hall's (2006) ethnic indicators theory (see table 2.1). As shown in the dialogues above, Jing Mei uses English to describe her mother's action

in fixing the TV and her mother's command to make her watch the talk show. This signifies that English is her tool of communication which also matches the second ethnic indicator—the language used at home. Watching *Ed Sullivan's* entertainment is categorized in the fifth ethnic indicator, mass media consumption. Therefore, Jing Mei is being American when she watches American TV shows.

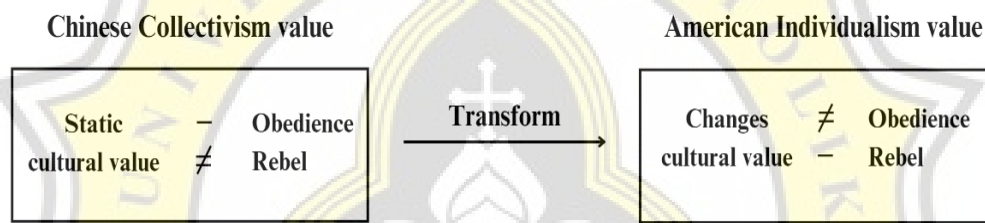
In general, watching *Shirley Temple's* film, *Ed Sullivan* TV show, and getting tests inspired by the story in the American magazine such as remembering the States and Europe's capital, playing a deck of cards, gymnastics, predicting Los Angeles, New York City, and London's daily temperature, also getting a test to retell the story of Jehoshaphat that exist in the bible are the evidence of the tremendous influence of American culture that Jing Mei obtains from her mother to make Jing Mei's reach the American dream. The mother believes that by practicing American culture, Jing Mei can be a successful person because America is the land of opportunity.

In the process to achieve the mother's American dream, Jing Mei undergoes a self-development process of the way Jing Mei recognizes her true self. Comprehending American culture either from the host society or her mother's introduction changes Jing Mei's cultural values, from Chinese Collectivism to American Individualism (see figure 4.5). The traits of Chinese Collectivism are children have to obey their parents in every situation, disobedient behavior to parents is prohibited, children have to bring grace to the family name, and individual interest is not allowed in Chinese society because collective interest is the main value in the Chinese community, whereas, the traits of American Individualism are focused on the individual right to celebrate their

own interest rather than the collective interest. American Individualism valued individual rights, self-freedom, and self-independence. The changes in Jing Mei’s cultural values happened because Jing Mei is showered with American culture by her mother and she is also living in America. Therefore, Jing Mei is more likely to view things from the American perspective than the Chinese’.

Figure 4.5

The Transformation of Jing Mei’s Cultural Values



Notes: The writer’s personal figures

The extreme obedience implied in Chinese children is the main reason for Jing Mei’s conversion to American Individualism values. Primarily, Jing Mei is similar to any other child in the Chinese community. She obeys and respects her mother. It is essential to keep in mind that Jing Mei’s character is described as a nine years old girl in this story, therefore, she is categorized as a Chinese child. Huang (2012) explained that Chinese children have a duty to obey their parents and elders. Jing Mei’s obedience behavior is acknowledged when Jing Mei is told to look like Shirley Temple—the American child film star (see table 4.1). “Soon after my mother got this idea about Shirley Temple, she took me to the beauty training school in the Mission District....

Instead of getting big fat curls, I emerged with an uneven mass of crinkly black fuzz” (Tan, 1989, p. 1). This dialogue express that Jing Mei does not concern or is disturbed by her mother’s idea to change her appearance into Shirley Temple, in contrast, Jing Mei is happy, as she said “In the beginning, I was just as excited as my mother, maybe even more so”(Tan, 1989, p. 1). This dialogue shows Jing Mei’s desire to become a perfect daughter to her mother by obeying her mother’s dream to achieve the idea of the American dream.

Generally speaking, it is an obligation to be an obedient child despite what country one is from. However, the Chinese concept of an obedient child is different from any other country because it roots in Confucianism values which aim to create a harmonious society. To establish harmony in the Chinese community, children are expected to listen to their parents and follow the rules they set. Rebellious behavior is prohibited yet obeying parents is the only option (Huang, 2012). Therefore, the term tiger mother becomes a stereotype of the Chinese parenting style. Tiger mother refers to a strict, demanding mother with high expectations for the children to achieve things they have planned for them (Xie & Li, 2017). Tiger mother also indicates how the mother restricts their children from having self-freedom, leaving them fewer opportunities to make decisions and a low capacity to express themselves freely (Xie & Li, 2017).

Additionally, the stereotype of the ideal Chinese type of child is acknowledged through the child who perfectly obeys and follows the parent’s rules without rebellion. “In all of my imaginings, I was filled with a sense that I would soon become perfect:

my father and mother would adore me” (Tan, 1989, p. 1). This mindset constructs a paradigm and perception in Jing Mei’s mind to qualify as a perfect Chinese child. “Sometimes the prodigy in me became impatient. If you don't hurry up and get me out of here, I'm disappearing for good, it warned. And then you'll always be nothing” (Tan, 1989, p. 1). The phrase then you will always be nothing is very interesting because Jing Mei is visualizing herself as a failure if she does not meet her mother’s expectations. This line denotes the strong value of Chinese Collectivism, obeying and fulfilling her mother’s expectations is very crucial to Jing Mei. At this point, rebellious behavior is undetected but Jing Mei portrays as an obedient Chinese child (see figure 4.5).

As time goes by, Jing Mei’s cultural values change. She realizes that each individual has a right to control their own life and not be bound by others. At this stage, Jing Mei’s rebellious behavior begins. From the analysis of this story, the writer found that Jing Mei’s changes in values happen because of her behavior transformation from obedient to rebellious and disobedient behavior. Jing Mei’s rebellious and disobedient behavior portrays when she refuses to listen to her mother anymore and stand for her own interest, as Jing Mei said “I didn't have to do what mother said anymore. I wasn't her slave. This wasn't China. “Then I wish I weren't your daughter, I wish you weren't my mother”.” (Tan, 1989, p. 5) Rebellious behavior toward a parent is highly forbidden in the Chinese community (Huang, 2012). Therefore, Jing Mei’s rebellious and disobedient behavior indicates that Jing Mei is rejecting her culture of origin, Chinese culture. Those two characteristics of Jing Mei’s changes of behavior are identified in

the second and third elements of Jing Mei's exposure to American culture introduced by her mother (see table 4.1).

Getting several tests given by her mother inspired by the American magazine and the Christian holy bible is the second element of American culture that Jing Mei experienced due to achieving the American dream. The tests given to Jing Mei bring an inner conflict to herself, as seen in this dialogue "After seeing, once again, my mother's disappointed face, something inside me began to die. I hated the tests, the raised hopes and failed expectations." (Tan, 1989, p. 2). The phrase something inside me began to die means the decreasing Jing Mei's confidence to become the daughter that her mother expects her to be. The fact that Jing Mei hates her mother's high expectations represents the inversion values compared with her initial spirit, Jing Mei's excitement to achieve the American dream. In this phase, Jing Mei realizes that she could only be herself. People do not have a right to transform or change her even if it is her mother. As shown below:

"I saw what seemed to be the prodigy side of me - a face I had never seen before. I looked at my reflection, blinking so that I could see more clearly. The girl staring back at me was angry, and powerful. She and I were the same. I had new thoughts, willful thoughts - or rather, thoughts filled with lots of won't. I won't let her change me, I promised myself. I won't be what I'm not." (Tan, 1989, p. 2)

Jing Mei describes that she was angry with the situation of the over-controlling parents of the child. In this matter, Jing Mei is furious because she feels disrespected as a

human being for the efforts that she has poured to meet her mother's high expectations. Anger is a negative emotion, it is provoked by the frustration feeling of a person as a result of a reactive response to pain; physical or psychological (Novaco, 2016). Thereby, anger is an expression in responding to some wrong that has been done. The anger that Jing Mei feel is like some fuel to perceiving her self-freedom. As expressed in the phrase I won't let her change me, I promised myself. I won't be what I'm not. Consequently, Jing Mei begins to disobey her mother's command, "So now when my mother presented her tests, I performed listlessly, my head propped on one arm. I pretended to be bored. And I was." (Tan, 1989, p. 2). Comprehending the importance of individual interest as a human being leads Jing Mei to confront her mother's idea to achieve the American dream.

Jing Mei's changes in value are concretely shown in her third exposure to American culture. Jing Mei's behavior transformation expresses when she was forced to play piano that was inspired by *Ed Sullivan's Show*. "Three days after watching the Ed Sullivan Show my mother told me what my schedule would be for piano lessons and piano practice." (Tan, 1989, p. 2). Being told to do a piano lesson irritated Jing Mei as she said, "When my mother told me this, I felt as though I had been sent to hell. I whined, and then kicked my foot a little when I couldn't stand it anymore." (Tan, 1989, p. 2). Jing Mei illustrates her frustration in the phrase I felt as though I had been sent to hell. Hell is a place full of pain and suffering. It is a dark place where light does not exist. In this respect, Jing Mei visualizes the misery of taking a piano lesson as if she is being sent to hell. Furthermore, without Jing Mei's affirmation, the mother signs Jing

Mei up to play in the talent show, “A few weeks later Old Chong and my mother conspired to have me play in a talent show that was to be held in the church hall.” (Tan, 1989, p. 3).

Frequently being forced to do things against Jing Mei’s interest develop an exasperation and desperation feeling in Jing Mei, as shown in the dialogue, “Why don't you like me the way I am?" I cried. "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!" (Tan, 1989, p. 2). However, Jing Mei’s genuine self-expression does not touch the mother’s heart to embrace her daughter’s opinion. In contrast, the mother ignores it and keeps compelling Jing Mei to do things that she wanted Jing Mei to become. As shown in the situation when Jing Mei messed up her performance in the talent show instead of thinking that the mother has accepted Jing Mei the way she was but the mother persistently forces Jing Mei to play piano.

“I had assumed that my talent show fiasco meant that I would never have to play the piano again. But two days later, after school, my mother came out of the kitchen and saw me watching TV. "Four clocks," she reminded me as if it were any other day. I was stunned, as though she were asking me to go through the talent show torture again.” (Tan, 1989, p. 4)

By doing so, Jing Mei’s mother signifies an authoritarian or controlling parenting style, a tiger mother (Xu et al., 2005). This method of parenting emphasizes one-way communication, with the parents as the authority and the children who are banned from expressing arguments or complaints. Therefore, Jing Mei is a vulnerable girl because

she is imposed to show her genuine intention, dream, and even opinion. Every aspect of her life is under her mother's control. Living in this cycle of life makes Jing Mei wrathful. Then, Jing Mei makes a move to stand for her rights as a human being. She wants to be listened to and respected even though she is still a kid. Therefore, when Jing Mei's mother tells Jing Mei to play the piano again, Jing Mei refuses and disobeys.

“Turn off the TV, she called from the kitchen five minutes later. I didn't budge. And then I decided, I didn't have to do what 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, 1989, p. 5)

The phrase I was not her slave this was not China clarifies that Jing Mei is rejecting her culture of origin, Chinese culture, and adapting to American culture. In this respect, Jing Mei resists implying the characteristics of Chinese children in her life because they are like slaves, comply with their parents, and are afraid to stand up for themselves. The phrase this was not China emphasized that Jing Mei overlooked the Chinese culture because she is living in the United States, as Jing Mei said “You want me to be something that I'm not! I sobbed. I'll never be the kind of daughter you want me to be!” (Tan, 1989, p. 5). Jing Mei claimed that she will never be a Chinese obedient type of child who remains silent in all situations. Living in the States has changed her perspective on life. Facing the reality of Jing Mei's changes of values got on the mother's nerves, as she said “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, 1989, p. 5). This dialogue

vividly shows the two differences between Chinese and American cultural values. The obedient child is associated with Chinese Collectivism whereas the phrase the one who follows their own mind is associated with American Individualism because Americans highly valued individual freedom. Likewise, Jing Mei's Americanization also shows in the dialogue below:

“Then I wish I weren'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 that this awful side of me had surfaced, at last. “Then I wish I'd never been born!” I shouted.” (Tan, 1989, p. 5)

The fact that Jing Mei does not want to be her child and she wishes that she had never been born signifies the rejection of Chinese cultural values. The phrase but it also felt good, that this awful side of me had surfaced indicates that Jing Mei is overjoyed to be freed from her mother's cage. By saying that, Jing Mei indirectly admits that she is embracing American cultural values. Americans prioritize individual interests at all costs since Individualism is their cultural value (Peng, 2021). Self-independent, individual rights, and personal freedom are the core of American individualism (Peng, 2021). In short, American culture cares and respects individual interest in all meanings because they believe that each individual must have the power to celebrate life regardless of any intervention of other people.

The transformation of Jing Mei's cultural values happens due to her changes in obedience behavior to rebellious behavior. From a child who is concerned about the

family's happiness; sacrificing herself to accomplish her mother's interest in the American dream to a child who develops a sense of self-awareness to embrace herself completely. Kennedy and Hall's ethnic indicator also strengthened the argument for Jing Mei's Americanization; there are three ethnic indicators shown in this phase (see table 4.1). The first is Jing Mei's pride in being a member of the American cultural group. Second, Jing Mei is embracing Individualism values as her cultural life view. The last is the attitude towards out-group and in-group. Out-group refers to the people whom someone is uncomfortable with whereas in-group refers to the community that someone is comfortable with. Therefore, Jing Mei views Chinese society as her out-group and America as her in-group.

4.2 Jing Mei's Acculturation Strategy

Acculturation is the adapting process of an individual who lives in a new cultural environment. Adapting the new culture and maintaining the original culture are the two key points in the acculturation process. Berry (2005) defined that balancing those key points result in four different acculturation strategies; separation, marginalization, integration, and assimilation (see figure 2.1). From the analysis of this study, the writer found that Jing Mei's acculturation strategy is Assimilation. Assimilation is a term used to express a condition when people relinquish their original culture and adopt the host culture (Berry, 2005). Jing Mei is categorized in the assimilation process because she rejects her culture of origin, Chinese culture, and assimilates into American culture, the host culture.

The transformation of Jing Mei's cultural values is the reason for her assimilation, from Chinese Collectivism value to American Individualism value (see figure 4.5). In the beginning, Jing Mei embraces Chinese collectivist values because she practices those values in her life. Jing Mei is motivated to gain family recognition by achieving the American dream, the idea that her mother is captivated with. "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." (Tan, 1989, p. 1). This dialogue conveys Jing Mei's attachment to collectivist values because she imagines being a perfect child to her parents, the phrases I would soon become perfect and I would be beyond reproach express Jing Mei's determination to fit her mother's ideal type of daughter.

In the process to meet her mother's expectation of the American dream, Jing Mei becomes more sensible about her true self. It can be said that the mother's efforts to make Jing Mei reach the American dream resulted in Jing Mei's intensive comprehension of herself. "I didn't have to do what 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, 1989, p. 5). This dialogue strengthened the writer's argument for Jing Mei's assimilation. The phrase I was not her slave strongly expresses Jing Mei's realization of individual rights because she emphasized that she is not her mother's slave, a person who has no voice for their freedom. The following phrase this was not China also supports Jing Mei's Assimilation of her acculturation strategy because that phrase indicates Jing Mei's rejection of Chinese cultural values, in contrast, it shows

the acceptance of American cultural values because Jing Mei emphasizes the fact that she lives in America, not in China. In this respect, Jing Mei is adapting to American culture. Moreover, Jing Mei also shows her rejection of Chinese values—the obeying behavior and the sense of always following her parent’s rules (Huang, 2012)—in this dialogue “You want me to be something that I’m not!” I sobbed. I’ll never be the kind of daughter you want me to be!” (Tan, 1989, p. 5). The phrase you want me to be something that I am not is important to highlight because it interprets Jing Mei’s development of self-awareness. Eurich (2018) explained that self-awareness is the ability of an individual to know oneself clearly so that a person becomes more confident and active to make decisions and communicate effectively. Furthermore, the use of the adverb never in the phrase I’ll never be the kind of daughter you want me to be denote that Jing Mei does not care and is interested anymore to be a Chinese obedient child. Because of that, the mother said:

“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 weren’t your daughter, I wish you weren’t my mother,” I shouted.” (Tan, 1989, p. 5).

This dialogue vividly shows the result of Jing Mei’s acculturation process. The phrase only two kinds of a daughter, those who are obedient and those who follow their own mind, only one kind of daughter can live in this house, obedient daughter depicts China’s values which are the obedient and American values that prioritize individual interest over collective interest. Additionally, the phrase then I wish I weren’t your

daughter, I wish you weren't my mother proves Jing Mei's changes in values because she is brave to stand up for herself, vocal about her own desire, and not afraid to show her genuine intention.

Living in the United States has changed Jing Mei's perception of viewing things. At first, Jing Mei thinks that remaining silent is a weapon to be classified as a perfect daughter because she just has to obey and follow her mother's rules but after Jing Mei experienced it, she realizes that embracing herself is significant. Therefore, assimilation is the right strategy to define Jing Mei's acculturation process. As explained by Berry (2005) earlier, when a people not maintaining their culture of origin and decided to accept the host culture then, they are classified as people who assimilated into the recipient culture.