CHAPTER II LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Theoretical Description

1. Post-colonialism

Post-colonialism emerges as a result of colonialism. It refers to the discourse which deals with "the effects of colonization on culture and societies" (Ashcroft, et al., 2007: 168). It concerns with the culture after the period of colonialism until the present days or, in other words, the post-independence period. During and, sometimes, after the colonial period, the colonizer's thoughts, particularly Western thoughts, have dominated world's culture and marginalized the colonized's culture (Selden and Widdowson, 1993: 189). The colonizer's culture is seen as the 'Other'.

Post-colonialism then gives another perception in seeing the relation between the colonizer and the colonized. It questions the validity of the assumptions that the colonizer's culture is better than the colonized's culture. Since there are many people in many countries in the world that had experienced colonialism, post-colonialism provides a crucial way in expressing the realities of the colonized people.

2. Post-colonial Literary Criticism

Post-colonial criticism emerged distinctly in 1990s. Its basic concept had emerged earlier in some works, such as Said's *Orientalism*. However,

the term began to be used in 1990s through some books such as Spivak's In Other Worlds (1987), Ashcroft's The Empire Writes Back (1989), Bhabha's Nation and Narration (1990), and Said's Culture and Imperialism (1993).

Post-colonial criticism is also used as a literary criticism. It draws attention to cultural difference issues in literary texts. One purpose of post-colonial literary criticism is to challenge the claims of universalism constructed by Western norms which judge all literature by 'universal' Western standards. Therefore, the norms disregard cultural, social, regional, and national difference presented in literature (Barry, 1995: 191). Post-colonial criticism tries to reject this universalism, which puts Western standards in a high status while the others are in marginalized status.

Fanon (in Barry, 1995: 192) states that "the first step for colonized people in finding a voice and an identity is to reclaim their own past." They have to look back to their past before the colonization. After that, they have to erode the colonialist ideology which has marginalized their ideology. Another idea on post-colonial fields comes from Said (in Barry, 1995: 192), who claims that Eurocentric universalism places the West as the superior and the East as the inferior and the 'Other'. The West regards the East as the projection of the bad aspects of the West.

When it comes to literary criticism, post-colonial criticism is presented to explore the fairness and unfairness in literary texts related to colonization. It exposes both the colonizer and the colonized, or excolonized, for the falsity or validity of their assumptions and encourages the colonized to write back towards the colonizer. Furthermore, it perceives cultural difference, diversity, hybridity, plurality, and the representation of other cultures in literature not as something bad, but as the issues that should be celebrated.

a. Characteristics of Post-colonial Literary Criticism

Barry (1995: 193) states that there are four characteristics of post-colonial literary criticism. The first characteristic is "an awareness of representations of the non-European as exotic or immoral 'Other', which is still related to Fanon's idea of reclaiming one's own past or pre-colonial era and thus rejecting the modern or the colonial era. Here, post-colonial writers create a pre-colonial version of their nation without referring to the colonial era which has been tainted with colonial knowledge.

The second is the concern with colonial language. Since it is originally the colonizer's language, post colonial writers feel that the language belongs to somebody else. They also feel that the language should not be moved around, changed, or modified without permission. Therefore, using it will involve an agreement in colonial structures.

The third is the recognition of an identity as double or hybrid. It concerns with identity issues. Post-colonial writers often have double identity, one identity as the colonizer and the other as the colonized, and it is reflected in their writings. As post-colonial literary criticism is

aware of the representation of other cultures in literature, it can recognize the presence of such double identity.

The last is the emphasis on 'cross-cultural' interactions, as post-colonial writers seem to make a transition from the European models into African or Asian forms. The transition has three phases (Barry, 1995: 195). The first is 'adopt' phase, when the writers adopt the European form as it stands because it is assumed as universally valid. The second is 'adapt' phase, when the writers adapt European form to African or Asian matters. The last is 'adept' phase, when the writers remake the form with its own characteristics, without reference to European form.

The main subject matter in the earlier phase of post-colonial criticism was about the West's perception towards the East. At the beginning, post-colonial criticism tried to criticize the limitations and biases which are presented in the West's perception only. However, in the latter phase, post-colonial criticism is also concerned with the explorations of the post-colonial societies and celebrates diversity, hybridity, and difference. Therefore, it is not always about the 'rivalry' between the colonizer and the colonized.

b. Post-colonial Literary Criticism Agendas

According to Barry (1995: 198), there are six agendas of postcolonial literary criticism. The agendas are:

- rejecting universalist claims by Western norms as they cannot identify cultural and ethnic differences,
- 2. examining the representation of other cultures in literature,
- 3. showing how literature tends to be silent concerning with colonization,
- 4. bringing up issues on cultural difference and diversity and their treatment in literature.
- 5. celebrating hybridity and 'cultural polyvalency', a state when someone belongs to more than one culture, and
- 6. developing a perspective in which marginality, plurality, and 'Otherness' are not seen as lower.

3. Hybridity

In post-colonial study, hybridity has become one of the major issues, with the in-betweeness, diasporas, mobility, and cross-overs of ideas and identities. Young (in Loomba, 2005: 145) states that,

a hybrid is technically a cross between two species and that therefore the term 'hybridisation' evokes both the botanical notion of interspecies grafting and the 'vocabulary of the Victorian extreme right' which regarded different races as different species.

However, in post-colonial study, hybridity does not refer to creation of new species. Instead, Ashcroft, et al. (2007: 108) state that, "hybridity commonly refers to the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonization." Moreover, Loomba (2005: 145) emphasizes that,

in postcolonial theory, hybridity is meant to evoke all those ways in which this vocabulary was challenged and undermined. Even as imperial and racist ideologies insist on racial difference, they catalyse cross-overs, partly because not all that takes place in the 'contact zones' can be monitored and controlled.

Hybridity, then, is a situation that happens when there is a cross between the colonizer's and the colonized's cultures.

The experience of hybridity, however, does not always involve the relation between colonizer and colonized. In a broader sense, the term hybridity can also refer to a state when individuals or groups belong to more than one culture (Barry, 1995: 198). The different cultures might be that of the colonizer's and that of the colonized's, as produced by colonization. However, the cultures might also be that of the host's culture and that of the origin's culture, as produced by migration (Ashcroft, et al., 1989: 9).

Such hybridity which is produced by migration occurs in the case of free-settlers and migrants. Although they do not experience colonization, they still live in between and belong to more than one culture. Their lives are torn between the past (their origin) and the present (their new home), and they experience displacement, as a result of migration. They also develop a new identity, a hybrid identity, as the mixture of the original and the new identity. Therefore, this hybridity part is divided into three sections which are the past and the present, displacement, and hybrid identity.

a. The Past and the Present

In post-colonial discussion of hybridity, the colonial past and the neo-colonial present cannot be separated (Loomba, 2005: 147). Hybridity itself is a state when individuals belong to more than one more culture. This is because they are living in a new culture while still having their original one. They live in the present time but still have memory of their past.

Fanon (in Barry, 1995: 192) states that colonized people have to get back to the past to find a voice and identity. It means that the past is very crucial for the search of identity. Dirlik (in Loomba, 2005: 151) also makes a point that to understand hybridity, there has to be a reference to the ideological and institutional structures to which it belongs. Hall (in Williams and Chrisman (ed.), 1994: 395) also states that, "the past continues to speak to us", meaning that colonized people, or people who experience hybridity in general, cannot simply ignore their past and merge into the present.

Moreover, Hall (in Williams and Chrisman (ed.), 1994: 395) adds that, "the past no longer address us as a simple, factual 'past', since our relation to it, like the child's relation to the mother, is always-already after the break." From this statement, it can be inferred that although the people experiencing hybridity attempt to reclaim their past, they no longer completely belong to the past or the origin. This is because the colonialists knowledge has made them experience themselves as

'Other' from their origin (Loomba, 2005: 152), or, in other words, the present has made them experience 'otherness'.

Since those people no longer belong to their past, they must simply belong to the present. However, the case is not as simple as that because in the present they cannot merge completely either. Fanon (in Loomba, 2005: 148) states that, "psychic trauma results when the colonised subject realizes that he can never attain the whiteness he has been taught to desire, or shed the blackness he has learnt to devalue." In other words, the people experiencing hybridity cannot shed away the past as represented by the blackness and merge into the present as represented by the whiteness. They live between their origin culture and the new one.

Moreover, this does not only happen to the colonized people and does not always deal with colonization. The case of living between the past and the present can also be found in the life of immigrants in many parts of the world. One example is the Chinese Indonesians who still embrace Chinese custom and tradition although they have been Indonesian citizens for generations. Many of them, particularly the elders, still speak Chinese language. The younger generations, who mostly cannot speak Chinese, also try to learn the language. Chinese celebrations and festivals, like Chinese New Year and Cap Go Meh, are also still held by the Chinese Indonesians as their tie with their Chinese origin ("Chinese-Indonesians").

The attempt of immigrants to trace back their family histories is another example of living between the past and the present. In the United States, some immigrants, particularly the next generation immigrants, try to reveal their family stories. One example of the immigrants is a woman named Margaret Feeney, whose family came from Ireland. She feels that a part of her family's past was slipping away ("Margaret Feeny: My Irish Journey"), especially after her father's death. That is why she tries to find her family stories, particularly about where they exactly came from so that she can go there herself.

This relation between the past and the present is crucial in post-colonial discussion, particularly about hybridity. Since hybridity means belonging to more than one culture, the past and the present are crucial in the formation of the diversity of culture. They are also related to the next issue in hybridity, which is displacement.

b. Displacement

Displacement is another common issue in post-colonial study. It is also related to the discussion of hybridity. Basically, displacement means homelessness ("Postcolonialism, Nation and Gender"). In other words, it is a state in which someone is 'out of place' or not belonging to a certain place. Here, a person might experience crisis of identity as a result from displacement (Ashcroft, et al., 1989: 9).

The issue of displacement deals with the relationship between self and place. According to Ashcroft, et al. (1989: 9), "a valid and active

sense of self may have been eroded by dislocation ... Or it may have been destroyed by cultural denigration." Dislocation is the result of migration, enslavement, transportation, or removal for indentured labor, while cultural denigration is the oppression of the indigenous culture by a superior culture. Therefore, displacement might happen to people who experience either colonization or just simply migration.

The sense of displacement makes the colonized people or migrants to feel alienated and have crisis in self-image. Their experience in a new place or with a new culture make them feel the sense of 'otherness', since the different condition in a new place demands them to change and adapt to the new condition (Ashcroft, et al., 1989: 9-11). Therefore, they become different from their old self but they are not the same as the people in the new place or the people with the superior culture.

In the case of immigrants, the sense of displacement makes them feel homeless or 'out of place'. This feeling is in some way still related with the cultural gap between the immigrants' original culture and the new place's culture. In the United Kingdom, immigrants from certain cultural backgrounds "can find it easier to integrate into and be accepted by British society" (Robinson and Reeve, 2006: 20). The immigrants who have cultural backgrounds that are similar to those of British people may not feel homeless as much as the immigrants whose cultural backgrounds are very different. One example for this is the

African Caribbean immigrants who have been penetrated by British values and education. They might not feel the new place as alien as, for example, the immigrants from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants are likely to find it harder to integrate to the British society because of their distinctive cultures which are very different from the British culture (Peach in Robinson and Reeve, 2006: 20).

Another example of displacement is shown in the life of Latin American immigrant women in Australia. Aizpurúa (2008: 160) shows in her thesis that many Latin American women feel separated and alienated from the mainstream Australian society. She also states the main factors of the separation and alienation are "feelings of homesickness and lack of family support in the new country; perceived cultural distance between their own and Australian values; limited levels of English knowledge and negative responses from the receiving community" (Aizpurúa, 2008: 160). These factors make the Latin American women in Australia feel 'out of place' and feel that they do not belong to Australian society. They also do not feel integrated one hundred percent to the mainstream society and cannot adapt easily.

c. Hybrid Identity

One of the characteristics of post-colonial criticism is the recognition of an identity as double or hybrid (Barry, 1995: 195). A hybrid itself is technically a cross or a mixture (Young, 1995: 8).

Therefore, hybrid identity is an identity which is a cross or mixture of more than one identity. The formation of this hybrid identity is related to the relationship between the past and present and the sense of displacement, in which an individual might develop a new identity. Hall (in Williams and Chrisman (ed.), 1994: 392-4) makes a point that identity is never complete, always in process, and constituted within representation. It is a matter of 'becoming' as well as 'being' and belongs to the past as well as to the future.

In the case of post-colonial communities, a valid and single identity may be eroded and destroyed, thus creating a hybrid identity. The creation of hybrid identity may be caused by colonization. The colonized people may adapt the colonizer's culture so that they have hybrid identities. However, there are also examples of hybrid identity creation which does not involve colonization. The examples of free people who also experience hybridity are the free settlers and immigrants, who do not experience colonization. The condition and/or the culture in the new place can be the factors in hybrid identity creation. Therefore, although hybrid identity is a feature of post-colonial criticism, it does not always concern with the oppressive form of colonization like slavery or conquest. This concept can also go beyond the concept of colonizer vs. colonized (Ashcroft, et al., 1989: 9).

One of the examples of hybrid identity can be found in the second generation Asian youth in Canada, particularly those of South Asian and Chinese (Lalonde and Giguère, 2008). These people are often bicultural. They have access to two cultural norms, which are Canadian and Asian norms. The Canadian norms are particularly acquired from the infrastructure of Canadian society, neighborhood, and peers which are mostly in English language of French language context. On the other hand, the Asian norms are acquired from their parents, extended family, and ethnic community which are mostly in their origin language context. This circumstance makes them gain double identities, one of Canadian and one of their origin country.

In the field of literature, there are also a lot of authors who come from immigrant families and have hybrid identities. Amy Tan from China, Khaled Hosseini from Afghanistan, Edwidge Danticat from Haiti, Junot Diaz from Dominican Republic, and Samina Ali from India are the examples of American authors who come from immigrant families. Their hybrid identities are often reflected in their works which depict immigrant experiences. Sometimes they also use their origin language in addition to English as the main language of their works. This also shows how their identities are mixed, or hybrid ("Authors Explore American Immigrant Experience").

4. Cultural Clash

The cultural difference might become an interesting issue to be discussed, especially between people from different cultures. However, if those people from different cultures encounter a misunderstanding, a cultural misunderstanding occurs. Furthermore, if the misunderstanding keeps going on and escalates, a more serious problem occurs. This problem is what is called a cultural clash. It is an escalated cultural misunderstanding that occurs between two or more people from different cultures. Rogers and Steinfatt (1999: 96) state the meaning of cultural clash as "the conflict that occurs between two or more cultures when they disagree about a certain value." In a community of immigrants, there might also be a cultural clash, particularly between the first (older) generation and the second (younger) generation. This cultural clash is called intergenerational cultural clash which is likely to happen between children or youths and their parents.

There are more immigrants arriving in the United States than any other parts of the world. 10% of its population consists of immigrants (Edmonston and Passel in Ying, et al., 2001: 342). Among all those immigrants, Asian American immigrant group is the third largest immigrant group in the United States (Suinn in Xu, 2011: 4). It is the Asian American immigrant group too which tends to experience more family conflicts, or intergenerational cultural clash, than other immigrant groups. Chinese American immigrant group, as a part of Asian American immigrant group, also experiences the same conflict. One of the reasons is because parents and children hold different values, with the parents still holding Chinese values and the children holding American values. In a study on Chinese and American songs, Rothbaum and Xu (in Xu, 2011:

10) found that Chinese songs focus on "the sentiment of obligation and debt to the parents", while American songs tend to express "negative feelings and a desire for separation from the parents." This difference of values often leads to conflicts between parents and children.

Besides the reason above, the difference between high-context culture and low-context culture can also cause cultural clash. A highcontext culture is "one in which the meanings of a communication message are found in the situation and in the relationships of the communicators or are internalized in the communicators' beliefs, values, and norms" (Rogers and Steinfatt, 1999: 90). In a high-context culture, it is not usual for people to speak bluntly to others because the culture emphasizes on indirect and subtle communication. On the other hand, a low-context culture is "one in which the meanings of a communication message are stated clearly and explicitly, without depending on the context of the communication situation" (Rogers and Steinfatt, 1999: 92). Compared to the high-context culture, the communication in low-context culture is clearer and to the point. People tend to deliver their message explicitly. High-context cultures include most Asian cultures, in which Chinese culture belongs to, while low-context cultures include most western cultures, in which American culture belongs to. Because of the difference in the way to communicate between Chinese and American culture, misunderstandings that lead to cultural clash often occur.

The cultural clash can be seen in several areas of family life. The examples are in rearing system, education and career, and partner selection.

a. Rearing System

As many of Asian culture, Chinese culture tends to have a stricter rearing system compared to that of Western culture (Xu, 2011: 5). For Asian parents who still adhere strongly to Asian culture, this strict rearing system is more likely used. This kind of rearing system makes parents more involved in their children's lives (Lin and Fu; Yao in Xu, 2011: 10). They tend to decide everything for their children and demand their children to obey them. This strict and controlling rearing system is considered warm and attentive by the parents but authoritarian by the children (Birman and Poff, 2011: 1).

The children, on the other hand, have most likely been Americanized and adhered to American culture. In American culture, which celebrates individual freedom, children tend to have the desire to separate from their parents (Rothbaum and Xu in Xu, 2011: 10). This means that children want to be free to decide what is best for them and follow their own will. Here, there is a cultural difference between Chinese-oriented parents and American-oriented children.

This cultural difference can lead to a clash, particularly when children's wishes are not parallel with parents' standards which have been set for them (Xu, 2011: 5). Here, the sense of obedience and disobedience is strictly maintained. While the children only want to

express their thought freely, the parents might see them as rebellious and disobedient children.

b. Education and Career

In the field of education and career, Asian and American parents set different standards for their children. According to Crystal and Stevenson (in Diamond, et al., 2006), American parents are not very critical regarding their children's mathematics skills. They have lower standards for their children in mathematics than Asian parents do.

American parents also have low expectations and unclear evaluations for their children's achievement. They do not set clear norms or guidelines in their children's education. Their satisfaction with their children's achievement is high. Because of this high satisfaction, they do not really set high standard for their children. Therefore, their standards are low. This is a contrary to Asian parents who have very strict criteria in education standard. They are likely to establish high standards for their children (Stevenson & Chen & Lee in Diamond, et al., 2006). This is because education is seen as an indicator of status in Asian culture. Asian parents consider children's academic success as a family pride and successful parenting, while regard children's academic failure as a shame to the family (Moon, 2008: 26). That is why Asian parents tend to set a high academic standard for their children.

In a group of Asian American immigrants, the first generation parents and the second generation children usually hold different norms.

The parents set a high academic standard for their children while the children expect their parents to be satisfied with their achievement just the way it is. The high academic standard is a form of parents' good intention for their children to achieve a successful life. However, this good intention might be misinterpreted by children as "a sign of distrust, hostility, and disapproval" (U. Kim and Choi in Xu, 2011: 11). This can lead to the children's rebellious act towards their parents. Therefore, the parents will also feel 'betrayed' by the children (Ying in Ying, et al., 2001: 343).

c. Partner Selection

Another field of cultural clash between Chinese parents and American-born children is in partner selection. As the children grow up, they need to find the right partners for them. However, sometimes the way to look for a life partner leads to a cultural clash between the children who have been influenced by Western culture and the parents who still hold Eastern culture.

In Western cultures, "marriage is seen as the union of two individuals" (Lalonde and Giguère, 2008). Western young adults tend to try to look for life partners without their parents' assistance, although they still want to get their parents' approval. Thus, marriage is seen as a result of romantic feelings between couples. On the other hand, in many Eastern cultures, "marriage is seen as the alliance between two families" (Dion and Dion, in Lalonde and Giguère, 2008), even

sometimes it may be arranged. Children's selection is considered but their parents' desire and approval in choosing spouse have to be respected. In this case, obligations and duties to family are more important than personal choice. Moreover, love is seen as a state that follows marriage (Goodwin and Cramer in Lalonde and Giguère, 2008).

In Chinese immigrant families, Chinese parents still have a strong role in the selection of their children's partner, even in modern days (Xiaohe and Whyte in Lalonde and Giguère, 2008), and parents' approval is still considered as an important factor for children to settle a good marriage (Pimentel in Lalonde and Giguère, 2008). Chinese immigrant parents still consider these traditional traits in choosing a life partner as important. However, their North American-raised children do not consider those traits as very important in finding ideal partner.

B. Previous Studies

A research on Tan's *The Joy Luck Club* has been done before by Kardina Hadiati. The title of the research is "Gender Discrimination and Its Impact in Tan's *The Joy Luck Club*". This research is conducted from the feminist perspective. By feminist theories, the researcher tries to analyze the kinds of gender discrimination and the struggle against it which is done by the female characters. Besides discussing gender discrimination, the researcher also discusses the impacts of the characters' experiences of gender discrimination in rearing their daughters.

The similarity between the research by Kardina Hadiati and this research is the object, which is Tan's *The Joy Luck Club*. Because the novel is about Chinese-American people, both researchers talk about Chinese immigrant experiences and Chinese culture. However, there is also a major difference between the two researches, which is the theory and perspective used. Hadiati's research uses feminist theory, while this research uses post-colonial theory. The main problems discussed are also different between the two researchers. Hadiati's research concerns with gender discrimination and its impact while this research concerns with hybrid identity and cultural clash.

Another research which suits the topic of this research is by Nafisatul Lutfi entitled "The Liminal Negotiation in Diana Abu-Jaber's *Arabian Jazz*". This research is conducted from post-colonial perspective. By post-colonial theory, the researcher tries to analyze how the members of the Arab-American family in the novel represent Arab-American condition in the liminal space and how they negotiate their condition in the liminal space.

The similarity between this research and Lutfi's research is the perspective used. Both researches use post-colonial perspective. The topic discusses is also similar since both researches discuss hybridity among immigrants in the United States. However, there is still some differences between the two researches. The objects of the two researches are different. Lutfi's research uses Diana Abu-Jaber's *Arabian Jazz* and analyzes Arab-American immigrants, while this research uses Amy Tan's *The Joy Luck Club* and analyzes Chinese-American immigrants. This research also discusses the

cultural clashes between the first and the second generation immigrants in the novel, while Lutfi's research does not discuss this problem.

C. Chinese-American Immigrants

China is known as the most populous country in the world. Besides those who live in China, Chinese people can be found throughout the world. Many Chinese have migrated to other countries, including the United States. However, the first time Chinese people came to the United States they were persecuted and discriminated (Wei).

Chinese people came to the United States in the mid-19th century to look for a better life. The "Gold Rush" in California had promised them with prosperity. Besides the promise of gold, the bad political and economic condition in China became their motivation to come to the United States. After the "Gold Rush" was over, they came simply to work. They were hardworking people and contributed much to the economy of the United States. However, they still experienced discrimination from white people. Their wages were lower than white people's. They also experienced hostility through anti-Chinese movement. One of the examples is in the 1870s when white workers felt frustrated because of economic distress, labor market uncertainty, and capitalist exploitation. This turned into anti-Chinese sentiment and racial attacks against the Chinese in which white people called the Chinese the "yellow peril" ("Chinese Americans"). Even they were also treated violently by the means of lynching, boycotts, and mass expulsions.

The Chinese also experienced legal exclusion which was expanded in the form of persecution and violence. This exclusion drove the Chinese out of the mines, farms, and factories on the West Coast. Therefore, many Chinese people in the United States lost hope of gaining better life and returned to China. Others, who did not have enough money or were too ashamed to return home, fled to Chinatowns on the coasts, where they became isolated from the population ("Chinese Americans").

Chinese people were then prevented from immigrating to the United States by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. This prevention kept happening until the Magnuson Act in 1943 which allowed Chinese people to immigrate to the United States but still gave them the quota of 105 immigrants. The quota then was abolished by a new immigration policy which was the Immigration Act of 1965 (Wei). Since then, many Chinese people had immigrated to the United States and become who are now the Chinese Americans.

Although Chinese immigrants are already accepted in the United States, they still undergo discrimination. They are still not seen as 'real' Americans and thus are not worthy of the same rights as the dominant white Americans. One of the examples is the murder of Vincent Chin by two white men in 1982. The white men called Chin "a jap" (although he was a Chinese) and blamed him and Japanese automakers for current recession and the fact that they were about to lose their jobs. When he tried to run away, he was cornered and beaten to death. After the murder, the white men were brought to some trials.

However, the two white men were not jailed and only had to pay Mrs. Chin some money which they actually did not pay completely ("Anti-Asian Racism & Violence").

Another example is anti-Asian vandalism in Stanford University in 2001 that included such threats as "rape all oriental bitches", "kill all gooks", and "I'm a real white american". Those incidents did not only occur in Stanford, but also at college campuses all around the United States. However, the authorities, in this case was the university officials, were not very sensitive towards the incidents so they just gave half-hearted responses. This made the incidents of Asian intimidation and physical attacks worse ("Anti-Asian Racism & Violence").

Despite the discrimination, Chinese Americans still continue their lives in the United States. Mostly they live in Chinatowns in major cities in the United States, although nowadays Chinese population is also found outside the Chinatowns. However, assimilation with the major American population is hard for them. They keep maintaining their Chinese custom and heritage. Parents teach their children Chinese language and culture and often send them to Chinese community schools. They also join family associations and social organization within their Chinese community ("Chinese Immigration to the United States").

As the religion, Chinese Americans practice Buddhism or Taoism, folk religions, and ancestral worship. They still perform rituals related to their Chinese beliefs. However, there are also a number of Chinese Americans who

have practiced Christianity which is introduced by Christian missionaries. Those who accept Christianity are usually the people who want to be accepted by the white society. Therefore, they try to become Americans by adapting American culture and values, including the religion, Christianity ("Chinese Immigration to the United States").

Other features of Chinese culture, such as Chinese language, cuisine, clothing, and holidays, have also been maintained by the Chinese Americans. Chinese language, with its many dialects, is spoken at home, community, and community schools. Chinese cuisines are still served at homes and even have gotten popularity with the opening of many Chinese restaurants. Chinese traditional clothing might not be worn in daily life, but it is still worn in several occasions, such as Chinese New Year celebration, particularly by the elders. Chinese holidays are still highly celebrated by Chinese Americans. The most important is Chinese New Year or Spring Festival, where family members will gather and celebrate together ("Chinese Immigration to the United States").

D. Amy Tan and The Joy Luck Club

Tan was born in Oakland, California on February 19, 1952. Both her parents, John Tan and Daisy, are Chinese-American immigrants. They escaped to the United States from the Chinese Civil War. Tan's mother was married when she was in China but then was divorced from her first husband, who was abusive, and had fled China just before the Communist takeover in

1949. She was forced to leave her three daughters, whom she would not see again for nearly forty years ("The Joy Luck Club: Context"). In the United States, she married John Tan and had three children, Amy Tan and her two brothers.

After the death of Tan's father and oldest brother from brain tumor, Mrs. Tan and her remaining children moved to Switzerland. Tan finished her high school there. However, she had conflicts with her mother. They argued about Tan's college and career plans. She left the Baptist college which her mother had chosen for her and went to San Jose University to follow her boyfriend and pursue a study in English and linguistics. She gained her bachelor and master degree in this field and in 1974 she married her boyfriend Louis deMattei.

Tan had ever been a business writer and she was actually prospered from the job. However, she was not satisfied with the job in business field. She sought activities in creative efforts such as learning jazz piano, with the hope that she could express herself through music as she was once forced by her mother to play piano. She also started to write fiction. Her first story, "Endgame", appeared in *FM*, literary magazine, and was reprinted in *Seventeen*. Her second story, "Waiting Between the Trees", had impressed a literary agent, Sandra Dijkstra, and she encouraged Tan to write the complete volume of the stories.

As she started her new career, her mother fell ill. Then, Tan promised to herself that if her mother recovered, she would take her to China to meet her daughters she had left behind. Tan's mother finally recovered and they went to China in 1987. Tan's trip to China gave her a new perspective on her difficult relationship with her mother and an inspiration to finish her complete volume of stories. The book then was published in 1989 with the title *The Joy Luck Club*, which was on *The New York Times* bestseller list for eight months and had been translated into 17 languages, including Chinese ("Amy Tan Biography").

There are some similarities between Tan's personal life and the daughters' lives in The Joy Luck Club. First, since she is an American-born, she grew up between two cultures which are Chinese and American culture. She tried to assimilate into the mainstream American world as a child, often at the expense of her Chinese heritage ("Amy Tan"). She also often argued with her mother about her education and career plans. Second, she failed her mother's expectation to become a doctor and a concert pianist ("Official Bio"). This situation is similar to Jing-Mei Woo's, one of the daughters in The Joy Luck Club, who is also expected to be a piano prodigy. Third, Tan's mother had ever been married to another man when she was in China and she had children from her previous marriage. This resembles Jing-Mei's mother's life. Fourth, Tan brought her mother to China to meet her daughters she left behind. Again, this is similar to what Jing-Mei does in the novel. The difference is that Jing-Mei goes alone because her mother is already dead. These are major similarities between Tan's and the daughter characters in *The* Joy Luck Club.

E. Framework of Thinking

In this research, Tan's *The Joy Luck Club* is used as the object. It depicts the issue on Chinese-American immigrants' hybrid identities. The ways the first and the second generation deal with hybrid identity are different. The mothers, representing the first generation, hold Chinese values stronger than American values. On the other hand, the daughters, representing the second generation, hold American values stronger because they were born in the United States and educated there. The different ways in dealing with hybrid identity shows the cultural difference between the mothers and the daughters. This can lead to a cultural clash in which they disagree with certain values.

This issue is analyzed using the post-colonial theory, particularly with the concept of hybridity taken from *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (Loomba, 2005: 145-53). It is said that in postcolonial theory, hybridity suggests all the ways in which this vocabulary was challenged and undermined, not only in the term of racial difference and racial mixture but also in cultural cross-over and in-betweenness. Then, this concept of hybridity is elaborated with the issues of colonial past and present, displacement, and hybrid identity. In postcolonial discussion of hybridity, the colonial past and the neo-colonial present cannot be separated because the individuals who experience hybridity must live between their past and present, between their old and new cultures. They have to go back to their past to find their identity. This concept of colonial past and present is taken mainly from *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (Loomba, 2005: 145-53) and Fanon's idea in *Beginning Theory* (Barry, 1995: 192). The

hybrid individuals also experience displacement, in which they feel homeless or out of place. They feel that they do not belong either to the old or the new place. This concept is mainly taken from *The Empire Writes Back* (Ashcroft et al., 1989: 8-11). As a result of displacement and living between the past and present, hybrid individuals tend to have hybrid identity or double identity. This means that their identity is a mixture of more than one identity, which are the past and the present identities. The identity is never complete, always in process, and constituted within representation. This concept is mainly taken from Hall's article, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora", in *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: A Reader* (Williams and Chrisman (ed.), 1994: 392-403) and *The Empire Writes Back* (Ashcroft et al., 1989: 8-11).

Then the researcher tries to employ the concept of hybridity and hybrid identity combined with the concept of cultural clash taken from *Intercultural Communication* (Rogers and Steinfatt, 1999: 96-7). The concept of cultural clash is the disagreement between two or more cultures with a certain value. This is explained by providing examples taken from journals and articles and thus creating three categories of cultural clash that suit the cultural clashes in Tan's *The Joy Luck Club*. These categories are rearing system, education and career, and partner selection. These theories are used to help the researcher interprets the data and answer the research questions.

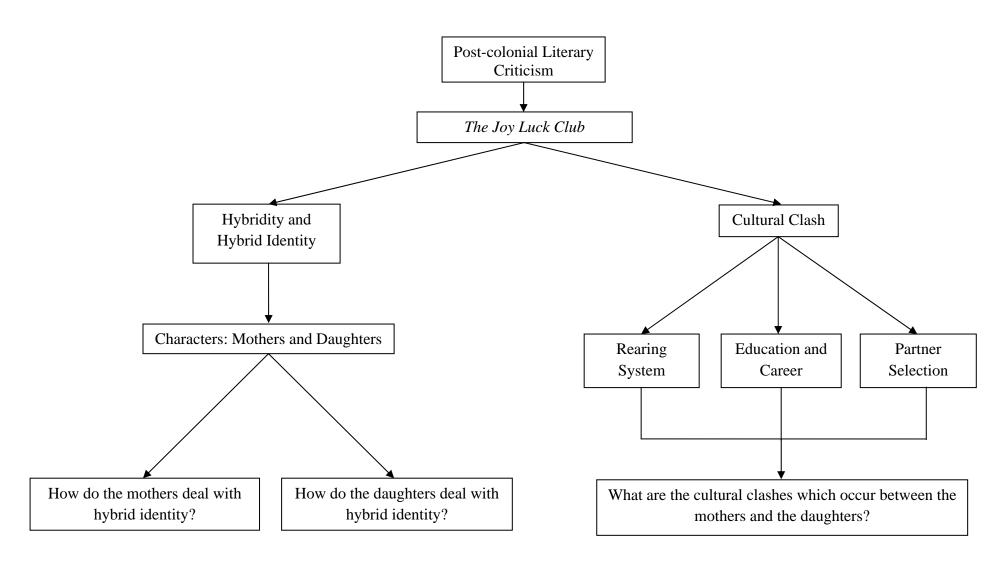


Figure 1. Framework of Thinking