

MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS' HYBRID IDENTITY IN AMY TAN'S *THE JOY LUCK CLUB* (HIBRIDITAS IDENTITAS IBU DAN ANAK DALAM NOVEL AMY TAN *THE JOY LUCK CLUB*)

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Abstract

The Joy Luck Club is an exploration of the different identities that are experienced by mothers and daughters in the United States. Mothers, in this novel, are portrayed as characters who keep their Chinese culture although they have lived in the United States. It causes mothers feel that they have not sense of cultural belonging when they have just lived in the United States. On the contrary, daughters are illustrated as characters who assimilate their identities following American culture. Therefore, daughters often, experience many conflicts with their mothers. I assume that the source of conflict experienced by mothers and daughters is different identity. The topic about hybridity in this study is interesting to discuss because this condition relates to the phenomenon happens in diasporic communities. The problems in this study are to discuss the factor that influences mothers and daughters to be hybrid characters and the way they engage to solve their different identities. After analyzing how the process of hybridity happens to the mothers and the daughters, this study continues to discuss the result of hybridity toward both mothers and daughters. The problems are analyzed in this study is using theory of hybridity proposed by Homi K. Bhabha. This theory is applicable to the topic because the concept of hybridity based on Bhabha is the construction of culture and identity. Therefore, the study of hybridity will automatically discuss deeply related to structure of culture and identity that stress on the inequity. The results of this study shows that mothers and daughters become hybrid characters after both of them pass many conflicts in their daily life. The way that they use to solve their conflict by adopting their different identities is the main factor that lead mothers and daughters to be hybrid characters. Furthermore, this study also shows that mothers and daughters' hybridity bridge the differences of culture between Asian-American and American in the United States in 1989.

Keywords: Post-colonial study, Unhomeliness, Mimicry, Hybridity, Social Condition.

Abstrak

The Joy Luck Club adalah eksplorasi perbedaan identitas yang dialami oleh ibu-ibu dan anak-anak di USA. Ibu-ibu, dalam novel ini, digambarkan sebagai karakter-karakter yang menjaga budaya China mereka meskipun mereka telah tinggal di USA. Hal tersebut menyebabkan ibu-ibu merasa bahwa mereka tidak memiliki rasa kepemilikan budaya ketika mereka baru saja tinggal di USA. Sebaliknya, anak-anak diilustrasikan sebagai karakter yang mengasimilasikan identitas mereka mengikuti budaya USA. Karena itulah, anak-anak tersebut seringkali mengalami banyak konflik dengan ibu mereka. Saya menduga sumber konflik yang dialami oleh ibu-ibu dan anak-anak adalah identitas yang berbeda. Topik tentang hibriditas dalam novel ini menarik untuk dibahas karena keadaan ini terkait dengan fenomena dalam komunitas para imigran. Masalah-masalah dalam kajian ini untuk mendiskusikan faktor yang mempengaruhi ibu-ibu dan anak-anak menjadi karakter-karakter hibrid dan cara yang mereka gunakan untuk menyelesaikan perbedaan identitas mereka. Setelah menganalisa bagaimana proses hibriditas terjadi pada ibu-ibu dan anak-anak, kajian ini berlanjut untuk membahas hasil hibriditas terhadap ibu-ibu dan anak-anak itu. Masalah dalam kajian ini menggunakan teori hibriditas yang di usulkan oleh Homi K. Bhabha. Teori ini dapat diaplikasikan pada topik tersebut karena konsep hibriditas menurut Bhabha adalah konstruksi budaya dan identitas. Karena itulah, kajian hibriditas secara otomatis akan dibahas secara mendalam terkait dengan struktur budaya dan identitas yang menekankan pada ketidaksamaan. Hasil kajian ini menunjukkan bahwa ibu-ibu dan anak-anak menjadi karakter-karakter hybrid setelah mereka menjalani banyak konflik di kehidupan mereka. Lebih jauh lagi, hibriditas ibu-ibu dan anak-anak mampu menjembatani perbedaan budaya antara orang-orang Asia-Amerika dan Amerika di USA pada tahun 1989.

Kata Kunci: Post-colonial, Unhomeliness, Mimicry, Hibriditas, Kondisi Sosial.

Introduction

Amy Tan's *The Joy Luck Club* is an exploration of different identities that are experienced by migration families in the United States. It happens to the mothers and daughters' life. In the beginning of the story, it tells four mothers migrating to the United States because of the invasion of Japan in China. In the United States, they have to face a new costum. In mothers' perspective, the country is a full of rule country. There are some rules in the country which is never predicted before by mothers. For instance, they have to be a part of Christian. Being a Christian is very strange in mothers' eyes because their parents never introduce them due to a religion. However, they cannot avoid being a Christian because they realize that they are new comers in the country. Therefore, they receive it although there is a contradiction in their mind. In the United States, mothers still preserve their culture although they have lived in a new country. Their Chinese culture has been rooted and never faded because they were born and raised in China. In this case, indirectly, it describes that mothers tend to be conservative characters. Although, mothers receive a new culture in the United States, it does not mean that they erase their culture from China. They still maintain their tradition from China. It can be concluded that the mothers do not fully accept American custom. When each of them has a daughter in the United States, they scatter their Chinese values to their daughters. Therefore, conflict between mothers and daughters is inevitable because their daughters as mixed-breed have been influenced by American culture. Even, for them, their mothers' culture has been ancient. So that, they regard that mothers' identity is not suitable to use in their present life. For this reason, many conflicts happen between mothers and daughters as two different generations in their daily life.

Based on the description above, I am interested to analyze hybrid identity experienced by mothers and daughters. Mothers experience the process of hybrid identity when they have to face a new culture in the United States which is very different with their mother culture. On the other hand, the daughters experience the process of hybrid identity because their mothers employ Chinese culture in their family. Both mothers and daughters have to experience a difficult life because they have a different way of thinking. Mothers tend to employ the ways in which those are still influenced by the past origin in China. On the other hand, daughters tend to employ the ways can tie them with their present life in the United States. These differences are caused by the difference of identity between mothers and daughters. Therefore, these two sides of different identities cause different understanding between mothers and daughters.

There are some reasons in choosing *The Joy Luck Club* as the object matter. First of all, it is an unique novel since most of the characters have their own problems. Each character is the object and also the subject of the story. Therefore, they sometimes are told by the other characters and sometimes they also tell about the other characters. In

addition, the novel consists of many problems that can be analyzed by many perspectives. Second, one of the main problems in *The Joy Luck Club* is an exploration of racial conflict. However, the racial conflict here is different from other novels because the conflict here does not occur in the black race but in the mixed-breed and conservative persons. Therefore, the novel can be viewed from the postcolonial study, especially through Bhabha's perspective. The last reason in choosing the novel as the object matter is that the problem of the mixed-breed and conservative persons also occur in our societies since there are many native people who marry to the foreigner. It often causes a problem to the products of miscegenation, who think that they do not belong to a certain culture.

Research Methodology

This thesis is a qualitative research. Blaxter (1996:89) states that "research can also be qualitative, that is, it can describe events persons, and so forth scientifically without the use of numerical data". In qualitative research, the aim is to provide our perspective and study in words and other actions, such as making interpretation, description or observation. In addition, Blaxter argues that qualitative data is based on a research that focuses on understanding and meaning through verbal narratives and descriptions rather than through numbers (1996: 91). In this research, I analyze postcolonial issues in *The Joy Luck Club* by Amy Tan relates to the social condition of Asian-American in the United States in 20th Century.

This study applies documentary method as the technique of data collection. Blaxter et al (2006:154) states that documents is a method in collecting data by using written materials as a basis for the research. Besides, Blaxter et al (2006:167) explains "researchers are expected to read, understand and critically analyze the writings of others, whether fellow researchers, practitioners or policy-makers". In other word, collecting data by documents is studying, watching, classifying, and analyzing the data critically. Primary data of this research are fact and information related to postcolonial issues in *The Joy Luck Club* by Amy Tan. The secondary data are any fact and information about history of Asian American in the United States in 19th Century, taken from books as supporting information, such as: Lee's *Model Minority' Label Taxes Asian Youths*, Barringer's *Asian Population in U.S. Grew by 70% in the 80's*, Bernstein's *Asian Students Harmed by Precursors' Success* and Gross' *Diversity Hinders Asians' Power in U.S.* I also use journals, articles, and internet resources to support this analysis.

This research aims to describe the process of hybridity in *The Joy Luck Club* as a postcolonial issue. All the collected data related to postcolonial issues are sorted into three categories based on Bhabha's theory, such as: unhomeliness, mimicry, and hybridity. Mothers' experience as new comers in the United States and conflict experienced by daughters with their mothers lead to the first analysis through Bhabha's concept about unhomeliness and then the way mothers and daughters use to solve their conflict because of difference of perspective leads to the next analysis through Bhabha's concept about mimicry to answer

the first question. The next step of analysis is reading hybridity in *The Joy Luck Club* especially the mimicry process that leads it to the hybridity. I correlate the finding of hybridity in *The Joy Luck Club* with the history of social condition about Asian-American in the United States 19th Century to answer the second question.

Result

Based on the problems that are analyzed in this study, it is found that process of hybridity experienced by daughters is initiated when the daughters experience many failures both in career and marriage. The unique of this novel is that what has been forecasted by their mothers through superstition becomes reality. In the beginning, they have ignored their mothers' advice. Eventually, they regret not to follow their mothers' advice. Thus, it finally makes the daughters aware that Chinese culture is not totally wrong. Furthermore, they regard that Chinese culture is a part of their culture. It encourages the daughters to be hybrid identities. They realize that they require their mothers to determine their future. Moreover, they also realize that Chinese culture like superstition and mystery truly exists. So, they do not only adopt their Chinese about collectivism, but also they finally believe their mothers' ability in forecasting their future through superstition which their mothers got from China. Those are factors that influence the daughters to be hybrid.

On the one hand, the process of hybridity experienced by mothers is actually initiated when they have just come in America. For instance, they must become Christians to be accepted in the middle of Americans. However, it does not mean that they leave totally their native culture because they still practice it in their families. Chinese culture like superstition and collectivism is still used by mothers to educate their children in order to respect Chinese culture though they live in America. It shows that mothers, in this context, experience the process of hybridity. Furthermore, the process of hybridity related to the different understanding with their daughters begins when they see that their daughters experience failure in the career and marriage. They finally realize that their ways are not suitable to employ for their daughters who are Americanized women. Even, they don't blame whole failure to their daughters because they are aware that they always insist ways that they got from China toward their daughters. Eventually, mothers become very moderate in having relationship with their daughter instead. They also adapt their daughters' ways of thinking in order to avoid their daughters' failure. Those are factors that influence mothers to be hybrid identity.

The consequence of hybridity is that there is no authentic identity. Furthermore, hybridity is able to bridge the different understanding experienced by mothers and daughters. By depicting these characters represented by the mothers and the daughters, this novel indirectly, implies the impossibility to identify an authentic identity. Moreover, this novel shows that hybrid persons are able to create their own identity. It is partial Chinese and partial American.

Discussion

The problems that are discussed in this research are formulated in two questions. The first is what are factors that cause the mothers and the daughters to be hybridity? This question will lead to the following question, what is the result of hybridity toward both mothers and daughters?

American dream becomes a reason why the mothers emigrate to the United States after they have lost everything in China because of the invasion of Japan. However, to live in America as their new place is not easy for them because the influence of Chinese culture heritage causes them to be unhomeliness. Unhomeliness is a psychological suffering that is not only experienced by colonized persons but also experienced by immigrants. It is a psychological crisis because marginalized persons are torn from their native culture. Mothers as new comers experience the process of unhomeliness because they should face a new culture and tradition that is very different with their native culture. This situation forces immigrants to be able to imitate their new culture in order to be accepted in the midst of the society. The common name of this event is called as mimicry.

In this novel, it is told that mothers come from China to the United States as immigrants. It is explained by Jing Mei as a Suyuan Woo's daughter: "My mother started the San Francisco version of the Joy Luck Club in 1949, two years before I was born. This was the year my mother and father left China with one stiff leather trunk filled only with fancy silk dresses (Amy Tan, 1989: 6)." They go to the United States and leave China because of the invasion of Japan. Among the mothers have left unspeakable tragedies behind in China and Jing Mei tells in the first section based on her mother's story as follows,

"My mother could sense that the women of these families also had unspeakable tragedies they had left behind in China and hopes they couldn't begin to express in their fragile English. Or at least, my mother recognized the numbness in these women's faces. And she saw how quickly their eyes moved when she told them her idea for the Joy Luck Club (Amy Tan, 1989: 6-7)."

It illustrates mothers experience traumatic event due to their psychology as the consequence of the war in China. In this context, it is told by Suyuan when she met them for the first time and gave the idea to erect the Joy Luck Club. They turned their eyes quickly as though persons felt frightened.

American dream of economic advancement has affected mothers to emigrate to the United States because they regard that United States is a good place for them. It is also a suitable place for them to lay their dream and to get their bright hopes. Cullen (2003) notes some instances of American Dream. They are the dream of upward mobility, the dream of equality, the dream of home ownership and the coast.

The dream of upward mobility is commonly understood as the dream to make advancement in life. This is dream of a nation where all men should have chances to make social and economic advancement. The dream is pursued by optimization of individual intelligence supported by persistence effort to rise to a better social position in society.

"...this one of the good life exists in a series of variations. The most common form was cast in terms of commercial success" (Cullen, 2003:60). It is portrayed by one of the mothers through the statement as follows,

"The old woman remembered a swan she had bought many years ago in Shanghai for a foolish sum...Then the woman and the swan sailed across an ocean many thousands of Li wide, stretching their necks toward America. On her journey cooed to the swan: " In America I will have a daughter just like me. But over there nobody will say her worth is measured by the loudness of her husband's belch. Over there nobody will look down on her, because I will make her speak only perfect American English...But when she arrived in the new country, the immigration officials pulled her swan away from her, leaving the woman fluttering her arms and with only one swan feather for a memory. And then she had to fill out so many forms she forgot why she had come and what she had left behind (Amy Tan, 1989: 3)."

It shows that mother wants to get a better future in America. The mother considers that America will give a chance to get a better life because it gives equality for Asians immigrants without differing races. It is also known that when the woman arrives, all of her possessions and swan are taken away. The only thing that remains of her big dreams is a single feather, which she stows safely away until her daughter is old enough to be explained its significance. When she has just come in America, the woman has to fill some forms as a qualification becoming a new Americanized citizen.

The woman never predicts if America has a tight rule. It indirectly describes that there will be some differences between two countries, they are China and America. America as a modern country is full of rule. It is proved when the mother's possessions and swan are taken away, besides it also shows as if America does an arbitrary action. Therefore, the woman as a Chinese is very shocked because she regards that America is a free country to live. She does not know if America is full of rules. The quotation above actually is a description of the initiation of a sign that there will be some different culture experienced by an immigrant and it is represented by mothers as Chinese persons and daughters as Americanized persons.

Related to this prologue above, this novel focuses on the different identities between mothers and daughters. Mothers' childhood experiences have shaped their Chinese culture becoming very sticky in their mind. Even though the mothers know that leaving her beloved family in China is truly uneasy, the mothers show neither refusal nor regret.

Religion has always been an important value for Americans. It is explained by Lindo Jong. When she first came to America, she asked an American-raised Chinese girl about what she should do in America,

"In America," she said, "you cannot say you want to live there forever. If you are Chinese, you must

say you admire their schools, their ways of thinking. You must say you want to be a scholar and come back to teach Chinese people what you have learned." "What should I say I want to learn?" I asked. "If they ask me questions, if I cannot answer..." "Religion, you must say you want to study religion," said this smart girl (Amy Tan, 1989: 294)."

It shows that religion is a part of American value. So, it is a must for mothers to have a religion. On the other hand, mothers don't have any religion because they are educated to believe in the superstition. The Chinese culture experience depicted by mothers is filled with superstition, mystery and words of wisdom. It is portrayed by one of mothers, An-Mei Hsu. When she was a young girl her grandmother told her if her mother was a ghost. She described her mother like a ghost in order to avoid her mother. It was done because her grandmother was very angry toward An's mother after she decided to get married again with a rich man as concubine,

"When I was a young girl in China, my grandmother told me my mother was a ghost. This did not mean my mother was dead. In those days, a ghost was anything we were forbidden to talk about. So I knew Popo wanted me to forget my mother on purpose, and this is how I came to remember nothing of her...I often heard stories of a ghost who tried to take children away, especially strong-willed little girls who were disobedient (Amy Tan, 1989: 33)."

Superstition as a part of Chinese culture is used to educate their children in order to obey to their parents. There is no religion introduced by mothers' parents in China. Mothers are inculcated Chinese culture by their parents through storytelling therefore Chinese culture becomes adhering to mothers' identity.

However, they as immigrants are inevitable to be Christians when they arrive in America. They have to come to the Church as the consequence of gifts given by American missionary ladies. Missionary ladies invite the mothers to join to improve their English in order to be fluent through Bible study class. Actually it depicts how mothers become unhomeliness as new comers. As minority persons, it is impossible for them to refuse the invitation because Americans can estrange their existence. Therefore, they have to follow rules in their new place though it is done insincerely.

Bhabha says that to be unhomed is not to be homeless, nor can the unhomely be easily accommodated in that familiar division of social life into private and public sphere (Bhabha, 1994: 4). From the event, it can be said that mothers are in the condition of unhomeliness. They should be a part of Christian to follow the rule in order to survive in the middle of Americans in their new place although they actually do not want to. Suyuan is the only one who tells mothers' unhomeliness to her daughter Jing Mei,

“When they arrived in San Francisco, my father made her hide those shiny clothes. She wore the same brown-checked Chinese dress until the Refugee Welcome Society gave her two hand-me-down dresses, all too large in sizes for American women. The society was composed of a group of white-haired American missionary ladies from the First Chinese Baptist Church. And because of their gifts, my parents could not refuse their invitation to join the church. Nor could they ignore the old ladies’ practical advice to improve their English through Bible study class on Wednesday nights and, later, through Bible study class on Saturday mornings. This was how my parents met the Hsus, the Jongs, and the St. Clairs (Amy Tan, 1989: 6).”

It is known that the process of unhomeliness is experienced by mothers when they have just come in America. From the depiction above, it also proves that American missionary ladies as majority persuade the mothers to be a Christian by suggesting them to improve their English and giving gifts. Eventually, mothers receive their offer although they have to do it because there is no a way to refuse it. The quotation above also explicitly explains the history of encounter among the mothers happened in a Church.

When mothers accept missionary ladies’ offer to be a Christian, it does not mean that they leave their native culture because at the fact, they still believe superstition. It is their native culture. It is told by Lena as Ying-Ying’s daughter if her mother has the ability to see things before they happen,

“One time when I was growing up in San Francisco, she looked at the way our new apartment sat too steeply on the hill. She said the new baby in her womb would fall out dead, and it did. When a plumbing and bathroom fixtures store opened up across the street from our bank, my mother said the bank would soon have all its money drained away. And one month later, an officer of the bank was arrested for embezzlement (Amy Tan, 1989: 161).”

Ying-Ying as a mother still practices her native culture as she got from China. She employs it to protect her family from the danger. It can be concluded that mothers accept to be a Christian as a strategy to be accepted in the middle of the Americans because in the reality, mothers still believe about superstitious things. For the reasons, mothers undergo the process of mimicry.

As I have explained in the previous chapter that mimicry is a strategy to negotiate between marginalized persons to the majority. It enables mothers to appropriate a new culture because mothers describe themselves as a partial person. In their daily activities, mothers still spread their native culture in their home. It is the event what Bhabha says that mimicry contains excess, slippage, and difference because by copying American’s culture, mothers can survive in their new place and have a freedom to apply their native culture in their home. From Bhabha’s perspective, it also can

be concluded that the mothers agree to be a Christian because the majority of the citizens are Christians.

It is not only about superstition employed by mothers as their native culture, but also Chinese language often is used by mothers to communicate in their daily activity. Even though they have followed the Bible class in the church, actually their ability of English is still bad. It is an effect of the mothers who are still using Chinese language to have a conversation in their home. It is portrayed by Jing Mei. She is confused when her auntie Lindo Jong explained her about the differences between Chinese and Jewish mah jong through Chinese language: “These kinds of explanations made me feel my mother and I spoke two different languages, which we did. I talked to her in English, she answered back in Chinese” (Amy Tan, 1989: 23). It shows that mothers do not want to leave their native culture although they are in the United States.

Although the mothers are also able to speak English, it does not mean their English is very easy to understand. They use English as a way to be accepted in the middle of American society because in fact, the mothers still use Chinese language not only in their home, but also in their routine agenda hold by them in the Joy Luck Club as it is told by Jing Mei: “The Joy Luck aunties begin to make small talk, not really listening to each other. They speak in their special language, half in broken English, half in their own Chinese dialect (Amy Tan, 1989: 23-24).”

It can be concluded that mothers as marginalized persons use mimicry to appropriate their new culture. It will bear the process of hybridity. In this case, mothers will accept a new culture but at the same time they still keep some of their native culture. Although they are now in a new place, it does not mean that they erase their authentic culture. They still practice some of their native culture in their daily life in the United States instead. For instance, mothers often use Chinese language to communicate in their daily activity.

The effect of hybridity is that there is no an authentic culture because marginalized persons adopt new culture in dresses, the way of thinking, in lifestyle, in speech and the like. In this context, it is same with Bhabha’s perspective in which mimicry contains mockery because mothers describe themselves as partial subject through ambivalence to deceive Americanized citizens. Mockery, in this case, is shown by mothers because they can be both partial Americans and partial Chinese persons.

After the mothers are in the United States, each of mothers has a daughter. It is suitable with their hope before coming to the United States however. When their children grow up, the problem between mothers and daughters becomes more complicated because both mothers and daughters have different identities. That is the initiation of the process of hybrid identity between mothers and daughters that will happen in their daily activity. The explanations below will intensely discuss some clashes of culture between mothers and daughters as an effect of different identities.

Unlike their mothers, all of the daughters are born in the United States. They still live in America although their mothers practice Chinese values in their home. They get American education, make friends with American people and are introduced American media. As the consequence, the daughters' way of thinking follows American culture. It shapes the daughters' identities to be individualistic persons. Individualism is an attitude which tends to see everyone has an equal right. Self of individualism is a part of American culture. In some cases, it causes ignorance of their mothers' culture. In this novel, daughters are represented by Jing-Mei, Waverly, Lena, and Rose Jordan.

When the daughters grew up, American values are cultivated in the daughters' identities because they get American education as it is portrayed by Jing Mei. She criticizes the way her mother in giving a support when she failed to finish her study in biology department and art department. Her mother scolded her like a daughter who had not an attitude,

"I used to dismiss her criticisms as just more of her Chinese superstitions, beliefs that conveniently fit the circumstances. In my twenties, while taking Introduction to Psychology, I tried to tell her why she shouldn't criticize so much, why it didn't lead to a healthy learning environment. "There's a school of thought," I said, "that parents shouldn't criticize children. They should encourage instead. You know, people rise to other people's expectations. And when you criticize, it just means you're expecting failure (Amy Tan, 1989: 20)."

It portrays as a daughter who gets an American education, she tends to overcome her problems following American culture. She regards that the way her mother solves her daughter's problem is not suitable employed for her daughter. She prefers to employ American way by giving her a spirit rather than criticizing. It also describes that American education indirectly influences Jing Mei's way of thinking.

American culture which tends to educate Jing Mei freedom also influences her paradigm to decide her future by her own decision. It is reflected from her conflict with her mother. When she was a little girl, she rejected her mother's way in educating her to be a talented daughter: "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 (Amy Tan, 1989: 152)." It shows that Jing-Mei as a daughter who lives in America, prefers to decide her own future. She ignores Chinese culture employed by her mother in her home because it limits her freedom.

Self-reliance and independence are parts of American values. Those affect Jing-Mei becomes an idealized daughter. It also shapes her to be an individualistic daughter who does not want to accept her mother's advice. In American culture, respecting other people is based on their achievement and title because Americans acknowledges that the sameness or equality is not based on the gender or ages.

On the contrary, Chinese culture educates to appreciate the older people.

Like Jing Mei, Lena is also affected by American culture. Americans are generally less interested in the past, "Their eyes are on the near-term future. They have a short-term orientation" (Hofstede, 2005:212). As an Americanized daughter, Lena never believes about mystery. So, when her mother applies it to protect her from the danger, Lena always refuses it, "You must not walk in any direction but to school and back home, because it is too terrible to consider. A man can grab 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 (Amy Tan, 1989:109)." Therefore, she often lies her mother when she is asked by her mother to translate English in order to get her freedom,

"I often lied when I had to translate for her, the endless forms, instructions, notices from school, telephone calls, "Shemma yisz?"- What meaning?- she asked me when a man at a grocery store yelled at her for opening up jars to smell the insides. I was so embarrassed I told her that Chinese people were not allowed to shop there (Amy Tan, 1989:109)."

When Waverly was young girl, she was a naturally talented chess champion. She is annoyed by her mother's constantly bragging about her, and showing her off. Her mother makes Waverly feeling so bad after a fight over her chess abilities so that she quit playing chess altogether. Actually, what her mother has done is to give self-confidence for her. She wants to give the best for Waverly, "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? (Amy Tan, 1989:101)." It shows as an Americanized daughter, she does not see her mother as a person that needs to obey. For her, people's status is based on their own achievements. It is not like Chinese tradition in which people's status is based on inherited characteristics such as age, gender, and family.

Hofstede (2005:67) argues that American culture believes the use of power should be legitimate and follow criteria of good and evil. They believe in equal rights for all Rose Jordan Hsu considers that she has a right to choose her husband by her own decision. As an Americanized daughter, she chooses her husband based on her perspective. She does not care although her mother has warned her not to have a relationship with her boyfriend because he is an American. Even, she finally gets married with her boyfriend without asking for permission to her mother, "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 (Amy Tan, 1989:125)." Rose also prefers to go to a psychiatrist for consulting her problem than discussing with her mother,

"You do not need a psychiatrist to do this. A psychiatrist does not want you to wake up. He tells you to dream some more, to find the pond and pour more tears into it. And really, he is just another bird drinking from your misery... What would your psychiatrist say if I told him that I shouted for joy

when I read that this had happened” (Amy Tan, 1989: 272-273).

It shows that Rose often goes to a psychiatrist to solve the problem. She does it to search an escape for her problem. As an American, at first time, she does not fully believe in the superstition as her mother often tells her. It is an effect of American culture. She tends to think rationally following American culture.

Chinese culture is very identical with the stories. Those are intended to instill fear, happiness, a sense of identity, and much more. The mother often gives a lesson by telling her daughter all about life, yet the daughter who is Americanized person regards that this form of communication may not always be completely effective.

From the description portrayed by daughters' experiences above, it can be concluded that American culture has affected daughters' identities. Therefore, their behavior, ways of thinking, paradigm follows American culture. The way has been taken by daughters by following American culture actually is not easy for them because they still live in Chinese families. In their families, their mothers still teach them Chinese tradition which is very different from American culture. Hence, I name the daughters' situation as Cultural inbetweenness.

Cultural inbetweenness is a space of negotiation. It means that both mothers and daughters try to survive through ambivalence. Both mothers and daughters appropriate their different identities through ambivalence in which it leads them to be partial Americans and to be partial Chinese persons.

Conclusion

This research concludes that hybridity finally is able to bridge the different identities between mothers and daughters. In the beginning, mothers tend to keep their native culture from China by employing their Chinese culture in their families. By contrast, the daughters who are born in America tend to follow American culture in their daily life. Therefore, it causes many conflicts experienced by mothers and daughters because they have different understanding about their different culture. Conflicts experienced by both mothers and daughters happen in the fields of rearing system, career, and partner selection. I conclude that the source of different understanding between mothers and daughters is located on the different culture between China and America represented by mothers and daughters. I find that Chinese culture is more comfortable with the presence of collectivism.

In collectivism mode, there is a hierarchy in which daughters should obey their parents and other elders. On the one hand, American culture tends to be comfortable with individualism in which it emphasizes that self-reliance and freedom are the right that should be gotten for Americans to decide their own future. Chinese culture also pays more attention about the past like the culture of storytelling about superstition and mystery to inherit to their daughters in the rearing system. On the contrary, American culture is less interested about the past. American culture represented by the daughters regards that storytelling is very irrational. Thus, the daughters always ignore about storytelling often

used by their mothers to educate them to be obedient children.

Process of hybridity experienced by daughters is initiated when the daughters experience many failures both in career and marriage. The unique of this novel is that what has been forecasted by their mothers through superstition becomes reality. In the beginning, they have ignored their mothers' advice. Eventually, they regret not to follow their mothers' advice. Thus, it finally makes the daughters aware that Chinese culture is not totally wrong. Furthermore, they regard that Chinese culture is a part of their culture. It encourages the daughters to be hybrid identities. They realize that they require their mothers to determine their future.

Moreover, they also realize that Chinese culture like superstition and mystery truly exists. So, they do not only adopt their Chinese about collectivism, but also they finally believe their mothers' ability in forecasting their future through superstition which their mothers got from China. Those are factors that influence the daughters to be hybrid.

On the one hand, the process of hybridity experienced by mothers is actually initiated when they have just come in America. For instance, they must become Christians to be accepted in the middle of Americans. However, it does not mean that they leave totally their native culture because they still practice it in their families. Chinese culture like superstition and collectivism is still used by mothers to educate their children in order to respect Chinese culture though they live in America. It shows that mothers, in this context, experience the process of hybridity. Furthermore, the process of hybridity related to the different understanding with their daughters begins when they see that their daughters experience failure in the career and marriage.

They finally realize that their ways are not suitable to employ for their daughters who are Americanized women. Even, they don't blame whole failure to their daughters because they are aware that they always insist ways that they got from China toward their daughters. Eventually, mothers become very moderate in having relationship with their daughter instead. They also adapt their daughters' ways of thinking in order to avoid their daughters' failure. Those are factors that influence mothers to be hybrid identity.

The consequence of hybridity is that there is no authentic identity. Furthermore, hybridity is able to bridge the different understanding experienced by mothers and daughters. By depicting these characters represented by the mothers and the daughters, this novel indirectly, implies the impossibility to identify an authentic identity. Moreover, this novel shows that hybrid persons are able to create their own identity. It is partial Chinese and partial American.

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