

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter reports the analysis conducted on the data collected from the discourse of two groups of subjects who were given tasks to communicate in English. Five themes representing various issues were dealt with in this exploratory study. The themes have been selected as they are implicit and repeated themes in literature and are deemed as important facets of Chinese culture by various authors which were mentioned in Chapter Four. Selection of themes was carried out by the researcher who is a Chinese by birth and as a result of the researcher's own personal experience.

The researcher compared the responses of the two groups of subjects by looking at the empirical evidence from previous studies on Chinese culture to verify the world views of the two group of subjects. The subjects for the study were required to respond to a number of questions and statements pertaining to the five chosen themes. Subjects were asked to indicate their reaction to the given statements and provide reasons to substantiate their opinions. The questions or statements were intended to draw students to specific issues in the hope of revealing their world views.

5.1 Analysis of Data

Transcripts using annotation C1-C5 are from Group 1 (Chinese as first language) and E6-E10 are from Group 2 (English as first language). Analysis of data will be according to the five basic themes and aspects or sub-themes. Table 3 as shown on page 104 provides the various themes and issues as well as the questions pertaining to the themes and stimulus used for the interview. The questions shown are not the exact version used in the interview. Some of the questions have been paraphrased for ease of analysis.

Table 4 as shown on page 105 provides the themes and issues as well as the questions and pictorial stimuli used for the interview.

A sample transcript of Group 1 subjects as represented by subject C1 is also given in Appendix 4 while a sample transcript of Group 2 subjects as represented by subject E8 is given in Appendix 5.

Themes and Issues	Questions for interview	Stimulus used
Love and Marriage -parental authority over the choice of a marriage partner. -keeping secrets about romantic relationships from parents.	a) Do you think mother knows best? b) Do you agree with Aunt Sally that broken-hearted Was ungrateful, deceitful And shameless?	Text 1 - "Everything's Arranged " by Siew Yue Killingley [A literary excerpt]
Food -suitability of song to be taught to children -cultural views pertaining to food	a) Is this song suitable to be taught to children?	Text 2 - Author unknown [A children's jingle]
Food -acceptability of consuming wildlife in the manner described	a) Is food important to you? b) Would you consider eating wildlife in the manner described as food ?	Text 3 - An excerpt from "The Woman Warrior" by Maxine Hong-Kingston [A literary excerpt]
Family -idea of a happy home	Is this your idea of how a home should be?	Text 4 - An excerpt from "The Woman Warrior" by Maxine Hong-Kingston [A literary excerpt]
Chinese Etiquette -appropriate behavior to indicate humility	Do you agree with the aunt that her nieces were proud?	Text 5 - An excerpt from "The Warrior Woman" by Maxine Hong-Kingston [A literary excerpt]
Chinese Etiquette -displaying politeness through customary modes of greeting	Is it rude not to greet elders?	Text 6 - An excerpt from "The Woman Warrior" by Maxine Hong-Kingston [A literary excerpt]
Chinese Etiquette -investing the older generation with authority	Should authority be given to older people?	Text 6 - An excerpt from "The Woman Warrior" by Maxine Kingston [A literary excerpt]
Chinese Etiquette - speaking in the opposite to indicate humility - the extent one will go to retain one's "face"	Do Chinese talk in the opposite?	Same as above
Family - acceptability of public upbraiding	Is it normal for a grandmother to discipline in public?	Text 7 - An excerpt from "Birthday" by Lee Kok Liang. [A literary excerpt]
Family - position of a spinster	Is being a spinster good or bad?	Same as above

Table 3: Textual stimuli for selected themes in Chinese culture

Themes and Issues	Questions for the interview	Stimulus used
Family -position and role of husband	a) Do you think this is a happy family? b) If a woman is smarter, should the husband stay at home?	Pictorial Stimulus 1 -Researcher's own
Education and Knowledge -The importance of the above to the individual	What do you think of this picture?	Pictorial Stimulus 2 -adapted from an experiment carried out by Ervin-Tripp

Table 4: Pictorial stimuli for selected themes in Chinese culture

5.2 Theme 1: Love and Marriage

The theme of love and marriage is universal to all cultures and is dealt with in Text 1. Marriage is considered a very important ceremony and event in a Chinese person's life. The issues highlighted are:

- a) parental authority over the choice of a prospective marriage partner
- b) keeping secrets about romantic relationships from parents

5.2.1 Parental Authority over Choice of Marriage Partners.

Text 1 is an excerpt from "Everything's Arranged." by Killingley. It is as follows:

Dear Auntie Sally,

I am a girl of twenty-two and am in the final year at the university. I am madly in love with a boy who lives far, far away. My parents do not know of my romance. They want me to marry someone whom I do not

know. At times I think of committing suicide but I am not sure how to kill myself. Sometimes I think of becoming a nun, but I am not a Christian. Please give me some advice as I do not know what to do.

Broken-hearted

Dear Broken-hearted,

Silly-girl! Do not think I'm heartless. I am always willing and happy to help a deserving case. But look at you! Have you no sense of shame or thankfulness in your heart? I do not feel sorry for your poor parents who have suffered to send you to the university and this is your way of repaying them with ingratitude, deceit and shameless behavior. You are too young to think of boyfriends. You are lucky that your parent love you so much and are thinking of your welfare . . . accept your parents' choice of a husband for you. Mother knows best! Your parents have your welfare at heart.

Love from
Auntie Sally

(Killingley, 1968:195,196)

Question posed: Do you agree that mother knows best?

Subjects from Group 1 [with Chinese as their first language] tended to agree with Aunt Sally that mothers know best. Out of the five subjects, three (C2, C4 and C5) answered "yes". Subject C3 answered "yes" with a condition characterized with a "but" as contrasted to subject C1 who disagreed:

C1: (6) Not really *lah*.

C3: (9) Mother knows best

(10) but she no think the feeling of the daughter.

Almost all of the Chinese L1 speakers except C1 agreed with Aunt Sally that

mother knows best. Although subject C3 qualified her agreement with a "but", the view of mothers or parents giving their best to their children is unquestionable. Questioning one's mother's sincerity and wisdom might be classified as unfilial. As implied by subject C2, mother is a better judge of character compared to her children:

C2:(6) . . . **mother can be looking out for the boys** and know the boy is bad or good and can be happy with the daughter.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Since mother had other "means" or resources to investigate the character of the intended groom, as in "mother can be looking out for the boys", therefore, mother would know best. Consequently, subject C2 felt that disregarding mother's authority and wisdom on such matters would reveal one's ungratefulness and deceitfulness.

Overall, Group 1 respondents agreed with the statement that "mother knows best." Chinese tradition dictates that children should be filial to their parents and should submit to their authority and decision. Research by Hwang (1983) supports the above view as it concludes that filial piety required loyalty and submission by children to parental wishes. In keeping with the above, C4 stated that she would agree to her mother's wishes and marry the man of her mother's choice because it is good for her to be filial:

C4: (20) I cannot get my mother worried *loh*.

- (21) My mother is **too old**. Listen she talk is good for me *loh*. So I will **follow** my mother talk.

[emphasis by the researcher]

From Subject C4's submissive response, a few aspects can be highlighted. C4's constant use of "loh" in her discourse, suggests the expectation of agreement from her interviewer since her two statements are in keeping with the Chinese traditional practice of being submissive to their parents' wishes. This is further reinforced by the palliative tone of her discourse. C4's use of the words, "too old" does not only suggest the physical but the traditional aspect as well. According to Chinese tradition, elders are revered because they are perceived to be mature, more experienced and, hence, more capable of making the right decisions. Therefore, a majority of Group 2 subjects were in agreement with the statement that mother knows best. Another aspect worth considering is the use of the word "follow" which indicates complying passively and agreeing as said by Confucius, "I do not build the road, I follow it."

On the other hand, Group 2 subjects who had English as their first language, unanimously disagreed with the statement that mother knows best with regard to the choice of a life partner. In contrast to Group 1, answers given by Group 2 subjects were explicit and confrontational:

E6: (6) No, I **don't think mother knows best**

E7: (8) In this instance, I **don't think so**.

E8: (7) ((some nervous sounds)) In this case, I aah - **disagree with**

"mother knows best"

E9: (8) Not every situation depends what it is

E10:(5) Overall, mothers knows best *lah*

(6) because they bring us up and stuff **but in this situation, I don't think so.**

[emphasis by the researcher]

Among the responses given by Group 2 subjects, Subject E6's response to the question is the most forthright and direct. Subject E6's confrontational tone and outright disagreement is obvious:

E6: (6) No, I don't think mother knows best.

(7) because **it is her daughter who is getting married, not her!**

[emphasis by the researcher]

This is also in keeping with Western thought and culture as Mun (1986) states that the West emphasizes on "cleanness" and "directness" which may explain Group 2 subjects' confrontational view. The above is in keeping with the Western attitude of independence especially in matters relating to one's future. Subject E6 stressed on the fact that it is the daughter "who is getting married", therefore she should know who to choose. Similarly, subject E10 felt that for matters of the heart, mother may not know best. On the whole, Group 2 subjects disagreed with the statement "mother knows best."

5.2.2 Theme 1: Love and Marriage

The focus here is on the issue of acceptability of keeping secrets about

romantic relationships from parents. This issue can be seen in Aunt Sally's (Text 1) unsympathetic response to broken-hearted's dilemma as seen in the following line:

"Have you no shame or thankfulness in your heart?. . . and this is your way of repaying them with ingratitude, deceit and shameless behavior?"

Question posed: Do you agree with Aunt Sally that broken-hearted was ungrateful, deceitful and shameless?

When the above question was posed, subjects understood that "deceitful" meant withholding information about "broken-hearted's" romantic relationship with her boyfriend from her parents while "ungratefulness" meant her refusal to accept her parents' choice of a life partner. Most of Group 1 subjects agreed with Aunt Sally that the young lady mentioned in the letter was ungrateful, deceitful and shameless as she did not inform her parents about her boyfriend which consequently caused her to reject her mother's choice of a prospective husband for her. Two of them (C4 and C5) answered with an emphatic "yes" and supplied the following reasons:

C4: (7) because the girl not tell about what happen to - her mother and father.

C5: (8) because first the girl did not tell the truth to her parents *loh*.

However, Group 1 subjects, C1 and C2 answers revealed both agreement

and disagreement to Aunt Sally's view.

C3:(20) I agree-with aunty saying and not agree with what the aunty's saying.

C2: (8) At a different angle, ((giggle)) ah : : it can be a different answer.

(9) Yes . . .

(10) because her daughter was, have close with the boy. She is shameful to tell her mother.

I: (12) on the no aspect? why didn't she tell her mother?

C2:(11) because she is shame : : shameful.

Virtually all of Group 2 subjects answered "no" unanimously to show their disagreement with Aunt Sally's statement. Subjects were more emphatic and verbal about their disagreement.

E6: (9) Well, **she's too much** on that because she's just too much . . . The aunt is on the mother's side.

(11) But ah : : **Aunt Sally was just too much** . . .

(12) The aunt is in the mother's side so **I don't think it's right.**

E7:(13) I think it's **a bit harsh**

E7:(14) Aunt Sally is only a stranger.

E8: (9) **No, not even a bit** eer : -

(11) Um: I don't think broken-hearted is deceitful

(12) because ah : : feeling shameful or being timid or not being brave enough to tell the parents about her feelings **is natural** and you **can't blame her for her feeling.**

E9:(12) **No : : : I disagree with this one**

E10:(8) Well, she (Aunt Sally) shouldn't say such deep words

(9) **she doesn't really know her.**

[emphasis by the researcher]

Subject E8's "No" was spoken with emphasis to indicate the strength of

subject's disagreement. Comments such as that of E8's "No, not even a bit" showed that the subject could not accept even superficially Aunt Sally's views. Subject E6 thought Aunt Sally was "too much" while E7 felt that her comment was "a bit harsh" as Aunt Sally was "only a stranger." On the other hand, Subject E10 felt that Aunt Sally should not have said such "deep words" as Aunt Sally was only an "Agony Aunt" and therefore she "doesn't really know her."

Group 1 subjects' agreement with Aunt Sally is worth mentioning. Since marriage is a big and important event in a Chinese person's life, it cannot be kept a secret. Instead, it is to be shared and enjoyed by all. Firstly, the parents have to be informed about children's preferences/intentions with regard to marriage. Chinese parents precede over the wedding of their children as they have the final say over the details of their children's wedding. To exclude the family from all its excitement even in the preparatory stages is unthinkable and will not be taken lightly by the parents and may even lead to severing of family ties. So perhaps that was why subjects C2, C3, C4 and C5 felt that broken-hearted was "wrong" not to inform her parents of her romantic relationship. In line with this trend of thought, C4 commented that :

C4:(10) . . . the marriage is so big thing in the Chinese family so call *yan sang tai sai loh*

- (11) "yan sang tai sai" means aah - marriage is a big thing in the people's life, So they **cannot** keep it a secret. They **must** tell the family. So this girl is partly wrong because she didn't tell her mother about the relationship with this boy.

[emphasis by researcher]

Perhaps there is a need to reflect on the use of modality here. C4 said that courting couples "cannot keep" their courtship a secret. Instead, they "must tell" the family. The use of the modality "can" connote the notion of ability as well as possibility. However, when used in this context, it could connote not having the legal and moral right to do something as seen in the use of the modal "may not". On the other hand, the modal "must" is used to express compulsion, obligation, requirement or necessity. Thus, C4's use of the two modals "cannot" and "must" showed her underlying views that keeping secret from parents was perhaps not morally right or permitted while the use of "must" indicated the requirement or obligation on the part of the sons or daughters to inform the parents about their courtship.

According to Lip (1993), marriage is one of the three important events in life along with birth and death. Therefore, leaving the parents in the dark on this issue is considered to be extremely unfilial. Consequently, failure to inform the family would bring about a "loss of face" or shame to the immediate family. If their friends and neighbours were to discover any on-going romantic relationship while a marriage negotiation was in progress, then broken-hearted's family would suffer the ridicule of society. Subject C2 spoke of the shame the mother would suffer:

C2:(12) and the notion that her mother was matched some people to marry with daughter but when the mother knows about the daughter going out with someone, she **must be shameful**.

[emphasis by researcher]

This issue of shame in Chinese society has been discussed by many scholars. Eberhart (1967) and Hsu (1949) describe Chinese societies as "shame oriented." Chu (1973) suggested that Confucianism and Humanism are the two major influences on the Chinese shame culture. Shame was defined by Chu in terms of interpersonal orientation. Behavior is compared to social norms and guilt is viewed in terms of an intrapsychic orientation where behavior is compared to one's personal standards. According to Chu (1973), Confucianism was oriented towards shame as it emphasizes social norms and refers to ideal types as models of behavior. Humanistic concerns in Chinese culture places great importance on harmonious interpersonal relationships especially among members of the extended family. Yap (1965) states that conscious shame feelings would be generated by the anticipation of being discovered for any wrong conduct. Thus, Broken-hearted's action of not informing her mother/parents about her romantic relationship would bring shame to the family if discovered by others. Lin and Lin (1981) state that shame would thus be felt by the family, especially by the head of the family. Therefore, 4 out of 5 Group 1 subjects indicated their agreement with Aunt Sally's statement as their prior experience in the Chinese culture influence their interpretation of the mentioned situation.

Diversity in the responses from both groups of subjects could perhaps be attributed to their interpretation of what constitute acceptable or unacceptable behavior. The words "ingratitude", "deceit", and "shameless" which were used to describe broken-hearted's behavior were relevant to Group 1 subjects'

frame of reference, especially in their cultural practice of filial piety, submission to elders as well as avoidance of shame. For Group 2 subjects, the words used were considered "harsh" and "too much" since they felt the criticism was unwarranted as broken-hearted should be given the opportunity to choose. As stated earlier, marriage is a big event for the Chinese, thus, it is a family affair participated by all whereas in the West, it is an event where personal choice is paramount. This is demonstrated in the exchange of marriage oaths as contained in the Minister's Service Manual where the "I do" feature prominently (Johnson, Engle, Matson & Walter, 1984).

5.3 Theme 2: Food

Text 2 is an extract of a children's song which was used to gauge respondents' reaction towards the eating of worms. The issues for this stimulus are:

- a) acceptability of song's content
- b) cultural views pertaining to food.

The text of the song is as follows:

Nobody loves me,
Everybody hates me,
I'm going to eat some worms,
Big fat juicy ones, long thin skinny ones,
See how they wriggle and squirm,
First you bite the head off, then you suck the blood out,

Then you throw the skin away,
Nobody knows how much I feed on worms, three times a day!

(Author unknown)

5.3.1 Acceptability of Song's Content

The issue highlighted here is the acceptability of the song's content to young children. Eating worms and sucking their blood are behaviors that cannot be deemed to be exemplary for young children. However, the researcher chose the above text to gauge not so much the acceptability of the above actions but the reactions of the subjects towards the behavior mentioned in the above song.

Question posed: Is the song suitable to be taught to children?

Text 2 drew a rather mixed response. At a glance no marked difference was detected between the two groups of subjects' attitude toward the song. Three out of five subjects from Group 1 felt that the song was not suitable to be taught to young children. The reasons furnished for its unsuitability are as follows:

C2: (18) . . . it is **dirty**

C5: (11) because it is **cruel**

C1: (13) *No kasih sayang* [love] **not good oh.**

(14) *kejam/ah* [**cruel**]. A little bit.

(15) Like hate, hate somebody very strongly *lah*.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Subject C2 felt that the song was unsuitable as it was "dirty" to eat worms. While subject C1 and C3 felt that it was cruel to eat the worms in the manner described. Even though it was deemed to be unsuitable, two Group 1 subjects (C2 and C3) however, linked it to eating and food, respectively:

C2: (16) Its quite cute and it looks like eating something

C3: (23) no wasted the food and then if wasted the food, some day they will eat some worm for their meal

Subject C2 felt that although it was not a good song to be taught to children, C2 commented that "it's quite cute" as it reminded her of "eating something." While C3 felt that it was suitable to be taught to children as it would teach them not to waste food for if they do, they would one day have to eat worms for their meal. Similarly, C4 saw a positive aspect of the song and pronounced it as "good."

C4:(22) I think this children song **good for mother.**

(23) ask children *lah*, to get the children know how about the children no mother and father. No one to love the children. Then the song mean how the children like mother and ***membalas budi dia. [repay mother's kindness]***

[emphasis by the researcher]

Subject C4 felt that the song reminded children of the blessing in having parents for without parents no one would shower love on them. Hence the song was deemed by C4 to encourage children to love their mother and "membalas budi" [repay the kindness of the mother].

In summary, Group 1 subjects shared thoughts that reflected Chinese cultural values such as the emphasis on food and the value placed on food. Their discourse also disclosed the stress on "repayment" to parents such as filial piety as in taking care of aged parents and seeing to their welfare.

Group 2 subjects generally were less negative about the suitability of the song to be taught to children. Although 4 out of 5 subjects answered "no", unlike Group 1 subjects, they qualified their negative answers with reasons such as :

E7: (19) But in one way, in a certain limited sense, it **helps the child to express** himself that he feels abandoned.

E8: (15) . . . I think this song should be introduced when the children are older. . .

(19) Just to **make the class ah studies effective and not that tiring** for them throughout the day.

E9: (16) . . . **nice** in the sense of the **rhythm**.

E10: (18) **action wise** it is quite interesting ((laughs))

[emphasis by the researcher]

Subjects E7, E8, E9 and E10 all answered "no" indicating their disagreement regarding the suitability of the song for young children. However, they saw some positive aspects inherent in the song. The "buts" included reasons given by subject E7 such as "helps in self-expression", subject E8 felt that it was unsuitable as it was only "suitable for older kids" while subject E9 felt that "it has a nice rhythm" and "it is interesting, action wise". Some of the values expressed by Group 2 subjects are ideals which are cherished by the West. The ideals emphasized were self expression, fun, entertainment and openness.

5.3.2 Theme 2: Food- Cultural Views Pertaining to Food

Text 3 is an excerpt from "The Woman Warrior" by Hong-Kingston. It is the author's account of how her mother encouraged them to eat food at mealtime. The main issue focussed is cultural views pertaining to food such as the acceptability of consuming wildlife in the manner described below:

Do you know what people in China eat when they have the money?" my mother began. "They buy into a monkey feast. The eaters sit around a thick table with a hole in the middle . . . the cooks cut a clean line in a circle at the top of its head... The eaters spoon out the brains."

"Eat! eat!" my mother would shout at our heads bent over bowls, the blood pudding a wobble in the middle of the table.

We have to face four-and five-day-leftovers until we ate it all. The squid eye would keep appearing at breakfast and dinner until eaten. Sometimes brown masses sat on every dish.

(Hong-Kingston, 1977: 86,87)

Question posed: Would you consider wildlife as food?

Virtually all Group 1 subjects unanimously said "no" but they all qualified their answers with a "but." Among the salient reasons given for not eating wildlife are:

C3:(26) because [this type of] food is **terrible** and it is very **cruel**.

C2:(24) because it is **frightening** and **not normal** to eat.

C5:(17) because it is **very ugly**

C5:(19) and the **taste not good**

C1:(20) . . . because **its geli** [repulsive] and - its like eating monkey brains

(21) its **very cruel to kill them like this** *lah*.

[emphasis by the researcher]

From the above discourse, it is interesting to note that subjects from Group 1 mentioned the physical aspect of food. Subjects C5 and C1 stated that they find wildlife unacceptable for food as "it is very ugly". This is perhaps echoed in C2's answer as well as C3's response. This is probably because food which is eaten in such a gory manner affects one's sensitivity.

Group 1 subjects, however, indicated that they would make an exception to eating wildlife with the use of "but" and "if" as in:

C1:(25) . . . but if my **parents force me**, I eat *lah*.

C4:(25) but like crocodile meat or animals *yang lain* [other animals] **if for medicine**, I will try *loh*.

[emphasis by the researcher]

The idea that they would be willing to eat wildlife if they were coerced by their parents is interesting to note. Although Group 1 subjects voiced their strong negativity towards eating wildlife, two of the subjects, C1 and C3 stated that they would eat wildlife such as monkey brains and squid eye if forced by their parents.

C1:(21) . . . but, **if my parents force me**, I will eat it.

C3:(27) yes, **if my mother force me**.

[emphasis by the researcher]

When asked whether they would eat the food out of their own free will they replied:

C1:(26) Don't want to eat *loh*. **If I got my freedom**, I don't want to eat *lah*.

C3:(28) I'll **never**.

[emphasis by the researcher]

The use of the adverb "never" suggests the possibility of something not ever occurring. It seems to be a decided, final and definite state of mind yet this decision can be overruled by their parents' authority. The idea of authoritarian control by parents as in the repetition of the word "force" and the words "if I got my freedom", seems to be highlighted here.

High Chinese authoritarianism as inferred in a study by Ho and Lee (1974) is reflected in the response of subjects C1 and C3. Yang (1986) discusses the extremely strong sense of filial piety among the Chinese and he correlates this characteristic to their authoritarian attitudes. One of the main components of authoritarianism is unconditional submission to authority and this can be seen in a study conducted by Chu (1967) which is consistent with the assumption that Chinese submit to the authority of age, status and tradition. Ho and Lee (1975) found in their study the likelihood of a link between filial piety and authoritarian attitudes. Research findings have indicated that the Chinese are conspicuous for their deferential attitudes toward whoever and whatever they consider as authority. Hence, parents

forcing their children to take certain medication is nothing new to the Chinese.

The Chinese broad view with regard to food can be observed here. Group 1 subjects were more open to eating wildlife as they were pre-conditioned by their cultural views regarding food. Lee (1986) states that whatever nourishes the system is viewed as food and, therefore, there is little distinction between what is food and what is medicine. This is based on the belief that certain food has medicinal values and, thus, to the Chinese there is no clear separation between food and medicine.

Group 2 subjects, however, were unanimous in their disagreement to the question of eating wildlife. No amount of persuasion or reasoning could make them consider eating wildlife. The reasons given seem to be rather emphatic and decided as represented in subject E6's response which is given below.

E6: (25) Even if its good or not good, **I'm still not eating it.**

[emphasis by the researcher]

All of Group 2 responses appeared to be focussed on their own feelings and views as their answers reflected the various degrees of repugnance towards the eating of wildlife but this was not so for Group 1 subjects. Group 2 subjects used very strong emotive words to show their repugnance and negativity towards the practice of eating any type of food similar to that mentioned in the literary extract. Their answers focussed on their personal

feelings and views:

E6: (16) Well, it is **just pathetic**. Imagine eating a live monkey . . . It is **just disgusting!**

E7: (22) It is a **very, very gross** ((laughs)) . . . It's very **barbaric** in a way

E8: (20) Hymm . . . well, this eating manner is er : : **neither proper** nor is **scientifically proven** to bring medicinal results.

(23) . . . I find it **disgusting, annoying and barbaric lah**.

E9: (21) . . . **pretty weird** and cruel and terrible.

E10:(19) They're **disgusting!**

[emphasis by the researcher]

Another reason why a majority of Group 2 subjects objected to the eating of wildlife is that a majority of them appeared doubtful of the claim that wildlife has medicinal value. Western thought often encourages verification of claims through empirical evidence and Group 2 subjects' responses seemed to reflect this.

E10:(22) First of all **it is beliefs**. I'll rather go to a proper doctor to get the prescription. You **never know what is inside**.

E9: (23) It is **just a saying, belief**, just like when you eat it, you will be stronger or anything?

E8:(20) Hmm - well this **eating manner is er : : neither proper** nor is **scientifically proven** to bring medicinal results.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Subjects in Group 2 tended to question the reliability and authenticity of such claims as opposed to Group 1 subjects' placid acceptance:

C2:(25) **Take a bit lah**

C4:(30) If **good for health**, I will try *loh*

[emphasis by the researcher]

Group 2 subjects' rejection of wildlife is very decided as seen in two of the subjects' answer.

E7:(27) . . . aah I mean it is a bit out, there's **no necessity for us** to go and eat all types of food

E6:(25) **Even if its** [wildlife] **good** or not good, **I'm still not eating it**.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Perhaps this indicates that perception of food is culturally induced as this is in keeping with their world view and expectations. Group 1 subjects' reluctant acceptance of wildlife for medicinal purposes to please their parents as discussed earlier also indicate cultural influences. In contrast, Group 2 subjects' outright rejection of wildlife as exemplified in E6's response indicated the unmistakable difference between the points of view or frames of the two groups of students.

5.3.3 Theme 2: Food - Importance of Food

Text 3 is used again but the issue is the subjects' view with regard to :

- a) the importance of food
- b) attitudes toward food.

Question posed: Is food important to you?

All Group 1 subjects answered in the affirmative. However, only one person, subject C2, mentioned about the health aspect:

I: (21) Is food important to you?

C2:(22) Yes, can **make me** grow up **stronger**.

[emphasis by the researcher]

C2 stated that food is important because it would make him "grow stronger."

However, the other subjects in Group 1 were unanimous in their view that they were choosy about food. Their reasons are given below.

C1:(29) I only take food which **taste good, smell good** and =
(30) = look good.

C2:(29) **taste good, colour, the pattern**
(30) because **Chinese food is an art** and can make the food **more beautiful**.

C3:(30) I **choose the nice food** and **taste good**.

C5:(28) because I'm quite choosy. Because I want the **food look nice loh** and the **taste good**.

C4:(32) In the Chinese, the food is called "sek heong mei shin." "Sek" means the **colour**, "heong" means the **smell**, aah . . . "sek heong mei" eer . . . how to cook.

[emphasis by the researcher]

From the responses given, it is clear that the common criteria for food as stated by subject C1 is "food must taste good, smell good and look good." Perhaps this could cast further light on why Group 1 subjects did not want to eat monkey brains and squid eyes discussed earlier since such food look

"ugly" as food is supposed to look appealing. Clayre (1984) mentions Yuen Mei as one of the best known gourmets in Chinese literature. Yuen Mei placed special attention not only on the flavor but also on the appearance of food. He states that a good dish strikes the nose and eye first. The Chinese of today still emphasize on the "three appeals of food". In order for food to be appealing it must appeal to one's sight, smell and taste.

Subject C2 commented that "Chinese food is an art" and this is in keeping with the Chinese view with regard to food. Lee (1986) claims that Chinese culinary art has developed to great heights. He states that preparation of food itself is an art as all ingredients used in cooking must match. For instance, there is order in eating food of different flavors since clear must go with clear, thick with thick and soft with soft.

Therefore, it is of little wonder then that a majority of Group 1 subjects viewed food in such a manner as the Chinese culture itself places great importance on its preparation and appearance.

Although Group 2 subjects answered in the affirmative with regard to the importance of food, they, however, did not mention about the sensual aspects of food. Group 2 subjects on the whole mentioned about the practical aspects of food.

I: (9) How important is food to you?
E6: (21) Its **part of my daily life.**

- (24) I don't like my green, I just like meat more.
 E8: (24) Its an important **source of energy** because it gives me good health.
 (25) as long as we take in minerals and vitamins . . .
 E9: (25) hymm coz when you eat it to **build bones**, and make your **body more stronger**.
 E10:(24) Yes, it is important
 (26) Because it **gives me the energy** . . .

[emphasis by the researcher]

The above responses from Group 2 subjects suggest a Western orientation toward food which is prevalent in the West. Group 2 subjects talked about the nutritive value of food, personal preferences and eating habits. None of Group 2 subjects talk about the aesthetic aspects of food as mentioned by Group 1 subjects earlier. In fact, subject E9 stated that food intake should not be based on how food looks.

E9:(29) Ya, ya, ya - coz we **just eat** the food, **not** how it **looks**.

[emphasis by the researcher]

It is clear that even in the area of food, significant differences exist between the two groups of subjects.

5.4 Theme 3: Family

The theme of family is investigated and aspects subsumed under this theme include: homelife, public upbraiding, spinsterhood, humility and 'face', the family unit as well as the role and position of husband.

5.4.1 Homelife

Text 4, an excerpt from "The Woman Warrior" by Maxine Hong-Kingston was used to elicit subjects' ideas of an ideal home. The issue dealt in this text is subjects' expectation of what constitute an ideal home and it is hoped that subjects' responses will indicate whether similarities exist as a result of cultural or personal preferences.

The text is as follows:

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

(Hong-Kingston, 1977:100)

Question posed - Is this your idea of how a home should be?

All Group 1 subjects answered with a definite "yes." Subject C1 was very definite with regard to his expectation of a home:

C1:(34) Should be like this *lah*

(35) All: **altogether** *lah* **happy** *lah*. **All gather** already, talk about anything *lah*. Whole family like this happy one. I also **happy** *lah*.

[emphasis by the researcher]

C1 spoke of happiness as a result of living together as a big family. He equated family togetherness to the attainment of happiness and spoke enthusiastically of such gatherings. Virtually all the other subjects in Group 1 also mentioned about being happy when the house was full of relatives.

- C2: (32) because ah - when us [we] was together, when we have problem we can share and *menyelesaikanya* [solve it], more heads - is better than one head.
(35) **very happy and feel strong**
C3: (36) . . . your house is full of relatives, your grandsons, your sons-in-law and then the **man is successful and happy**
C4: (34) I like the family have many children and play.
(37) **= very happiness.**
C5: (32) . . . **I feel so happy** then not lonely . . . I can talk about my problem to them.

[emphasis by the researcher]

On the other hand, three of Group 1 subjects voiced their dislike for quiet homes:

- C1: (38) . . . like my house hoh, **very - very ah: quiet ah, no anyone, not meriah [merry].**
C1: (39) **I don't like this .**
C4: (35) . . . I very scared just one woman in the house. **Sunyi [quiet and lonely]** so I **don't like this.**
C5: (32) . . . I'll feel so happy then **not feel lonely.** Then, I like the ***suasana riuh rendah* [lively atmosphere].** I can talk of my problem to them, then make laugh some sort like that.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Subjects C1 and C4 talked of the quietness and loneliness that is present in a quiet home. Subject C1 and C4 discussed their dislike of the quietness that

prevails in a house with few people. Subject C4's stress on "one woman" indicates her aversion to staying alone. However, when the house is full, it is not considered "noisy" but "riuh-rendah" or "meriah" which connotes a festive atmosphere as mentioned by subjects C1 and C5.

As stated by Rattenbury (1949), old age, honor, wealth and, most of all, children are considered as blessings for the Chinese. When one is bestowed with the blessing of a boisterous and noisy home, then old age is secure, honor and prestige will be assured. Subject C2, for instance, talked of the advantage of a house full of people. According to her, the advantage of having family members under one roof is the availability of advice and counsel to be had. As the saying goes, in the counsel of many, there is security. Therefore, when subject C2 stated that "more heads is better than one", C2 was perhaps indicating the family as a stabilizing factor. When an imbalance or "problem" rocks the speaker's equilibrium, stability is to be restored through the counsel of immediate family members and restoration brings happiness and confidence. Consequently, subject C5 reiterated that when a house is full, it is not noisy but it can be likened to a celebration of kindred spirits.

The above view is in keeping with a study conducted by Lin (1984) on the adjustment of Chinese women after divorce. Subjects consisted of well-educated urbanites of middle social economic status. Results of the study revealed that the main source of support for facing life crisis was their

immediate family. Thompson (1979) reported that few women sought their friends for support nor did they discuss their problems with relatives outside immediate families. Perhaps this can be linked to the "shame" syndrome dreaded by all Chinese families and the "face"- *mianzi* prized by the Chinese.

Subject C3 stated that a house full of relatives, sons, grandsons, sons-in-law would make the house owner feel successful and happy. This is because success is measured in the number of sons one possesses. However, if he is without sons, then society as denoted by the "some one" in the discourse will refer to him as "gagal lah" [a failure] :

C3: (41) . . . no son and then next time you die, no sons to send you
[off for the funeral possession] *tong lei soong chung* so you
gagal lah [failed].

According to Chinese tradition, when a man dies, he should have sons to send him off in a funeral possession. The thoughts echoed by subject C3, in fact, have their roots in Mencius' teaching which states that "of the three unfilial acts identified, the greatest is to be without heirs." Lee (1986) states that it has been a practice for the Chinese to have more children, especially sons, as the more sons one has, the chances of having a good son is increased. Importance placed on sons could also be due to the perpetuation of the family name through male children. In contrast, daughters take their husband's surnames and, therefore, daughters are regarded as outsiders by their own parents and immediate relatives.

Group 2 subjects, on the other hand, disagreed unanimously that a house full of people and noise was their idea of an ideal home because of the following reasons:

E6: (25) . . . they (the children) need some **privacy** as well. Let's say I am the son-in-law, I won't stay with you because **I need some privacy**.

E7: (35) AND : : there was absolutely **limited privacy** and everything you er - er - the moment you turn around, the whole family knows about it.

E10:(18) . . . because you **don't have your privacy**. . .

[emphasis by the researcher]

Similarly, subject E7's decisive and incisive answer, "definitely no" reflected her strong aversion against such an arrangement. In fact, all of Group 2 subjects mentioned about the need for privacy. Subject E10 spoke of losing her individuality and having very little time of her own. In a house full of relatives, it is apparent that secrets do not remain so for long as referred to in the following response:

E10:(18) . . . Its kind of **everybody knows everything** even though its between you and your family.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Subjects E6 and E9 highlighted the disadvantage of staying in close proximity in an extended family.

E6:(28) . . . because you have so many kids running around the house

and **you can't concentrate** on something you're doing. It's just like, "Oh man, they're just running about, just distracting you.

E9:(31) . . . You **can't do things** with your **own opinions**, with your **things**. You **can't find any time** for yourself.

[emphasis by the researcher]

The modal "can't" which is repeated here, speaks of not having the power or ability to fulfill one's desire. Thus indicating that living in close proximity in an extended family can be stifling. Subject E8, on the other hand, took the issue further by stating that there appears to be no apparent need for the extended family to stay together. One only has to keep in touch with one another through visitations and communicating with each other on special occasions only. It appears that Group 2 subjects do not seem to have any desire to be in close proximity with their family members. The above view would probably be dismissed as highly irregular and "unfilial" by traditional Chinese.

Somehow Group 1 subjects differ drastically from Group 2 regarding the idea of what constitutes a happy home. What was emphasized by Group 1 was the security, the support and the warmth to be had in the company of a big family. Noisiness does not feature in their scheme of things. To them, a little "noise" is acceptable in the midst of jubilant celebration and happiness. Moreover, there is little need for privacy in the midst of "your own" people. There are no secrets as all share and look into each others' welfare and responsibilities. Quietness, on the other hand, appears to be viewed negatively by the Group 1 subjects as seen in subjects C5 and C1's

responses. "Loneliness" or "aloneness" is thus to be avoided. The clannish aspect as treasured by the Chinese has perhaps orientated them to the aversion of being independent from others especially family members.

It is interesting to note that while Group 1 subjects equate "noisiness" to "meriah" which has positive connotations, Group 2 subjects link "noisiness" to quarrels and disagreements as well as distractions which is negative in nature.

E7:(36) off course, there might be **quarrels** *lah*, and **disagreements**

E6:(27) . . .and you can't concentrate on something you 're doing - just **distracting** you.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Another aspect to be highlighted is the different views with regard to home. Group 1 subjects saw the home as being large enough to embrace the extended family which generates warmth, happiness and security. However, Group 2 subjects constantly remarked about the need for privacy and independence for the nuclear family.

E6:(27) and ah - they need some privacy as well

E7:(31) AND : : there was absolutely limited privacy and everything you do - er - the moment you turn round, the whole family knows about it.

E9:(30) you can't do things with your own opinions . . .

It is clear that there are unmistakable differences between the points of view

or frames of the two groups of students. Group 1 subjects spoke of sharing their problems among members of the extended family while Group 2 subjects spoke of the need for privacy. The fear of 'loneliness' as discussed by Group 1 subjects is contrasted with the "fear" of noisiness by Group 2 subjects. Group 2 subjects are not lonely but would like to be left alone with their own nuclear family. In fact, Group 2 subjects hinted that relatives could cramp their life style. The responses from the two groups of students reveal different expectations of how a home should be and these expectations appear to be a result of different cultural orientation.

5.4.2 Family: Public Upbraiding

The theme of family is highlighted in Text 7 and the aspect focussed upon is public upbraiding. The text is about a grandmother venting her disappointment and anger on her grand daughter for foiling her marriage plans for her. In this text, the issue dealt with is the acceptability of public upbraiding.

Below is Text 7, which is an excerpt from "Birthday" by Lee Kok Liang:

The rice was simmering. Soon it would be drying up. Curry was the special dish tonight . . . Uncle Teng was the special guest and she must do well tonight. . . [Uncle Teng had come to observe her, and to match make her to one of his nephews.]

A cockroach whirled in the air, and she hoped that it would not drop into the bowl . . . She leant to her left, and the hot curry spilled over the edge and ran down her fingers . . . [and the curry drenched Uncle

Teng's trousers].

"Child, you are so clumsy. Uncle Teng, she's born with blind eyes, and has fingers made of sticks. Are you scalded Uncle Teng? Child as a punishment, you'll have no dinner tonight." [said Grandma]. She quickly washed up the plates, blew out the candles, and ran hurriedly up the stairs . . . Grandmother climbed up the stairs; slow thumps from her walking-stick. Grandmother pushed into the room and looked at her.

"Everything was going on as I planned till that thing happened. I am so tired of it all. You'll be a spinster the rest of your life. Clumsy bitch."

(Lee, 1968: 129,130)

Question posed: Is it normal for a grandmother to discipline her granddaughter in public?

All of Group 1 subjects agreed that it was a normal practice for the Chinese to discipline their children in public. Among the reasons given were :

C1:(68) If you praise and say good things that means you are proud.
(69) so they say negative things.

C3:(65) because the grandmother **want the granddaughter to become more discipline**

C3:(68) and, **give Uncle Teng know**, that the grandmother always disciplines the granddaughter

C4:(69) normal *loh* in my family my mother also like this.

C5:(63) because she want *mendisiplin* grand daughter then to **show to the other people** that she *mendisiplin* [disciplines] her granddaughter.

(emphasis by the researcher)

Subjects C3 and C5 stated that a possible reason was to let others know that the grandmother is a responsible person as she disciplines her grand

daughter. However, this is contrasted by subject E7's (Group 2) view. Subject E7 felt that such actions were self-motivated and undertaken to show that they were good authoritarians or disciplinarians.

E7:(63) . . . **so that people know** that she is a good **authoritarian** or **a good parent or grandparent**.

[emphasis by the reseacher]

This is in keeping with the traditional practice of harsh punishment to maintain parental authority. Wu (1981) suggested that harsh discipline was used as one of the two mechanisms for inculcating filial piety. Cheung (1986) stated that child abuse was only recognized as a mental health problem in recent years in Taiwan and Hong Kong.

On the other hand, subject C1 felt that public scoldings are normal as most Chinese do not like others to think that they are proud of themselves. Consequently, they refrain from praising or saying positive things about their children or family members in public. From the above answers it could be perceived that public scoldings is a form of face saving "gimmick", which is a public declaration of the perpetrators' moral uprightness.

Group 2 subjects differed in their opinion from Group 1 subjects with regard to the normality of the practice of disciplining children in public. A majority of Group 2 subjects felt that it was not normal to do so. Although subjects E7

and E10 from Group 2 thought that it was normal, they viewed it as unacceptable:

- E7:(62) Aaa - its quite normal for older people to do that.
(66) they are constantly exposed to public scoldings so they would feel inferior so it is **not acceptable** to me
E10:(49) Normal yes - but em - I **don't think so** it is **acceptable**.

[emphasis by the researcher]

The other three subjects namely E6, E8 and E10 were of the opinion that it was not normal to reprimand in public:

- E6:(47) **No, I don't think so.**
(48) If you want to discipline your children, do so in privacy. . .
E8: (44) In my opinion, ah : : this kind of action is not normal.
E9:(48) **Not that its normal** or anything like that.
(49) It is not good because we hurt her feelings

[emphasis by the researcher]

Group 2 subjects felt negatively toward publicly disciplining children because of the deleterious effect of such actions. They suggest the following reasons:

- E7: (65) . . . it really **undermines your confidence** and **make the person very embarrassed**. If done often, it will slowly **take away your self-worth**. Actually some people do **suffer from inferiority complex** because of this.
E8: (48) because the grandmother has already drop her - **push her down** so ah: it will be quite hard -
(49) ya, **she'll feel bad**
E10:(26) . . .you **discourage** the child and ah - in a lot of ways, - they get negative view and they look down on themselves very much.

E9: (33) . . . it was not good because we hurt her feelings - feel very **terrible and humiliated**.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Group 2 subjects spoke of the negative effects of such actions such as undermining the individual's "confidence" and "self-worth" which would cause "inferiority complex" and "discourage", "hurt" as well as make the individual feel "terrible", "embarrassed" and "humiliated". It is also interesting to note that Group 2 subjects discussed about the importance of the individual and his needs rather than society and its expectations. This is reflected in subject E6's view that disciplining should be done in private:

E6:(48) If you want to discipline your children, do so in privacy so that the child don't **feel embarrassed** so that they might hate you.

[emphasis by the researcher]

In contrast, Group 1 subjects viewed public upbraiding as normal and do not seem to actively oppose or criticize such actions. Instead, they spoke of societal norms and expectations which have a strong bearing on the behavior of the grandmother as in the words "let Uncle Teng know" or "to show to the other people." However, most of Group 2 subjects criticized and denounced public upbraiding and discussed the detrimental effects which public scoldings have on individual orientation towards society and themselves.

5.4.3 Theme 3 : Family - Spinsterhood

The theme of family is repeated but the aspect of spinsterhood is highlighted. Text 7 is repeated and the issue dealt here is the position of spinsters in society.

Question posed: Is being a spinster good or bad?

Group 1 subjects unanimously agreed that it was bad to remain a spinster. Subjects C1 and C4's repeated use of the word "bad" indicate their decided stand on the matter. The following are their responses:

C1: (63) **Bad.**

C3: (69) **bad** [to be a spinster]

C4: (73) **Bad loh. Bad** in the family - Chinese - [to be a spinster]

C5: (64) **bad!**

[emphasis by the researcher]

Reasons given by Group 1 subjects for their negative views with regard to spinsterhood include the inability of the spinster to perpetuate the family lineage. Subjects C1 and C2 stated that being a spinster was bad because the spinster will have no "zuriat" [future generations] as the spinster did not marry.

C1:(64) because . . . cannot *sambung zuriat* [perpetuation of descendents]

C2:(84) because she will get no *zuriat* [descendents].

As discussed earlier, even a married woman is a reproach among her neighbours and husband if she fails to produce a son. This is confirmed by Rattenbury (1949) who states that such a married woman will have no true place in society. Viewed in this context, the position of the spinster will be even worse in the eyes of society since she is single and "sonless."

Other Group 1 subjects discussed about the negative views society would have of the spinster:

- C4: (74) In the family Chinese, a girl she is too old no yet marry, means no man want to marry with the girl so **the girl is very cheap/oh**, so no one want you.
- C2: (89) **the community** might be saying, she is **something wrong with her**.
- C3: (73) *pandangan masyarakat* [**society's views**] also say her **"the girl has many problems"**
- The C5: (65) There's a sindiran [**criticism**] [**in the Chinese language**]
 (67) like *lou ku por chia pu chu* [the old spinster who is unable to get married].

[emphasis by the researcher]

Again society feature prominently in the subjects view with regard to the spinster. Group 1 subjects refer to views of "the community", "in the family Chinese" and " society" before stating their personal view of spinsterhood.

The spinster's status is questioned by society. It is clear that spinsterhood is an unenviable state as all Group 1 subjects pronounced it to be bad. This view reflects the Chinese society's perception of the spinster. In fact, society is prejudiced about the spinster and views her with a jaundiced eye. She is

judged to be "cheap" by subject C4, problematic as stated by C2 as in "something wrong with her" or "something wrong" by C3. Hence, she is referred by the derogatory term of *lou ku por* [old maid] as mentioned by subject C5. With regards to equality, she cannot be expected to be treated equally as her male counterpart as she is often regarded as second class citizen even by members of her own family. Subject C4 highlighted this fact when she stated that the woman is often referred to as "sit pun for" [an unprofitable good].

C4:(71) Aah - the girl is **lower class** - so the Chinese call aah water flow out don't come back

C4: (72) . . . because the girl will **marry out** then will follow the husband - so call *sit put for* [**unprofitable good**].

[emphasis by the researcher]

From the above discussion, it is observed that the lowly position of the Chinese woman is further eroded when she fails to "secure" a husband for herself. The derogatory term "lou ku por" as referred to by subject C3 and C5 is specifically applied to the unmarried Chinese woman. Subject C3 stated that the spinster has no power to make decisions or contribute suggestions in family matters. She brings shame to her family by virtue of her singlehood in old age.

C4:(78) Mmm . . . suggestion *pun tak boleh* [**cannot make any suggestions**]

(83) so the mother will feel bad. Also feel *malu* [shame] - *membawa malu kepada keluarga* [**bring shame to the**

family] better to do *nai ku loh* [be a nun]. . .

[emphasis by the researcher]

From Group 1 responses, it seems that married or unmarried, the Chinese woman has to withstand society's biased judgments. It is therefore clear that subjects were very much society centred as societal norms and values were adhered to. None of Group 1 subjects mentioned their own personal views.

Group 2 subjects, on the other hand, drew mixed answers. Although two subjects stated that it was not good to be a spinster, the reasons given were different from that of Group 1 subjects. Two subjects (E6 and E8) stated that it was not good to be a spinster because of the loneliness that a single person invariably faces:

E6:(56) . . . just imagine, living without a family, its so **lonely**.

E8:(53) Still need some one to share their life. In the sense that this person will be **lonely** . . .

[emphasis by the researcher]

While subject E7 concluded that it is neither good nor bad if the person concerned is independent and self-supporting:

E7: (70) if the woman is **capable**, she is working and can take care of herself . . . then I don't see anything wrong about that.

[emphasis by the researcher]

E9 and E10, on the other hand, commented that singlehood was all right as in their use of words such as "o.k", "good" and "perfectly all right."

E9: (50) In my view, being a spinster is - **o.k. Its good** . . .

(51) Its because being a spinster - you can spend your own **time doing things yourself**. It doesn't mean that you must have someone to be with all the time.

E10:(27) . . . Its **perfectly all right**. If she or he **enjoys being alone** and do stuff on themselves. **Its o.k.** for them.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Subject E9 focussed on the positive aspects of singlehood. Subject E9 felt that the spinster has the luxury of "doing things" for herself as she is free from the demands of motherhood. Subject E10 shared a similar view with regard to spinsterhood. Subject E10 stated that one has the freedom to "do stuff on [for] themselves."

From the responses given, it can be observed that the two groups of subjects spoke of spinsterhood from different viewpoints or frames. Group 1 subjects spoke of societal views but did not mention their personal view at all. Perhaps the Chinese community's view is synonymous with their view. In contrast, Group 2 subjects' negativity toward spinsterhood was based on the welfare of the individual. Group 2 subjects looked into the individual's needs and requirements. Therefore, subjects who viewed spinsterhood negatively gave loneliness as the main reason for their stand. While the rest of Group 2 subjects focussed on personal satisfaction and well-being by stating that singlehood was all right if one is "capable" and if one enjoys one's single

status.

5.4.4 Theme 3: Family -The Family Unit

The theme of "family" is repeated here and the aspect considered is the family unit. The purpose of the pictorial stimulus is to gauge subjects' perception of what constitutes a happy family. Pictorial Stimulus 1 is a picture of a wife busily entertaining clients in the background while her husband has his hands full keeping the children in line and cooking in the kitchen. The issues at hand are what constitute a happy family, in particular, the roles played by husbands and wives in a marriage relationship.

Question posed - Do you think this is a happy family?

All of Group 1 subjects gave negative answers. Subjects C2, C3 and C5 indicated that they had a decided view as to what constitutes a harmonious family. Group 1 subjects felt that the picture depicted an unhappy family as the husband was seen to be doing house work which represented non-conformity to the accepted norm.

C2: (96) because - the **man was do the housewife work** and the girl (wife) - was go out to work.

C3:(77) because the **man take care of the family** and the **children**.

C5:(72) Because the women like the man and then the **man is acting like the woman**. Some sort like "**dunia terbalik**" (the world is upside down)

[emphasis by the researcher]

Most of Group 1 subjects felt that there were specific roles for men and women. Subjects C2 and C3 felt that such roles were dictated by the Chinese society and reversing these roles would incur society's displeasure and scorn as seen in the reference to the community laughing at the couple concerned or the man who is a househusband:

C3:(83) and then the **community will laugh** at them.

C2:(11) [**the community**] **will laugh at the man** - didn't have the -
"berupaya" [ability].

[emphasis by the researcher]

Since every Chinese has a "face" to protect, his or her dignity and "face" hinges on the family's standing in society. To be laughed at by the community would bring shame and disgrace to the family. As discussed earlier, Chinese societies are "shame oriented" therefore, behaviour is guided by the desire to avoid shame. Consequently, individuals seek the approval of society and behaves according to the expectation of their society. This is seen in subject C4's response:

C4: (91) . . . because this family not good *loh*. **In the Chinese**, the woman will cook in the kitchen, the men will find money or do work through outside *loh*, **this is opposite *loh***.

[emphasis by the researcher]

For subject C4, the phrase, "in the Chinese" refers to Chinese society. Chinese societal norms delineate the roles for both men and women therefore

it generates expectations about correct roles and behavior patterns for its members. Hence, the consequences for non-conformity would be felt by its members:

C1: (72) Because the man *lah*, **the man's maruah (dignity)** will be **disgraced from the pressure from society**, his wife will make him more angry *ah* like don't like to stay at home to do this housework.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Subject C1 was of the view that non-conformity will bring disharmony. The man will feel threatened as his dignity is threatened by the pressures of his society. When his wife goes out to work, it belittles his manhood and his "face" and dignity is threatened. Societal norms dictate expectations with regard to behavior and practices and in this case, subject C1 felt that society exercises a great influence over its members' world view and behavior since it creates expectation of preferred and accepted form of behavior patterns among its members. None of Group 1 subjects mentioned their own personal views but rather the views of the community or society.

In contrast, Group 2 subjects pronounced the family depicted in the picture as a happy family. Subjects E8 and E9 answered in the affirmative:

E8: (58) because the husband and wife are very cooperative in dividing their duties. So they are playing their role in the family. So I think this is a happy family.

E9: (53) . . . they are enjoying themselves. The kids are smiling. Yes, they are a happy family;

Subject E10, however, was rather non-committal in her answer.

E10: (53) Seeing this side, the wife is like greeting the visitors and Stuff and the other side this man is cooking. **I cannot judge like that.**

E10: (54) Happy or not, I'm not in the family. **I wouldn't know.**

[emphasis by the researcher]

Group 2 subjects appeared to be quite open as they preferred to remain neutral about their decision. Subject E8's answer is an example of such a stand as she used the modal "could" as in "This could be a happy family" or E7 and E10's non-committal reply "I cannot judge" as contrasted to the distinct "No" of Group 1 subjects which indicated their firm view. Perhaps this is an indication that Group 2 subjects did not have a preconceived expectation of what constitutes a happy family especially with regard to the role of a husband or wife. In contrast, Group 1 subjects were quick to point out the reversed role of the husband and stated unanimously that they did not view the picture to represent a happy family. Virtually all Group 1 subjects talked about societal norms and expectations and the negative consequences entailed for not abiding with societal norms.

5.4.5 Theme 3: Family - Role of Husband

The theme of "family" is repeated and the aspect highlighted is the role of the husband. Although Pictorial Stimulus 1 was repeated, the issues dealt with

were different. Issues raised in this pictorial stimulus centres on:

- a) The role of the husband in supporting the family's expenditure through an earned income.
- b) Societal views with regard to the househusband.

Question posed - If the woman is smarter, should the husband stay at home?

All Group 1 subjects indicated that the man should not stay at home. Again societal's norms and views had a large part to play with regard to these views.

The subjects supplied the following reasons:

- C1: (86) Other **people will laugh at them.**
- C2: (101) Coz of the angle of Chinese community - **they will laugh at the wife who married a man who didn't like a man.**
- C3: (83) and then **the community will laugh** at her (the wife)
- C4: (98) . . . in the Chinese family, when the **busy men say** this man aah . . . **not guna punya** (useless). Always give the wife to work outside.

[emphasis by the researcher]

To allow the woman to work outside while the man take care of the home is an exception . This was highlighted by subject C4.

C4: (93) when the family is very open, **VERY, VERY** open so he

passed the girl to work outside the house and the man cook
in the house.

[emphasis by the researcher]

From the subject's increased volume, special stress, careful pronunciation as well as repeated use of the word "very", C4 highlighted her view that the househusband was an exception to the norm. This could occur only in a rare situation where the family was very open. However, she hinted that it may not be the proper or expected thing to do:

C4:(94) **but properly**, many girls is still in the house and the man find
job or money to *yong kar* [support the family].

[emphasis by the researcher]

Subject C4's use of the word "but" suggested contrast between what is "proper" and improper. Even if the family was very open, which is an exception to the norm, it may not be proper. Conformity to societal norm is perceived by C4 to be "proper" and acceptable. Subject C5 suggested that a servant be employed to take care of the children as being a house husband would compromise the husbands' manly status. Subject C5 voiced society's judgment on the househusband by pronouncing him as being "not a man."

I: (70) Would you marry a househusband?

C5: (77) No - ((laughs)) not a man

Even if the wife is very able and smart, she should occupy second place, the first being reserved for the husband as observed in subject C3's opinion:

C3: (86) In the Chinese community, the **father should be the head**, whatever he's smart or not , but in [for] the wife, the **woman should be the second**.

[emphasis by researcher]

Again, the use of the modal "should" by subject C3 reflected the speaker's judgement according to his personal standards and expectations which is a result of the influence from societal norms.

On the contrary, Group 2 subjects felt that it was perfectly all right for the wife to work to support the family. Virtually all of Group 2 subjects felt that if both the husband and wife are in agreement and if the husband did not feel belittled by being a househusband, it was all right. Subject C6 reasoned that "if the man can't fetch a good living", it was pointless for him to work. Similar thoughts were expressed by the rest of Group 2 subjects:

E6:(59) Househusbands? Sometimes, I thing ah - **its quite fair**

(61) but if the man can't fetch a good living outdoor, **no point**

E7:(79) Well, **if the husband choose** to stay at home - of course there will be certain reasons, but if the family is financially stable with only the wife working, then **I wouldn't mind**.

E8:(60) Being househusband aah - **doesn't really ah: matter . . .**

(61) as long as the family is happy, both party, husband and wife agree to play their role so I think it should be o.k.

E9: (55) I think **its all right** depending on the husband.

E10:(55) em : : lets say, if **both agrees, its fine**.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Generally, Group 2 subjects were more tolerant toward househusbands when compared to Group 1 subjects. Most of Group 1 subjects considered house husbands as being a lesser breed of men. Four out of five Group 1 subjects spoke of the expectations of society as the yardstick for their judgment. Society was indirectly referred to as "Chinese thinking", "Chinese community", "Chinese family", "other people" as in :

- C3: (80) . . . **Follow Chinese thinking**, the man should be first . . .
 (86) In **the Chinese Community**, the father is first . . .
 C2: (101) Coz of the **angle of the Chinese community** - they will laugh at the wife who married a **man who didn't like a man**
 C1: (85) **Other people** will laugh at them.
 C4: (98) In the **Chinese family**, when the **busy man** say this man aah . . . not *guna punya* [useless]

[emphasis by the researcher]

The idea of house work not being "real work" is conveyed by the notion that it has no monetary value. Since no monetary gains were forthcoming from such work, it was viewed as "easy" work. Subject C4 referred to "the busy man" as the man working outside the house thereby implying that the man working at home is "lazy" or useless as in the Malay term "tak guna punya"[useless] or "man who didn't like a man" or "man acting like a woman."

- C3: (73) and then the **community will laugh** at her
 C2: (66) . . . **angle of the community** - they will laugh at the wife
 C1: (72) . . . the man *maruah* [dignity] is disgrace from the **pressure of society**

[emphasis by the researcher]

Thus, views and expectations of neighbours, friends and family would act as an impetus or pressure to conform to prescribed views. Subject C3's statement of the position of woman in the community was very clearly stated. No arguments or reasoning could prevail as to the equality of woman to man:

C3: (85) . . . the girl **will be** second, **should be** second, **MUST be** second.

[emphasis by the researcher]

The use of the words "will be", "should be" and finally "must be" [second] shows the degree of stress placed on the perceived position of women in the Chinese community. Subject C3's increased volume and stress on the word "must" indicates his conviction on the position of woman in society. Chinese women were perceived to be a lesser breed when compared to her male counterpart and, therefore, they could be nothing but second to the men in the Chinese community. In the choice of a marriage partner, the Chinese woman had to obtain the blessing and sanction of her parents but the man may choose whoever he pleases. This was seen in subject C3's responses:

- C3:(14) Because, use Chinese thinking, the woman must stay at home, the man must go out to work and then [the man] can find, or choose the girl they like.
(15) the woman cannot

Gender biasness was prevalent in many feudal societies and it still lingers on in the mindsets of various people today. Generally, girls are regarded as less

valuable than boys. Perhaps this is due to what Latorette (1934) observed. He states that from an economic standpoint, boys carry on the family name while girls do not. It could be due to the fact that continuity of ancestral worship required male progeny. The disadvantaged position of the Chinese woman was highlighted by Group 1 subjects. This indicates that even in this modern age of increase travel and knowledge the woman is still perceived to be "inferior" to man in certain communities.

5.5 Theme 4: Chinese Etiquette

The theme of Chinese Etiquette encompasses several aspects such as humility, politeness and respect. Therefore, the theme will be repeated to highlight the various aspects mentioned. To investigate this theme, Text 5 was used to elicit subjects' responses with regard to the issue of humility. The text is about an aged aunt from China who is visiting her sister and nieces for the first time in America. Text 5 is an excerpt from "The Woman Warrior" by Hong-Kingston:

"They're so clever," Moon Orchid would exclaim. "They're so smart. Isn't it wonderful they know things that can't be said in Chinese?"

"Thank you," the child said.

When she complimented them they agreed with her! Not once did she hear her nieces deny a compliment.

"You're pretty," she said.

"Thank you, aunt," they answered. How vain. She marveled at their vanity.

"You play the radio beautifully," she teased, and sure enough, they gave one another puzzled looks. She tried all kind of compliments and they never said, "Oh no, you're too kind. I can't play at all. I'm stupid. I'm ugly."

They are capable children but they were not modest.

(Hong-Kingston, 1977: 122)

5.5.1 Theme 4: Chinese Etiquette - Humility

The aim of Text 5 is to gauge expectations with regard to appropriate behavior to indicate humility.

Question posed: Do you agree with the aunt that the nieces are proud?

Subjects C3 and C5 of Group 1 answered with a definite "yes". Subject C5 stated that one should refute compliments so that one is not perceived by others to be proud:

- C5: (38) I am agree *lah*. Because they didn't - ((laugh)) say "no *lah*, I am not so smart *lah*" or "thank you, I'm not feel so clever, looks like that"
- (42) **If I say thank you?** They'll feel so proud. [they'll feel that I am proud]

[emphasis by the researcher]

Similarly, subject C3 was of the opinion that it was only wise to deny the compliment by saying "no *lah*, no *lah*." This was done even when the compliments came from friends and relatives. Failure to do so would place

the person in the unenviable situation of being branded as being proud. Haughtiness in a person is disliked and must be avoided at all cost for the sake of "face." Lee (1986) states that it indicates a lack of breeding.

This is reflected in Subject C3's comments:

C3: (43) because someone to *puji kau [praise you]* you must say, no *lah, no lah*. I'm not handsome *lah*, ee : : er : : : that one hoh - unshameful one you know - *tak tahu pai seh punya* [doesn't know how to feel shameful] and then say, you proud and *puji sedikit boleh terbang* [a little praise has caused him to think too highly about himself] because [may]be say you like that.

As subject C3 reiterated that failure to reject praises indicated a lack of shame and humility in a person. Therefore the person is viewed to be haughty as observed in the following phrases: "unshameful one you know", "tak tahu pai seh" [doesn't know how to feel shameful] or "puji sedikit boleh terbang" [a little praise has caused him to think too highly of himself]. This shame syndrome is repeatedly stressed by subject C3's aunt, who was quick to criticize anyone who did not conform to the Chinese practice of refuting compliments.

Subject C4, however, gave a balanced view of the situation by stressing the need to look at both the younger and older generations' views. For example, to the old, we should accommodate to their views and behave accordingly when praised. Consequently, one must reject any praises given to show that one is humble. To accomplish the above, communicative competence is

needed. Thus, subject C 4 is of the opinion:

C4:(41) If the woman is young - I will say to her, "thank you very much"
but the woman is old woman, I will talk to her very serious . . .

C4: (43) talk carefully /a - talk carefully and deny . . .

It is clear that subject C4 knew what was expected of her and she was in fact accommodating to the older generation's expectation. Perhaps by doing so she was in fact being polite and respectful to them.

Subjects C2 and C1 disagreed with the statement that the nieces were proud.

C1: (40) If they got talent *ngoh*, other people praise them, must accept
lah.

C2: (38) [the aunt] is very Chinese.

Subject C2 was of the opinion that the aunt "is very Chinese" probably referring to the aunt's traditional way of thought. According to traditional thought, affirming the positive qualities in one's character is unacceptable as one does not appear humble. On the other hand, C1 was against the idea of rejecting compliments as C1 felt that one should be gracious enough to accept compliments by saying "thank you". Rejecting compliments was seen by C1 as being hypocritical as it was equated to false modesty.

C1:(40) If they got talent *ngoh*, you must accept ah, the other people
praise them . . .

C1: (41) Good *lah* don't want to say, "I don't know, don't know.". **It's like *pura- pura* [pretense] like this *lah*.** Not very good *lah*.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Four out of five Group 2 subjects disagreed with the aunt's statement that the nieces were proud. Subject E6 felt that the nieces were merely showing their appreciation by "thanking" the aunt for her complimentary remarks. Similarly, subjects E7 and E9 felt that accepting compliments was normal as politeness demands it while subject E10 disagreed as she felt that the aunt behaved in such a manner because she is "conservative."

E6: (29) Well, I don't think so

(30) The nieces were **just thanking her** for her compliments to them.

E7: (41) they are not proud coz - the aunt is giving the compliments and for me, if people give a compliment, I will say, "ok, thank you" and **just accept** it.

E10:(33) No, I don't think so

(34) because as you know, American are very broad minded and stuff - or the aunt, **she's from China**, so her mind is **conservative** like this *lah*

E9: (33) I think the aunt **should be more aah: : open-mind understand** what the children said.

(34) The children just replying "thank you" as the children **wanted to be polite**, and **don't want to be rude**.

[emphasis by the researcher]

A closer look at the answers of a majority of Group 2 subjects revealed a tendency to furnish reasons for their disagreement. Subjects E6 and E7 used the word "just" to indicate that those concerned were merely doing what was expected and not doing something extraordinary. However, subjects E10 and

E9 seemed to point to the fact that the aunt behaved in such a manner as a result of her narrow world view. She was considered a "conservative" woman and thus, she needed to be more "open minded." Subjects E10 and E9 were perhaps saying that the practice of rejecting compliments was conservative and the aunt should instead have tried to understand her nieces.

Only one of Group 2 subject, subject E8 thought otherwise:

E8:(30) They - would aah - say "thank you" whenever they are complimented-and not- feeling in, ah - not being able to be "humble" in words.

(31) ah - ah - ah - I still think that they are proud.

Subject E8 felt that the nieces were proud because they said "thank you" so E8 felt the answer indicated that the nieces were unable to be "humble" in words.

Contrast in world views is distinct between the two groups of subjects as represented by E9 of Group 2 and C4 of Group 1. This could be attributed to the subjects' expectation of what constitutes appropriate behavior. Subject C4 felt that the younger generation should accommodate to the older generation so as to "minimize" miscommunication. However, subject E9 felt that the aunt (as represented by the older generation) "should" instead be more open minded and attempt to "understand" the nieces. The use of the modal "should" reflected E9's expectation of what is appropriate. In Group 2's view, the onus for maintenance of peace lies squarely on the shoulders of the older generation.

5.5.2 Theme 4: Chinese Etiquette - Politeness

The theme of Chinese etiquette was repeated, however, the focus is on the aspect of politeness. Text 6 is about a mother's comments on her Chinese American daughter who refuses to greet her fellow villagers. The mother informs her daughter that older folks do not have to return greetings from the younger generation as this is customary. The issue dealt here is to indicate subjects' views with regard to displaying politeness to elders through customary modes of greeting.

Text 6 is an excerpt from "The Woman Warrior" by Hong-Kingston:

"You're turned out so unusual . . . You don't say hello to the villagers,"

"They don't say hello to me"

"They don't have to answer children. When you get old, people will say hello to you."

"When I get to college, it won't matter if I'm not charming. And it doesn't matter if a person is ugly: she can still do schoolwork."

"I didn't say that all the time."

"You say that all the time."

"That's what we're supposed to say. That's what Chinese say. We like to say the opposite."

(Hong-Kingston,1977:181)

Question posed: Is it rude not to greet elders?

All five subjects from Group 1 answered in the affirmative. Four out of five subjects stated that one should greet elders because it is a sign of respect to them. Subject C5's reply is representative of Group 1 subjects' view.

C5: (45) Because want to show *hormat-menghormati* [**respect**] to the old people, parents and teachers, some sort like that.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Subject C3 stated that greeting elders was a way of showing politeness. Research findings in several studies have confirmed the above. Research conducted by Chu (1967) has shown that results were consistent with the conventional assumption of Chinese submission to the authority of age, status and tradition. Hiniker (1969) conducted a similar experiment by adopting a forced compliance paradigm for attitude change. The subjects were former adult refugees from mainland China and they were easily induced to comply with authority although compliance did not imply private acceptance.

Yang's (1970) study also provided supportive data for the above occurrence. What is particularly interesting and significant is his finding of a positive relationship between authoritarianism and the appropriateness of role behavior such as acquiescence, subordination and dependency in a balanced power relationship. For a typical Chinese, the best policy is to act like a subordinate and to treat the other as an authority, unless it is clear that he himself is the authority in the role relationship.

Two out of three Group 2 subjects agreed that the author was rude not to greet the elders. Their answers are given in the following page.

- E7:(46) coz aah - **its a form of respect** when you greet your elders
(47) . . . **they [the elders] come to expect** the sort of respect from you.
(48) it shows our **good manners** and also a **part of respect** to them.
E6:(34) But, she must greet the elders first.
The **older have pride**, so they are saying like - " she should greet me first.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Subject E7 ascribed it to good manners to greet elders. Both subjects E7 and E6 stated that the elders should be greeted as it is the traditional practice to do so. Therefore, the elders have come to expect the younger generation to do so. Moreover, the older generation expect to be greeted by the younger generation. On the other hand, subject E9 and E10 disagreed with the above view.

- E9: (36) No, I don't agree with this
(37) because it is **not wrong or rude** if you don't greet with the elders. **Maybe she is shy.** . . .
E10:(38) To say she's rude is **a bit far fetched** - I mean **you can just give a smile** and like this, **nod your head and stuff** . . .

[emphasis by the researcher]

Subject E9 made her disagreement clear by stating that it was "not wrong or rude" to do so as the daughter may in fact be too "shy." Furthermore, subject E10 had a broader view of greeting and dismissed the mother's view as "a bit

far fetched" as she felt that nodding the head or smiling could also be a form of greeting.

Generally, all of Group 1 subjects considered it rude not to greet elders. Group 2 subjects drew mixed responses, two out of five subjects disagreed as they felt that people may have other reasons for not using the conventional means of greeting elders and not greeting them does not necessarily imply rudeness. Differences in their views could be attributed to their different interpretations of showing respect. Different cultures have different ways of showing politeness and respect.

5.5.3 Theme : Chinese Etiquette - respect

Text 6 is repeated while the aspect of respect is highlighted. Text 6 was used to gauge subjects' responses toward issues such as investing the older generation with authority in the community.

Question posed: Should authority be given to older people?

To the above question, Group 1 subjects unanimously agreed. Their reasons are as follows:

C1:(48) because they got more experience than us *lah*.

(49) . . . because they, what aah? - eat salt more than we eat rice.

C2:(48) because the older ones have more experience and they have eaten the salt more than the rice.

C3: (52) . . . we trust them

C4:(49) because aah, that the man- the old man or lady will pass the road more than me *loh*

C5:(47) because teacher teach me about the old man must be *dihormat-hormati oleh kami* [respected by us].

(48) It will be better for the future.

Subjects C1 and C2 felt that by giving authority to the elders, they were able to show that they respect them since elders are considered to be more experienced. This is seen in subject C4's reason of "sek yim tor kor mai" which signifies the advantage of experience the elders have over youths:

C4:(49) . . . in the Chinese talk *lah, sek yim tor kor sek mai loh* [eat salt more than rice] so it's good we -

(50) . . . give them power

Subject C3 spoke of doing so as a sign that the younger generation respect the older generation. The older generation had proven their faithfulness through long years of service as they have "more experience." The Chinese saying of "eating salt more than rice" is used to show that the older generation has greater experience of life and hence are wiser. Salt is used to give flavour to food and is used sparingly. In contrast, rice is a staple diet of the Chinese and is consumed in large amounts compared to salt which is used for flavouring. Therefore, the elders who have lived longer, are viewed to have eaten more salt than the younger generation have eaten their staple diet of rice.

Subject C5 provided a different aspect when he said that relegating authority to the elders was fitting as it would be "better for the future." Subject C5 believed that there would be reciprocity in future years as this respect which was given to the elders would in turn be given back to the respectful person by the future younger generation.

Group 2 subjects, on the other hand, drew mixed responses. Only subject E8 returned with a "yes" reply while E6 and E10 gave two-way answers:

E6:(38) **but** in some cases they are **just too much**. They expect a lot from you.

E10:(43) **in a way** - you have to voice out also *lah*, lets say the older advised you, you have to give your opinion also.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Subject E6 agreed that authority should be given to elders but she contradicted her answer by stating that "in some cases they [the elders] are just too much." The phrase "just too much" connotes dissatisfaction and the idea that elders may be too demanding. Subject E10 stated that although power is given to the elders, the younger generation should be given the freedom to voice their opinion, be heard and be given due considerations. However, subjects E7 and E9 disagreed:

E7:(45) respect, not authority.

(46) **I will resent it if they dictate** what I should do and what I shouldn't do . . .

E9:(40) I **don't think** the elder ones should be given more authority.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Subject E7 stated that we need to give respect to the elders but not authority since authority speaks of power to dictate to the younger ones. Acceptance of the elders' advice and views should be on the basis of their soundness and wisdom not because of the elders' maturity in years. The "buts" and disagreements reflect the thoughts of Group 2 subjects who were of the view that power and respect must be earned and is a reward for years of faithful service. This is in keeping with the idea of individual rights and freedom so revered by the West.

To summarize, one interesting fact to be gleaned from subjects E6 and E10's responses is that although both subjects agreed that authority should be vested in the elders, E6 was quick to point out that the elders are humans and could "just be too much" [intolerable] so one should "voice out one's opinion and be heard." In short, respect should be given but the younger generation would not give their respect blindly.

In contrast, Group 1 subjects spoke only of the traditional norms with regard to respecting elders. The younger generation is expected to accord elders with respect and behave in a respectful manner as they believe that there is future consequences for every disrespectful action as discussed earlier.

5.5.4 Theme 4: Chinese Etiquette- humility and “face”

The theme of Chinese Etiquette was repeated and the aspects considered were humility and “face.” For this text, the issues at hand are:

- a) the Chinese practice of talking in the opposite to display humility
- b) the extent one will go for the retention of “face.”

Text 6 was repeated but the focus this time was on the acceptability of saying the opposite to display humility and as a strategy to maintain “face.”

Question posed: Do Chinese talk in the opposite?

Subjects of Group 1 were unanimous in their response to the question posed. All respondents agreed that Chinese people do talk in the opposite. However, various reasons were cited for such manner of speaking:

- C1: (56) Ah, to **give them the *semangat* [encouragement]**.
If we say “he can not do”, he must say, “I can do” and do that for us to see.
- C5: (53) because the **other people don’t think [I] proud loh.**

[emphasis by the researcher]

The above responses demonstrate that subject C1 felt people spoke in the opposite to challenge their hearer to perform better while subject C5 did so to avoid being branded as haughty. Subject C3 furnished some other possible reasons for the Chinese to speak in the opposite. Since humility is stressed

by the Chinese, they tend to go to great lengths to show that they are humble:

C3: (55) . . . **they don't want to show** that they are **proud**. If anyone *memuji* [praise] the daughter, the mother say, "no [not] my daughter."

[emphasis by the researcher]

Subject C2 spoke of the need to appear modest especially when praises are given:

C2:(69) because we say somebody to praise us, we say "thank you" [but] we **have to add some words** to say "ah . . . its very funny, it all funny..."

[emphasis by the researcher]

According to subject C2, one may first accept the praise but the recipient must offset the praise by adding "it is very funny, its all funny" to avoid being regarded as proud. So in practice, one may accept the praise but must also reject the praise later. This also applies to the acceptance of gifts:

C3:(48) They want it! **Pretend they don't want it, very shy**, "no need *lah*, no need *lah*" just say like that.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Subject C3 said that people speak in the opposite because it is not acceptable to speak otherwise. So, they "pretend" to be "shy" by rejecting the gifts. After they are pressed to receive the gifts by the giver, then they spoke thus:

C3:(57) . . . and then just say "thank you" and then "the next time you [please] don't want to bring again *lah*."

For example, when a gift is given, the receiver will say the opposite and not accept the gift immediately. S/he will hedge and after an appropriate period or time of hedging s/he will accept the proffered gift by saying the opposite. Subject C3 concluded that all the hedging were mere pretense.

I: (47) they want it? =

C3:(58) = they want it! pretend they don't want it . . .

(59) But - they want one, "give more *lah*, give more *lah*" just say like that.

When the researcher asked if the receiver really wanted the gift, Subject C3 was quick to answer that the speaker not only wanted the gifts but hoped secretly for more as in, "give more *lah*, give more *lah*." However, this is not acceptable by society so the speaker has to speak in the opposite. Subject C4, on the other hand, is of the view that Chinese speak in the opposite because of the belief that the person concerned would not have problems later on such as ill health, sickness or misfortune. Subject C4's mother always spoke in the opposite especially in ascribing her with negative qualities as in saying the "bad things" and it is done by the superstitious to ensure that their children will grow up without any problems.

C4: (53) . . . [mother] always say the bad things to me *loh*. No say the good things.

C4: (54) Maybe she thinks our always say the bad things, **the girls will *membesar dengan cepat dan baik* [grow up without any problems]**.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Subject C3 felt that another reason for speaking in the opposite is that it is required by politeness. Uncomplimentary and negative comments are not encouraged when interacting with others as one has to give the other "face." This is done so that s/he would not feel slighted and be too upset about the truth:

C3:(60) Ya . . . impossible (for) you to say ugly . . .

(61) **console the person** or give them - don't upset, so you say the opposite.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Another view provided by subjects C4 and C5 was the special bond created by speaking in the opposite. Subject C4 stated that friends and family members alike did so because they knew they could be very open with each other and they felt good about it.

C4:(59) . . . I also talk to my friends say opposite *loh* - very happy *loh*.

(68) they will also like this (talking in the opposite) - so very ***kap loh*** [very compatible]

I: (50) They understand that you are talking in the opposite?

C5:(51) Then they will be very **enjoy**.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Of the various reasons given, two are worthy of mention and discussion.

C5:(53) [Chinese speak in the opposite] because the other people won't think [they are] very proud *loh*.

Firstly, is the prevalent fear of being branded as being proud or haughty. Lee (1986) states that "humility is a characteristic of Chinese behavior" and nothing offends the Chinese more than pride as it indicates a lack of breeding. To ensure that society holds one in high esteem, one has to do "face-work" as mentioned earlier. In doing so, the individual is conforming to social norm and expectations. It is clearly unacceptable for an individual to claim or show by act or speech that he is smart, clever or kind. He must pretend to be unaware of his abilities. To accomplish this, there is a necessity to speak in the opposite and it can be likened to staging "a drama" so that "face" is not jeopardized.

Cheng and Lei (1981) carried out an experiment by administering a Chinese version of 1978 standard moral interview format to 213 Chinese children and adolescents age range of 7 - 23. Analysis of the collected judgments showed that the authority orientation of stage 4 (which emphasizes the maintenance of social order) was predominant in subjects over 17 years of age. Yang (1970) concludes that the average Chinese maintains the norms and rules of society to avoid censure, to avoid feelings of shame, guilt or anxiety.

A second reason presented by subject C3 concerns conflict between private

belief and public presentation. This is evident in subject's C3's reference to hedging and speaking in the opposite and especially with regard to gift acceptance. This has to do with public compliance to collectivist or societal norms. Tedeschi and Riess (1981) state that public compliance is actually an act of impression management which does not necessarily reflect the actor's belief. Bond and Hwang (1986) observed that discrepancy between public presentation and private belief will be greater for the Chinese who stress on conformity to collectivist culture.

In contrast, Group 2 subjects were against the practise of speaking in the opposite. The following are their responses:

- E6: (40) but aah - **I don't think it's suitable** for us to say that because . . . Chinese are just like that.
E7: (55) but as I grew older, I realized that - **there is no point, no reason** behind that - hymm - just say what is true *lah*.
E8: (41) so, ah : : **I don't practise that habit at all**
E9: (45) I don't think the Chinese always like to say the opposite
(46) I usually just [say] **straight ahead** [direct].
E10:(47) **I don't think its the right** way to do it.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Group 2 subjects E8 and E9 stated that they themselves do not speak in the opposite while E6, E7 and E10 voiced their negativity towards speaking in the opposite. They considered it an "unsuitable" manner of speaking as "there is no point or reason" to warrant such behavior. Subject E10 stated that it was wrong to speak in the opposite as it causes misunderstanding and may even

be offensive to its hearers:

E10:(48) When you go round in a circle, the person hearing it **might get offended** or get the wrong point so **misunderstanding** can happen.

[emphasis by the researcher]

Again significant differences in the views of both groups of subjects can be observed from their responses pertaining to the issue of speaking in the opposite. Virtually all Group 1 subjects viewed the practice to be normal as 4 out of 5 Group 1 subjects viewed it to be acceptable. On the contrary, all Group 2 subjects voiced their disagreement to the practice of speaking in the opposite. It is evident from the discussion above that the two groups of students reflect dissimilar cultural assumptions of their community.

5.6 Theme 5: Education and Knowledge

Although the above theme was selected, focus was on the aspect of filial piety. The pictorial text selected was adapted from an experiment carried out by Ervin-Tripp (1964). The picture shows a girl in school uniform with an old woman resting below a tree. In the background, a farmer can be seen hard at work ploughing in the fields. (Refer to Pictorial Stimulus 2 which is given in Appendix 3). This issue at hand was to investigate subjects' expectations and views with regard to education.

There seems to be a similar trend of thought underlying the responses given by subjects from Group 1. All subjects stressed the need for the young girl to study hard. Education was seen as a necessary and useful tool to enable one to carry out one's obligation or responsibility. The following reasons were provided by Group 1 subjects for studying hard:

- C1:(84) can make her parents **live more *bahagia* [comfortable]**
C2:(104) . . . She's thinking, she hard studying now and to do successful work and to **help her family** not to be poor like this.
C3: (89) study hard and then give the ***maruah* [pride] to the family**
(88) And then **take care of her parents**.
C4:(102) . . . I must work hard loh get a good results to find a good job and **find the money** to . . . [bring to the family]
C5: (82) Then, she must think, must be doing the best in her exam to ***membalas budi ibubapa* [repay the parents' kindness]**

[emphasis by the researcher]

The above responses are consistent with the traditional love of the Chinese for education since education was considered to be of prime importance in outlining the duties and responsibilities of the individual. This is seen in the replies of all Group 1 subjects. Subject C1 spoke of enabling "her parents to live more comfortably", C2 spoke of "helping her family", C3 envisioned "giving *maruah*" or bringing honour to her family through education, C4 spoke of earning money to provide for the family while C5 spoke of repaying her parents kindness through academic excellence.

Education is viewed as the key to knowledge, power, wealth and honour. This reverence for education has not ceased as it has been passed down to

the modern era. Success in education is expected to yield profitable and desirable dividends. Law (1978) attributes the high value that Chinese parents place on education coupled with intense competition for limited places in higher institution as the causes for phobia and other related problems. Given the push from parents and teachers, Chinese students strive for scholastic success in order to gain approval from parents and praise from teachers. Therefore, parents' values on educational success are reflected in the children's own aspiration.

Education is also perceived as a means to an end. It is a vital link in the fulfillment of their obligation to their family. Such an expectation is revealed in the responses below:

C4:(102) She will feel my mother and father work hard in the *sawah padi* so *mesti kenang budi dialah*. [**must remember** their goodness] I **must work hard** *loh* get good results.

C1:(90) . . . can make her parents live more *bahagia* [well]. Big already she also **must go** back to their village to visit her parents.

C2:(105) She's thinking she hard studying now and to do successful work and to help the family not ot be poor like this.

C3: (87) . . . study hard and then give *maruah* [status] to her family
(88) And then she **should** take care of her parents.

C5:(79) The girl **must** study hard to *membalas budi* *ibubapa dia loh*

[emphasis by researcher]

Subject C4 talked of "kenang budi" [remembering the good deeds] of their parents. Children must [as in the use of the modal "mesti"] be filial to their parents and repay their parents for taking care of their needs by studying hard

and achieving success through education. The frequent use of the modal "must" and "should" in the responses of Group 1 subjects (C1, C3, C4 and C5) revealed the speakers' judgement of their stand. Obligation to their parents is in keeping with the Chinese practice of filial piety. Throughout, subjects spoke about the expectation of the Chinese community with regard to the responsibility of children to their parents.

However, Group 2 subjects discussed a wide variety of issues. It is interesting to note that only one Group 2 subject, E9 spoke of helping his parents in the future. It is apparent that education was seen by Group 1 subjects as a tool to fulfill subjects' obligation to parents, family and society. This is reflected in what Ross (1990) states of the Chinese perception of education which is, education enables the individual to perform their responsibilities and duties well. In contrast, Group 2 subjects viewed education as a tool to individual success, independence and freedom. The idea of success and achievement pervade throughout their discussion:

E6: (63) . . . I'll study well when next time **grow up to be somebody in life.**

E10: (63) . . . she wants to study hard and **be somebody** some day.

E8: (64) . . . In a way, she must study very hard to **accomplish success** . . .

E7: (79) Well, it[education] is an essential tool to break away from what her family is doing . . .

I believe she doesn't want to end up just in a small village
maybe she has **high ambitions**. she **wants to achieve** . . .

E9: (59) . . . she must be **more success** in her life

[emphasis by the researcher]

Subject E6 spoke of accomplishing "success", E7 spoke of having "high ambition." and being an achiever through education while E9 spoke of achieving success through education. Education is seen as a tool to be "somebody" as stated by subjects E6 and E10 who spoke of the hope of being successful personages as opposed to being a "nobody" existing on the fringes of life.

Independence and freedom to chart one's future is an ideal which is highly prized by the West and this is also mirrored in the various aspects of Group 2 subjects' responses. Bristlin (1993) states that in the individualistic societies of the West, the individual is expected to set his/her own goals and work towards the realization of his/her goals. Such goals are reflected in Group 2 subjects' discourse:

E8: (62) her generation will not suffer as much as the generation before.

(64) . . .she must study very hard to **accomplish success**

E9: (59) she might want to be **independent**, hardworking coz she sees her parents as working so hard

E7: (82) . . I believe that she will have the support *lah* and strength to **achieve her ambitions.**

E6: (63) . . I'll study well . . I don't have to live in a village . . .may be I'll **have a cool nice house** with air condition. . .

[emphasis by the researcher]

The notion of achieving individual satisfaction and fulfillment was distinct in Group 2's responses. Thus, they spoke of studying hard to achieve success, "achieving her ambition" and being the proud owner of a "cool nice house."

Most of Group 2 subjects identified themselves with the girl in the picture. A major portion of their narrative was focussed on the girl. This is hardly surprising as they themselves were students. Subject E10 spoke of nothing happening in the picture and as a consequence the girl wanted to have "a happening life" or excitement in her life.

E10: (63) . . . she wants to go out in to town life, an open life, a **happening life.**

E7: (79) . . . I believe she doesn't want to end up in just a village. Maybe she has high ambitions she wants to achieve. . .

[emphasis by the researcher]

5.7 Summary

In the analysis and discussion of findings, it was observed that subjects' responses to the textual and pictorial stimuli were based on their expectations and perceptions of their experience of the world in their respective cultures. Their inferences of expected or accepted modes of behaviour revealed evidence of structures of expectation.

On the theme of love and marriage as represented in Text 1, the central role of elders was confirmed by almost all the subjects in Group 1. However, in the second textual stimulus which is catagorized under the theme of food, a distinct pattern can be seen in Group 1 subjects' answers. Although there were discrepancies, their answers reflected allegiance to views reflected in

Chinese culture such as the practice of not wasting food and stress on filial piety.

Cultural aspects can be seen in the responses given with regard to the issue of consuming wildlife. A majority of Group 1 subjects indicated that they would consider eating wildlife even in the manner described for medicinal purposes since there is no clear distinction between food and medicine as attested by Lip (1993). Virtually all of Group 1 subjects highlighted the aesthetic aspects of food which is valued highly in Chinese culture.

The theme of family is dealt with in Text 4, Text 7 as well as Pictorial Stimulus 1. Issues with regard to how a home should be as obtainable in textual stimulus 4 also revealed positive correlation between culture and world view. On the question of public upbraiding in Text 7, Group 1 subjects viewed public upbraiding as normal and did not seem to oppose such actions.

As to the issue of spinsterhood in Text 7, virtually all Group 1 subjects reacted negatively to the notion of spinsterhood. Reasons given by Group 1 subjects include the need to leave heirs for the future and the negative perception of society towards the spinster.

In Pictorial Stimulus 1, Group 1 subjects revealed that they were not in favor of a woman being the bread winner of a family as she is seen to usurp the traditional role of man. Idea of filial piety [as repayment to parents], restoring

and upholding family pride and honor is valued and emphasized in Chinese culture and this is also reflected in Group 1 subjects' responses. Closely linked with the notion of filial piety is the idea of repayment. Obedience to parents would bring future happiness as they adhere to the belief that today's action has future currency.

The theme of Chinese Etiquette was covered in Texts 5 and 6. The issues dealt with were humility, politeness, respect as well as "face." As to the issue of humility, only two subjects from Group 1 were in agreement with the view that the nieces were proud as they accepted their aunt's compliments. This was a departure from the norm as two subjects disagreed while one was none committal. However, all of Group 1 subjects agreed that it was rude not to greet elders as it was the accepted mode to signal politeness and respect. Four out of five subjects referred to the Chinese idiom of elders "eating more salt than rice" as a strong reason for greeting them and according authority to them. By so doing, the subjects indicated that elders were respected for their experience and wisdom. Perhaps it is part of the culture since a study by Wu (1981) confirmed that harsh discipline is used as a mechanism to inculcate filial piety.

Responses by Group 1 subjects also highlighted the shame syndrome of the Chinese which seems to be closely tied to their notion of "face" which is also highlighted in Text 5. Eberhard (1967) and Hsu (1949) have described Chinese societies as shame oriented. To lose "face" in public is unthinkable

therefore the Chinese have to do 'face-work' to avoid censure by members of the society. To be branded as "proud" or "greedy" by others is to be avoided at all cost as this will tarnish one's public image. Inability to marry also brings shame to the spinster as well as her mother. The great need to maintain a good public image could also be attributed as a reason for grandma to publicly upbraid her granddaughter. This is because impression management is crucial to the Chinese for the maintenance of "face."

In the area of education and knowledge, responses by Group 1 subjects reflected the love of the Chinese for education. Education was perceived and still is perceived as a means to an end. Idea of filial piety as in repayment to parents as well as restoring and upholding family pride and honor are valued and emphasized in Chinese culture and this is also reflected in Group 1 subjects' responses to Pictorial Stimulus 2. Closely linked with the notion of filial piety is the idea of repayment. Obedience to parents would bring future happiness as they adhere to the belief that today's action has future currency. The above reasons reflect Group 1 subjects' expectations of what is preferred, practised and sanctioned by society.

On the contrary, a different cultural orientation can be seen in the response of Group 2 subjects. No heed was paid to the maintenance of family pride by Group 2 subjects but rather to the individual's welfare and happiness as seen in the theme of Love and Marriage in textual stimulus 1. Group 2 subjects' distaste of consuming wildlife, subsumed under the theme of food, is also

lucidly expressed in their responses to textual stimulus 2. In keeping with Western thought, the idea of conservation of wildlife and nature as well as repugnance of cruelty towards animals is reflected here.

On the issue of food, Group 2 subjects revealed a preoccupation for eating health food. Keeping healthy is a fad among Westerners and this is reflected in Group 2 subjects' responses.

The theme of family, which deals with issues such as home life, public upbraiding, spinsterhood, the family unit and the position and role of husband, drew generally consistent responses from Group 2 subjects. Four out of five Subjects in Group 2 felt that the nieces were not proud to accept the aunty's compliments. Authoritarianism in elders did not seem to go down well with Group 2 subjects. Public disciplining was also viewed negatively by all Group 2 subjects.

The issue of spinsterhood also drew negative responses from some of Group 2 subjects. However, the reasons given by Group 2 subjects such as fear of loneliness is independent of societal views. Moreover, some Group 2 subjects indicated that there was nothing wrong with being a spinster as it was a matter of choice. On the question of househusbands, Group 2 subjects felt that it was all right. It was evident that Group 2 subjects were more tolerant than Group 1 subjects on the issue of househusbands.

The theme of Chinese Etiquette drew mixed responses from Group 2 subjects. Three of Group 2 subjects felt that greeting elders was a sign of respect while two others disagreed. Authoritarianism in elders also drew mixed responses. Three Group 2 subjects felt that elders should be given authority while two others felt otherwise. As to the issue of speaking in the opposite, three Group 2 subjects agreed that Chinese speak in the opposite while two subjects disagreed. However, a majority of Group 2 subjects felt that it was not proper to do so.

Pictorial Stimulus 2 which represents the theme of education and knowledge, elicited differing responses from Group 2 subjects. Although their answers differed, a distinct pattern can be seen in their response. Subjects spoke of freedom, achievement and recognition. All of which point to individualistic goals as opposed to Group 1 subjects who stressed on collectivist goals.

From the foregoing discussion it can be observed that, globally, one distinguishing feature that emerged through the answers to all the situations is a difference in psychological orientation. This is in keeping with Tannen's (1979) view that individuals have a tendency to interpret situations and relations based on his or her experience in a given culture. Although the literary and pictorial text as well as the questions asked were the same, the two groups of subjects responded differently as the issues raised by the two groups of Chinese subjects were different. (Refer to Table 5 on page 187 and Table 6 on page 188 for issues raised).

This is revealed in the way Group 1 and Group 2 subjects fell in the collectivism versus individualism cline. Group 1 subjects' views and behaviour as discussed earlier were very much society oriented leaving very little room for personal choice in matters with regard to issues on love and marriage, views with regard to food, greeting and according respect and authority to elders, Chinese speaking in the opposite, public upbraiding, spinsterhood, family unit and education. Group 2 subjects on the other hand, were more individualistic as they spoke of personal choice and happiness in the instance of love and marriage, privacy with regard to the nuclear family and family unit, freedom to decide one's career, choice and direction in life, equality of the sexes as well as personal rights for an individual irregardless of age. Bristlin (1993) notes that this aspect has been highlighted as one of the most important factors in a culture by a number of researchers such as Hofstede (1980) and Triandis (1990). In individualistic culture, people are encouraged and expected to set their own goals and work toward the achievement of their goals. While in collectivist culture, individuals would downplay their own goals or the goals of a valued group such as the extended family. Group 1 subjects displayed collectivist tendencies and they tended to conform to the view of their elders and society. They downplayed their desires for individual recognition in exchange for group solidarity. They spoke of "following" or accommodating to the views and expectations of society which is evidenced in their attachment to familial ties and responsibilities. In contrast, Group 2 subjects revealed individualistic tendencies which were evident in their repeated emphasis on freedom of choice, privacy, pursuit of

individualistic goals and personal achievements.

Data of results from this study also showed that the issue of culture and language is not so predictable as to inspire complacency. Discrepancies exist in the responses of subjects even through they come from the same grouping as can be noticed in the responses of subject C1 to Text 1 or subject E8's response to Text 5. This can perhaps be attributed to the fact of human unpredictability and personality differences. It could also be due to accessibility to determining factors such as exposure to the mass media or opportunities for travel.

Another aspect where differences between the two groups of subjects could be observed is the way in which each group responded to the interview questions. Group 2 subjects' confrontational tone indicated their strong disagreement to the statement posed to them. This is reinforced by the strong emotive words used which is in keeping with Mun's (1986) view of the emphasis by Westerners on clarity, certainty and directions.

In contrast, Group 1 subjects' palliative tone as well as passive and non-aggressive approach are in keeping with Chinese culture. Brick (1991:13) comments that "the open expression of strong emotions is not encouraged in Chinese culture." The use of the word "follow" as discussed earlier in Chapter 5 indicates acquiescence, conformity and agreement. Thus, Group 1 subjects' responses were in tandem with their cultural beliefs.

It is clear from the subjects' responses discussed above that the two groups of subjects shared different assumptions and expectations of what was appropriate and sanctioned by society. From a total of five themes focussed on fifteen issues, findings confirmed that the two groups of Chinese subjects possess differing cultural orientation and world view. Group 1 members tend to operate from a Chinese cultural frame while Group 2 students tend to operate from a Western cultural frame.

TEXT	ISSUES RAISED BY GROUP 1 SUBJECTS	ISSUES RAISED BY GROUP 2 SUBJECTS
Text 1: Love and marriage	Consideration for mother's feeling and family pride	Individual's choice and happiness
Text 1 : Agreement with Aunt Sally	Marriage is a family affair – keeping secrets from family is not appropriate	Aunt is an outsider - not appropriate to voice her censure as it is a personal matter
Text 2 : Suitability of song	The song can teach about valuing food and filial piety	Positive aspects of song- fun, lively with an interesting rhythm
Text 3: Consumption of wildlife	Acceptable if it is good for health and if forced by parents subjects will eat wildlife even if it is gory	- Unacceptable as eating wildlife is barbaric - Need to conserve wildlife - No medical evidence that wildlife is good for health
Text 3: Importance of food	Aesthetic aspects of food is highlighted	- Health is highlighted (Balanced diet and nutritious meal essential) - No privacy
Text 4: Idea of "home" as one full of people	A house full of people will bring happiness and fulfillment	- Nieces are not proud instead, aunty should be more broadminded
Text 5: Opinions on aunty's statement that Nieces are Proud	-Nieces are proud as they did not reject aunty's compliments -Shame syndrome is highlighted	- It is a sign of respect to elders
Text 6: Rude not to greet elders	-Respect elders by greeting them as they are more experienced and wise -They have eaten "more salt than rice"	- Give elders respect not authority - Teenagers should also be given authority
Text 6: Accord authority to elders	-Authority should be accorded to elders - they have more wisdom- eaten more salt than rice	- Improper to talk in the opposite - No concrete reasons for doing so
Text 6: Chinese talking in the opposite	They do so for a number of reasons: a) Group solidarity b) politeness and consideration c) Giving "face" to their listener	Practise is unacceptable as it takes away a person's self-worth
Text 7: Public upbraiding	Normal for elders to do so -create a good impression for oneself [good disciplinarian] -Girl is lower class	Consideration for individual's welfare: a) Bad - loneliness and need for company b) Good - more time for self
Text 7: Spinsterhood	Societal Views: Bad to be a spinster because: a) The girl is viewed to be problematic b) Inability to perpetuate family lineage c) Inability to marry - value drops	

Table 5: Issues raised by Group 1 and Group 2 subjects in response to Text 1-7

TEXT	ISSUES RAISED BY GROUP 1 SUBJECTS	ISSUES RAISED BY GROUP 2 SUBJECTS
<p>Pictorial Text 1: A picture showing a husband cooking and keeping an eye on the children in the kitchen while his wife is entertaining some clients. Question posed : Is this a happy family?</p>	<p>Dysfunctional family as a result of : a) low-self esteem on the part of the husband (since the wife work and he stays at home) b) The traditional role of a husband and wife has been reversed</p>	<p>A happy family as both husband and wife cooperate</p>
<p>Pictorial Stimulus Text 1: same as above Question posed: Should husbands become "house-husbands" if their wives are more capable.</p>	<p>Husbands should never become househusbands and be subjected to the ridicule of society. -The woman must be second</p>	<p>Husbands may become househusbands as long as the family is happy and the husbands concerned are willing.</p>
<p>Pictorial stimulus 2: A picture depicting a girl in school uniform with an old woman resting below a tree. A farmer could be seen ploughing the fields in the background. Question posed: What do you think of this picture?</p>	<p>They girl should study to: a) Repay her parents for their sacrifices b) To restore her family's pride c) To help her family</p>	<p>-Unconducive surrounding will spur the girl to pursue success -Education is an essential tool to break away from poverty -Success in studies will ensure that she will become somebody one day - The girl wants to be independent and successful so she can be of help to her parents</p>

Table 6. Issues raised by Group 1 and Group 2 subjects in response to Pictorial Stimuli 1 and 2