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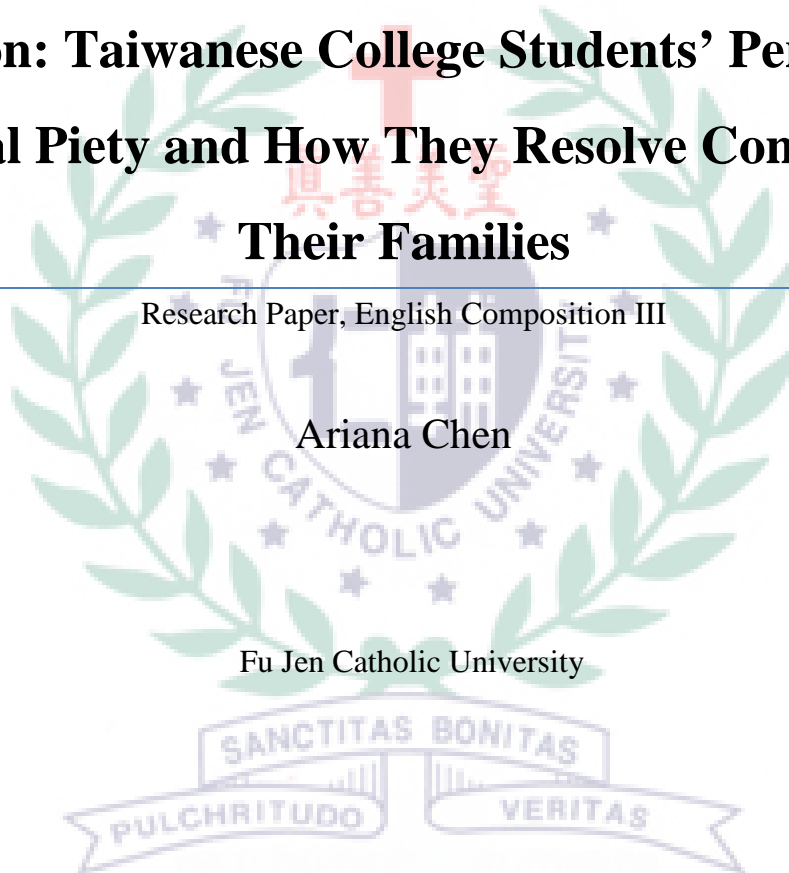
GRADUATION PROJECT 2016

All About the Sacred Value in Chinese Culture and Tradition: Taiwanese College Students' Perceptions of Filial Piety and How They Resolve Conflicts in Their Families

Research Paper, English Composition III

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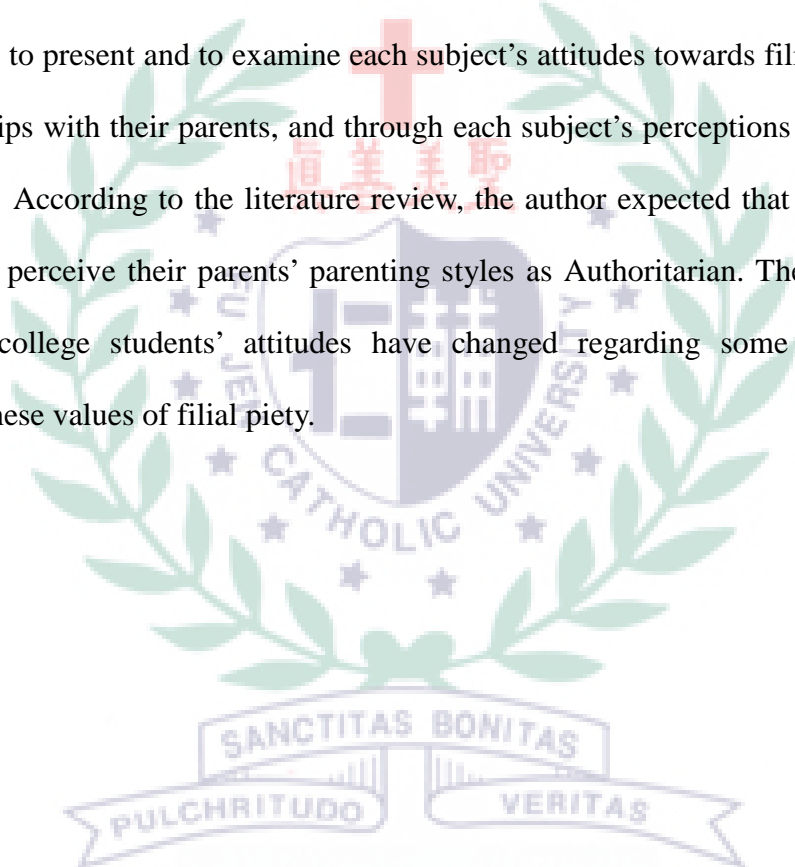
All About the Sacred Value in Chinese Culture and Tradition: Taiwanese College Students'

Perceptions of Filial Piety and How They Resolve Conflicts in Their Families



Abstract

In Chinese culture, filial piety serves as a moral standard of how children treat their parents and how they behave toward their parents, but the concept of filial piety seems to differ from person to person. The purpose of this research paper is to examine whether or not Taiwanese college students' perceptions of their parents' parenting styles will affect how they regard filial piety, and how they resolve conflicts in their families. The methods of investigation used in this paper include textual analyses, online questionnaires, and personal interviews. The paper aims to present and to examine each subject's attitudes towards filial piety through their relationships with their parents, and through each subject's perceptions of their parents' parenting style. According to the literature review, the author expected that over half of the subjects would perceive their parents' parenting styles as Authoritarian. The research paper suggests that college students' attitudes have changed regarding some aspects of the traditional Chinese values of filial piety.



Outline

I. Introduction

- A. Conflicts occur frequently between adolescents and their parents.
- B. In traditional Chinese culture, parents value filial piety, and children must behave accordingly to the norms of filial piety.
- C. Do Asian societies nowadays still carry out the traditional concept of filial piety?
How do Taiwanese college students think about filial piety and their relationships with their parents?
- D. The research results show that Taiwanese college students' values of filial piety are not the same as it was in the past.

II. Literature Review

- A. Article "Chinese Filial Piety against the Impact to Post-Modernity: A Christian-Confusion Re-Vision"
 - 1. Introduce the meaning of the two Chinese characters that compose the term "filial piety" in English.
- B. Article "Filial Belief and Parent-Child Conflict"
 - 1. Western families and Eastern Families regard family conflicts differently.
 - 2. Asian families consider the higher children's filial piety is, the lower the occurrence of conflicts in families.
- C. Article "Parent Characteristics Linked with Daughters' Attachment Styles"
 - 1. Parents who receive authoritative parenting styles tend to have secure attachment patterns.
 - 2. Parents with secure attachment patterns will likely influence their daughters' attachment patterns
- D. Parenting styles
 - 1. Introduce Baumrind's research on parenting styles.

2. Introduce Maccoby and Martin's revision on Baumrind's three prototypes of parenting styles: Authoritative, Authoritarian, Indulgent, and Permissive.

E. Article "Authoritarian Parenting Style in Asian Societies: A Cluster-Analytic Investigation"

1. Authoritarian parenting style does not necessarily associate with negative influences in the Asian families.

III. Methodology

A. Methods used for the research paper: online questionnaire and interviews

1. The survey is distributed to Taiwanese college students
2. The questionnaire is designed into three parts: questions on general information, questions on parent-child relationships and parenting styles, and questions on filial piety and conflicts in the families.

B. Interviews: for further examination of subjects' views on filial piety and parent-child relationships.

IV. Data Analysis

A. Most Taiwanese college students perceive their parents' parenting styles as Authoritative.

1. Few students regard their parents as authority figures. They tend to think of their parents as consulters, friends or guardians.
2. Still, over half of the students think they have a subordinate status towards their parents.

B. Taiwanese college students' perceptions towards filial piety.

1. A majority of college students agree with the concept that filial piety means showing gratitude and care towards their parents, and attending to parental needs.
2. A majority of college students disagree with the concept that filial piety means

submitting to parents' authority and showing complete obedience to their parents.

3. Students claim that their perceptions of filial piety have changed throughout their lives before.
4. Most of the students think filial piety is important.
5. A majority of the students think they owe their parents something.

C. Conflicts in Taiwanese college students' families

1. Students have fewer conflicts in college than in senior high school.
2. Most students claim to have more conflicts on ideas and values with their parents.
3. Students usually resolve conflicts by compromising (Working to find a middle ground where both sides make some sacrifice.)

V. Conclusion

A. The results of Taiwanese college students' views of their parents' parenting styles mainly converge towards the optimal parenting style in the Western countries—the Authoritative style of parenting.

1. The results may suggest that household formation in Taiwanese families has changed.
2. The parenting styles may affect how parents educate their children about filial piety.

B. Taiwanese college students disagree with the statement that filial piety means completely obeying parents' demands. This may show that students' status in the Taiwanese families have been raised slightly, although not completely.

VI. Works Cited

VII. Appendix A: Questionnaire

VIII. Appendix B: Interview Questions

- IX. Appendix C: Diagrams and Illustrations
- X. Appendix D: Interview Transcript of student A
- XI. Appendix E: Interview Transcript of student B
- XII. Appendix F: Interview Transcript of student C
- XIII. Appendix G: Interview Transcript of student D
- XIV. Appendix H: Interview Transcript of student E



Conflicts occur between parents and children every now and then, particularly between parents and adolescents. When children reach adolescence, they tend to strive for more autonomy and independence, wanting to “establish an identity beyond the family” (Yeh and Bedford 133). According to researchers Collin, Russell and Fuligni, this transitional phase in turn may lead to “a certain amount of disruption into the relationship between children and their parents” (qtd. in Chen-Gaddini 1846). Family conflicts in the West may not be similar to family conflicts in the East, in terms of their causes and resolutions. In traditional Chinese culture, parents educate their children “to be filial through cultivating obedience, self-constraint, dependency, and modesty early on in their development” (Qin et al. 37). Therefore, when parent-child conflicts happen, children tend to suppress their anger and even sacrifice their personal goals so as not to disrespect their parents and not to disrupt the cultural norms of filial piety. Nonetheless, does the traditional concept of filial piety still prevail in Asian societies nowadays? Has filial piety changed in some ways among children in Asian families? This paper aims to examine Taiwanese college students’ perceptions towards filial piety, their family relationships, and how Taiwanese college students address conflicts in their families. Taiwanese college students have something different to say about filial piety, and they hold similar ideas and values toward filial piety, in terms of obedience and ways of solving conflicts.

The following paper includes a literature review, the methodology, data analysis, and a conclusion. The literature review consists of summaries and evaluations of several scholarly materials; each material presents different findings and concerns of filial piety. In the methodology, a set of procedures and methods of how this research paper is conducted will be made clear. In this research paper, the methods are survey design and interviews with Taiwanese college students. In data analysis, results of the aforementioned methods will be discussed and analyzed. Lastly, this research paper will conclude with a summary of the most significant findings of this study and what the potential of this research is.

The term “filial piety” refers to “hsiao” in Chinese, and to be “filial” means “hsiao shun,” which literally means showing “filial obedience” to parents in Chinese. In fact, the invention of the Chinese character “hsiao” (孝) consists of two parts. The upper part of the character means “old” or “old person,” whereas the lower part of the character means “child” (Yu 3). The combination of the two parts of the Chinese character pictures a child carrying an elderly person on his or her back. This shows that children have the obligations to take care of their parents when their parents get old. Therefore, most Asians tend to judge whether or not a child is filial enough by how well the child takes care of and attend to their parents.

Since the literal meaning of filial piety in Chinese means obedience to parents, children are expected to stick to those filial obligations, which include “complete obedience to their parents, attendance to parental needs, and respect for their parents” (Yeh and Bedford 133). Therefore, it is crucial for children to avoid conflicts in their families. Even when conflicts do occur, children have responsibilities to forgo their personal needs and desires so as to meet parents’ expectations and decisions.

Due to different cultural backgrounds, families in the East tend to regard family conflicts quite differently from families in the West. In the article “Filial Belief and Parent-Child Conflict,” Kuang-Hui Yeh and Olwen Bedford observe differences between the East and the West when observing factors that cause parent-child conflicts. While researchers in the West often examine family conflicts through parent-based factors, such as parenting styles or marital conflicts, in the Chinese culture, however, it is children’s degree of filial piety that mainly determines the occurrence of parent-child conflicts. According to the authors, “the more the child accepts and emphasizes filial piety, the less likely it is that conflict will occur” (133).

In Western culture, however, parenting styles play the major role in maintaining good parent-child relationships and in helping the children develop well mentally. In the article “Parent Characteristics Linked with Daughters’ Attachment Styles,” Peter R. Kilmann,

Jennifer M. C. Vendemia, Michele M. Parnell, and Geoffrey C. Urbaniak suggest that parents' characteristics influence their daughters' attachment patterns. The authors refer to Bowlby's Attachment theory to explain how children's "mental models" are developed by their early infant experiences of attachment with their parents. They observe that there is an association between parenting styles and adult attachment patterns. The article categorizes adults into four adult attachment patterns proposed by Bartholomew and Horowitz, which are secure, preoccupied, fearful-avoidant, and dismissive-avoidant. Bartholomew and Horowitz mention that securely attached individuals are positive with themselves as well as with others, preoccupied individuals have lower self-esteem and lesser independence, and avoidant individuals are distrustful of others and are more unstable with their emotions. The study claims that parents who receive authoritative parenting styles tend to have secure attachment patterns. Moreover, parents with secure attachment patterns "would have the necessary emotional resources to engage in positive child-rearing behaviors consistent with an authoritative parenting style" (559). Both parents who have secure attachment patterns will likely influence their daughters' attachment patterns.

Diana Baumrind was a clinical and developmental psychologist who first proposed her studies on parenting styles. She categorized parenting styles into three categories: Authoritative, Authoritarian, and Permissive. Two scholars, Maccoby and Martin, later made some revisions to Baumrind's work, and added an additional prototype to the original three parenting styles, which are Authoritative, Authoritarian, indulgent, and neglectful (Kristjana S. Blondal and Sigrun Adalbjarnardottir 732). Parents who use an Authoritative way of parenting are warm, loving, and firm at the same time. When Authoritative parents set up standards for their children, they will explain the reasons behind them to their children. Moreover, they allow their children to raise their own ideas and respect their ideas. Similar to Authoritative parents, parents who practice an Authoritarian parenting style set up standards for their children as well. However, they do not allow their children to question their

commands or rules. When children disobey their parents, parents will punish them harshly. Indulgent parents are “responsive and warm,” but oftentimes, they are “lenient and avoid confrontation” (Kristjana S. Blondal and Sigrun Adalbjarnardottir 732). Parents with neglectful parenting styles are neither responsive nor demanding. They usually do not care about their children’s needs. They are often being described as distant and cold. Western families especially value Authoritative parenting style, and regard it as the optimal parenting style.

In Rebecca P. Ang and Dion H. Goh’s study, “Authoritarian Parenting Style in Asian Societies: A Cluster-Analytic Investigation,” the authors assumed that among the three types of parenting styles introduced by Baumrind, the Authoritarian parenting style may not always suggest poor adolescent adjustment as offered by the Caucasian family studies. Due to different cultural settings, the authoritarian parenting style may have a different meaning for Asian families and different effects on children. The article claimed that while practicing authoritarian parenting styles in European American families has negative effects on adolescents’ psychological well-being and academic performance, this may not be true among Asian families. Baumrind defined authoritarian parenting style as parents who are demanding, strict, and do not allow any disobedience from their children. According to the authors, due to different cultural backgrounds, Caucasians regard “strictness” as a negative term and relate it to “parental hostility,” “aggression,” and “hostility,” whereas Asians see “strictness” as “parental concern,” “caring,” and “involvement” (qtd. in Ang 132).

The article “Conflicts and Communication Between High-Achieving Chinese American Adolescents and Their Parents” focuses on the conflicts between parents and children in Chinese American families. Desiree Baolian Qin, Tzu-Fen Chang, Eun-Jin Han, and Grace Chee claim that conflicts occur mainly because of acculturation gaps between parents and children, as well as traditional Chinese parenting values, which mostly reflect Confucian values. The authors interviewed eighteen students from a prominent public high

school in the U.S., and discussed that the four main acculturation-based conflicts are conflicts regarding educational pressure, opinions and biases toward races, country of origin, and cultural and language barriers. According to Juang et al.'s findings, "acculturation-based conflicts weaken the quality of parenting and family relations, which in turn contribute to poor adolescent well-being" (39). The study claims that Chinese American children tend to obey their parents as their approach to resolving conflicts with their parents so that they can maintain substantial traditional values. This fits Hwang's "vertical in-group" model, where parents have higher statuses than their children. Children tend to use avoidance and indirect arguments to cope with conflicts with their parents. The parent-child conflicts mentioned in the article reflects how many of the Chinese parents value traditional Chinese parenting values.

The methodology conducted in this study includes a distribution of online questionnaires to Taiwanese college students and interviews with 5 college students chosen from the questionnaire respondents. The survey is distributed to Taiwanese college students to enquire into how students think about filial piety specifically in their last stage of adolescence. Respondents were 82 (62 females and 20 males) with a grade range from freshman to senior. The research questionnaire contained three parts: a set of general items measuring respondents' gender, year grade, whether or not they live with their parents, and the marital status of their parents (divorced or not divorced); questions on how the respondents perceive their parents' parenting styles and the relationships between the respondents and their parents; and a set of questions on how the respondents regard filial piety and how conflicts in their families were being solved. The items are designed to see if the relationships between college students and their parents will influence the way the respondents regard filial piety and how they resolve conflicts in their families.

The interviews aim to further examine Taiwanese college students' perceptions and definitions of filial piety. Interview questions include further understandings of how college

students interpret and define filial piety, and what were the conflicts college students and their parents usually get into. By sharing their past experiences of conflicts with their parents, it is better to see how Taiwanese college students think of the conflicts that happened between them and their parents, and how they address those conflicts.

The results show that a majority (67%) of Taiwanese college students view their parents' parenting styles as Authoritative rather than Authoritarian. This result is quite different from some of the research findings in the literature review. Taiwanese college students tend to regard their parents' child-rearing styles as Authoritative, which, in many of the Western countries, is thought to be the optimal parenting style. This somehow suggests that parenting styles in Taiwanese families have somehow altered or have somehow being influenced by the Western culture. While Authoritative parenting style involves more warmth, and encourages more of children's individualities, Authoritarian parenting style is stricter, in that parents tend to expect highly of their children, and tend to punish children severely if expectations are not met.

Moreover, rather than regarding their parents more as authority figures, students prefer to describe their parents as guardians and caretakers (29%), advisors (26%), and friends (26%). Only 11% of the Taiwanese college students view their parents as authority figures. This shows that parental figures and parental statues are no longer that lofty and distanced as it were in the past. Still, when Taiwanese college students are asked how they perceive their statuses between them and their parents, over half of the respondents (56%) think they have rather subordinate statuses toward their parents. Although parents' statuses may not be that threatening as that of authority figures, over half of the Taiwanese college students do not think them and their parents are equal. This indicates that there is still a certain amount of status-relationship between Taiwanese parents and their children, though the number is not that significant. On the other hand, a majority of Taiwanese college students (77%) think that their parents trust them in making their own decisions. This evinces that parents may allow

their children to strive for more autonomy, and that their children's decisions are valued and trusted.

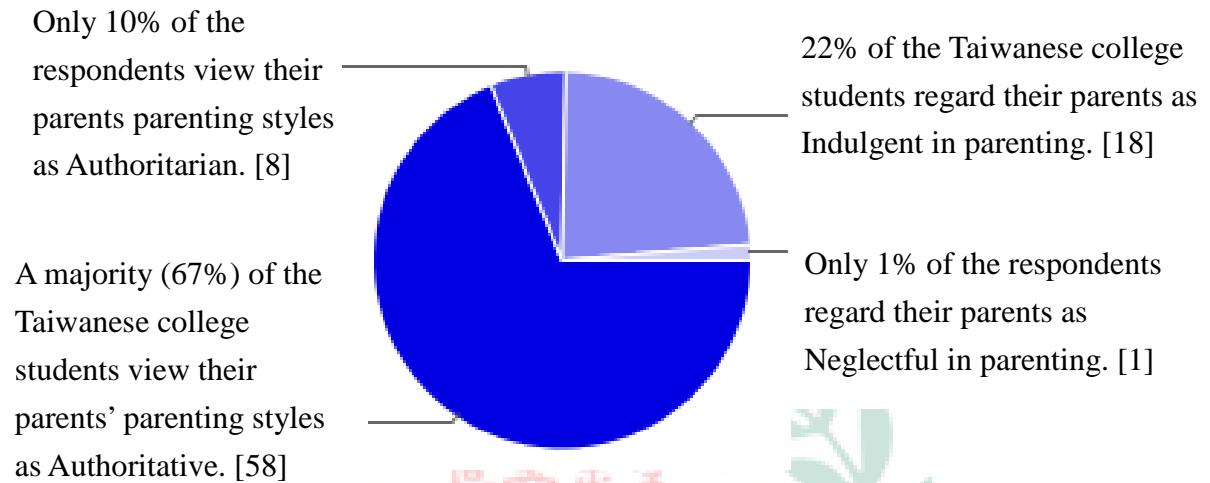


Fig. 1 Taiwanese college students' perceptions of their parents' child-rearing styles.

With regard to the values of filial piety, Taiwanese college students have similar attitudes towards filial piety. A majority (91%) of Taiwanese college students agree with the concept that filial piety means showing gratitude towards their parents. A majority (89%) of college students agree with the concept that filial piety means attending to parental needs. On the other hand, over half (57%) of Taiwanese college students disagree with the concept that filial piety means submitting to their parents' authority. A majority (82%) of Taiwanese college students disagree with the concept that filial piety means showing complete obedience to their parents. Moreover, students claim that their perceptions of filial piety have changed throughout their lives. From the survey results, it is suggested that Taiwanese college students' perceptions are different from how filial piety was defined and recognized in the past, in that most of the Taiwanese college students do not agree that filial piety means submitting to parents' authority and completely obeying parents' demands. Moreover, almost all of the interviewees claim that filial piety does not mean showing complete obedience towards their parents. One of the interviewees claims that "you will make yourself into an

offering if you think filial piety means submitting to your parents' authority. You will become a machine just to realize their dreams. Therefore, you are, in a way, degrading yourself and degrading the value of your life." Another interviewee who also disagrees with this concept says, "...to respect them is one thing. Since they are our parents, we must show a certain amount of respect to them. However, this doesn't mean their authorities are always right."

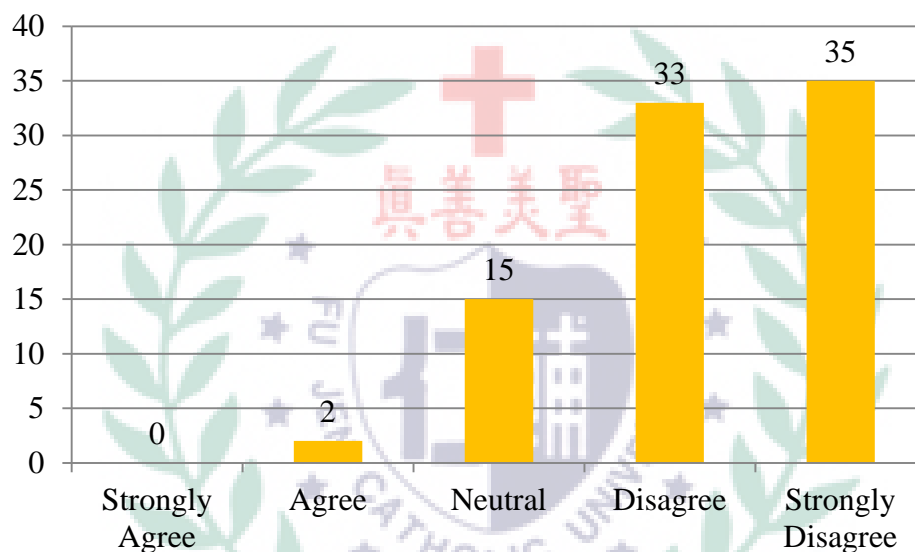


Fig. 2 How strongly do Taiwanese college students agree with the statement that filial piety means showing complete obedience towards parents.

Despite the changes, 98% of the students surveyed think that filial piety is important. A majority (71%) of the students think they owe their parents something, in terms of time, money, and care. An interesting finding of the research is that even though not all of the Taiwanese college students think that their parents emphasize on the importance of filial piety, almost all of the respondents (98%) answered that they think filial piety is important. This may indicate that filial piety in Taiwanese culture still has

Regarding conflicts in Taiwanese college students' families, the results show that students have fewer conflicts in college than in senior high school. 66 out of 82 of the respondents claim that they had conflicts with their parents in senior high school, but the

number reduced to 51 when they are asked if they had conflicts with their parents in college. This may suggest that as children grow up, they tend to have fewer conflicts with their parents. It also may be because of children's maturity and their improved ability to communicate and express their opinions. Moreover, most students (83%) claim to have more conflicts on ideas and values with their parents, followed by conflicts on house chores (30%), Money (15%), parenting styles (12%), and school grades (7%). When Taiwanese college students resolve conflicts, they will usually (70%) try to find a middle ground where both parents and they can make some sacrifices. However, over half (55%) of the students will not try to solve conflicts according to their values of filial piety.

The results of Taiwanese college students' views of their parents' parenting styles mainly converge towards the optimal parenting style in most Western countries—the Authoritative style of parenting. This result suggests that the household formation in Taiwanese families might have changed, in that parents prefer an Authoritative parenting style to an Authoritarian parenting style. Hence, it may indicate that parents may educate their children about filial piety not in terms of the traditional concepts of filial piety, but in a way that adapts the values both from the East and West. The research may show that students' status in the Taiwanese families have been raised slightly, although not completely, for most of Taiwanese college students disagree with the statement that filial piety means completely obeying parents' demands. The concept of filial piety has somehow altered through time and history. Taiwanese students in this generation may start to view filial piety in a more modern sense.

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Appendix A: Online Questionnaire

Taiwanese College Students' Perceptions on Filial Piety Questionnaire

This is a questionnaire for a research paper on Taiwanese college students' perspectives toward filial piety and how they deal with family conflicts. Please be assured that all responses to the questions will be held totally confidential by the researcher. Only summaries or anonymous comments will be shown in the final report. Your feedback will be very useful to this assignment. The questionnaire will take you around 10 minutes to finish. Thank you for your cooperation!

Description of the sample of this survey:

The subjects for this survey are Taiwanese college students. I especially want to know about how this generation of Taiwanese children thinks of filial piety, and if filial piety is still being valued as it was in the past.

A. Personal Information

1. What is your nationality? ☐ Taiwanese
☐ Other (This is the end of the questionnaire, thank you.)
2. What college do you go to and what is your major? Ex.: Fu Jen University/ English
3. What grade are you in? ☐ Freshman ☐ Sophomore
☐ Junior ☐ Senior
4. What is your gender? ☐ Male ☐ Female ☐ Other
5. Do you live with your parents? ☐ Yes ☐ No
6. Are your parents divorced? ☐ Yes ☐ No

B. Questions on Parent-Child Relationships and Parenting Styles

7. How often do you spend time with your ☐ Every day

parents? (E.g. taking walks together,
shopping together, having meals together,
etc.)

- ☐ Once or twice in a week
- ☐ 3-5 times in a week
- ☐ Once or twice in a month
- ☐ 3-5 times in a month
- ☐ None in a month
- ☐ Other: _____

8. I regard my parents more as...

- ☐ Authority figures
- ☐ Consultants and Advisors
- ☐ Friends
- ☐ Guardians and caretakers
- ☐ Other: _____

8.1. How do you perceive your status between
you and your parents?

- ☐ I am in a subordinate status.
- ☐ We have equal status.

9. Will you turn to your parents when you
encounter problems? (E.g. emotional
breakdowns, depressions, etc.)

- ☐ Yes ☐ No
- ☐ Other: _____

10. Do you feel comfortable sharing your
feelings and ideas with your parents?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No

11. Why or why not?

- ☐ They are very supportive and understanding.
- ☐ We don't often talk about feelings and ideas.
- ☐ They don't really understand me even if I tried to talk about my feelings.
- ☐ Other: _____

12. Do you think your parents trust you in making your own decisions? ☐Yes ☐No
13. Do you see your parents' parenting styles more as authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, or neglectful?
- ☐Authoritative (Warm, accepting, and encouraging toward their children, but firm at the same time.)
- ☐Authoritarian (Demanding and controlling)
- ☐Indulgent (nontraditional and lenient, do not require mature behavior, allow considerable self-regulation, and avoid confrontation)
- ☐Neglectful and Uninvolved (few demands, low responsiveness and little communication)

C. Advanced Questions on Filial Piety and Family Conflicts

14. What is your definition of filial piety? Ex.: A virtue of respect to one's own
(Please reply in your own words) parents.

How strongly do you agree with the following statements of filial piety?

15. Do you agree that filial piety means submitting to the authority of parents?
- ☐5 (Strongly agree)
- ☐4 (Slightly agree)
- ☐3 (Neutral)
- ☐2 (Slightly disagree)
- ☐1 (Strongly disagree)

16. Do you agree that filial piety means showing care and support to parents? ☐5 (Strongly agree)
☐4 (Slightly agree)
☐3 (Neutral)
☐2 (Slightly disagree)
☐1 (Strongly disagree)
17. Do you agree that filial piety means showing gratitude to parents? ☐5 (Strongly agree)
☐4 (Slightly agree)
☐3 (Neutral)
☐2 (Slightly disagree)
☐1 (Strongly disagree)
18. Do you agree that filial piety means attending to parents' needs? ☐5 (Strongly agree)
☐4 (Slightly agree)
☐3 (Neutral)
☐2 (Slightly disagree)
☐1 (Strongly disagree)
19. Do you agree with the statement that filial piety means saving parents' face? ☐5 (Strongly agree)
☐4 (Slightly agree)
☐3 (Neutral)
☐2 (Slightly disagree)
☐1 (Strongly disagree)
20. Do you agree that filial piety means showing complete obedience to parents? ☐5 (Strongly agree)
☐4 (Slightly agree)
☐3 (Neutral)
☐2 (Slightly disagree)
☐1 (Strongly disagree)

21. Have you ever wondered what exactly filial piety means? ☐Yes ☐No
22. What will you do if your parents have plans about your future that differ from your own? ☐Listen to their advice
☐Do not listen to their advice
☐Other: _____
23. Do your parents emphasize on the importance of filial piety in your family education? ☐Yes ☐No
24. Have you ever being scolded for not showing filial piety to your parents? ☐Yes ☐No
25. What was it that you were being scolded? Ex. Retorting back to your parents
26. Has your attitude toward filial piety ever changed throughout your life? ☐Yes ☐No
27. In which way has it changed? ☐It changed because of the influences of Western culture
☐It changed through my own life experiences
☐It changed because of the influences of my peers
☐Other: _____
28. Do your parents and you share the same values about filial piety? ☐Yes ☐No
29. Where do your values of filial piety mostly come from? ☐From your parents
☐From your teachers
☐From your peers

☐Other: _____

30. Since filial piety somehow refers to how children treat their parents and how they maintain the relationship with their parents, do you agree with the notion that it is the parents that can judge whether you are filial enough?

☐Yes ☐No

31. Do you think filial piety is important?

☐Yes ☐No ☐Other: _____

32. Do you owe your parents anything?

☐Yes ☐No

(In terms of time, money, care, etc.)

33. If yes, what do you think you owe your parents?

Ex. I have to pay the money back for them

34. Have you ever had conflicts with your parents in high school life?

☐Yes ☐No

35. Have you ever had conflicts with your parents in college life?

☐Yes ☐No

36. How many times have you gotten into arguments with your parents in the past three months?

☐ No arguments

☐1-2 times

☐3-4 times

☐Above 5 times

37. What types of conflicts do you often get into with your parents?

☐House chores

☐Disagreements toward values

☐Parenting style

☐Money

☐School grades

38. How are the conflicts being addressed between you and your parents?

☐ Other: _____

☐ Self-sacrifice (Giving in to parental demands)

☐ Egocentrism (Attempting to obtain the most advantages or least harm to yourself)

☐ Reframing (Recasting the problem so that both sides attain their goals and neither need sacrifice any demands)

☐ Escape (Attempting to escape from the situation or to do nothing because of a lack of ideas about how to resolve)

☐ Compromise (Working to find a middle ground where both sides make some sacrifice)

39. Do you usually address family conflicts or problems according to your standards of filial piety?

☐ Yes ☐ No

40. How do you usually feel when you get into conflicts with your parents?

☐ Depressed

☐ Infuriated

☐ Indifferent

☐ Sorrowful

☐ Terrified

☐ Other: _____

41. Do you regard having conflicts with your

☐ Less ☐ More ☐ Both are frustrating

parents less or more frustrating than having
conflicts with your friends or peers?

42. If you would like to have a personal

Name: _____

interview on this topic, please provide your

E-mail address: _____

personal contact information so that I may

Phone number: _____

arrange an interview with you, thank you.

This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you very much for your time!



Appendix B: Interview Questions

1. How do you define filial piety? Please make a detailed description.
2. Do you agree that filial piety means submitting to the authority of parents? Why or why not?
3. Do you agree with the statement that filial piety means saving parents' face?
4. Do you agree that filial piety means showing complete obedience to parents?
5. Do you think your parents' parenting style influences your perceptions of filial piety?
6. Do you think your status between you and your parents influences your perceptions of filial piety?
7. Have you ever had conflicts with your parents in high school and college?
8. What arguments do you and your parents usually get into?
9. Can you describe an argument that you and your parents had gotten into?
10. Do you resolve conflicts according to your perception of filial piety? Why or why not?
11. How are the problems or conflicts usually being solved? How do conflicts usually end?
(Egocentrism, Self-sacrifice, Reframing, Escape, or Compromise)
12. Do your parents and you share the same values about filial piety? If no, how will you know whether you are filial enough?
13. Where do your values of filial piety mostly come from?
14. Do you do things according to your standards of filial piety?
15. Do you value filial piety?
16. Do your parents value filial piety?
17. What happens when your values of filial piety differ from those of your parents'? Will you adjust your perceptions of filial piety to meet theirs?
18. Have you ever wondered what filial piety means? Why?
19. Has your perceptions of filial piety ever changed in your life?
20. How has it changed? And why? Why hasn't it changed?

21. What will you do if your parents accuse you of lacking filial piety according to their perceptions of filial piety?
22. Since filial piety somehow refers to how children treat their parents and how they maintain a relationship with their parents, do you agree with the notion that it is the parents who can judge whether or not you are filial enough? Why?
23. Do you owe your parents anything? in terms of time, money, care, etc.
24. If yes, how will you pay them back?
25. Has the concept of filial piety ever influenced you negatively?

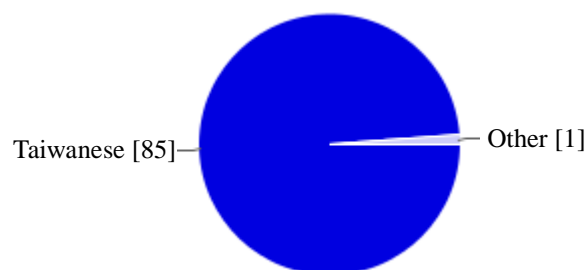


Appendix C: Diagrams and Illustrations

A. Personal Information and General Items

1. What is your nationality?

| | | |
|-----------|----|-----|
| Taiwanese | 85 | 99% |
| Other | 1 | 1% |



86 college students answered the questionnaire, among whom are 85 Taiwanese and 1 with a different nationality. The one with a different nationality will not be able to continue answering the questionnaire, for the questionnaire is designed for Taiwanese college students.

2. What college do you go to and what is your major?

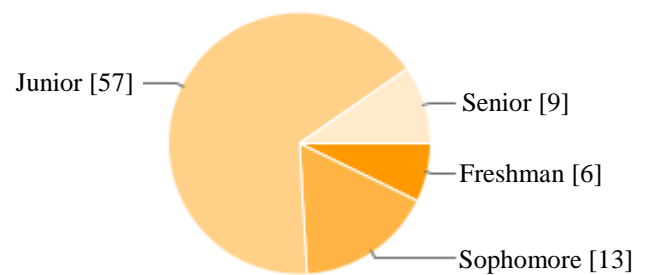
| | | |
|--|----|-----|
| Fu Jen Catholic University/ English | 45 | 53% |
| Fu Jen Catholic University/ Japanese | 3 | 4% |
| Fu Jen Catholic University/ Landscape Architecture | 2 | 2% |
| Fu Jen Catholic University/ Life Science | 2 | 2% |
| Fu Jen Catholic University/ Physics | 2 | 2% |
| Fu Jen Catholic University/ Applied Arts | 1 | 1% |
| Fu Jen Catholic University/ Chemistry | 2 | 2% |
| Fu Jen Catholic University/ Child and Family Studies | 1 | 1% |
| Fu Jen Catholic University/ Chinese | 1 | 1% |
| Fu Jen Catholic University/ Finance and International Business | 1 | 1% |
| Fu Jen Catholic University/ Italian | 1 | 1% |
| Fu Jen Catholic University/ Journalism | 1 | 1% |
| Fu Jen Catholic University/ Medicine | 1 | 1% |

| | | |
|---|---|----|
| Fu Jen Catholic University/ Physical Education | 1 | 1% |
| Fu Jen Catholic University/ Public Health | 1 | 1% |
| Fu Jen Catholic University/ Restaurant, Hotel and Institutional Management | 1 | 1% |
| Fu Jen Catholic University/ Spanish | 1 | 1% |
| Fu Jen Catholic University/ Statistics and Information Science | 1 | 1% |
| National Ilan University/ Applied Economics and Management | 3 | 4% |
| National Chengchi University/ Management Information System | 2 | 2% |
| National Chengchi University/ Public Administration | 1 | 1% |
| Chinese Culture University/ Mass Communication | 2 | 2% |
| Chung Shan Medical University/ Medical Applied Chemistry | 1 | 1% |
| Yuan Ze University/ Information Communication | 1 | 1% |
| Tunghai University/ Landscape Architecture | 1 | 1% |
| Ming Chuan University/ International Business | 1 | 1% |
| Taipei National University of the Arts/ Filmmaking | 1 | 1% |
| National Taiwan University/ English | 1 | 1% |
| National Kaohsiung University of Applied Sciences/ Electronic Engineering | 1 | 1% |
| Soochow University/ Chinese | 1 | 1% |
| Department of Aviation Mechanical Engineering | 1 | 1% |

43 out of the 85 respondents are from the English Department of Fu Jen Catholic University. Other respondents are from other departments of Fu Jen Catholic University or from other colleges.

3. What grade are you in?

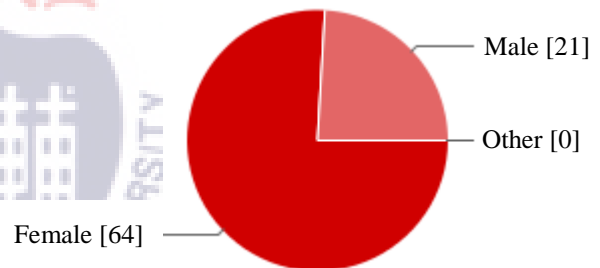
| | | |
|-----------|----|-----|
| Freshman | 6 | 7% |
| Sophomore | 13 | 16% |
| Junior | 57 | 66% |
| Senior | 9 | 11% |



85 Taiwanese college students answered the questionnaire. A majority of the respondents (82%) are sophomores and juniors.

4. What is your gender?

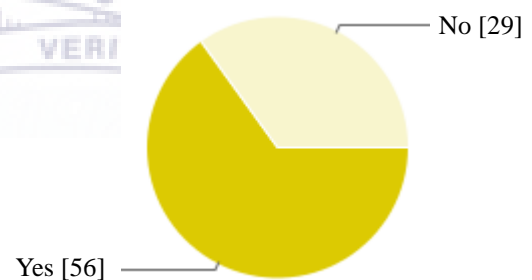
| | | |
|--------|----|-----|
| Female | 64 | 76% |
| Male | 21 | 24% |
| Other | 0 | 0% |



Among the 85 respondents, 64 are female students, 21 are male students, and none of the respondents fall into the “other” category.

5. Do you live with your parents?

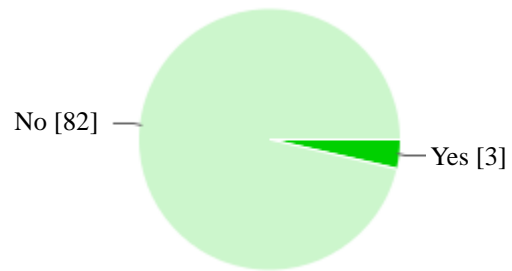
| | | |
|-----|----|-----|
| Yes | 56 | 65% |
| No | 29 | 35% |



56 out of the 85 respondents live with their parents, and 29 respondents do not live with their parents. Over half of the Taiwanese college students still live with their parents.

6. Are your parents divorced?

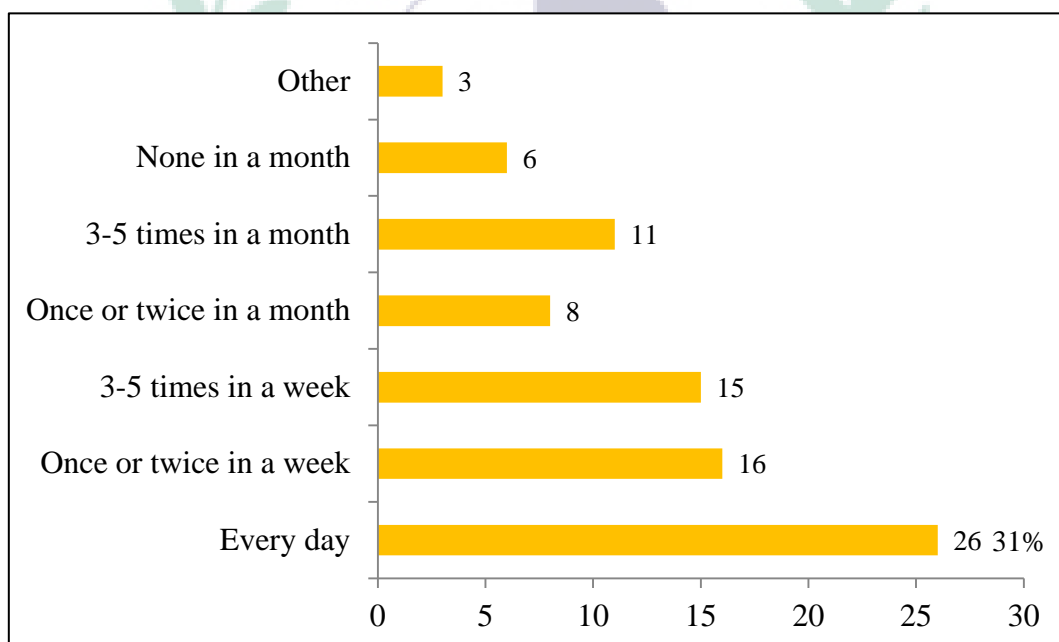
| | | |
|-----|----|-----|
| Yes | 3 | 3% |
| No | 82 | 97% |



82 out of the 85 respondents reported that their parents are not divorced, and only 3 of the respondents reported that their parents are divorced.

B. Questions on Parent-Child Relationships and Parenting Styles

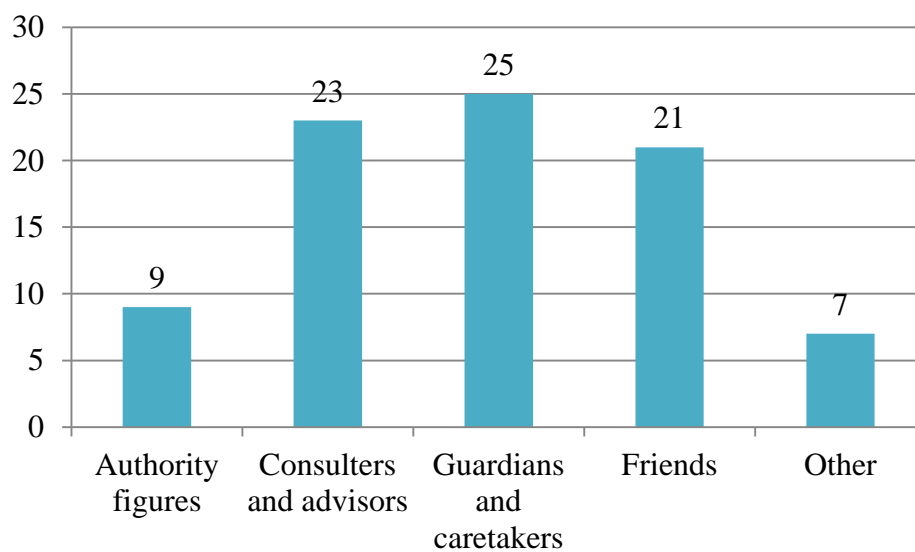
7. How often do you spend time with your parents? (E.g. taking walks together, shopping together, having meals together, etc.)



Among the 85 respondents, 26 respondents spend time with their parents every day, 16 of them spend time with their parents once or twice in a week, 15 of them spend 3 to 5 times with their parents weekly, 8 respondents spend time with their parents once or twice in a month, 11 of the respondents spend time with their parents 3 to 5 times in a month, 6 of them do not spend time with their parents within a month, and 3 of the respondents chose other to the question.

8. I regard my parents more as...

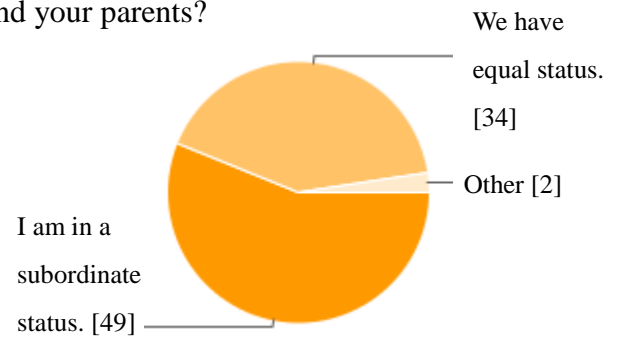
| | | |
|--------------------------|----|-----|
| Authority figures | 9 | 11% |
| Consulters and advisors | 23 | 27% |
| Guardians and caretakers | 25 | 29% |
| Friends | 21 | 25% |
| Other | 7 | 8% |



29% of the respondents regard their parents more as guardians and caretakers, 25% of the respondents regard their parents more as friends, 27% of the respondents view their parents more as consulters and advisors, and only 11% of the students see their parents more as authority figures. 8% of the respondents wrote down other comments to the questions.

8.1. How do you perceive your status between you and your parents?

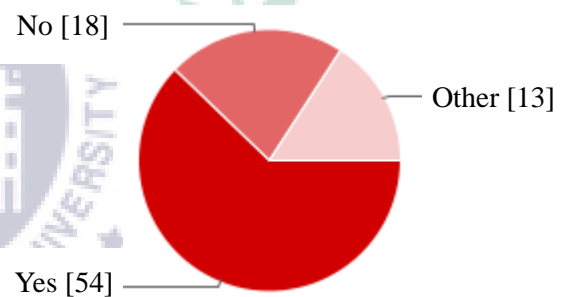
| | | |
|-------------------------------|----|-----|
| I am in a subordinate status. | 49 | 58% |
| We have equal status. | 34 | 40% |
| Other | 2 | 2% |



Over half (58%) of the Taiwanese college students perceive they have a subordinate status towards their parents.

9. Will you turn to your parents when you encounter problems? (E.g. emotional breakdowns, depressions, etc.)

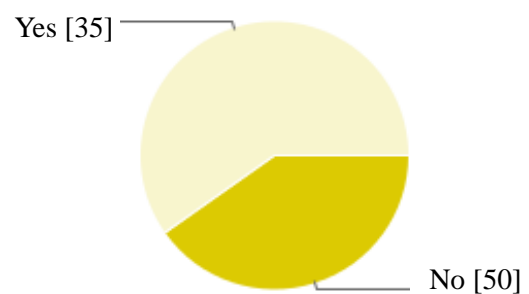
| | | |
|-------|----|-----|
| Yes | 54 | 64% |
| No | 18 | 21% |
| Other | 13 | 15% |



64% of the respondents will turn to their parents when they encounter problems, while 21% of the respondents will not turn to their parents when they encounter problems. Those who answered “other” replied that it has to do with what kinds of problems they encounter.

10. Do you feel comfortable sharing your feelings and ideas with your parents?

| | | |
|-----|----|-----|
| Yes | 35 | 41% |
| No | 50 | 59% |

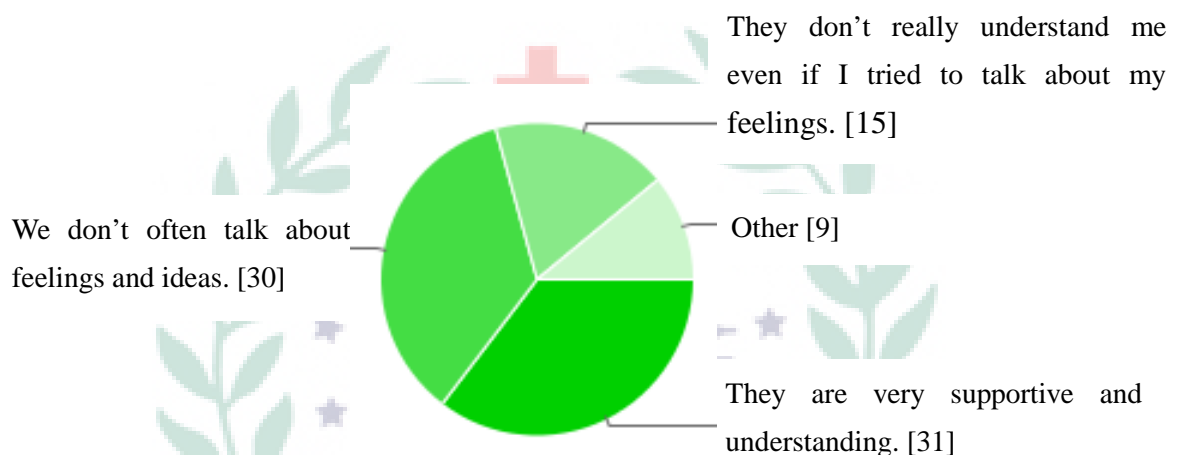


50 out of the 85 respondents do not feel comfortable sharing their feelings and ideas with their parents.



11. Why or why not?

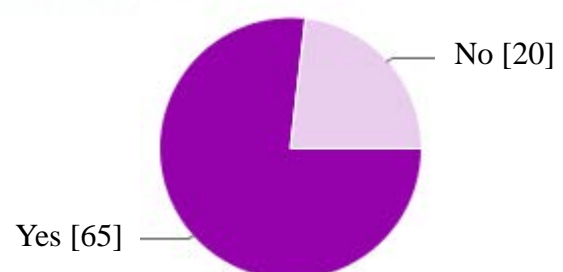
| | | |
|--|----|-----|
| They are very supportive and understanding. | 31 | 37% |
| We don't often talk about feelings and ideas. | 30 | 35% |
| They don't really understand me even if I tried to talk about my feelings. | 15 | 18% |
| Other | 9 | 11% |



Among the 85 respondents, 31 of them will talk to their parents about their feelings because their parents are supportive and understanding, 30 of them will not talk to their parents about their feelings because they do not talk about feelings and ideas often. 15 respondents consider that their parents do not really understand them even when they tried to talk about their feelings, so they will not talk share them with their parents.

12. Do you think your parents trust you in making your own decisions?

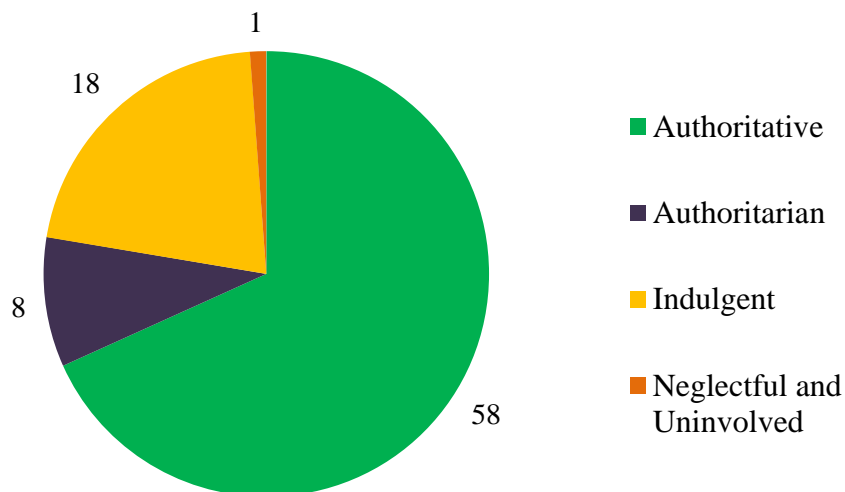
| | | |
|-----|----|-----|
| Yes | 65 | 77% |
| No | 20 | 24% |



A majority (77%) of the Taiwanese college students think their parents trust them in making their own decisions. Only 20 of them do not think so.

13. Do you see your parents' parenting styles more as authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, or neglectful?

| | | |
|---|----|-----|
| Authoritative (Warm, accepting, and encouraging toward their children, but firm at the same time.) | 58 | 68% |
| Authoritarian (Demanding and controlling) | 8 | 9% |
| Indulgent (nontraditional and lenient, do not require mature behavior, allow considerable self-regulation, and avoid confrontation) | 18 | 21% |
| Neglectful and Uninvolved (few demands, low responsiveness and little communication) | 1 | 1% |



Over half of the Taiwanese college students (68%) regard their parents' parenting styles as Authoritative. 21% of the respondents view their parents' parenting styles as Indulgent. 9% of the respondents consider their parents' parenting styles as Authoritarian, and only 1% regards their parents as Neglectful in terms of their parenting style.

14. What is your definition of filial piety?

| College students who regard their parents' parenting styles as Authoritative |
|--|
| 1. To respect for seniority. To show love and respect between brothers and sisters. |
| 2. To make every effort to look after parents. |
| 3. To respect parents. |
| 4. As children of our parents, it is obligatory for us to show filial piety to them. |
| 5. To respect parents, but not completely obeying them. When conflicts occur, one should not contradict parents maliciously, nor harm them. To show gratitude to parents, and to look after parents within the range of one's own ability. |
| 6. I think making parents happy is the most important thing, so basically, I will listen to them. If my parents and I have clashing opinions, we will communicate. I will try not to let them down, or say things that will upset them. |
| 7. To try not to let parents down. |
| 8. To make devotion to parents. |
| 9. To reciprocate parents' care and support. |
| 10. Children will always think of their parents, and will try their best to satisfy parents' needs. |
| 11. I think filial piety means trying to make one's parents and oneself to reach a state where both are comfortable and satisfied. I think children must have their own opinions, but also not to neglect parents' voices and wishes. |
| 12. To help shoulder some pressures from parents, such as financial pressures or psychological pressures. |
| 13. To chat and have meals with parents. To study hard and to rank as the top student in class. |
| 14. To have a respectful and grateful heart towards parents. |

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|---|
| 15. To accompany family members, and to love them with full heart. |
| 16. To show gratitude towards parents. |
| 17. To try not to contradict with parents, but not to aimlessly obeying them either. After one is financially independent, one should support his or her parents financially monthly, no matter how much or little one earns. What matters most is one's own sincerity. To be responsible, and never make one's parents clean up the mess one makes. There are times when parents make mistakes or when they have inappropriate values. It is important to communicate with them, since there is more harm than good when one keeps on letting their parents make the same mistakes. To support parents with care, tolerance, and attentiveness. |
| 18. I seldom think about it, but I will not deliberately make attempts to show filial piety to my parents. Instead, I will treat them as friends, and try to make them happy. Filial piety somehow shows a power-relation between parents and their children, for children must obey and be "pious" to their parents so as to be "filial." |
| 19. To listen to parents. |
| 20. To make them feel that they are meaningful, and to accompany them. |
| 21. To accompany them. |
| 22. To treat parents well, to look after them, and to respect them. |
| 23. To accompany and look after parents. |
| 24. To make parents happy. |
| 25. To show the same amount of respect accordingly, and to make devotions to parents. |
| 26. I do not have a definition. |
| 27. It is a standard that exists in the society. It is children's obligation and |

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| responsibility to fulfill. |
| 28. To show care and support whenever to parents. |
| 29. To support parents psychologically and financially. |
| 30. To respect parents' suggestions and opinions. |
| 31. Not to make parents worry and not to let them down, but to make them happy, and to help them and support them when they are in need. |
| 32. To treat parents well and not to do things that will upset them. |
| 33. To show love and respect through words and behaviors towards parents. |
| 34. To respect and try to accept parents' opinions under reasonable conditions. Children should also show concerns to parents' physiological and psychological well-beings. Most important of all, I think one has to accompany parents and to talk to them as much as possible. |
| 35. According to the definition online, filial piety is a behavior promoted by the Chinese cultural tradition. It means that children should respect their parents' wishes, so that children will not misbehave and make parents feel ashamed. |
| 36. To take good care of parents. |
| 37. To fully understand how parents took care of children, and to reciprocate parents with the same amount of care. |
| 38. To respond to parents as if paying a debt of gratitude. To look after them and treat them well when one grows up. |
| 39. To accompany parents when they feel lonely. To share goods and materials with parents when they get old, and to talk to them as often as possible. |
| 40. To show much consideration to parents' hard work. To accompany them, help them with house chores, and be attentive to them. |
| 41. Parents took care of us, spent most of their time and money on us. When parents |

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| get old, they may not have enough money left to take care of themselves. Therefore, children must take care of their parents in return, just like how parents took care of them. |
| 42. Filial piety is the priority in life. Nothing is more important than that. To express the idea of filial piety by showing gratitude towards parents is the reason why humans exist on earth. |
| 43. Not to contradict parents, and to requite parents' love and care back. |
| 44. To accompany parents, and to listen to them patiently. |
| 45. Not to make parents worry. Try to make parents feel reassured about what one does. |
| 46. To take the initiative to show concerns for parents. To look after them, and not to make them worry. |
| 47. To be able to think of parents frequently. One will stand in parents' shoes, and will want to provide parents with the best things, and love them faithfully. |
| 48. Not to do things that would upset parents. |
| 49. To respect parents and will not humiliate them. |
| 50. Filial piety means building an intimate relationship with parents. Children do not have to completely obey their parents, but they have to share their ideas with parents. To show concerns for parents. Do not be indifferent to parents, nor speak to them coldly. |
| 51. Not to do things that would upset parents or make them feel worried. Even when one is not around parents, one will still be in contact with parents and chat with them. |
| 52. To listen to what parents say. |
| 53. Not to cause trouble for parents. To treat parents well. |

| |
|--|
| 54. Not to harm parents and other relatives. |
| 55. To listen to parents and to attend to parents' needs, such as mental and physical health. To accompany parents, and to depend on them once in a while, so that they will not undergo a sense of loss after children grow up and become mature. |
| 56. To try not to make parents worry. |
| 57. To repay parents' love and care by showing concerns and devotions for them. |
| College students who regard their parents' parenting styles as Authoritarian |
| 58. To be able to talk about one's feelings with parents. To be able to understand them, and help them. |
| 59. Parents do not have to worry about their children. Children can be themselves with ease. |
| 60. To look after parents. |
| 61. To support and understand parents' needs. |
| 62. To treat parents well. |
| 63. Children will feel tenderness and love when people brought their parents' up in conversations. Children will also want to look after their parents. |
| 64. To accompany parents, and to look after them. |
| 65. I hold the same values with Hu Shi. Hu Shi had said, "I do not want my children to be filial, because from ancient times till now, only terrible parents can make their children look more filial." On the other hand, I also agree with what Confucius had said about filial piety. If one always listens to what his or her parents want, and regards oneself as an offering for parents, then one will be making one's parents into becoming heartless people or allowing them to do something wrong. |
| College students who regard their parents' parenting styles as Indulgent. |

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|--|
| 66. To serve and to look after parents. |
| 67. To be filial. |
| 68. To show care towards parents. To be able to think of them frequently, especially when one is making an important decision. |
| 69. It is a bit hard to define. I guess it is to spend much time with parents, and not to contradict them without reasons. |
| 70. I have no idea. Not to do something un-filial is the undermost thing about filial piety. |
| 71. To take care of parents' health and happiness. |
| 72. To think of parents in the first place no matter what happens. Not to make oneself a burden of parents. |
| 73. To show respect and obedience to parents. |
| 74. To show support to parents whenever it is necessary. Since parents and children live under the same roof, it is necessary for children to be grateful for the care of their parents. |
| 75. To be grateful for parents. To look after them when one grows up, to accompany them, and to make them happy. |
| 76. To show concerns towards parents, make efforts in communicating with parents, and not to make parents worry. |
| 77. To let parents live in comfort after they retire. |
| 78. To do things that would make parents happy under the condition that it does not violate one's own wishes. In fact, filial piety does not mean completely obeying one's parents, because both parents and children are human beings. If children always restrain their anger and remain silent when parents do something wrong or unacceptable, I do not think this is filial piety at all. Children have human |

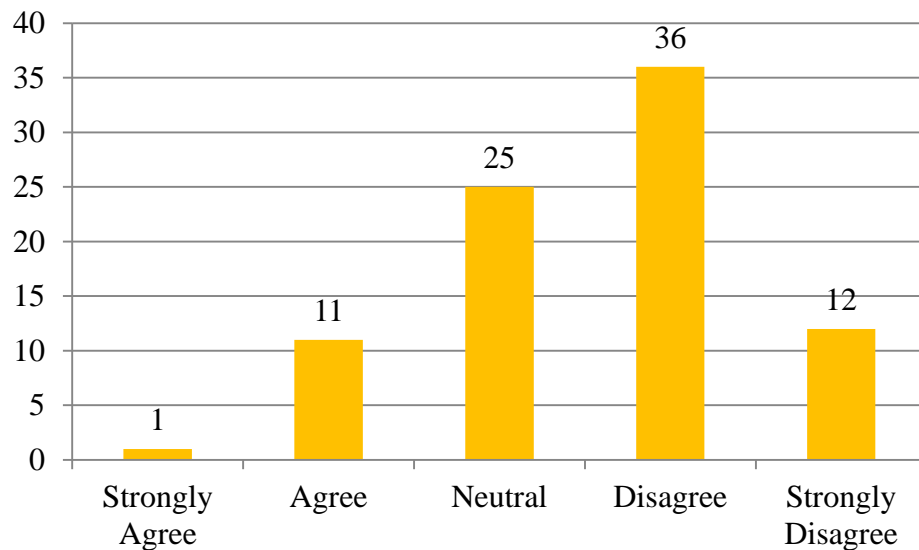
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| rights as well. It is not like mothers are greater and have more authority just because they had been pregnant before. Similarly, it is not like people become saints just because they brought their children up, so that children should always listen to them, and refrain from voicing their ideas. According to the law, it is parents' obligations to take care of and educate their children. Even when children grow up, become an adult, and no longer have legal custodians, parents have no right to ask their children to pay their money back, much less restricting children's freedom. If children fail to resist parents' conducts or fail to seek help from others, then children cannot be considered to be filial. |
| 79. To accompany parents. Not to do things that would make parents worry. |
| 80. Not to forget all the things parents did for their children. To treat parents well, and to requite their kindness back. |
| 81. To show consideration to parents, and respect their ideas. |
| 82. To accompany parents as much as possible, and to do house chores whenever children are available. Try to be dependable children when we grow up, and to look after parents when we grow up. |
| College students who regard their parents' parenting styles as Neglectful. |
| 83. To look after parents when they cannot look after themselves, just like how it is obligatory for parents to take care of their children. |

83 out of 85 respondents gave their definitions of filial piety. College students seem to hold similar values toward filial piety.

15. Do you agree that filial piety means submitting to the authority of parents?

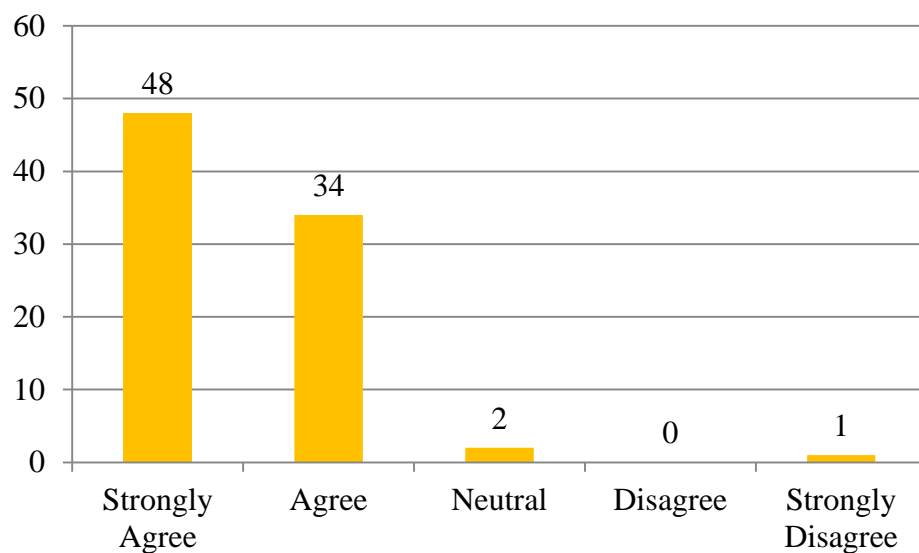
| | | |
|----------------|---|----|
| Strongly Agree | 1 | 1% |
|----------------|---|----|

| | | |
|-------------------|----|-----|
| Agree | 11 | 13% |
| Neutral | 25 | 29% |
| Disagree | 36 | 42% |
| Strongly Disagree | 12 | 14% |



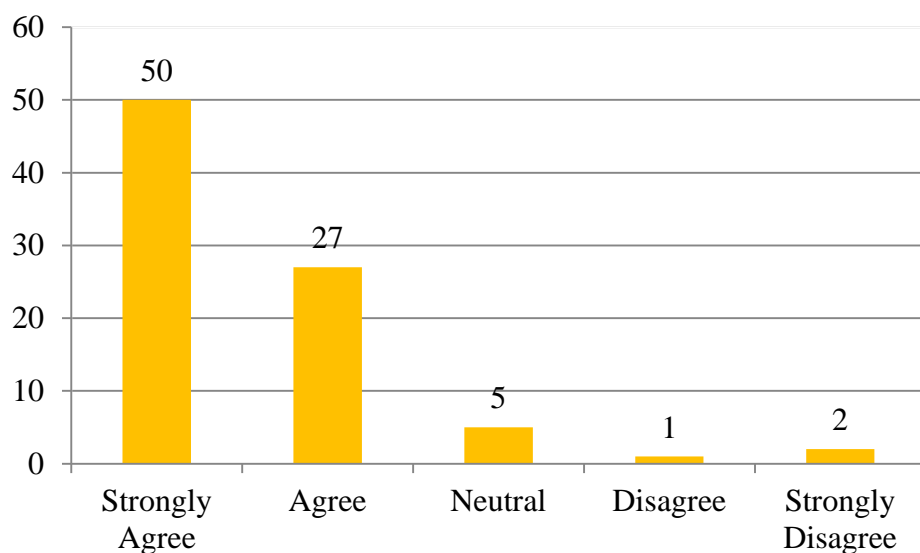
16. Do you agree that filial piety means showing care and support to parents?

| | | |
|-------------------|----|-----|
| Strongly Agree | 48 | 57% |
| Agree | 34 | 40% |
| Neutral | 2 | 2% |
| Disagree | 0 | 0% |
| Strongly Disagree | 1 | 1% |



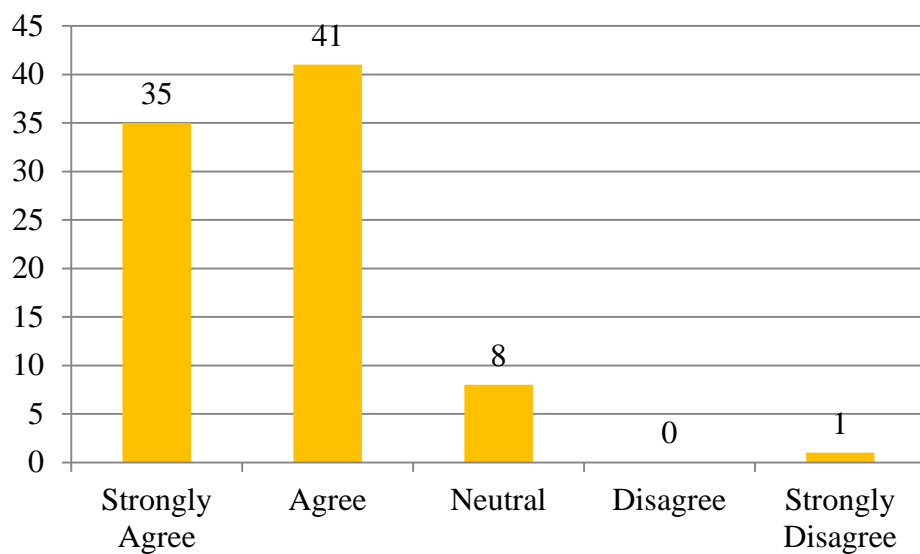
17. Do you agree that filial piety means showing gratitude to parents?

| | | |
|-------------------|----|-----|
| Strongly Agree | 50 | 59% |
| Agree | 27 | 32% |
| Neutral | 5 | 6% |
| Disagree | 1 | 1% |
| Strongly Disagree | 2 | 2% |



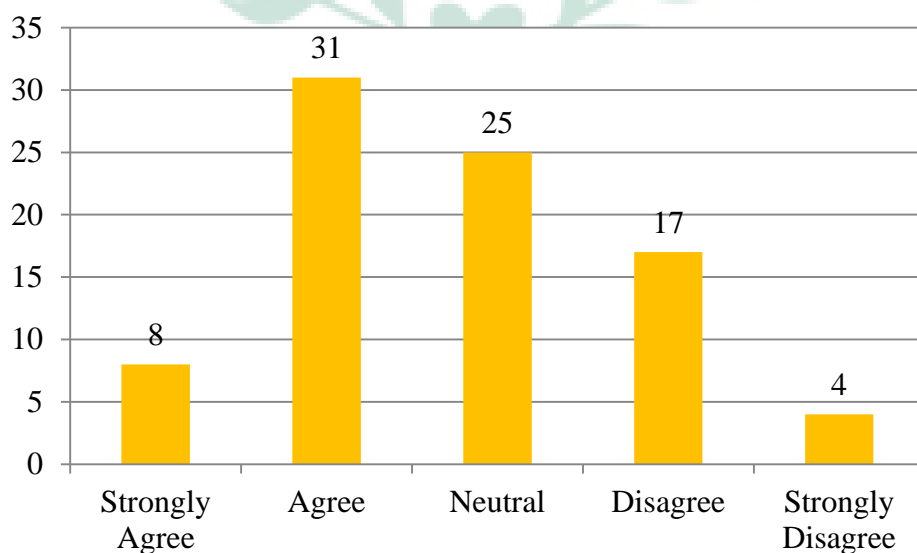
18. Do you agree that filial piety means attending to parents' needs?

| | | |
|-------------------|----|-----|
| Strongly Agree | 35 | 41% |
| Agree | 41 | 48% |
| Neutral | 8 | 9% |
| Disagree | 0 | 0% |
| Strongly Disagree | 1 | 1% |



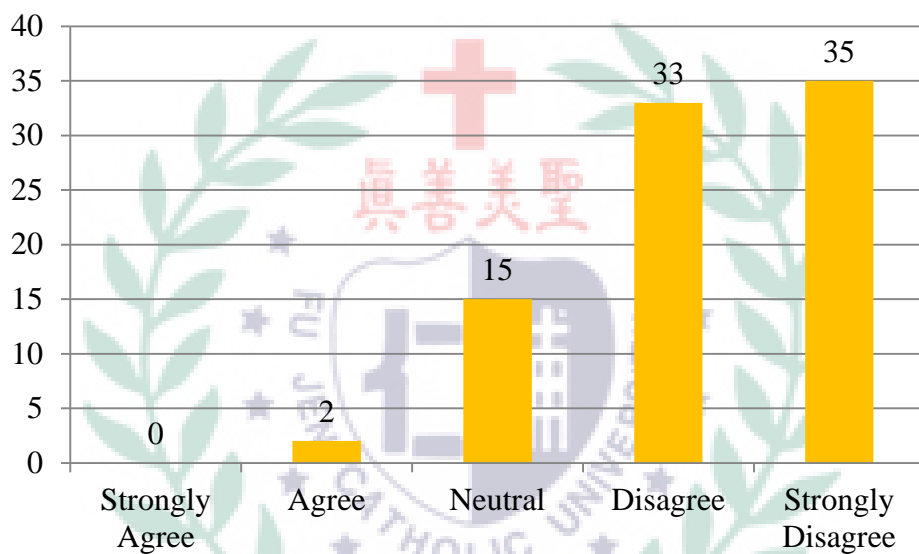
19. Do you agree with the statement that filial piety means saving parents' face?

| | | |
|-------------------|----|-----|
| Strongly Agree | 8 | 9% |
| Agree | 31 | 37% |
| Neutral | 25 | 29% |
| Disagree | 17 | 20% |
| Strongly Disagree | 4 | 5% |



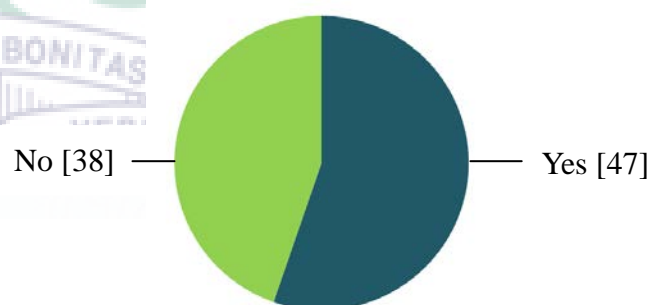
20. Do you agree that filial piety means showing complete obedience to parents?

| | | |
|-------------------|----|-----|
| Strongly Agree | 0 | 0% |
| Agree | 2 | 2% |
| Neutral | 15 | 18% |
| Disagree | 33 | 39% |
| Strongly Disagree | 35 | 41% |



21. Have you ever wondered what exactly filial piety means?

| | | |
|-----|----|-----|
| Yes | 47 | 55% |
| No | 38 | 45% |

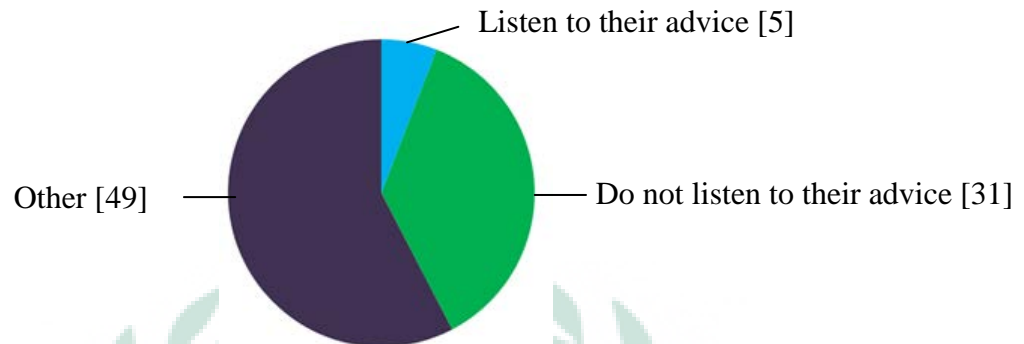


Over half of the respondents (55%) wondered about what filial piety means.

22. What will you do if your parents have plans about your future that differ from your own?

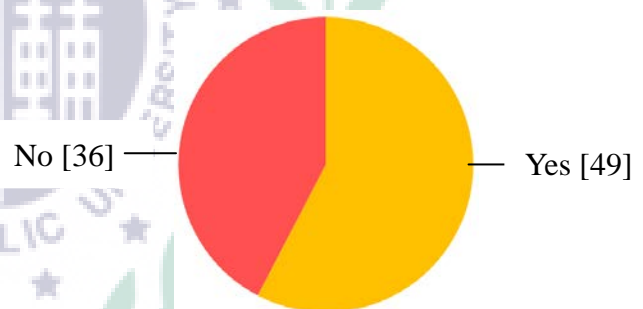
| | | |
|------------------------|---|----|
| Listen to their advice | 5 | 6% |
|------------------------|---|----|

| | | |
|-------------------------------|----|-----|
| Do not listen to their advice | 31 | 37% |
| Other | 49 | 58% |



23. Do your parents emphasize on the importance of filial piety in your family education?

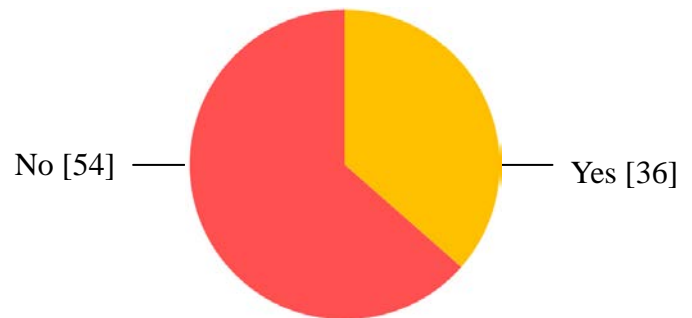
| | | |
|-----|----|-----|
| Yes | 49 | 58% |
| No | 36 | 42% |



Over half of the respondents (58%) answered that their parents emphasize on the importance of filial piety in their family education. It might mean that Taiwanese college students' perceptions of filial piety are mostly influenced by the education in their families. Still, 36 out of the 85 respondents think their parents do not emphasize on the importance of filial piety. This may indicate that filial piety is not the only and the most important value emphasized in Taiwanese college students' families.

24. Have you ever been scolded for not showing filial piety to your parents?

| | | |
|-----|----|-----|
| Yes | 31 | 36% |
| No | 54 | 64% |



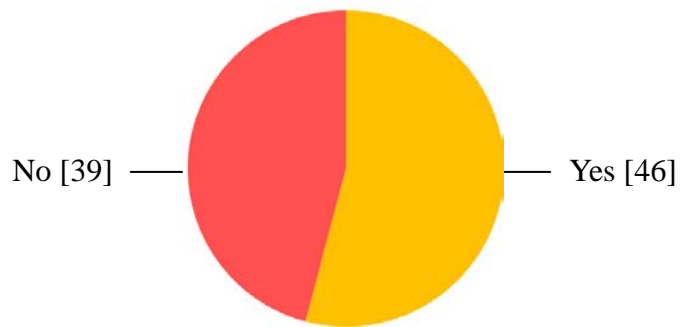
54 out of 85 respondents reported that they have never being scolded for not showing filial piety to their parents before.

25. What was it that you were being scolded about?

| |
|--|
| 1. Too many things. Whenever my parents get angry, they will say I am not filial. |
| 2. I get scolded for not being filial enough when I get high scores in tests and exams. |
| 3. For not being polite, and for not doing house chores. |
| 4. They will not directly scold me, but they will feel disappointed when I do not listen to them, retort back to them, do things that contradict them, and neglect their opinions. |
| 5. For retorting back to them, for not being hard-working on my studies, and for spending too much money. |
| 6. For retorting back to parents, for not doing house chores, and for not being economical enough. |
| 7. I am oftentimes being scolded for not being polite enough. For not being |
| |

26. Has your attitude towards toward filial piety ever changed throughout your life?

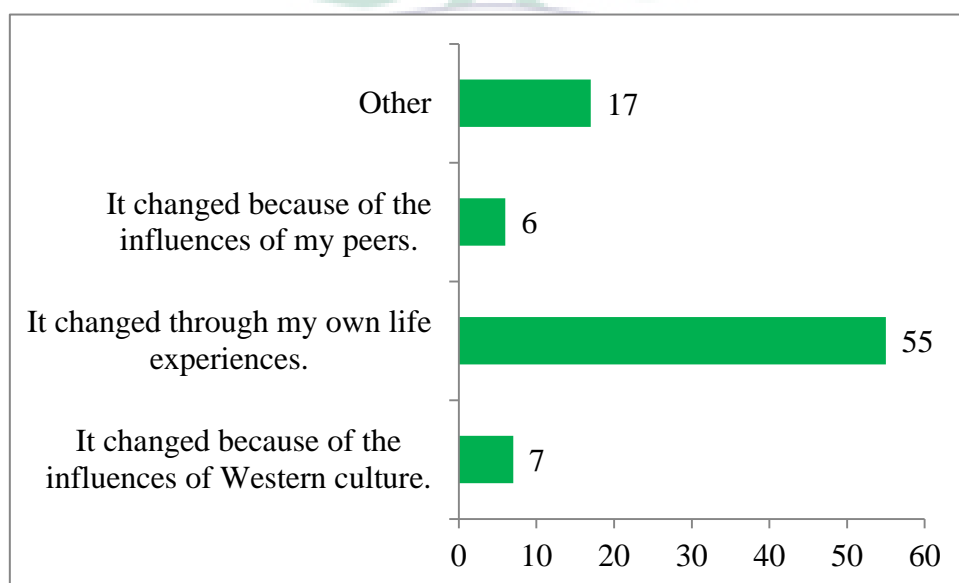
| | | |
|-----|----|-----|
| Yes | 46 | 54% |
| No | 39 | 46% |



54% of the respondents' attitudes toward filial piety have changed.

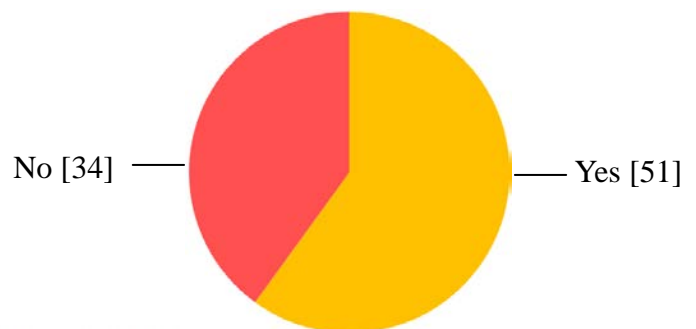
27. In which way has it changed?

| | | |
|--|----|-----|
| It changed because of the influences of Western culture. | 7 | 8% |
| It changed through my own life experiences. | 55 | 65% |
| It changed because of the influences of my peers. | 6 | 7% |
| Other | 17 | 20% |



28. Do your parents and you share the same values about filial piety?

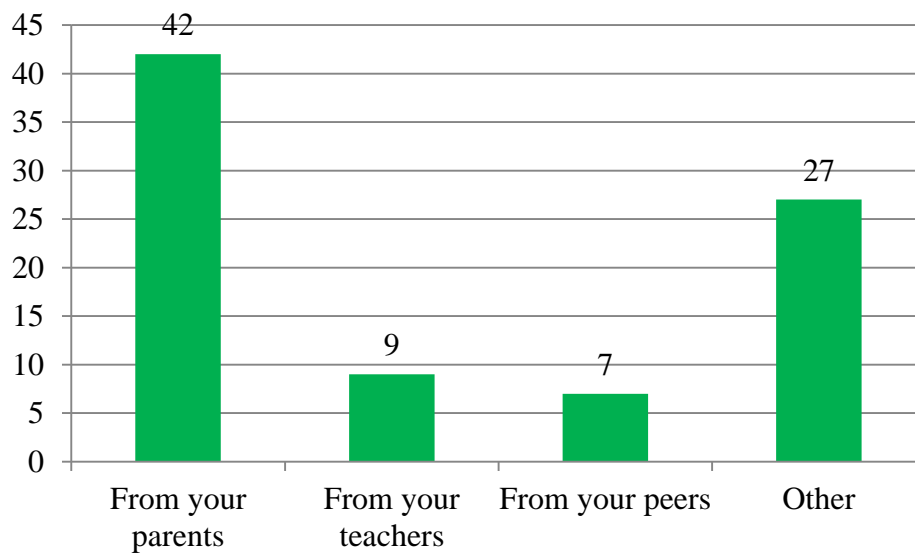
| | | |
|-----|----|-----|
| Yes | 51 | 60% |
| No | 34 | 40% |



Over half of the Taiwanese college students (60%) think their parents and them share the same values of filial piety. According to the previous questions where students are asked to rank how strongly they agree with the several statements of filial piety, most of the Taiwanese students disagree with the statements that filial piety means to show complete obedience to parents and that filial piety means to submit to the authority of parents. If there are 60% of the Taiwanese college students who think they share the same values of filial piety with their parents, it may indicate that both Taiwanese college students' and their parents' perceptions of filial piety are in a way, different from the traditional values of filial piety

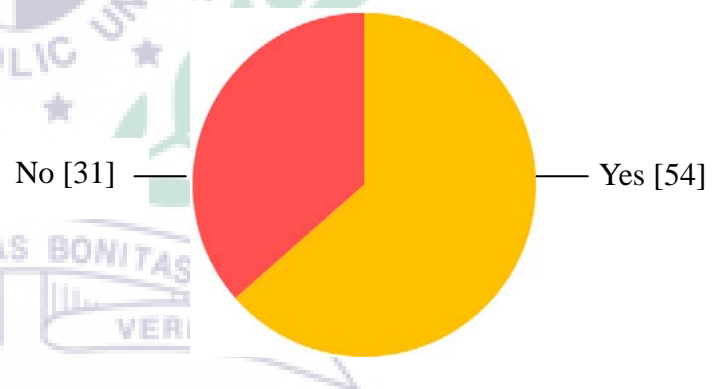
29. Where do your values of filial piety mostly come from?

| | | |
|--------------------|----|-----|
| From your parents | 42 | 49% |
| From your teachers | 9 | 11% |
| From your peers | 7 | 8% |
| Other | 27 | 32% |



30. Since filial piety somehow refers to how children treat their parents and how they maintain relationships with their parents, do you agree with the notion that it is the parents that can judge whether you are filial enough?

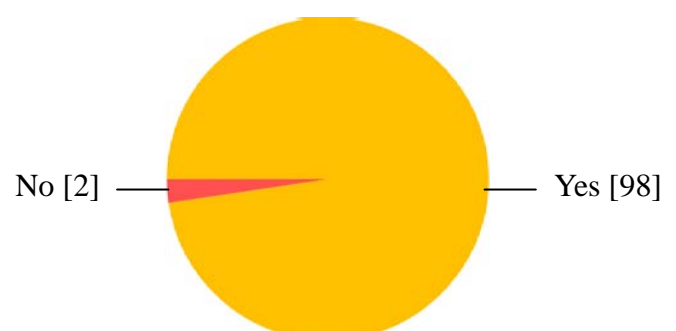
| | | |
|-----|----|-----|
| Yes | 54 | 64% |
| No | 31 | 36% |



Most of the respondents (64%) agree that parents can judge whether their children are filial enough. This may suggest that Taiwanese college students

31. Do you think filial piety is important?

| | | |
|-----|----|-----|
| Yes | 83 | 98% |
| No | 2 | 2% |



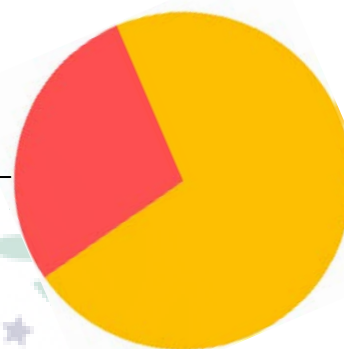
Almost all of the respondents (98%) agree that filial piety is important. This suggests that Taiwanese college students value this cultural concept, though some of their definitions of filial piety may be different from the definitions of filial piety in the past.

32. Do you owe your parents anything? (In terms of time, money, care, etc.)

| | | |
|-----|----|-----|
| Yes | 61 | 72% |
| No | 24 | 28% |

No [34]

Yes [61]



A majority of the Taiwanese college students (72%) think they owe something to their parents.

33. If yes, what do you think you owe your parents?

| |
|---|
| 1. My parents' kindness of taking care of me, and educating me. |
| 2. It is hard to explain in just a few words. |
| 3. Money and care. |
| 4. Care. |
| 5. Quality time. |
| 6. I find myself spending too little time with my parents. Or |

34. Have you ever had conflicts with your parents in high school?

| | | |
|-----|----|-----|
| Yes | 68 | 80% |
| No | 17 | 20% |



A majority of the respondents had encountered conflicts with their parents in high school before.

35. Have you ever had conflicts with your parents in college?

| | | |
|-----|----|-----|
| Yes | 53 | 62% |
| No | 32 | 38% |

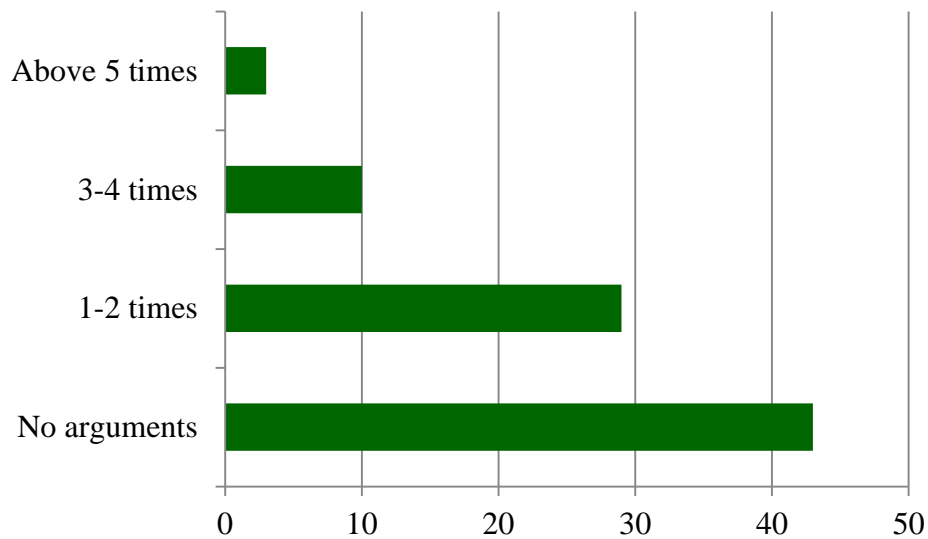


Over half of the respondents answer that they had conflicts with their parents in college.

36. How many times have you gotten into arguments with your parents in the past three months?

| | | |
|--------------|----|-----|
| No arguments | 43 | 51% |
| 1-2 times | 29 | 34% |
| 3-4 times | 10 | 12% |

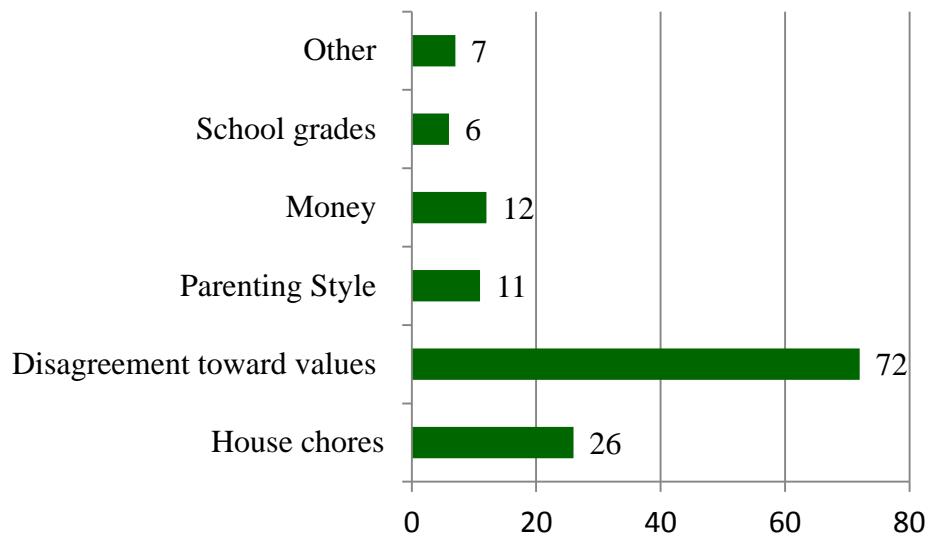
| | | |
|---------------|---|----|
| Above 5 times | 3 | 4% |
|---------------|---|----|



About half of the respondents answer that they have not gotten into conflicts with their parents in the past three months. 34% of the respondents answer that they have gotten into arguments with their parents once or twice.

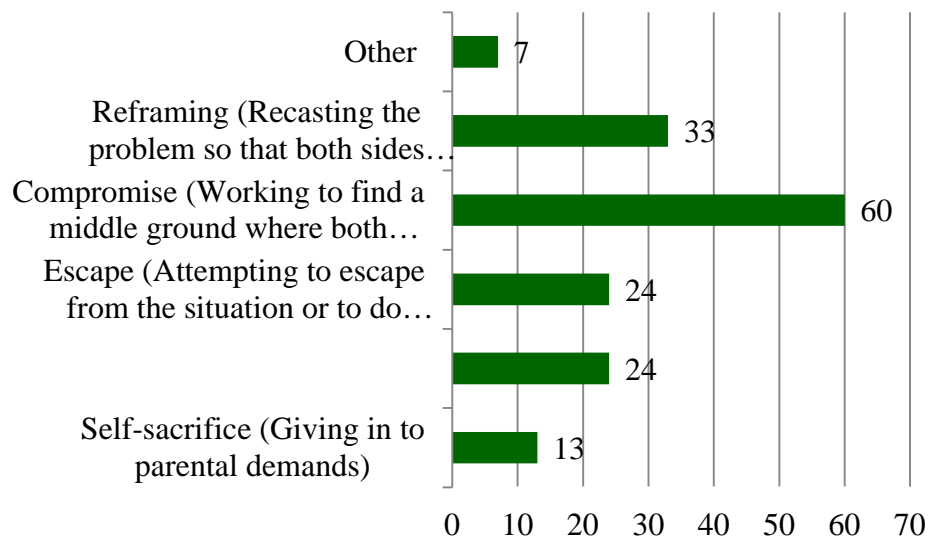
37. What types of conflicts do you often get into with your parents?

| | | |
|----------------------------|----|-----|
| House chores | 26 | 31% |
| Disagreement toward values | 72 | 85% |
| Parenting Style | 11 | 13% |
| Money | 12 | 14% |
| School grades | 6 | 7% |
| Other | 7 | 8% |



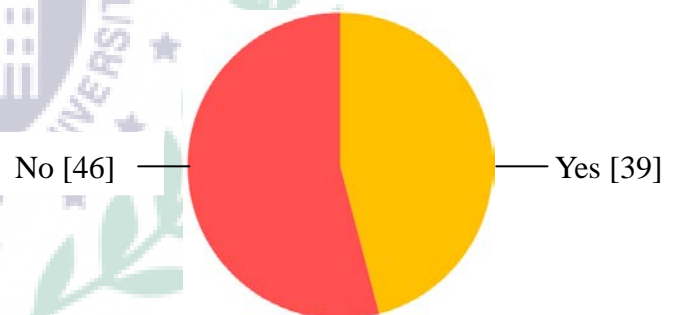
38. How are the conflicts being addressed between you and your parents?

| | | |
|---|----|-----|
| Self-sacrifice (Giving in to parental demands) | 13 | 15% |
| Egocentrism (Attempting to obtain the most advantages or least harm to yourself) | 24 | 28% |
| Escape (Attempting to escape from the situation or to do nothing because of a lack of ideas about how to resolve) | 24 | 28% |
| Compromise (Working to find a middle ground where both sides make some sacrifice) | 60 | 71% |
| Reframing (Recasting the problem so that both sides attain their goals and neither need sacrifice any demands) | 33 | 39% |
| Other | 7 | 8% |



39. Do you usually address family conflicts or problems according to your standards of filial piety?

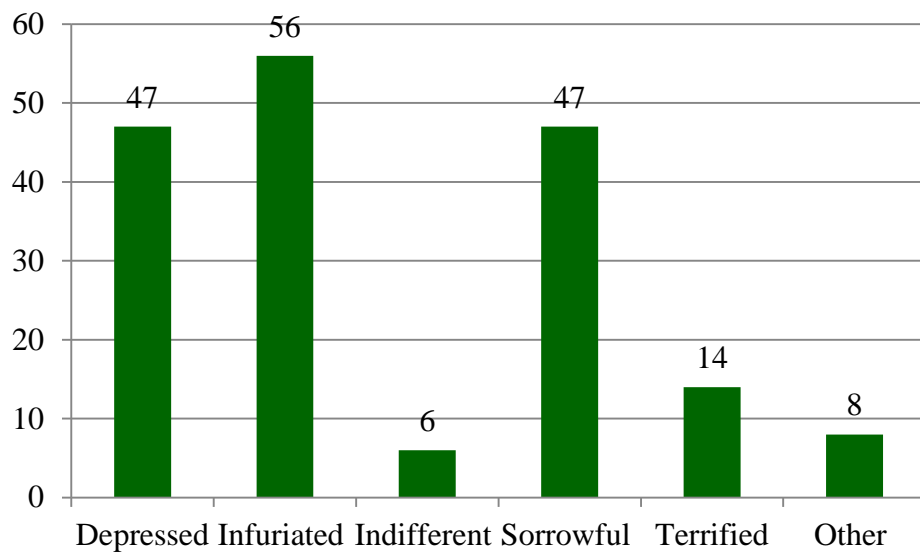
| | | |
|-----|----|-----|
| Yes | 39 | 46% |
| No | 46 | 54% |



40. How do you usually feel when you get into conflicts with your parents?

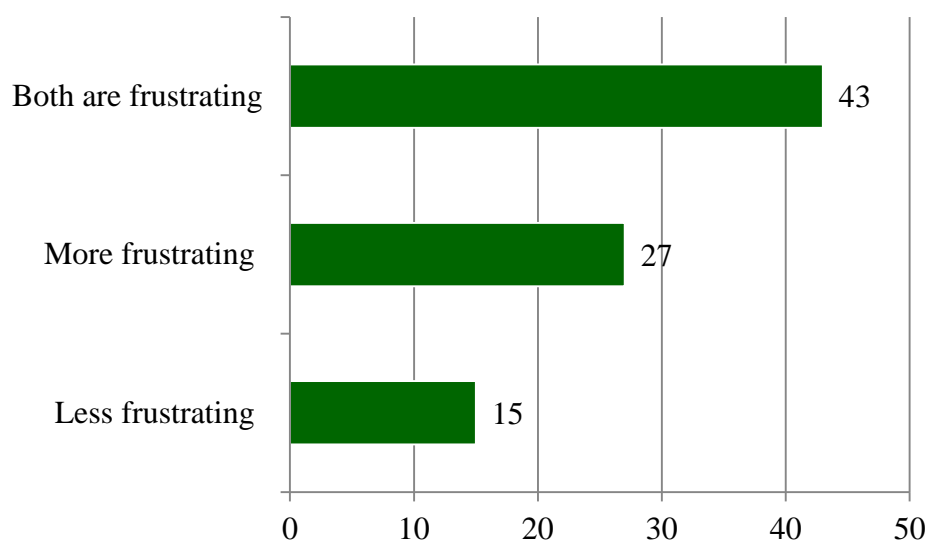
| | | |
|-------------|----|-----|
| Depressed | 47 | 55% |
| Infuriated | 56 | 66% |
| Indifferent | 6 | 7% |
| Sorrowful | 47 | 55% |
| Terrified | 14 | 17% |

| | | |
|-------|---|----|
| Other | 8 | 9% |
|-------|---|----|



41. Do you regard having conflicts with your parents less or more frustrating than having conflicts with your friends or peers?

| | | |
|----------------------|----|-----|
| Less frustrating | 15 | 17% |
| More frustrating | 27 | 32% |
| Both are frustrating | 43 | 51% |



Appendix D: Interview Transcript of Student A

(Student A regards her parents' parenting style as Authoritative.)

Q1. How do you define filial piety?

A1. I think it has to do with making parents happy and content.

Q1-1. What do you mean by making them happy?

A1-1. Keeping them pleased and, like, not let them worry and, or, like be angry or...

Q 1-2. You mean, like, to behave well?

A1-2. Yeah, that stands for behave well.

Q1-3. By making them happy, does this include satisfying their needs?

A1-3. What kind of needs? Do you mean physical needs, like feeding them?

Q1-3-1. Yes. Or if they feel angry or depressed, then you have to, like, calm them down.

A1-3-1. Feeding them I think has to do with their age. Like, if they're [they are] really old and sick, then feeding them would be a part of it. But if, like, for example, my parents, I'm pretty sure they can feed themselves. I think when my parents are upset, I don't think they tell me about it, though. So I think they can deal with their own emotions, at least in my family for now. I think they [my parents] will share their emotions with each other, but they won't share [their emotions] with me.

Q2. Do you agree that filial piety means submitting to the authority of parents?

A2. I don't think it's...you don't have to listen to them completely, but you have to at least respect them in a sense.

Q3. So when will you not listen to them? Under what conditions will you not listen to them?

A3. Basically, I would assume that if it was my child and I would be okay with it, then I would consider doing it my way. I will try to stand in their shoes. If it's not something that will upset them too much, or it's not something that's wrong, then I will just do it, and then tell them I did it. If I'm sure that they won't be super mad.

Q3-1. If they will be super, then you won't do it?

A3-1. If they will be super mad, then it's most likely that it's something that's bad or wrong, then I probably won't do it.

Q3-2. You said that you would stand in their shoes, but it depends on whether or not you would let your own children do it. So if it's feasible to you, I mean, if you think this action is okay, but your parents think it's not, then you still won't do it?

A3-2. I'll ask them about it. And they'll probably give me a reason, and if I find the reason convincing, then I'll just be convinced. If I don't understand their concerns, I'll tell them why I don't understand their concerns, and tell them what I think. And then usually we will convince each other.

Q4. Do you agree with the statement that filial piety means saving parents' face?

A4. In a sense, I think it's about respect, so it's not just about making them look good. It's [about] respecting them.

Q5. Do you agree that filial piety means showing complete obedience to parents?

A5. No, not complete obedience. Because I think in parent-child relationships, it's important to communicate. And parents don't always make the right decisions, especially like for my parents, I'm their first child, so they are first-time parents, too. So they might not always be right.

Q6. Do you think your parents' parenting styles influence your perceptions toward filial piety?

A6. Yes. I think it's the atmosphere in our family. Like my parents aren't very demanding, and we get along as friends, especially as I've gotten older. When I was younger, they were more strict [stricter], but as I grew up, they've become like friends. I can call them by their names and stuff, especially when they do something bad. They did something that's gonna [going to] upset the other person or something, and I'll just, like, 'What did you do?' Right, so I don't think in our family, filial piety is that big of an issue. Right.

Q7. Do you think your status between you and your parents influences your perceptions of

filial piety? Like, your relationship between you and your parents.

A7. Yeah, just like I mentioned.

Q8. Have you ever had conflicts with your parents when you were in college?

A8. I'm pretty sure I did. Yes! Yes, I think.

Q8-1. So what arguments did you and your parents get into?

A8-1. Usually about ideas and concepts. For example, I remember I asked my friend...Let me think...My uncle's friend was looking for a short-term employee, and he was asking me if I have friends who wanna [want to] take the job, and I have a friend whose friend was interested in the job. And my friend told me that his friend, this is getting complicated, his friend is like poor and he has some financial difficulties in his family, so he needs the job. And, I don't know that much, so I was unwilling to, like, tell my uncle, 'oh, he's good. You should hire him' or whatever. I think, because I don't know him, and I don't really trust that person, I'm not in the place to encourage the employer to hire him. I think it's only fair that, okay, so he's among other, you know, applicants so that, you know, the employer can decide himself who he wants to hire.

Q8-2. So you didn't know his financial situation?

A8-2. I've heard from the friend, but that's what I've heard, and he might not be, you know, a hundred percent sure. And then, cause [because] I told my mom about his financial situation, so she's like, 'Then you should just tell your uncle to hire him.' You know, she was really, hmm...I think as a mother, she was more compassionate to that person. But, I said I didn't want to do that, and then she was, like, I wasn't kind, I was mean. She was upset about it, and I was upset about her, cause [because] I was like, I don't wanna [want to] force anybody to do that, especially I don't know if he's good or bad. And she ended up calling my uncle herself. Yeah. So we fought over, kind of like an argument, over that situation.

Q8-3. Okay, I see, so how did this, was this argument solved?

A8-3. Um, solved. Cause [because] she called my uncle. Told him about it, and they did end

up hiring that person, and he ended up being kind of shitty. So, I proved that I was right.

Q8-4. During the negotiations with your mom, did both of you try to reach a point where both of you can compromise, or that you try to find a solution that will benefit you more, or do you just sacrifice your ideas, or you just escape from talking about this problem? How do you solve it?

A8-4. I think usually my dad will step up, and try to have us talk to each other. Both my mom and I, we have very similar personalities, and we are quite stubborn most of the time. So then my dad will step up and tell, you know, analyze the whole situation, and then he will usually like come to a conclusion or a compromise.

Q8-5. So you and your mom won't actually try to compromise?

A8-5. We will tell each other our thoughts, and then we will think that our thoughts are right.

Q8-6. So is that why she just called your uncle?

A8-6. Yeah. She still thinks she's right.

Q8-7. In this situation, there's not really a solution, I mean, because you're doing things differently.

A8-7. I think the main thing about the situation is that it doesn't really have to do with any of us. It's about another person. Right, so, to us, it's not that big of a deal to be solved.

Q8-8. But your idea toward hiring a person is different, right?

A8-8. Right. And she thinks I am [was] not compassionate, that's why she was mad.

Q9. Do you resolve conflicts according to your perception of filial piety? Why or why not?

A9. Hmm, I don't know. I don't think it's my perceptions. I think it's sometimes it's because they are my parents, and when they are really, hmm, when they insist on something, I can't really change that. Right. For example, I remember when I was younger, in high school or something. For example, I wanna [want to] pierce my ears, and my mom thought I was too young for that, so she wouldn't allow it, and so I couldn't do that. And for example, if I went out shopping and I bought shorts that were really short, and she was mad about it, she would

just cut it off. From that I would know that when she insists on something, I'm not gonna [going to] want to fight at it. Right.

Q9-1. So you understand clearly what would cross her line?

A9-1. Yeah, right.

Q9-2. So, does she say this beforehand? I mean about what would cross her line beforehand.

Or do you know this after you actually did something that crossed her line?

A9-2. I think it's through experience.



Appendix E: Interview Transcript of Student B

(Student B regards her parents' parenting style as Authoritative.)

Q1. How do you define filial piety?

A1. Hmm, I think filial piety means making my parents happy. But, I don't like the term filial piety. Because I think if you want to show that you have filial piety, then you have to "obey" your parents. And, sometimes obedience somehow means that there is a power-relation in between the two sides. Since, my parents and I don't have that kind of power relations between us, I won't use the term filial to describe my attitude towards my parents. I would rather hope that my parents and I have good relationships, just like friends.

Q1-1. What does it mean to make them happy? What are the things included in making them happy?

A1-1. I think, since a big part of parents' emotions fluctuate because of their children, making them happy includes how you make plans in your life, and whether or not you are doing meaningful things. However, like what I just said before, I don't like filial piety because there will be times when you have to do what they want you to do instead of what you really want to do so as to meet parents' expectations. So I think there will be problems regarding this kind of situation. And, filial piety also includes something about money. It's like, I think...wait, let me think for a moment. I think it's hard for me to talk about filial piety because I don't like this kind of concept, so I won't really think about it. So I do a lot of things [for my parents] out of sincerity. For example, I want to buy my mom a house in the future, like the more material and financial kind of support. And, hmm, I will also show my concerns to my mom and support her emotionally.

Q2. Do you agree that filial piety means submitting to the authority of parents?

A2. The answer seems to be yes if I just focus on the cultural concept and definition of filial piety itself.

Q2-1. What about you? Do you agree with this idea?

A2-1. Yes, I think filial piety means that power-relations exist between parents and their children, so I think if you are filial, then it means you will submit to the authority of your parents. Right.

Q2-2. So, do you think this concept is influenced by our culture?

A2-2. Yes, I think so, because it seems that in Asian countries...It's not really obvious in Taiwan, but it is obvious in China. They [people in China] will emphasize family relations, and children have to obey their parents, and if you want to be filial, you have to, uh, you must avoid conflict with your parents. Yeah, and they emphasize on "making peace and mediating rather than arguing and fighting." Because, from what I've heard from my roommate, she once wanted to apply for a restraining order towards her parents for the way her parents treated her. And she also called the police. Oh, and I've also heard from the news that there was a child who filed a lawsuit against her parents. But the case happened in a Western country, and it was adapted into the movie *The Sister's Keeper*. And, I think these kinds of events are likely to happen in Western countries, whereas in Eastern countries, the concept of "making peace instead of fighting" prevails more. So, when family conflicts occur, it is suggested that the children yield to their parents. It is also because, like, parents have showed their kindness to their children in every way. Children are under obligations of their parents, so that's why they have to yield to their parents in a fight.

Q3. Do you agree that filial piety means saving parents' face?

A3. Hmm, I think it depends on whether or not parents ask you to do so or whether or not they have this need. If they care much about their dignity, then I think children must listen to their parents and try not to embarrass them.

Q4. Do you agree that filial piety means showing complete obedience to your parents?

A4. Yes, I agree. I agree with this statement based on the [traditional] definition of filial piety. Right.

Q4-1. What about your own definition of filial piety?

A4-1. To me, I don't like the cultural concept of filial piety.

Q4-2. But will you still stick to this standard or concept [of filial piety] when you do things?

A4-2. Hmm, I can only say that I will want to treat my parents nicely. However, if my parents treated me badly, I would totally reject the [Chinese cultural] idea of filial piety.

Q5. Do you think your parents' parenting style influences your perceptions of filial piety?

A5. Yes. My parents parent me in a more friend-like way. My parents treat me more like a friend, and they respect my privacy very much. This is quite important. And when I do something wrong, they usually won't get mad at me right away, unless I've done it several times already. So, I think, hmm, it's [their parenting style is] more like interpersonal relationships, and this kind of parenting style has enabled me not to stick rigidly to the concept of filial piety. However, many of my relatives will say that I am filial to my parents, but I think that what I did shouldn't be regarded as filial. I simply just wanted to treat them well because they treated me well. Right. That's it.

Q6. Do you think your status between you and your parents influences your perceptions of filial piety?

A6. I suddenly realized that when I was answering the previous question, I was thinking about my mom. But, when it comes to my dad, there seems to be a little bit of a power-relationship [between us]. Right. Sorry, I didn't make myself clear. So, there is a power-relationship between my dad and I, because, uh, for example, I had hoped that, I had asked him if I could go abroad to study, and he rejected me right on the spot. So, there definitely is a power-relation between us. What was your question again?

Q6-1. Do you think your status between you and your parents influences your perceptions of filial piety?

A6-1. Hmm, since there is a gap that exists between my dad and my status in our family, I will feel...feel more oppressed. As for whether or not this influences my perceptions of filial piety, I would rather feel that I didn't really know how to get along with him, and, hmm,

didn't know how to be filial to him. Because I was still young at that time, I didn't have this kind of value. My dad had passed away, but even if you ask me to think about it now, I still think I can't come up with anything.

Q6-2. May I ask when did he pass away?

A6-2. He passed away when I was in the second grade of my senior high school.

Q6-3. So you did not have the chance to think about how to be filial to him?

A6-3. No, because I had to study and study in senior high, I didn't really think about how I will show filial piety to my parents in the future. However, after my father passed away, I wanted to treasure more of the relationship between my family.

A7. Have you ever had conflicts with your parents in senior high school?

Q7. Yes. I went through a rebellious stage in my senior high. And, hmm, at that time, hmm, I was very addicted to surfing the Net. But, at that time, what my parents did was, they just left me alone. Then, after sometime, I gradually detached myself from this addiction. Right. They allowed me to realize that I had a problem, and, later on when my parents and I thought about the past, they would sometimes make fun of me about it.

Q8. Have you ever had conflicts with your parents in college?

A8. No. Not when I am in college.

Q9. Okay, what arguments do you and your parents usually get into?

A9. Arguments about our different values. For example, there were quite a few stray cats in our neighborhood, and my grandma oftentimes liked to feed them. But my mom would despise those cats because she regarded them as domestic animals. When she saw those cats, she would try to chase them away, and she would say something degrading about them. In the beginning, I also considered those cats annoying and problematic, just like my mom did, since the cats would keep on begging for food from us. They would keep on meowing, and even after you fed them some food, they would growl at you. But afterwards, I gradually changed my attitude towards the cats after talking about them with my friends. Then, when

my mom and I came across this topic, I suggested her that we could adopt them, so that those cats wouldn't be stray cats. Whenever I brought this up, we would get into arguments, for she wouldn't allow me to adopt stray cats.

Q9-1. So you consider this to be a conflict between you and your mom?

A9-1. I think it's not really a conflict, but she just can't change her attitude towards these stray cats. After this event, I would try to tell her that it's not their fault that they are stray cats. If they had a chance, stray cats wouldn't want to live lives like they do now. And, I would try to change her way of thinking slowly, but I wouldn't just start up a serious fight with her.

Q10. How was this conflict solved?

A10. Every now and then, I will tell my mom about my values both in a deliberate way and in a direct way.

Q10-1. So how was this conflict being solved back at that time?

A10-1. It's more like I obeyed her not to adopt stray cats.

Q11. Do you resolve conflicts according to your perception of filial piety?

A11. No, I don't think so, especially when we encounter conflicts concerning our different values. For example, when we are watching news on TV, my mom will comment on them, and sometimes, I will say something different about her comments. We will often end up kind of, like, debating. However, in the end, because some of the news weren't that relevant to us, we would just make our own comments. If we happen to talk about these issues sometime later, we would discuss about them further.

Q11-1. So you don't think you resolve conflicts with your parents according to your perception of filial piety?

A11-1. No, I think normally people won't force you to agree with their ideas and values.

Q12. How are the problems or conflicts usually solved? How do conflicts usually end?

(Egocentrism, Self-sacrifice, Reframing, Escape, or Compromise) Will you sacrifice your own goals and opinions? Will both of you make some compromise? Will you try to escape

from the situation, or will you solve conflicts according to your own benefits? Or, will you try to find a solution where both sides can benefit?

A12. I think it depends on the situations we're in. Sometimes she compromises, and sometimes I compromise.

Q13. Do your parents and you share the same values about filial piety?

A13. I'm not sure. We haven't talked about this, but according to how my mom treated my grandma, I think we share the same values of filial piety. Both of us treat our parents with care and sincerity, and show our support to them.

Q14. Where do your values of filial piety mostly come from?

A14. From my relatives, cause [because] they will also say that I'm filial.

Q14-1. How do you know that you are filial? Is it because you did something, and then your relatives complimented you on your behavior, so you gained the value of filial piety?

A14-1. Yeah.

Q15. Do you do things according to your standards of filial piety?

A15. Do you mean if one of my friends was fighting with his or her parents, would I suggest some solutions to him or her?

Q15-1. Yes, this counts as well.

A15-1. No. When I heard about the conflicts that happened between my roommate and her parents, I think that her mom's values were far too unacceptable, so I think she should learn to protect herself and her own rights. Therefore, when I was making suggestions to her, I wouldn't consider turning to filial piety as a standard, for I think she had tried her best at being her mother's daughter. So I think she doesn't owe her parents anything.

Q16. Do you value filial piety?

A16. Do I value filial piety? Hmm, I'd say I value how my mom and I interact, but I don't know whether or not this means I value filial piety. Because I think a status-relation exists in the concept of filial piety, I would try not to let this status-relation interfere with our

relationship. This goes the same with my mom. And, since I have a great mom, I will be very filial to her. However, there is not a sense of a status-relation in how I show filial piety.

Q17. What happens when your values of filial piety differ from those of your parents'?

A17. I will discuss the issue seriously with my mom, and then find the best solutions to all of us, rather than insisting on our own values. For example, my sister has applied to study at The Department of History at Taiwan Normal University recently, and she was admitted. But both my mom and I think it's useless to study history. Right, I'm trying to change my attitude towards this, but at that time, I thought there was little opportunity for someone who majors in history to find a good job. So my sister and my mom had kind of gotten into a fight. And my mom tried to get me as her ally in an attempt to persuade my sister not to major in history. When the conflict occurred, both my sister and I stated our own opinions. But in the end, I didn't force her not to study what she wanted. So, in the end, my mom and I compromised with my sister. Of course, when we were stating our opinions, we would try to make suggestions that would likely benefit her. But if my sister knows what is good for her, we will let her make her own decisions.

Q17-1. Will you adjust your perceptions of filial piety to meet those of your parents', if you and they hold different values?

A17-1. Well, I think it's a no, because our values are the same.

Q17-1-2. I mean, if you and parents don't hold the same values, what will you do?

A17-1-2. Nope, I think not.

Q18. Have your perceptions of filial piety ever changed in your life?

A18. No.

Q19. Have you ever wondered what filial piety means? Why?

A19. Not until I did your questionnaire.

Q19-1. Is it because you were brought up this way, that's why your value of filial piety hasn't changed?

A19-1. Yes.

Q20. What will you do if your parents accuse you of lacking filial piety according to their perceptions of filial piety?

A20. That would be a very difficult decision to make. Err, I don't know, I haven't encountered this kind of problem before, so I don't know.

Q21. Since filial piety somehow refers to how children treat their parents and how they maintain a relationship with their parents, do you agree with the notion that it is the parents who can judge whether or not you are filial enough? Why?

A21. Hmm, I think they would have their own values of filial piety, but I would also have my own standard of filial piety. If I didn't have the ability to buy a house for them, and they thought that I was not filial because of this, then this would not be reasonable. I definitely disagree that they could judge whether or not I am filial enough, because what they saw was just a part of me, just a portion of what I could or couldn't give them. They would just see what I couldn't give them, but they wouldn't see how much effort I had made. And hmm, if I did something they think unacceptable, but if it was acceptable to most people in society, then I would also think that my parents wouldn't have the right to judge whether I was filial or not, because what I did was right.

Q22. Do you owe your parents anything, in terms of time, money, and care?

A22. Yes, I owe them many things. I would try to make them happy for everything I owe them. I would try to do things to make them happy, and it could be just trivial things.

Q23. Has the concept of filial piety ever influenced you negatively?

A23. No.

Appendix F: Interview Transcript of student C

(Student C regards her parents' parenting style as Authoritarian.)

Q1. How do you define filial piety?

A1. As I mentioned in the questionnaire, I would like to quote what my teacher said in class about Hu Shi [a Chinese writer]. Hu Shi once said that he hoped people wouldn't regard his son as filial, because, usually, only terrible parents could make their children look filial. Like, for example, if you are a filial person, but you live in a wealthy family where your parents treat you nicely, and allow you to decide whatever you want to do in the future, then people can't actually know whether or not you are filial enough. And, he also said that those historical people who were famous for their filial deeds usually had terrible parents; in this way, their filial piety could be developed to its utmost. So Hu Shi said that he didn't want his son to be filial. To me, I think, if you want to be filial, you should at least follow what Confucius said. He [Confucius] believed that filial piety isn't about doing what parents tell you to do, but it's about trying to persuade your parents and talk about your ideas with them when they want you to do something you don't want to do. And, if you fail to persuade them, you still have to do what you want to do. Like, you have to, for example, your parents wanted you to be a doctor, but what you actually wanted to be was a lawyer. If you listened to your parents and gave up your dream to become a lawyer, then you would be making your parents into heartless people. This also means that you allowed them to do something bad.

Q1-1. What if your parents thought what they believe and do was right?

A1-1. Well, their intentions might mean to be well in the first place, like, they might try to think about what would benefit you, but, it's like, I think if you sacrificed your values because of your parents, you would kind of, like, make yourself to be a sacrificial offering. Then I would think you would be degrading and humiliating your existence. I think everyone has their own autonomy in life. If you just regarded your own life as some sacrificial offering, not as a life anymore, but more like an object, then you were just born to realize your parents'

dreams. I think you would be acting like a criminal, and this in turn would also make your parents commit a crime.

Q2. Do you agree that filial piety means submitting to the authority of parents? Why or why not?

A2. No. It's like, I think just like what I have said, you will make yourself into an offering if you think filial piety means submitting to your parents' authority. You will become a machine just to realize their dreams. Therefore, you are, in a way, degrading yourself and degrading the value of your life. If you have become a machine that carries out what your parents tell you to do, then I think there's no point in discussing whether or not you are filial or not, because you are just an object.

Q3. In your opinion, why does filial piety exist in Taiwanese or Chinese culture?

A3. Hmm, I think it's because there were monarchial powers in the past, and those monarchs believed and emphasized that there are always people like sovereigns who have higher statuses than others do. No matter how hard those with lower statuses try, they cannot change their statuses. And I think monarchs had given an immense power to patriarchal systems at that time. I think monarchs kind of played the roles of model students, and gave patriarchal power a demonstration and belief that there will always be people out there who are more powerful, and you can't change this. I think a patriarchal system modeled what monarchs did. What's more, in my classes, I learned that the *Confucian Analects* [a Chinese classic] was supposed to be a book for people to read so as to reflect on themselves. However, during the Sung dynasty, people started to read the *Confucian Analects* not in a way to examine themselves, but to examine whether or not others had behaved well accordingly. And I think this change was influenced by patriarchy. Only patriarchs would examine others. Like Zhu Xi [Confucian writer and propagandist, founder of neo-Confucianism] and like foot-binding for women in the past. In the past, men wouldn't try to be good husbands; instead, they would ask women to obey the female virtues. And, they would list the virtues women had to follow, and

ask women to follow them. They would never ask themselves to be good husbands. At that time, in the Sung, Ming, and Qing dynasties, people valued this social conduct highly. And, I also think this type of social conduct in the past made patriarchy more powerful.

Q3-1. Do you believe that patriarchy is equivalent to parents' authority?

A3-1. Yes, I think patriarchy means parents' authority in some way, but it is usually referred to as the power of men. Although mothers play a major role in parenting, fathers are usually the ones who make important decisions. Usually fathers are more powerful than mothers.

Q4. Do you agree with the statement that filial piety means saving parents' face?

A4. Hmm, I think it depends on the situations. For example, suppose your parents are scolding your brother or whoever it is unreasonably. If you just address their chastisements by nodding and yes-ing so as to save their faces, you will only let your parents repeat the same mistakes.

Q5. Do you think your parents' parenting style influences your perceptions of filial piety?

A5. When I was little, yes. After I grow up now, I personally think my parents barely influence me. But, it was quite obvious that I was really influenced by my parents when I was little.

Q6. Have you ever had conflicts with your parents in high school?

A6. Yes, especially after I was in junior high school. I wasn't allowed to go out with my friends both in elementary school and in junior high school. My parents were really strict about this. There was once when I went out with my friend to eat at the Mc Donald's. My friends called me, and asked me if I wanted to go to the Mc Donald's with them. At that time, my parents were taking a nap. So, I thought to myself, "If I tell my parents about this, they won't allow me to go anyway. So I must take this opportunity to sneak out. Afterwards, I will just tell them that 'I couldn't ask for your permission because you were sleeping. That's why I went out.'" However, after I came back home, my parents were so angry that they nearly got me transferred to another school. They interrogated me by asking how I could go out of the house without asking for their permission first. And I was like, 'Mc Donald's is just a few

blocks away from our house. What's the big deal?' However, since that Mc Donald branch was in a Xi-Meng-Ting-like neighborhood [a crowded and noisy pedestrian area with many clubs, pubs, restaurants, and stores.], my parents assumed that my friends and I would play cards or Mahjong [a kind of board game which usually involves gambling]. When I replied that we were not even interested in playing cards, my parents just didn't listen to me, and kept on saying that I would definitely do it if I was with a group of friends. Then my parents called my homeroom teacher, asked for all my classmates' phone numbers, and then called everyone. For each phone call, my parents talked to a classmate first, and then talked to his or her parents. My parents even made a list, and checked if they had talked to my classmates and their parents. They would put a check in each of the boxes on the list.

Q6-1. So what did they [your parents] talk about?

A6-1. It's like, they asked them [my classmates and their parents] 'don't you think it's rude not to inform us before you asked my daughter out for dinner?' Something like that.

Q6-1-2. Why did your parents call your classmates starting from the top of the phone number list?

A6-1-2. Because they didn't know whom I go out with, that's why they called everyone.

Q6-1-3. You didn't tell your parents who you went out with?

A6-1-3. I didn't tell them because I thought my parents were just very angry that I didn't tell them I was going out. But they were actually very angry also because of the fact that other classmates did not treat them [my parents] with respect and did not treat them like parents at all. They think it's only reasonable to ask for someone's parents' permission first, before asking someone out. Oh, and I also remembered that I nearly got transferred to another school at that time. It was because I was almost about to graduate that they [my parents] didn't make me transfer.

Q7. How was the conflict being resolved?

A7. Well, it hadn't been solved actually, because they think it was not worthy for me to

transfer to another school when I was almost about to graduate from junior high. Then, it just ended like this.

Q7-1. What about the way you communicated with your parents at that time? How did you try to resolve the conflict during this event?

A7-1. Well since I was still a kid, I was very angry at that time. I also didn't try to talk to them in a nice tone. I just talked to them in a direct way. When I grow up, I tried to talk more deliberately and mildly; but they don't seem to want to listen to me. It's like, when we are discussing about something, and our ideas towards it are different. We won't be able to finish this discussion in just a couple of minutes. I'll have to start from the part where our values are different, and then slowly move on to other parts of the discussion. Otherwise, it would be very weird if I just start the conversation by saying that their ideas are wrong without giving them enough reasons. However, both of my mom and dad, they think that they have more life experience than I do, and that they have seen and underwent almost everything. Therefore, they think nothing will be beyond their imaginations. As a result, whenever I say something that contradicts with their values and ideas, they would say that I'm making excuses, for nothing should be different from their values. Moreover, they seldom listen to me talk for more than 6 or 7 seconds. When I try to say something about my own ideas, they will say something like, 'There's no grey zone in between anything. If something's right, then it's right. If something's wrong, then it's wrong. Why are you making it complicated?' I think when two sides have totally different opinions towards something, it would be quite hard to communicate with each other. So they [my parents] just can't accept this kind of situations.

Q7-1-1. In this case, how was the problem solved?

(Egocentrism, Self-sacrifice, Reframing, Escape, or Compromise)

A7-1-1. I think my parents wanted me to compromise at that time, but I kind of escaped the problem, since there wasn't anything I could do. As for other conflicts my parents and I encountered, my parents would oftentimes make me compromise.

Q8. Have you ever had conflicts with your parents in college?

A8. Yes, but only trivial ones. Also, since I seldom go home, there won't be that many conflicts for us to get into.

Q9. Do you have any siblings?

A9. Yes. I have a younger brother.

Q9-1. Are you the oldest child in your family?

A9-1. Yes.

Q10. Do you resolve conflicts according to your standards of filial piety?

A10. Hmm, when I was little, I always thought it was my fault that conflicts occur between my parents and me. They told me that whatever they say is right. Therefore, when I did things my way instead of their [my parents'] way, I would feel guilty. And I often wondered if I was a very bad person, for sometimes I just couldn't do what they said. However, when I grow up, I started to think this shouldn't be my problem. In my opinion, not just because you are older than I am, I have to pay more respect to you. Instead, we should respect people regardless of their ages. For some people, they will say that since they are elders, people should show more respect to them. However, this shouldn't be the case. For example, if a child has a high sense of morality, and is very talented, people should respect him or her. Respect isn't a word especially made for the elders. If you are worth others' respect, then you deserve the respect.

Q11. Do your parents and you share the same values about filial piety? If no, how will you know whether you are filial enough?

A11. No. Well, it's hard to say whether or not you are filial enough. I might think that I have fulfilled the standards of filial piety, but my parents might think I have not. Therefore, I would only ask myself to meet my own standards of filial piety. As for whether or not I am filial enough to my parents, I think it takes time to know.

Q12. Would you do things according to your standards of filial piety?

A12. Yes, I would.

Q 12-1. Any examples?

A12-1. Hmm, I can't think of any now. After I come to Taipei to study, I seldom go back home. My parents always claim that they want to talk to me and listen to my thoughts, but I...whenever we were discussing something, I just didn't see that they were really listening to me and trying to understand me. What's more, I think my parents just wanted me to compromise with them whenever we were having some discussions. And that's not communication.

Q13-1. Will your parents listen to your opinions first, and then ask you to listen to them?

A13-1. I think when they say they want to 'communicate with me,' they only want to catch me in my own words or try to see if there are any illogical sentences in my utterances. Then they will refute what I say. They won't care about what I want or ask. I don't think they ever made changes in how they treat my younger brother and me. It is always them asking my brother and me to change. I think they don't care about any of the contents I say when we 'communicate.'

Q14. Do you value filial piety?

A14. Hmm, it's hard to answer, because I don't really have a concrete idea or definition of filial piety. Like I said earlier [in the interview], I think filial piety should be like what Confucius said. But still, I'm also not completely sure if it is right. Therefore, I'm not really sure if I am able to answer your question.

Q15. Okay. Has your perceptions of filial piety ever changed in your life?

A15. Yeah, and I have always been thinking about the definition of filial piety.

Q16. What happens when your values of filial piety differ from those of your parents'? Will you adjust your perceptions of filial piety to meet theirs?

A16. No, I won't.

Q17. What will you do if your parents accuse you of lacking filial piety according to their perceptions of filial piety?

A17. I am often being accused of lacking filial piety by my parents, so I think it won't affect me much.

Q18. Since filial piety somehow refers to how children treat their parents and how they maintain a relationship with their parents, do you agree with the notion that it is the parents who can judge whether or not you are filial enough? Why?

A18. Hmm, no, I don't agree with this, for I think, hmm, this is kind of like judging a student good or bad only from his or her grades. One might have made a lot of efforts in preparing for a test, but in the end, he or she just did not do well. The teacher wouldn't know how hard one had tried. However, if the teacher just regarded the student as not hard-working upon seeing one's score, it wouldn't be fair. Similarly, I think parents would only see a part of how you behave. However, if your parents just judge you filial or not partially from the way you behave, and from the things you do for them, then I think it is not really right. They may not really understand you. Secondly, their values may be different from yours and may not be totally right. Sometimes when you do things for your parents out of good intention, your parents may not appreciate them. Similarly, we may feel the same thing towards our parents as well. Therefore, I think parents cannot judge whether their children are filial enough or not.

Q19. If your parents are sick, but they refuse to take the medicine which the doctor prescribed for them, will you make them do so? You know that taking the medicine will cure the sickness, but your parents just don't want to take them. What will you do?

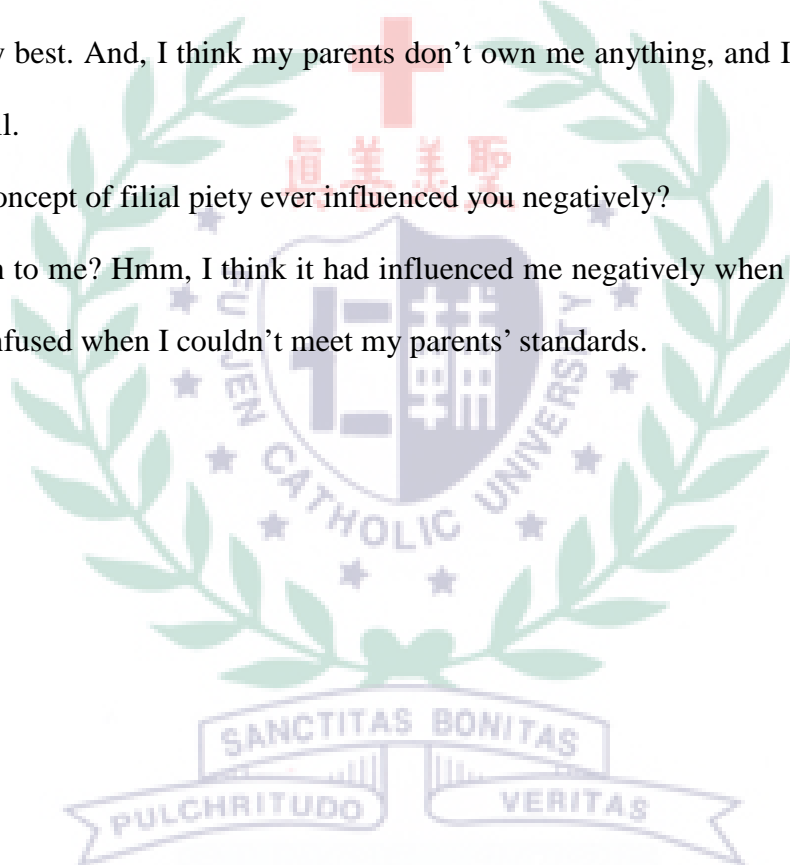
A19. Hmm, I will try my best to tell them why the doctor had prescribed the medicine for them, and the effects of the medicine. I will also inform them about what may happen if they don't take the medicine. If my parents still insist that they won't take the medicine, then I won't force them to do so. I think by forcing them to take the medicine, I am not respecting them. If I force them to do so, I will be overlooking my parents' human rights.

Q20. Do you owe your parents anything?

A20. Hmm, no. Because I think I haven't done anything harmful to them. I can't think of anything I did that makes me regret or what. In addition, I don't owe them anything because I have the dominion of my life. I respect my life, so I'm not my parent's belonging. As for the things my parents did to me in the past, I think even though what they did may be wrong, a part of the reason has to do with how they were brought up. Like, they must have lived with their values for a long time. Therefore, I think instead of blaming on them, I will try my best to let them know my thoughts and ideas. Even though they may not want to listen to me, I will still try my best. And, I think my parents don't own me anything, and I don't own them anything as well.

Q21. Has the concept of filial piety ever influenced you negatively?

A21. You mean to me? Hmm, I think it had influenced me negatively when I was little, for I felt sad and confused when I couldn't meet my parents' standards.



Appendix G: Interview Transcript of student D

(Student D regards his parents' parenting style as Authoritative.)

Q1. How do you define filial piety?

A1. My definition of filial piety is to respect parents. Respectfulness is very important.

Q2. Do you agree that filial piety means submitting to the authority of parents?

A2. Well, to respect them is one thing. Since they are our parents, we must show a certain amount of respect to them. However, this doesn't mean their authorities are always right. Sometimes, we may not totally agree with their authorities. So, I think it depends on the situations and also how we get along with our parents.

Q3. Do you agree with the statement that filial piety means saving parents' face?

A3. Hmm, yes. For example, if I am at a family reunion dinner, and my dad happens to say something aggressive or something that's not necessarily right, I will save his face by nodding along with him, instead of pointing out his wrongness. Since people make mistakes, I think for situations like a family reunion, it's better to save parents' faces so as not to make them feel embarrassed in front of others. This is a way of showing filial piety. You know.

Q4. Do you agree that filial piety means showing complete obedience to parents?

A4. I think it should be finding a middle ground between the two sides. And, if there are disagreements between the two sides, then it's better that both sides try to understand each other.

Q5. Do you think your parents' parenting style influences your perceptions of filial piety?

A5. It's more like the way my parents treat their parents will influence how I understand filial piety. I will have certain standards of how I will treat my parents. After observing my own parents, I will learn from them, and know what is appropriate and what is not. Filial piety shouldn't be a set of rules imposed on children. Instead, it should be something we learn from in our daily lives.

Appendix H: Interview Transcript of student E

(Student E regards her parents' parenting style as Authoritative.)

Q1. How do you define filial piety?

A1. My definition of filial piety is to love my parents, respect my parents, and also to show concerns to them.

Q2. Do you agree that filial piety means submitting to the authority of parents?

A2. I think not necessarily. Parents may not be right all the time, and I think disagreeing with parents authority doesn't mean one is not filial. It's better if we look at things rationally.

Q3. Do you agree with the statement that filial piety means saving parents' face?

A3. I think so. Since my definition of filial piety includes showing respect to parents, saving my parents' face is a way of showing respect.

Q4. Do you agree that filial piety means showing complete obedience to parents?

A4. I think filial piety includes obeying parents, but not completely obeying them.

Q5. Do you think your parents' parenting style influences your perceptions of filial piety?

A5. I think family and school education influence my perceptions of filial piety.

