

Tiger mother and her cubs on a stage: ‘Tiger’ parenting style and its effects in *Listen to Me*

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ABSTRACT

Ever since the publication of Amy Chua’s memoir, *Battle Hymn of The Tiger Mother*, in 2011, Asian or Asian-heritage parenting has received more time under the limelight both in and out of the United States. More attention is given to the effects of that particular parenting style on the children’s academic achievement and wellbeing. A publication of Petra Little Theatre’s New Play Development Series indicates that the issue also hits a nerve among contemporary Indonesian playwrights. This paper is interested in finding out how *Listen to Me* (LTM), a play by Bernadeth Febyola Linando, portrays Tiger Mother parenting style and its impact on the children. Upon analyzing the play using the conceptual framework of parenting styles and their impacts, this paper argues that LTM displays a typical Tiger Mother parenting similar to Chua’s with a slight difference, and it shows mainly negative results of such parenting on the main character, and, on the side, some positive results on two other supporting characters.

Keywords: Tiger Mother; parenting style; impact on children; play; drama; new play.

INTRODUCTION

Ever since Amy Chua’s memoir, *Battle Hymn of The Tiger Mother*, hit the bookstands in 2011, Asian or Asian-heritage parenting has been on the radar more than usual in the United States and beyond. Academically, more attention is given to such parenting style and its effects on the children’s academic achievement and wellbeing, e.g. Deater-Deckard, 2013; Kohler, Aldridge, Christensen & Kilgo, 2012; Kohler, Kilgo & Christensen, 2012; Juang, Qin, & Park, 2013; Supple & Cavanaugh, 2013. Outside the academia, Tiger Parenting has become one of the lexicons among the parents and society in general, creating heated discussions and then some more.

As the phenomenon and the term Tiger Mother influences the public discourse, it has managed to leave its mark in some countries’ popular culture. In the United States, “Fresh off the Boat”, a television comedy series aired since 2015 about a Chinese-American family living in the 90s, prominently places a Tiger-Mother character as one of the series’ driving forces (Poniewozik, 2015). China witnessed “Tiger Mom”, another television series in the drama comedy genre, in 2015. This series, which shows a Tiger Mother who helps her daughter succeed academically and claims to draw inspiration from Chua’s memoir (China Radio International, 2014), was highly anticipated and gained a lot of viewership (BBC Trend-

ing, 2015; Xu, 2015). Meanwhile, in 2017, Hong Kong had its “Tiger Mom Blues” joining the bandwagon of popular culture portrayal of Tiger Mother. Just like the other two, this one was also a drama comedy that revolves around the typical practices related to Tiger Mother parenting (New Asian Tv, n.d.).

Unlike the aforementioned Asian countries, Indonesia does not seem to respond to the phenomenon at the same proportion in its popular culture. This may be understandable since Chinese is not the predominant ethnicity in Indonesia. Yet, it does not mean that Tiger Mother parenting leaves no mark at all in the country’s culture of late. A recent publication of Petra Little Theatre’s New Play Development Series indicates that the issue also hits a nerve among contemporary Indonesian playwrights. *Listen to Me* (LTM), by Bernadeth Febyola Linando (2018), presents a tug-of-war that spans over six years between its main character, Hayli Kencono, a Chinese-Indonesian teenage girl, and her mother, Anita Lusi Candrakusuma, who loves to control every aspect of the children’s life. The play was first produced in April 2017 by Petra Little Theatre in Surabaya, Indonesia’s second largest city after Jakarta. It had sold out shows during its four-day run, as stated in the Editor’s Note of the book (Linando, 2018, p. 13), and was picked up by both local and national media (Asim, 2017; Sofiana, 2017; Sumarno, 2017; Tito, 2017).

Although the premiere production of the play was more localized to the city of Surabaya in terms of audience scope, the fact that LTM is now a published book elevates its significance. LTM has become more accessible to the greater public because whoever wishes to know about it, wherever they are, can simply buy or borrow the book and then read it; they do not need to wait for another production of the play. Moreover, taking form as a published book, LTM has further solidified its existence as one of the cultural products of this nation. Just like with other cultural products, LTM may function as a mirror of the society around the time of the play's creation. In fact, R. J. Cardullo (2015) in the introduction of his book, *A Play Analysis: A Casebook in Modern Western Drama*, stated that "Plays, like every other work of art, occur in definite times and places and bear upon them the marks of a specific culture and set of circumstances (p. xii)". These marks of a specific culture and set of circumstances should be observable in LTM since Linando also stated that the inspiration for LTM came from the reality in Surabaya that she witnessed happening in the life of her tutees where they often felt burnout from doing everything their parents demanded from them (Sofiana, 2017). Therefore, it is safe to say that LTM may become a cultural lens to peek into the contemporary social situation reflected by its story.

Since LTM may serve as a mirror to the Tiger Mother issue in modern-day Indonesia, it behooves this paper to ask the question of how LTM portrays Tiger Mother parenting style and its impact on the children and the parent-child relationship. In doing so, this paper will find out whether LTM shares the same notion of Tiger Mother parenting and its impacts as what has been shown in the memoir or the existing studies pertaining to such style. The answers to these research questions then may offer an insight into how the play depicts the current existence, type, and perceptions of said parenting style in Indonesia. Considering how rarely the issue manifests in the country's popular culture, the results of this research may present a distinct voice or even a value of its own.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

To perform the analysis on LTM, it is important to first establish a clear conceptual framework regarding parenting styles in general, and Tiger Mother parenting in particular, as well as their impacts on children and the parent-children relationship.

Parenting Style Typologies and Tiger Mother Parenting

When discussing parenting, it is difficult not to include Diana Baumrind's (1971) seminal work of

parenting style typologies where she identified three distinct parenting styles: authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive. An Authoritarian parent is someone who would try to:

shape, control, and evaluate the behavior and attitudes of the child in accordance with a set standard of conduct, usually an absolute standard, theologically motivated and formulated by a higher authority. She values obedience as a virtue and favors punitive, forceful measures to curb self-will at points where the child's actions or beliefs conflict with what she thinks is right conduct. She believes in inculcating such instrumental values as respect for authority, respect for work and respect for the preservation of order and traditional structure. She does not encourage verbal give and take, believing that the child should accept her word for what is right. (Baumrind, 1971, p. 22)

Unlike Authoritarian parents, parents with Authoritative style will try "to direct the child's activities but in a rational, issue-oriented manner" (Baumrind, 1971, p. 22). Baumrind also stated that parents of this style apply moderate control and power over their children without caging them with restrictions, encourage good communication with the children, include reasoning of their decisions, and although they do not base their decisions on the children's desires, they also do not see themselves as always right (1971). Meanwhile, Baumrind described Permissive parents as those who "behave in a nonpunitive, acceptant, and affirmative manner toward the child's impulses, desires, and actions" (p. 22). Permissive parents, as Baumrind (1971) further described, do not function as an active party in charge of forming or modifying the children's current or future behavior, eschew implementation of control, and give much freedom to the children to handle their own activities.

Levels of demandingness and responsiveness distinguish these parenting styles. Baumrind (2005) defined demandingness as the requests that parents make to ensure their children are well-adjusted in the society using "behavior regulation, direct confrontation, and maturity demands (behavioral control) and supervision of children's activities (monitoring) (p. 62)." She defined responsiveness as how parents "foster individuality and self-assertion by being attuned, supportive, and acquiescent to children's requests; it includes warmth, autonomy support, and reasoned communication (p. 61-62)." Baumrind saw Authoritarian parenting style as high in demandingness and low in responsiveness. Authoritarian parents are "obedience- and status-oriented, and expect their orders to be obeyed without explanation" (Baumrind, 1991, p. 62). This style makes use of the hierarchical

relationship between parents and children to assert and retain control (Huang & Gove, 2015, p. 391). Authoritative parents exhibit high levels on both demandingness and responsiveness. Parents of this type state clear standards for their children's behavior and monitor them, "assertive but not intrusive and restrictive" (Baumrind, 1991, p. 62), and use disciplinary methods that are supportive instead of punitive. On the other hand, Permissive parents show a low level of demandingness yet a high level of responsiveness. Baumrind depicted Permissive parents as "nontraditional and lenient, do not require mature behavior, allow considerable self-regulation, and avoid confrontation" (Baumrind, 1991, p. 62).

Considering these typologies of parenting style, one would wonder where Tiger Mother parenting fits. The answer depends on the definition or characteristics applied to Tiger Mother as different researches may use different operational definitions of Tiger Mother, although they may use Chua's memoir as their starting point (Juang et al., 2013, p. 1). Kim, Wang, Orozco-Lapray, Shen, and Murtuza (2013), for example, used multiple dimensions of control and warmth and therefore differentiated Tiger Parenting from harsh parenting, where harsh parenting was seen as the default Authoritarian style while Tiger Parenting was somewhere between that and the default Authoritative style (p. 8). However, taking into account the purpose of the current research, this paper will use the concept of Tiger Mother that emerged in Chua's memoir.

In her memoir, Chua (2011) presented Tiger Mother parenting style as one that is ferocious in disciplining the children and places a great value on academic excellence (p. 58) and family obligation including, also perhaps most importantly, obedience (p. 13, 165). A Tiger Mother then may demand her children to get the highest academic score (Chua, 2011, p. 6, 58), caring less about the psychological or emotional impacts of such demand (Chua, 2011, p. 57; Juang et al., 2013, p. 2), believes that she knows what is best for the children and their future and that trumps their wishes such as free time, play dates, and extracurricular activities (Chua, 2011, p. 59, 69), and that she should exhaust every means to reach her goals (Kohler, Aldridge, et al., 2012, p. 52) which may include threatening (Chua, 2011, p. 31, 67), comparing with siblings (Chua, 2011, p. 46-48), reasoning and scolding (Chua, 2011, p. 165), lying (Chua, 2011, p. 147), name-calling and insulting (Chua, 2011, p. 31, 67), coaxing and bribing (Chua, 2011, p. 40, 79), or forcing and not letting up (Chua, 2011, p. 68, 74). These characteristics found in the memoir echo the Authoritarian style where the parents are the absolute beings to be obeyed and never questioned.

Impacts of Parenting Styles on Children

Aside from typologies and characteristics, studies have also been done on the impacts of the parenting styles on children, especially on their academic achievements and wellbeing. There seems to be a general consensus that, compared to the other two styles, Authoritative parenting brings out the best in children in many aspects of a child's development such as the psychological and social competence, development, wellbeing (Pong, Johnston, & Chen, 2009, p. 62) and academic achievement (Kordi & Baharudin, 2010, p. 221; Nyarko, 2011, p. 281). Children with Authoritative parents often feel supported, able to exercise some level of autonomy, which would then positively affect their self-reliance, self-identity, and efficacy (Kim et al., 2013, p. 8; Kordi & Baharudin, 2010, p. 216).

The Authoritarian parenting style, on the other hand, is often associated with negative results. Pong et al. (2009) found this style to have negative impact on children's academic achievement (p. 71). It was also suggested that it played a role in increasing children's depressive symptoms and lower self-esteem, especially in adolescence [OR] adolescents (Kim et al., 2013, p. 9). Since Authoritarian parenting use more psychological control, such as shaming, scolding and other conditional approval or guilt-inducing behaviors, it may lead to a child's defiance, need frustration, and problem internalization or externalization (Smetana, 2017, p. 21). Particularly on Tiger Mother parenting style, Kim et al. (2013, p. 16) found that it may be negatively linked to an adolescent's academic and psychosocial development. Their emotional and social adjustments may also suffer (Qin as cited in Juang et al., 2013, p. 4). With emphasis given on academic excellence and family obligation, children of a Tiger Mother type of parent may also feel strongly pressured to always deliver in those two domains (Chao and Tseng as cited in Kim et al., 2013, p. 9).

Although Authoritarian parenting seems to demonstrate adverse effects, it is important to keep in mind that the results are not without dispute. Indeed, some culture-specific studies found that this particular parenting type also generated positive outcomes, particularly in Asian communities outside the European-American or Asian-American societies. Ang and Goh's (2006) research on adolescents from different ethnicities in Singapore, for example, found that children of Authoritarian parents are not a homogenous group. While some of the children showed signs of being maladjusted in both academic and social development, some others actually showed signs of being well-adjusted—such as having good

self-esteem and self-reliance, demonstrating good interpersonal relations and self-efficacy (Ang & Goh, 2006, p. 146). This result is also reflected in Amy Chua's anecdotal account, where her eldest daughter was thankful for being raised by a Tiger Mother and felt the love and support she gave (Chua-Rubinfeld, 2011), yet her youngest daughter rebelled against her to a substantial degree that she altered her parenting approach (Chua, 2011, p. 254).

The existence, albeit relatively rare, of some positive outcomes of Authoritarian parenting style may be explained using a cultural perspective. From a cultural argument, it is believed that Asians, particularly the Chinese, may see the elements of control and strictness as a positive act of concern, care, or being involved done by parents to their children as expressed by the notion of *chiao shun* or 'training' and *guan* or 'to govern' (Ang & Goh, 2006, p. 132-133). When children employ such perspective, then parental control and demand are viewed as ordinary or even expected characteristics of a good and responsible parent. Obedience, in Chinese families, is an everyday form of filial piety and therefore is seen as a virtue (Huang & Gove, 2015, p. 394). So a Chinese child may see obedience as something he or she should achieve and display as a good child; thus, placing parental control and demand under the label of appropriate things parents would do. Seen with such positive view, Authoritarian parenting then may generate positive results in the children's development.

METHODOLOGY

To figure out the portrayal of Tiger Mother in LTM and its effect on the children's wellbeing as well as the parent-child relationship, this paper will look at all the characters in the play. The analysis is mainly performed on the main character, Hayli Kencono, and her mother, Anita Lusi Candrakusuma. It will consider each character's dialogs and actions as well as information pertaining to both of them as delivered by the other characters in the play. Some attention will also be given to Hayli's siblings, namely Hilda Kencono, Henrikus Kencono, and Hubertus Kencono, to further see the impacts of Anita Lusi Candrakusuma's Tiger Mother parenting style. All the characters will be analyzed using the conceptual framework. The character names used in this paper stay true to how they are used in the play, namely Hayli, Anita Lusi, Hilda, Henrikus, and Hubertus.

DISCUSSION

Anita Lusi's Tiger Parenting Style

Upon reading LTM, several elements make it clear that Anita Lusi is portrayed as an authoritarian parent

resembling Chua's notion of Tiger Mother. First off, Anita Lusi thinks she knows what is best for her children and, in particular, Hayli. This emerges a few times in both academic and non-academic contexts. Anita Lusi uses her authority as a parent to decide: that Hayli will have extra character building lessons and extra violin lessons (Linando, 2018, p. 17, 18); that Hayli will perform in the music recital (Linando, 2018, p. 36); that Hayli will take the science track (Linando, 2018, p. 35, 44-45), or *IPA* as it is known in Indonesia; and, perhaps the most concerning of them all, that Hayli will go to medical school and become a doctor (Linando, 2018, p. 46, 47, 50). She does all that without asking for her daughter's approval, as if Hayli has no say in it at all. When Hayli brings that up, Anita Lusi simply says, "I've never asked because I know what's best for you and you'll thank me for that later" (Linando, 2018, p. 49). She also tells Hayli that what she is doing is not for her, but for Hayli's own good (Linando, 2018, p. 40). Believing that one knows the best for their child and therefore becoming very controlling over the child to prepare the child for his or her future, just like what Anita Lusi does, is indeed very Tiger Mother (Chua, 2011, p. 69) and Authoritarian (Baumrind, 1971, p. 22).

Next, because she thinks she knows what is best for Hayli, she then shows low response to Hayli's wishes that do not support her plans. Anita Lusi dismisses Hayli's request to go buy some books, because Hayli's "violin course is more important than the books for now" (Linando, 2018, p. 17). When Hayli wants to join her brother, Henrikus, for indoor rock-climbing, Anita Lusi responds, "Well, what can I say? If you don't have those tuitions on that day, I'll give you my permission. Those tuitions are important for you" (p. 35). Hayli is also not allowed to have fun because Anita Lusi believes that "learning new things is more important than hanging out with friends" (p. 32). When Hayli requests to switch to the social science track, or *IPS* as it is known in Indonesia, Anita Lusi will have none of it. Her responses vary from moderate—"Hayli, listen, every student in your school is dying to get into *IPA*. ... It's important for you to learn science and biology (p. 39)"—to harsh: "No! You have to get into *IPA*. No question asked. And I won't change my decision (p. 39)." Not only does she deny Hayli's choice of major, Psychology, she also expresses her disdain over it, saying, "No. You're not going to the major for people who are desperate and don't know what they're going to do with their life (p. 50)." Anita Lusi's dismissals of Hayli's personal interests and wishes are a testament to Authoritarian parenting style (Baumrind, 1971, p. 22) that Tiger Mothers would also conduct (Chua, 2011, p. 59) when it comes to things that hinder achieving the goals the parents set.

The examples of how Anita Lusi does not respond to Hayli's wishes also tells us that she has a lot of demands on Hayli both academically and non-academically, particularly in violin. She wants Hayli to put those things above everything else. The fact that she fills Hayli's daily schedules with tuitions, sometimes three tuitions in a day (Linando, 2018, p. 32) including character-building lesson in the list (p. 17), and that she is willing to pay for all the tutors (p. 33) indicate that she does want her daughter to excel in those matters. In this sense, Anita Lusi is behaving like the typical Tiger Mothers who place great values on both academic and certain non-academic fields.

Another characteristic of Authoritarian/Tiger Mother parenting that Anita Lusi displays is how much she values obedience. It is easy to sense how strong this trait is in Anita Lusi as the playwright mentions it numerous times throughout the play from the lines she says, e.g.:

- "Is it okay to be disrespectful to your parents?! (p. 18)"
- "Hayli, what did I tell you about this behavior? (p. 39)"
- "No! It's you. You are the one who must listen. You have to! (p. 39)"
- "No! You have to get into *IPA*. No question asked. And I won't change my decision. Do you understand? (p. 39)"
- "Hayli! Don't use that tone to me! (p. 48)"
- "How dare you talking to me like that? You've become so wild. Can't you be like your sister? (p. 51)"

Not only can this value of obedience be found in Anita Lusi's line, it also echoes in the eldest child, Hilda, showing said value that her mother has instilled in her:

Do not ever, ever talk back to your parents. Do not ever, ever question their opinion! Be polite to them and always do what they want you to do because all the things they ask you are for your own good. (Linando, 2018, p. 19)

These lines above reflect on Authoritarian parenting style, where obedience is a must and parents' orders are not to be contested (Baumrind, 1971, p. 22; Baumrind, 1991, p. 62). It is also clear that Anita Lusi uses her position as Hayli's parent as good enough reason or perhaps the only reason for Hayli to do everything she says, and this hierarchy-based power is what an Authoritarian parent would use to control her children (Huang & Gove, 2015, p. 391). In a cultural perspective, creating obedient children like what Anita Lusi does is something of virtue in a Chinese-descent household, as expressed by both research

(Huang & Gove, 2015, p. 394) and Chua's memoir (2011, p. 165). Thus, Anita Lusi's strict demand of obedience fits right into Authoritarian parenting style, particularly Chua's Tiger Mother.

Next, Anita Lusi is also portrayed as a parent who will do anything to reach her goals. To handle Hayli's refusals, Anita Lusi employs an arsenal of tactics. She will first try reasoning, talking her daughter into fulfilling her demands (Linando, 2018, p. 35, 39, 44), but when that fails, she will almost always resort to getting angry and playing the parent-child hierarchy card, which emphasizes on how she knows what is best for Hayli and that it is Hayli's obligation as a daughter to do what she says (p. 39, 45, 46, 52). Although rare, she also uses threats, e.g. "If you do this one more time, I won't let you hang out with your friends anymore (p. 48)," sibling comparison, e.g. "Can't you be like your sister? ... She is the perfect example when you listen to your mother (p. 51, 52)," and lie, which happens when she answers, "We'll discuss about that later (p. 45)" to Hayli's "Okay, but with one condition. Can I choose my own major when I am in college? (p. 45)". It may not seem to be a lie on its own, but since a few lines before that Anita Lusi already blurts "... you can choose a major that is desired by many people (p. 45)" when trying to convince Hayli that *IPA* is the right track to take, and considering how controlling she is, her answer of having a discussion over what major that Hayli will take cannot be trusted. It serves more as closing the deal of Hayli taking the *IPA* track than agreeing to her daughter's condition or wish.

Perhaps the strongest display of Anita Lusi's willingness to go over and beyond to complete her goals appears in the last scene of the play, when she tries to make Hayli interview for the enrollment at medical school. Other than her usual tactics of reasoning and then invoking the daughter's obligation to obey her, she takes forceful measures. She slaps Hayli then tells her "You're not going to go to the interview by yourself, are you? Okay if that's what you want. But, I'll make you come to the interview even if I have to drag you (p. 52)". Then she proceeds with locking Hayli in her room (p. 53). Anita Lusi's usual tactics to control Hayli and accomplish what she wants already mirror the tactics that Tiger Mothers may use, but these forceful, punitive actions she employs towards the end of the play reinforce her Authoritarian parenting style.

Finally, since Anita Lusi thinks she knows what is best for her children and will do anything to reach that, has many demands both academically and non-academically, and places high value on obedience, it is not exactly surprising that she cares less on her

children's psychological or emotional wellbeing, which is, again, another characteristic of Tiger Mother parenting (Chua, 2011, p. 57; Juang et al., 2013, p. 2). She never sees any problem with all the demands she has for Hayli. She is simply clueless and answers, "What are you talking about? You're happy doing all the things that you've done so far (Linando, 2018, p. 48)," when Hayli protests and refuses to become her puppet anymore. When Hayli strongly denies being happy and twice states how miserable she has been, Anita Lusi does not seem to listen to what her daughter is saying. Instead, all she cares about is for Hayli to "stop using this tone! (p. 48)" when talking to her. Even when Hayli admits that she cried almost every night and almost killed herself, Anita Lusi's response is, "Why did you have to do those kind of things? (p. 50)". She clearly cares more about Hayli respecting and obeying her than tending to or even addressing her daughter's psychological scars and suicidal tendencies caused by her being a controlling parent.

While Anita Lusi does demonstrate behaviors and characteristics typical to Tiger Mothers, it is also interesting to note that she appears to do some things differently from what Tiger Mothers would do. She may demand Hayli to do so many tuitions and take a certain academic track, but she never explicitly requests for a perfect grade or score or achievement from Hayli; in fact, she never even mentions any particular score for Hayli to get or any particular competition for Hayli to win. She only wants Hayli to diligently take the lessons so Hayli can improve her Mathematics to later take the *IPA* track (Linando, 2018, p. 35) and play violin with good vibrato skill in the recital (Linando, 2018, p. 36). She does not seem to have absolute demands in these matters, which is unlike a typical Tiger Mother, because a Tiger Mother would only demand for the perfect score or the best achievement, nothing less (Chua, 2011, p. 58). There is also no indication that Anita Lusi is present during Hayli's lessons or helps her daughter practice. Her involvement is more on deciding which tuitions Hayli has to take and on scheduling them (Linando, 2018, p. 17, 18, 20). A typical Tiger Mother would personally sit with her child to drill countless academic exercises to ensure him or her get that perfect score or be the best in performing the chosen art (Chua, 2011, p. 58). Anita Lusi also seems to occasionally let Hayli have her way, like going to the mall with Henrikus and missed one violin lesson (Linando, 2018, p. 17). A typical Tiger Mother would not let her child skip tuition for something else of trivial nature like going on holiday or going to the mall because she knows the importance of consistent practice for a child's skills.

The Impacts of Anita Lusi's Tiger Parenting Style on Her Children

Since Authoritarian parenting style is known to cause negative effects on children as discussed in the conceptual framework of this paper, it is then almost expected to find that Hayli too displays some of the negative effects despite the varying degrees. Hayli expresses some hints of need frustration, particularly the need to have fun and hang out with her friends, e.g. "*(Heavy sigh.)* Less having fun, more lessons (Linando, 2018, p. 20)." This then becomes clear in the scene where she realizes she cannot join brother for indoor rock climbing. She tries to suppress her crying and denies it in a shaky voice (p. 32), and when Henrikus suggested her to cancel the tuitions, she responds that she did try it and the result was: "Mama gave her long and boring lecture. She told me that learning new things is more important than hanging out with friends. I know! But can't I at least have fun? For once in a while? (p. 32)." This line of hers indicates that she rarely has fun and that it has been a good while since the last time she had one. The fact that she cries also shows how badly she wants it. Hayli also presents how her mother's demand of obedience negatively affect her. On a minor level, when she is thirteen years old, her being obedient to her mother makes her unable to ask for further explanation from her Mathematics tutor. "Mama said that girls have to be smart. Girls have to understand what people say in a snap and never ask them back (Linando, 2018, p. 22)" was her explanation on why she cannot ask "for explanation over and over again (p. 22)." Only when Henrikus does assure her that it is foolish to obey that particular concept and that she should think on her own that Hayli changes her mind (p. 22-23). Later, Hayli also discloses that her obeying her mother to take the science track made her struggle "passing chemistry, physics, and math" (p. 50) during senior high, implying that her academic performance was not excellent or at least suffered.

On a more serious level, her obedience to Anita Lusi's demands and plans leaves her feeling somewhat clueless in life: "Yes! That's me! I don't know what I'm going to do with my life because my mother has already planned everything for me (p. 50)." This may be her sarcastic remarks against Anita Lusi's comment on Psychology major—"... the major for people who are desperate and don't know what they're going to do with their life (p. 50)."—but it does carry some truth. She is trying to make her mother see that if all she has to do in life is to follow her mother's plans, if she can never exercise her own will or thought, she might as well not think at all and that she may end up clueless about her life. Being obedient in this matter does not benefit her, and that is why she insists on choosing her own major.

The strongest manifestation of the negative effects of Anita Lusi's Tiger/Authoritarian parenting style in Hayli is her depressive symptoms and suicidal tendency. "But do you know that I cried ALMOST every night at that time? I ALMOST killed myself too! (p. 50)", she says, referring to her senior high school years when she took the science track. From this statement, it is clear that her mother's parenting style resulted in her daily crying and in her almost performing some self-inflicted harm. This particular negative effect then becomes life-threatening in nature, surpassing other negative effects. Linando once again presents the suicidal tendency at the end of the play. This time, it comes as a possible action after Anita Lusi locks her in her bedroom as a punishment for her not wishing to enroll in medical school, as made evident in the following stage direction:

(... Hayli tries to open the door several times. She covers her face with her hands. She squats. She cries. She wipes her tears. Then she stands up and, frustrated, throws things from her desk. She notices the box cutter. She picks it up and looks at it for a long time. Then, she places the box cutter on her left wrist. ...) (Linando, 2018, p. 53)

The fact that the play ends with Hayli strongly considering slitting her wrist without telling exactly whether she really commits the deed seems to further emphasize the alarming nature of this particular negative effect. It presents suicidal acts as the ultimate cost of Authoritarian parenting, particularly Tiger Mother parenting.

It is true that with Hayli, Anita Lusi's Tiger/Authoritarian parenting style yields negative results, supporting what studies have found; yet, when the focus is slightly shifted to Hayli's eldest and youngest siblings, Hilda and Hubertus, a different picture appears: the results are more positive. Hilda and Hubertus, for one, do not seem to have any problem with being obedient. The following line, coming from Hilda when she tries to correct Hayli's behavior, encapsulates it perfectly:

Do not ever, ever talk back to your parents. Do not ever, ever question their opinion! Be polite to them and always do what they want you to do because all the things they ask you are for your own good. (Linando, 2018, p. 19)

She also says, "Hayli, please don't do stupid things. If she said you must attend a course, it means you have to do it. Isn't it clear? (p. 19)," defending Anita Lusi's strict demand regarding tuitions. From these two lines, obedience has clearly been well-instilled in Hilda and has become one of her values. Nothing but obedience is expected from a good child because the

parents only choose the best for the child. Similar to Hilda, Hubertus shows the audience that obedience is a part of him and even something good for him: "No. It's easier to follow Mama's rules. I like it, that's why I'm excelling at spelling bee (p. 42)." He also shares Hilda's perspective that "Mama always gives the best for her own children (p. 42)". When Henrikus says that it is possible to talk to their mother and be free of her demands, Hubertus replies with "Yeah right. Mama never asks you to follow her rules anymore. That sucks, *Ko* (p. 42)."

Hilda's and Hubertus' positive reactions towards Anita Lusi's Tiger Parenting give a nod to the results of some studies which showed that some children of Authoritarian parents of Asian or Chinese-descent might be well-adjusted in terms of both academic and social development (Ang & Goh, 2006, p. 146) and that they may have a positive view regarding obedience and parental control (Ang & Goh, 2006, p. 132-133; Huang & Gove, 2015, p. 394). From the aforementioned lines, these two children seem to view Anita Lusi's demands and control as motherly care towards them, since they believe she knows what is best for her children. This part is even clearer in Hubertus as he links his success in spelling bee with following Anita Lusi's demand and that no longer following her rules equals to not being cared for, which, for him, is not a good thing. Being children of a Chinese-Indonesian family, their attitude and perspective, thus, may be cultural.

CONCLUSION

The analysis shows that Linando's LTM portrays a typical Tiger Mother parenting style similar to Chua's version in Anita Lusi character. This is done by presenting her as a mother who thinks she knows what is best for her children and will do anything to achieve her plans, has many demands both academically and non-academically, places a high value on obedience, and that she cares less on her children's psychological wellbeing. Among those characteristics, Linando seems to focus more on Anita Lusi being in total control and being obeyed than her subjecting her children, especially Haily, to an absolute academic or non-academic standard, and her being directly involved in helping the children achieve the goals she set for them. Despite the slight difference with Chua's notion of Tiger Mother, Anita Lusi's portrayal is still of a typical Tiger Mother.

Considering the effects of Anita Lusi's parenting on her children, it appears that LTM brings forth both negative and positive results of Tiger Mother parenting. The negative effects are shown through the main character, Hayli, in varying degrees. They take

some toll on her academic development but mostly on her psychological wellbeing, with her suicidal tendency as the most severe impact. Meanwhile, the positive results of Tiger Mother parenting appear on a smaller scale through LTM's supporting characters, Hilda and Hubertus, and seem to be cultural in nature. Both characters regard the controlling and demanding nature of Tiger Mother parenting as a form of parental care out of a parent's best intention for their children, and therefore, obedience to the control and demands is a virtue expected from them as good children.

The findings of this paper may provide an understanding of how a contemporary Indonesian play written by a young playwright depicts the Tiger Mother parenting phenomenon she observed happening in Chinese-Indonesian families in an urban setting. Should there be more plays discussing this particular theme in Indonesia, this paper may serve as a launching pad for similar or further research. Only then can a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the portrayal of Indonesia's Tiger Mother parenting style in the nation's arts or cultural products be established.

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