

FILIAL PIETY CONTAINED IN FACE THREATENING ACTS IN DORAEMON AND KOBO CHAN: A MANGA ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

Filial Piety is a value rooted from Confucianism. This value demands one to respect parents. As this value spreads widely in East Asia, this study aims to investigate what filial piety values contained in Doraemon and Kobo Chan, and to examine which same filial piety values shared in both comic books. Doraemon and Kobo Chan are chosen since these two comic books are originated from Japan whose society adopts filial piety. These two comic books are important to be studied since the two were highly popular in Indonesia in the late 1990's and early 2000's and were enjoyed by many Indonesian children. This study uses Content Analysis method to analyze the data. Content Analysis is used because this study needs to figure out values contained in the content of comic books. This study found that acquiescent respect and care respect are two values having the highest numbers of appearances in Doraemon and Kobo Chan, respectively. While the values contained in both comic books are acquiescent respect and respecting the ancestors. It is hoped that future studies could examine the relation between these values contained in both comic books and Indonesia's young generation's decision to take a role as a sandwich generation.

Keywords: *Filial Piety; Face Threatening Acts; Doraemon; Kobo Chan; Manga Analysis*

Introduction

It has been a phenomenon that nowadays more and more young Indonesians are carrying the task to take care of their children and their aging parents. Sandwich generation is the term given to this pool of society. According to Chilshom (1999), Sandwich Generation is the term used to refer to people who carry the duty of taking care of their children and their aging parents at the same time. Putro and Riyantom (2020) also stated that the term Sandwich Generation is used for young people who have the task to give physical, emotional and financial support for their children and parents. These young people are usually very obedient towards this duty due to the filial piety value existing in the society.

Filial piety is a value that emphasizes the importance of respect towards parents and the responsibility to take care of them. Today's sandwich generation has been exposed to filial piety value since they were young, one of the means is through Manga. It is important to know whether Manga contributes to young adults' decision to carry the responsibility of sandwich generation. Therefore, it is crucial to know what filial piety values contained in Manga popular in Indonesia.

To solve this problem, the current study proposed three research questions which are: 1. How do Face Threatening Acts in the dialogues of Doraemon show filial piety values? 2. How do Face Threatening Acts in the dialogues of Kobo Chan show filial piety values? 3. Which filial piety values are contained in both mangas? This study aims to examine filial piety values contained in the Face Threatening Acts of the dialogues in Doraemon, to investigate filial piety values contained in the Face Threatening Acts of the dialogues in Kobo Chan, and to find out which filial piety values are contained in both mangas.

Doraemon and Kobo Chan are chosen since the two comic books were highly popular in Indonesia in the late 1990's and early 2000's. Late 1990's and early 2000's is chosen as the timeline examined because most of today's sandwich generation spent their childhoods in that era. Besides manga, Doraemon and Kobo Chan were also available in anime format; thus, these two mangas became more and more popular. Doraemon and Kobo Chan are also chosen because of its richness in filial piety values. Both comic books tell a story about family which is potential to contain the values of filial piety.

It has long been known that eastern culture

prioritizes the value of respect towards older people. According to Watabe (2011), Japanese families emphasize on respecting parents more than western families. This value is rooted from Confucian. Luo et al (2022) stated that filial piety refers to the respect and obedience from a child to their parents. According to Canda (2013), filial piety comes from Confucian value which emphasizes a child's obligation to take care of their aging parents. Teon (2016) stated that the interpretation of filial piety (also called xiao) in Chinese culture refers to the young generation who is burdened and suppressed by the older one. Wister and Gutman (1998) also stated that parents' residing with the oldest son in the family is also a form of filial piety.

There are some theories needed to answer the three research questions in this study, those are the theory of Face Threatening Acts and the theory of filial piety. Face Threatening Acts refer to utterances that contain "threats". There are two types of Face Threatening Acts which are Positive (self-image) and Negative (freedom). According to Brown and Levinson (as cited in Ayu, 2018), Face Threatening Acts can attack both the Speaker and the Hearer, as shown below:

Table 1
Face Threatening Acts (FTAs)

FTAs towards the Speaker's Positive Face	FTAs towards the Speaker's Negative Face	FTAs towards the Hearer's Positive Face	FTAs towards the Hearer's Negative Face
Asking forgiveness, accepting compliment and giving confession	Saying thank you, giving an excuse, and accepting an offer	Disagreeing, criticizing, complaining, insulting, challenging, and mentioning a taboo topic	Ordering, requesting, inviting, suggesting, advising, reminding, threatening, warning, offering, promising, giving compliments containing envy or admiration (showing that the Speaker wants something the Hearer has).

There are four Face Threatening Acts theories required to answer the research questions addressed in this study. The first one is Face Threatening Acts towards the Speaker's Positive Face (self-image), for example giving confessions. By giving a confession, one is saying that they have done something terrible. This attacks their

own self-image. The second one is Face Threatening Acts towards the Speaker's Negative Face (freedom), for example saying thank you. By saying thank you, one admits that they have received some help, meaning that next time, they need to return that help. This limits their own freedom. Another Face Threatening Act type is Face Threatening Acts towards the Hearer's Positive Face (self-image), for example criticizing. Criticizing an interlocutor means highlighting negative details about the interlocutor. This would attack the hearer's self-image. The last type is Face Threatening Acts towards the Hearer's Negative Face (freedom), for example inviting. Inviting someone means giving that person some "pressure" to attend some occasion. This would limit that person's (the hearer's) freedom.

Besides Face Threatening Acts, theories related to filial piety are required for this study. According to Sung (2001), there are 12 filial piety values existing in Japan, which are:

Table 2
Filial Piety Values

No.	Filial Piety	Definition
1.	Giving <i>care respect</i>	Taking care of parents
2.	Giving food and drink	Serving food and drink to parents as they wish
3.	Giving gifts	Giving presents to parents
4.	Using polite language	Addressing parents politely
5.	Giving <i>presentational respect</i>	Showing polite attitude towards parents
6.	Respecting older people	Respecting older people in general
7.	Consulting	Consulting to parents regarding family issues
8.	Celebrating special days	Celebrating parents' special days such as birthdays
9.	Giving <i>acquiescent respect</i>	Listening to parents/obeying orders
10.	<i>Greeting</i>	Greeting parents
11.	Prioritizing	Prioritizing parents in many occasions
12.	Respecting the ancestors	Respecting the ancestors by conducting various ceremonies

There are 12 filial piety values used to answer the research questions of this study. These 12 values are filial piety values found in Japanese culture. The Face Threatening Acts in the dialogues of Doraemon and Kobo Chan are analyzed to find the filial piety values contained.

Some previous studies on this topic have been conducted before. In his study, Mu (2010) found that a designed object can influence people to do the right thing, suitable to their culture. According to Maeda (2004), filial piety is still adopted by modern Japanese society. However, the cope is now smaller since the introduction of

social services for aging people, this enables the young people to contribute less to their parents' lives. Another study about filial piety was also conducted by Bedford and Yeh. According to Tsui (as cited in Bedford & Yeh, 2021), parent-child interaction can portray local characteristics and shared features of human behaviour.

Even though previous studies regarding filial piety have been conducted, none has compared filial piety in Doraemon and Kobo Chan to find shared filial piety values in these two comic books. This study aims to fill this gap.

This study is important to be conducted since it can inform readers, especially parents, on filial piety contained in the two comic books so that they are aware of the implicit cultural message behind the dialogues. Parents need to be informed about this issue so they can adjust their children's entertainment source to the applied culture in this country. It has been proven that research about filial piety could give significant impact on society. According to Bedford and Yeh (2019), the findings of research on DFPM (Dual Filial Piety Model) have been used to create public regulations on elderly care.

Method

This study used content analysis as its method. Content Analysis is used since this study examined the repeated use of filial piety values in dialogues of Doraemon and Kobo Chan. According to Stemler (2001), trend and pattern in a document can be investigated with content analysis. Furthermore, qualitative approach is used in this study since this study investigated a cultural phenomenon, i.e., filial piety in Japanese culture, which requires a descriptive explanation. In collecting the data, the researcher first read Doraemon chapters that were to be analyzed (Research Question 1). Next, the researcher highlighted the dialogues containing Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) showing filial piety. The researcher then labeled the FTAs and filial piety found. The labels used were based on the theory explained in Introduction (the 4 types of FTAs and the 12 types of filial piety). The researcher then input all the data into Table Analysis in Ms. Excel.

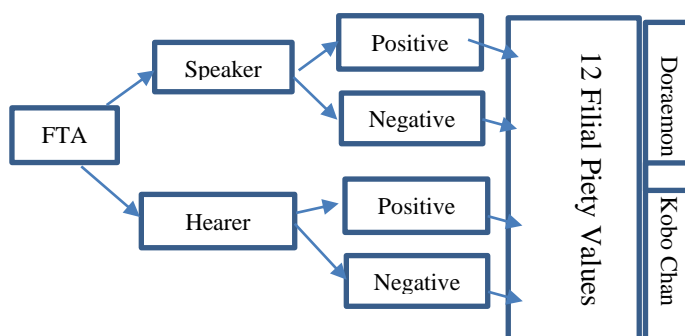
The researcher then wrote a descriptive analysis in Ms. Word for each data. Two headings were created: Filial Piety Found in Doraemon and Filial Piety Found in Kobo Chan. Under heading one and heading two, filial piety values found

were written as sub-headings. Each chapter title was then written under each sub-heading. The researcher analyzed the data descriptively according to the headings (categories) created. The same steps of data collection and analysis were then conducted for Kobo Chan (Research Question 2).

After analyzing all FTAs and filial piety contained in the two comic books, the researcher investigated which filial piety values found in both comic books. The researcher did a descriptive analysis on this under heading three: Filial Piety Values Appearing in Both Comic Books (Research Question 3).

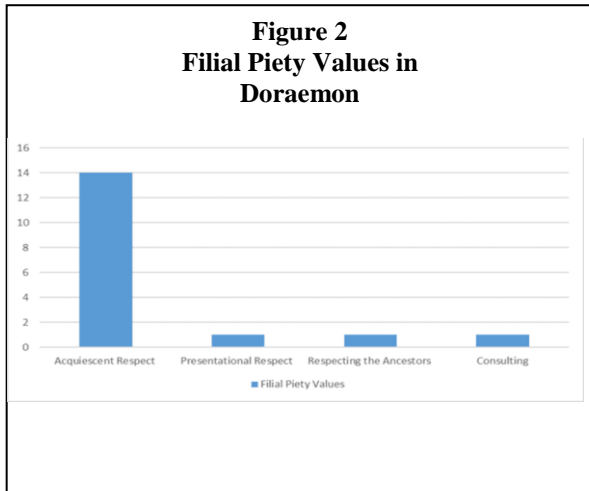
There are six volumes of Doraemon and six volumes of Kobo Chan analyzed. In total, there are 12 volumes examined from both comic books. The number of books studied (six from each title) is considered ideal for the current study's research duration. These six volumes are chosen through purposive sampling. The researcher chose volumes which contain filial piety. For Doraemon, since the researcher has analyzed this comic book before, the titles taken for the current study are not the ones having been examined in her previous research. Below is the diagram (Figure 1) showing how the analysis was conducted to answer the research questions:

Figure 1
Analysis Flowchart



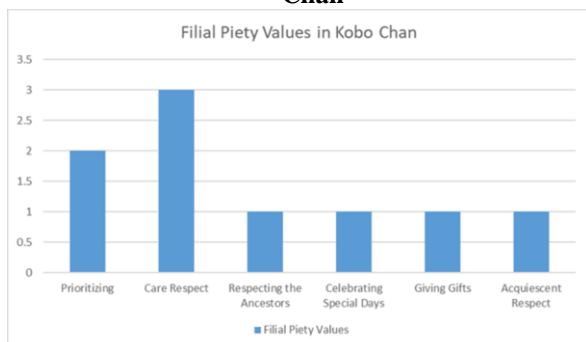
Findings and Discussion

From six volumes of Doraemon and Kobo Chan analyzed, there are 17 data of Doraemon dialogues and 9 samples of Kobo Chan dialogues containing filial piety.



Out of 17 values found in Doraemon, 14 are related to acquiescent respect; while presentational respect, respecting the ancestors and consulting appear one time each.

Figure 3
Filial Piety Values in Kobo Chan



For Kobo Chan, out of 9 filial piety samples, three excerpts refer to giving care respect value, one is classified into prioritizing value, and four excerpts are categorized as respecting ancestors, celebrating special days, giving gifts, and giving acquiescent respect, respectively.

From the two charts (**Figure 2** and **Figure 3**), it can be seen that acquiescent respect and respecting the ancestors are two filial piety values occurring in both comic books.

One point that stands out is that acquiescent respect and care respect are values that have the highest numbers of appearances in Doraemon and Kobo Chan, respectively. Acquiescent respect refers to one's obligation to listen to parents' advice and obey their orders; while care respect refers to one's duty to take care of their aging parents. Both emphasize a similar core value which is one's devotion to

parents.

Discussion

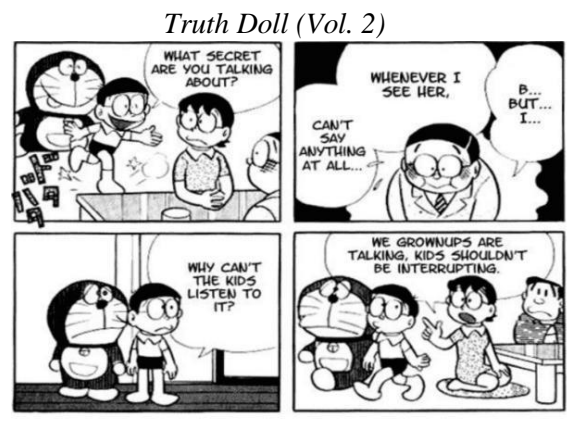
Filial piety has long been inserted into stories. A study conducted by Saito (2021) shows that the value of one's obedience to parents is included in the story of Princess Kaguya. Filial piety is included there to show the significance of gratitude to parents. Filial piety values are also found in Doraemon and Kobo Chan.

Filial Piety Found in Doraemon

Some filial piety values are found in Doraemon. These values are represented in the Face Threatening Acts used by the characters.

Giving Acquiescent Respect

Most of the filial piety values found in Doraemon are in a form of Acquiescent Respect. Sung (2001) stated that listening to parents and not talking back is a form of acquiescent respect. Moreover, Sung and Kim (2003) also stated that giving acquiescent respect refers to obeying parents' orders.



forbids Nobita and Doraemon to get involved in the ongoing discussion. The utterance said by Nobita's mom, "We grownups are talking, kids shouldn't be interrupting," contains a Face Threatening Act towards the Hearer's Negative Face that is conveyed through the giving of an order for Nobita and Doraemon to leave the room. Nobita and Doraemon's freedom (negative face) is then limited since they cannot join the ongoing discussion in the living room. Nobita and Doraemon immediately obeys mom's order and leave the room, showing the acquiescent respect done by Nobita and Doraemon by listening to mom's order and obeying it.

Time Cloth (Vol. 2)



The excerpt shows that Giant is ordered by his mom to send some eggs to a client's house. Giant tries to negotiate resulting to his mom's slap on his cheek. He ends up doing what mom orders him to do. This shows that a child is not supposed to argue parents and is expected to obey parents without complaining. This illustrates the filial piety value of acquiescent respect. This value is conveyed through a Face Threatening Act towards the Hearer's Negative Face which can be seen from mom's utterance of order, "Deliver these eggs to Yamada residence and wrap them nicely with the cloth!"

Tatami Paddy Field (Vol.2)



The excerpt depicts a scene containing the filial piety value of acquiescent respect conveyed with a Face Threatening Act towards the Hearer's Negative Face shown in mom's warning, "But you can't use rice as a toy." Nobita

and Doraemon genuinely do not have the intention to use the rice as a toy, therefore, they willingly say "We won't use it as a toy."

The acquiescent respect value here is not represented in the hearer's response but in the speaker's utterance. It cannot be concluded that Nobita and Doraemon obey mom's order because of acquiescent respect, instead, it is only because that is not their intention to use rice as a toy. However, the acquiescent respect can be implicitly seen from mom's utterance. Mom does not give any justification on why Nobita and Doraemon may not use rice as a toy. This shows that parents have the tendency to give a direct order and expect the children to obey it without the need to give further justifications for the order.

Projection Camera (Vol. 3)



The picture shows that Nobita obeys mom's implicit order for him to change his clothes. Mom's utterance "Why are you so dirty?" is categorized as a Face Threatening Act towards the Hearer's Positive Face since she

criticizes Nobita's dirty clothes. She then continues by asking another question, "Do you know how hard it is to wash your stuff?". This is also categorized as a Face Threatening Act towards the Hearer's Positive Face since she complains about her domestic duty to wash Nobita's stuff. All these utterances are given as a form of order for Nobita to change his clothes. Even though Nobita feels that mom's anger is caused by dad's refusal to buy mom a dress, Nobita still follows mom's order immediately without questioning. This displays the value of acquiescent respect in filial piety.

Nobita in the Mirror? (Vol. 5)



In the dialogues above, Mom expects Nobita to study by giving an order, "Do your homework!" It is categorized as a Face Threatening Act that Threatens the Hearer's Negative Face since it limits Nobita's freedom to use his spare time. In the picture, it can be seen that Nobita attempts to argue by saying, "I just started (playing football)," but mom insists to force Nobita to do his homework. This shows that parents' order is expected to be followed by children without arguing, which displays acquiescent value in filial piety.

The Cape of Evasion (Vol. 5)



The pictures above tell a scene where Nobita is asked by his mom to deliver a letter, but he refuses instead. Mom said, "Nobita, can you mail this letter for me please?" This utterance is categorized as a Face Threatening Act that Threatens the Hearer's Negative Face because it limits Nobita's freedom. When Nobita refuses, mom gives a further face threatening act. Mom gives a Face Threatening Act that Threatens the Hearer's Positive Face by criticizing Nobita's attitude, "You're out playing all the time! Can't you even help your own mother?" Nobita then goes out to do what mom asks, i.e., mailing the letter, despite the rain. This shows that Nobita must obey what mom asks him to do which shows the value of acquiescent respect in filial piety.

Mad Watch (Vol. 8)



The excerpt above shows acquiescent respect done by Nobita by listening to mom's long advice. It is carried in the utterances above which are categorized as a Face Threatening Act towards the Hearer's Positive Face because Nobita gives complaints towards mom's scolding, even though he says it silently, "She really talks a lot", "And she keeps repeating the same thing", "It always feels like these moments last forever." Even though Nobita does not like listening to mom's long advice, he must keep listening to it without complaining to show his acquiescent respect towards his mom.

Live with a Laugh (Vol. 8)



The pictures above show that Nobita has the obligation to follow mom's order. Nobita is on his way to leave the house when mom suddenly gives him an order, "Come here for a moment." This utterance is categorized as a Face Threatening Act that Threatens the Hearer's Negative Face because it limits Nobita's freedom. Nobita has no option except to follow mom's order and listen to her advice. This shows the value of acquiescent respect where a child needs to listen to and obey their parents.

Invisibility Eye Drops (Vol. 8)



The dialogues between Giant and his mom above show that Giant is obliged to follow

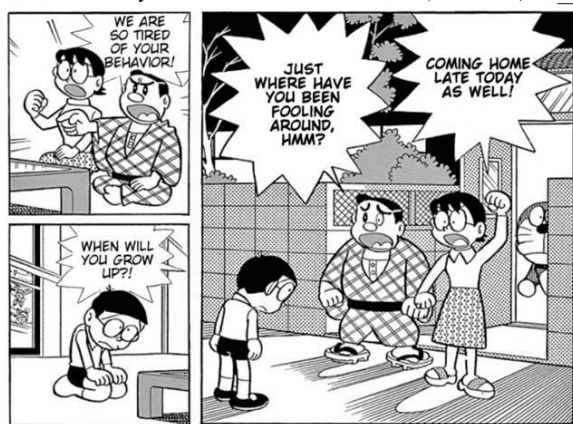
what mom asks him to do. Mom orders Giant to clean up the floor by saying, "Clean it up!!" It is a Face Threatening Act that limits Giant's freedom because he has to do what mom asks. Even though Giant does not feel that he is the one who makes the floor dirty, he still does mom's order immediately without arguing. This shows that Giant has the obligation to obey mom's order despite the fact that he is not the one responsible for the dirty floor. It can be seen that this scene contains the value of acquiescent respect.

Hard-Working Money Bees (Vol. 8)



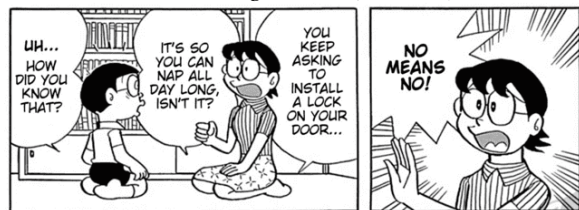
The excerpt above shows Nobita's obedience towards his mom. Mom orders Nobita to clean the house gutter by giving an utterance containing a Face Threatening Act that Threatens the Hearer's Negative Face, "Nobi-chan, if you have nothing to do, you can clean the gutter for me," said mom. Nobita refuses by saying that he is busy, but mom insists by watching Nobita from the back with an angry face. Nobita ends up cleaning the gutter as mom asks him to. It shows that Nobita must obey what mom asks regardless his unwillingness. This is related to the value of acquiescent respect in filial piety.

Runaway to Uninhabited Island (Vol. 14)



The excerpt above shows a scene where Nobita is being scolded by his parents for coming home late. It can be seen that Nobita keeps bowing down while his parents are criticizing his behavior, “We are so tired of your behavior! When will you grow up?!” say Nobita’s parents. This utterance is categorized as a Face Threatening Act that Threatens the Hearer’s Positive Face since it attacks Nobita’s self-image. Nobita’s bowing down shows the filial piety value of acquiescent respect. Nobita shows this respect by listening to his parents’ criticism and not talking back.

Man-Eating House (Vol. 14)



The dialogues above show that Nobita’s mom refuses to install a lock on Nobita’s bedroom door. Mom gives a Face Threatening Act that Threatens the Hearer’s Negative Face by refusing Nobita’s request. It limits Nobita’s freedom to have a lock on his bedroom door. In addition, mom also gives a Face Threatening Act that attacks Nobita’s positive face by giving criticism, “It’s so you can nap all day long, isn’t it?” Nobita feels that his mom won’t listen to him. He does not argue his mom, he just leaves the room while murmuring to himself. It displays the value of acquiescent respect where Nobita does not argue his mom and just listens to what

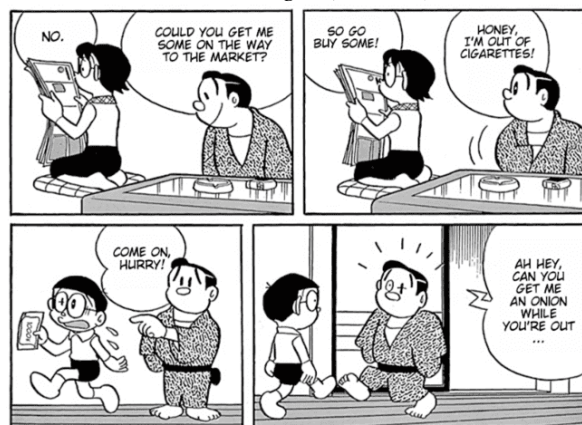
mom says.

Redon Life Machine (Vol. 15)



The excerpt shows Nobita’s obedience towards mom’s order, “Nobita, go play outside!!!” This utterance is an Act that Threatens the Hearer’s Negative Face because it is an order that limits Nobita’s freedom to stay in the room. Nobita then leaves the room, obeying mom’s order. This shows the value of acquiescent respect which demands a child to listen and obey their parents.

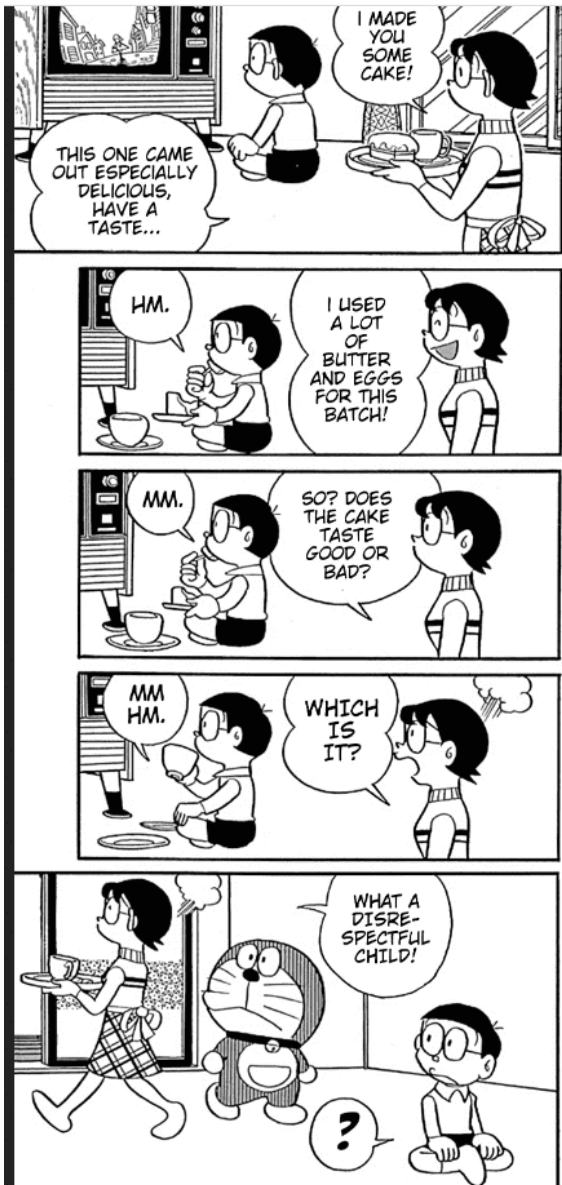
Rank Badges (Vol. 15)



The pictures above show that Nobita unwillingly obeys dad’s order to go to the market. “Come on, hurry!” said dad. It is an Act that Threatens the Hearer’s Negative Face since it limits Nobita’s freedom. Nobita’s unwillingness is shown from his facial expression. However, he still does the task demanded by dad. It shows the value of acquiescent respect where Nobita obeys dad’s order without arguing.

Giving Presentational Respect

Presentational respect is another filial piety value found in Doraemon. Presentational respect can be done by showing polite attitude towards parents. According to Aardt (2014), presentational respect is realized by showing particular gestures and postures to show respect.



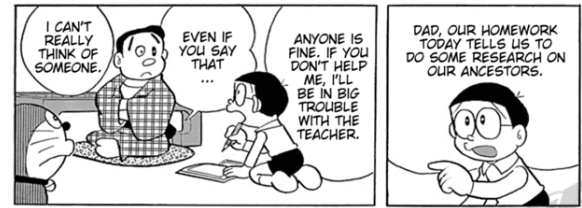
The excerpt shows that Nobita's mom is upset because Nobita does not give any comments on the cake she makes, "What a disrespectful child!" This utterance is categorized as a Face Threatening Act that Attacks the Hearer's Positive Face because mom criticizes Nobita and insults him as a disrespectful child. This shows that Nobita is expected to give presentational respect by showing polite attitude towards mom, for example by complimenting mom for making a delicious cake.

Respecting the Ancestors

Ancestors play an important role in East Asian culture. Paying respect to them is highly necessary in Japanese culture. According to Tamai and Lee (2002), ancestor worship was found on both Korean and Japanese students

participating in their study. Respect for ancestors is also found in Doraemon.

Boastful Ancestor (Vol. 14)



In the excerpt above, it can be seen that Nobita gets homework to write some research on his ancestors. Here, Nobita gives an act that threatens dad's negative face, "If you don't help me, I'll be in big trouble with the teacher," said Nobita. Nobita forces dad to tell him about his ancestors. This utterance is categorized as an FTA that attacks dad's negative face because Nobita limits his dad's freedom by begging him to tell about his ancestors. The fact that Nobita's teacher gives homework about ancestors shows that there is a sense of respect given towards ancestors, which is also a form of filial piety.

Consulting

As children are expected to please their parents, children tend to have the urgency to consult any issues with their parents before taking a decision. According to Bornstein (2008), in East Asia, children often continue to request for parental advice and guidance until they are adults.

Dreaming of Grandpa (Vol. 14)



The dialogues show Nobita's dad's dream. In his dream, his dad, who is Nobita's grandfather, advise him not to spoil Nobita. "Regarding Nobita... You are currently spoiling him too much," said grandfather. It is an *Act that Threatens the Hearer's Positive Face* because the grandfather criticizes Nobita's dad's parenting and it decreases his self-image as a parent. Even though it is only a dream, Nobita's parents take the advice very seriously. "Still, what he said is true. You spoil Nobi-Chan too much," said mom. "Hmm... Let's reconsider our parenting, for Nobita's sake," said dad. They then decide to be strict towards Nobita, "We have to be strict with him, just like what father told us," dad continues. It shows that Nobita's parents take the grandfather's suggestion seriously and do it accordingly by reconsidering their parenting style. It shows the filial piety value of consulting contained in Nobita's parents' consideration of grandfather's advice towards a family issue, i.e., Nobita's being spoiled.

From the discussion, it can be seen that most filial piety values contained refer to acquiescent respect shown by listening and obeying parents. Even though filial piety is often linked to adult children and their aging parents, young children can also get filial piety values from their non-aging parents. Several previous studies have examined filial piety received by school students in East Asia. Chen and Ho (2012) found that reciprocal filial piety is perceived positively by students which leads to high academic achievement. Sau-Yan Chow and Ho-Tat Chu (2007) also stated that filial piety has a positive contribution to a student's academic success. According to Sappor (2021), parents' influence and children's academic achievement is linked to filial piety because children have the obligation to reach academic success as a form of honour to parents.

This is linear to what happens with some of Doraemon's characters, i.e., Nobita and Giant. These two are obliged to obey their parents' order as a form of respect and honour.

Filial Piety Found in Kobo Chan

Kobo Chan contains more varied filial piety values than Doraemon. There is no particular filial piety value that significantly over-

dominates other values.

Prioritizing

Prioritizing is one filial piety value which emphasizes the importance of giving elderly priority on some occasions. According to Palmore and Pamore & Maeda (as cited in Koyano, 1989), elderly are given priority seats in buses, trains, and subways.

No Title (Vol. 40)



The dialogues said by Kobo's dad above shows an *Act that Threatens the Speaker's Positive Face*, "I'm too selfish, I don't prioritize elderly's needs." It is an act that threatens the speaker's self-image because he confesses to himself that he has bad attitude. This also shows the value of prioritizing in filial piety since the scene tells a story when a young girl gives up her seat for an old man on a bus. Kobo's dad feels very guilty for not doing that for the old man. This shows that the culture demands young people to prioritize the elderly in several circumstances.



The pictures above show a scene taking place on a bus. Uncle Takeo gives up his seat for an old woman standing across him. Uncle Takeo gives an Act that Threatens the Hearer's Negative Face, "Feel free (to have the seat)." By giving an offer, Uncle Takeo limits the old woman's freedom to choose where to sit or even whether she wants to sit or remain standing. This scene also shows the filial piety of prioritizing because young people are expected to prioritize the elderly in some circumstances, for example in a bus setting.

Giving Care Respect

Care respect in filial piety refers to one's obligation to take care of their parents, especially their aging parents. According to Sung (as cited in Ardt, 2014), care respect is one's general concern towards older people, including physical care.



The dialogues above show family's care towards Kobo's grandfather. At first, Kobo's grandfather insults a man who goes to a university entrance exam accompanied by his mom, "What a shame, how can you be accompanied by your mom just to take a university entrance test?" This is an Act that Threatens the Hearer's Self-Image (Positive Face) because he will be considered a spoiled child. However, it turns out that Kobo's grandfather is even accompanied by three people only to do a general check-up. This shows the filial piety of giving care respect done by Kobo's family for grandfather.

No Title (Vol. 17)



The pictures show Kobo's grandfather's Act that Threatens the Hearer's Positive Face which is complaining. "Look! These too-small shoes give me blisters!" said grandfather. In this case, the hearer whose face is threatened (the shoemaker) is not in the scene, but the utterance is in a form of a complaint so it is still categorized as an act that threatens the hearer's positive face. This utterance is very contradictory to the young woman's utterance which states that her mom gets blisters due to lying on the bed for too long. The picture shows the young woman is sitting beside her very old mom, implicitly showing that she is the one taking care of her aging mom. It shows the filial piety value of giving care respect for the elderly.

No Title (Vol. 5)



The excerpt shows a scene where Kobo gives an Act that Threatens the Hearer's Positive Face which is complaining, "Damn.. I've prepared the bowls." This leads to an implicit request for the family to use bowls instead of plates (face threatening act that threatens the hearer's negative face). The family ends up eating with the bowls. It can be seen that the family consists of Kobo, his parents, and his grandparents. This displays the filial piety of giving care respect towards the elderly because Kobo's parents have the responsibility to live together with their aging parents (Kobo's grandparents) and take care of them. According to Takagi and Saito (2013), living together with aging parents is called intergenerational co-residence which is a form of intergenerational social support.

Respecting the Ancestors

Filial piety demands one to respect not only their parents, but also their ancestors. Respecting the ancestors can be done by conducting various ceremonies.

No Title (Vol. 15)



The dialogues show some samples of face threatening acts. First, the cemetery keeper apologizes for the lack of water, “Sorry, we are lacking water.” This is an Act that Threatens the Speaker’s Self-Image. Moreover, Kobo’s grandfather complains, “Just like soup.” This is an Act that Threatens the Hearer’s Positive Face. Even though the cemetery keeper is not there, but the utterance is still categorized as an act that threatens the hearer’s self-image because it is in a form of a complaint. These dialogues also show that Kobo’s family gives respect for their ancestor by visiting their graveyard. According to Tamai’s study (2002), visiting family’s cemetery is considered important in Japan as a form of ancestor worship.

Celebrating Special Days

Celebrating parents’ birthdays, Mother’s Day or Father’s Day is one way to show the filial piety of celebrating special days. This is one way to show love and care for parents. According to Palmore (1975), Japanese society uses one’s 61st birthday as an occasion to show affection.

No Title (Vol. 15)



The dialogue shows that Kobo says thank you to his mom, “Thank you, Mom.” This is an Act that Threatens the Speaker’s Negative Face because by saying thank you, Kobo admits that mom has helped him in some ways; thus, Kobo needs to return that in the future. It limits his freedom. This also shows the filial piety value of celebrating special days because Kobo says thank you on Mother’s Day to show his gratitude for his mom.

Giving Gifts

Giving presents to parents is a way to show care and respect towards parents. This way of showing love is categorized as giving gifts value. As stated by Sung (as cited in Aardt, 2014), a child’s gift for parents might be realized with either material or symbolic present.

No Title (Vol. 19)



The excerpt above tells a story where Kobo is giving presents for his grandparents. The scene starts when a boy is giving a present to his grandfather. Then, the picture moves to Kobo's giving a present for his grandfather. When he is about to give a present for his grandmother, she shows up wearing make up to look younger. Kobo's mom said, "Critical age, grandmother doesn't want to admit that she is old." This is a Face Threatening Act attacking grandmother's positive face because mom mentions a taboo topic which is old age. For women, old age can become a very sensitive topic. Despite grandmother's refusal to be considered old, the scene above shows that Kobo and another boy appearing in the first picture respect their grandparents by giving them gifts. It shows the value of giving gifts in filial piety.

Giving Acquiescent Respect

Listening to parents and obeying their orders are ways to show acquiescent respect that exists in filial piety. According to Sung (2001), following parents' advice and direction without talking back is a way to show acquiescent respect.

No Title (Vol. 17)



The excerpt shows that Kobo is ordered by his mom to clean up the toys, "It was tidy before, now please tidy them up!" This is an Act that Threatens the Hearer's Negative Face because it limits Kobo's freedom. Kobo then tidies up his toys. The excerpt does not show any complaints or arguments from Kobo to his mom. This displays the value of acquiescent respect where Kobo obeys mom's order without complaining.

From the filial piety found in Kobo Chan, it can be seen that giving care respect has the highest number of appearances. This is due to the setting of the story itself where Kobo Chan lives with his parents and grandparents. In his daily lives, Kobo often experiences the practice of

giving care respect for his grandparents.

Filial Piety Values Appearing in Both Comic Books

Both Doraemon and Kobo Chan contain filial piety of giving acquiescent respect and respecting the ancestors. These two values differ greatly. Acquiescent respect refers to one's respect towards their living parents; while respecting the ancestors refers to one's respect towards their deceased ancestors. Even though these two values do not seem to correlate, there is one important finding found in this study. Giving acquiescent respect and giving care respect are two values that mostly appear in Doraemon and Kobo Chan, respectively. These two values have one shared core point which is one's devotion to their parents, either by obeying the parents (acquiescent respect) or by taking care of the parents (care respect). These two values have a high potential to influence today's generation to, whether willingly or unwillingly, take the role as a sandwich generation.

Conclusion

There are three important points highlighted in the current study. First, acquiescent respect, presentational respect, respecting the ancestors and consulting are the filial piety values appearing in Doraemon. Out of these values, acquiescent respect is the one that has the highest number of appearances (Research Question 1). Meanwhile, giving care respect, prioritizing, respecting ancestors, celebrating special days, giving gifts, and giving acquiescent respect are the filial piety values found in Kobo Chan. Out of these values, giving care respect is the one mostly occurs in the story (Research Question 2). In total, there are 10 filial piety values appearing in Doraemon and Kobo Chan (four values in Doraemon and six values in Kobo Chan), with two of them appear in both comic books, i.e., acquiescent respect and respecting the ancestors (Research Question 3).

These findings show that filial piety values do exist in Doraemon and Kobo Chan, with acquiescent respect and respecting the ancestors as the values that appear in both. Out of these two values, acquiescent respect has a higher number of appearances which shows that most 90's children were exposed to this value very often. In addition, there is a shared core value between the most appearing value in Doraemon (acquiescent respect) and the most appearing value in Kobo Chan (care respect). These two values emphasize the importance of devoting one's self to parents. The two values have a high

possibility of influencing today's generation to feel responsible towards their aging parents and decide to accept the role as a sandwich generation. It is suggested that future studies carry research on the correlation between filial piety values found in these two comic books and one's life decision to take care of aging parents. The result would then be of significant contribution to the pop culture industry for giving it insights on creating a culture-suited entertainment product.

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