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Encounters of Generations and Low/High cultures: Intercultural Communication in Amy Tan's *The Joy Luck Club*

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Abstract. Amy Tan is one of the most significant representatives of Asian American literature, who openly discusses both the link and the gap between her Chinese American identity and her Asian cultural heritage. By using the theoretical framework of Edward T. Hall (1976) on high- and low-context cultures and the theory of Anna S. Lau et al. (2006) on the link between culture and parent-child relationship, the present study focuses on the differences between intercultural and intergenerational communication in Tan's novel *The Joy Luck Club* and their impact on parent and child relationship. The study examines instances of verbal communication and conflicts arousing from the differences of the cultures of the daughters and the cultural background of the mothers and the cultural influence on people's behaviour and communication styles. The findings of the study confirm that although American culture reflects low-context values and Chinese culture values high-context communication, the communication between the mothers and the daughters changes throughout time, supporting the idea that the categorization of cultures does not involve fixed and stable phenomena and concepts, but is rather at the two ends of a continuum and is open to change due to intercultural and intergenerational encounters.

Keywords: high-and low-context culture, intercultural communication, communication style, behaviour, intergenerational encounters.

Research area: Social Structure, Social Institutions and Processes; Languages of the Peoples of the Foreign Countries (English).

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Контакты поколений из низко- и высококонтекстных культур: аспекты межкультурной коммуникации в романе Эми Тан «*The Joy Luck Club*»

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> Аннотация. Эми Тан – одна из самых значимых представительниц азиатскоамериканской литературы, которая открыто обсуждает как связь, так и разрыв между своей китайско-американской идентичностью и своим азиатским культурным наследием. Опираясь на теоретические работы Эдварда Т. Холла (1976) о высокои низкоконтекстных культурах и Анны С. Лау и др. (2006) о связи между культурой и отношениями между родителями и детьми, в настоящей статье на материале романа Э. Тан «*The Jov Luck Club*» выявляются и анализируются межкультурные и межпоколенческие различия в коммуникации и их влияние на отношения между родителями и детьми. В статье рассматриваются случаи вербальной коммуникации и конфликты, возникающие вследствие различий культур дочерей и культур матерей, а также влияние культуры на поведение людей и стили общения. Результаты статьи подтверждают, что, несмотря на то, что американская культура отражает низкоконтекстные ценности, а китайская – высококонтекстные, общение между матерями и дочерьми меняется с течением времени. Данный факт подтверждает идею о том, что категоризация культур не предполагает фиксированных и стабильных явлений и концептов, а скорее находится на двух концах континуума и открыта для изменений в результате межкультурного и межпоколенческого взаимодействия.

> **Ключевые слова:** высоко- и низкоконтекстная культура, межкультурная коммуникация, стиль общения, поведение, контакты поколений.

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Introduction

Culture has been identified as a significant factor influencing both verbal and non-verbal communication. Yang et al. point out that culture has a crucial impact on communication topics and can lead to many differences in communication including communication styles, for example using different tones to communicate, either direct or indirect (Yang et al., 2020: 2). Undeniably, culture plays a critical role in creating differences in communication, influencing

people's verbal communication (for example word choice), their interpersonal relationships and interaction patterns, their understanding of social hierarchy and positions in the family and their interpretation of environmental cues.

Intercultural communication is based on overcoming gaps and differences between various types of cultures, habits and environments, however, the differences between cultures can further be deepened by differences in age, personal beliefs, educational backgrounds, social contexts and differences in the environment in which particular individuals belonging to the same culture were brought up, just to mention a few factors. Even within the same family, members can experience cultural gaps and communication differences due to differences in the social contexts and environments of upbringing, which can lead to intergenerational conflicts.

The main aim of the present study is to apply Edward T. Hall's theory of high-context and low-context culture (1976) and the research findings and theory on parent to child aggression based on culture and context elaborated by Anna S. Lau et al. in 2006 to investigate intercultural communication and intercultural and intergenerational differences in Amy Tan's novel *The Joy Luck Club*, first published in 1989 in the USA. Amy Tan, the daughter of Chinese American immigrant families explores the nature and the roots of intercultural and intergenerational conflicts and provides guidance on how these differences can be overcome.

Theoretical framework High- versus low-context culture

American anthropologist Edward T. Hall's book Beyond Culture was published in 1976 and has been regarded as a significant landmark not only in anthropology, but also in communication theory, cultural studies, intercultural communication, identity research and many other fields. Hall's proposed theory on high-context versus low-context culture is based on the messages and ways of communication people in a given culture choose to communicate with (Hall, 1976). Hall explains that cultures cannot be categorized as exclusively high-context or low-context, instead, they tend to move on a continuum between two ends, two extremes based on the extent to which they take the context of communication into consideration. This distinction between cultures is useful particularly for understanding differences in communication and investigating how direct or indirect certain cultures are. High- and lowcontext cultures originally referred to language groups, national languages or regional communities (e.g. Hall, 1976; Kim et al., 1998; Roland, 1996), however, nowadays it is also applied to certain jobs, professions, cultural groups, subcultures, even corporations, business groups and the communication styles of online and offline environments and settings (e.g. Reyes, 2002; Wurtz, 2005; Saint-Jacques, 2011).

The basic differences between highcontext and low-context cultures, as claimed by Hall, is the extent to which communication requires context-related cues (Hall, 1976). High-context cultures regard social hierarchy, social norms and interpersonal relationships as important cues for communication and the inner feelings of individuals are kept hidden or at least under strong self-control (Kim et al., 1998). In high-context cultures, people are claimed to prefer implicit, symbolic language (Hornikx & Pair, 2017). Most communication takes place in the physical contexts or is internalized in the person and less information is contained in words, sentences and grammar (Hall, 1976; Yang et al., 2020). Generally, people in high-context cultures use indirect verbal communication, rely on non-verbal cues and are more introverted (Ramos, 2014). They appreciate and place a high value on interpersonal relationships, the member of this group are close-knit and have a strong sense of belonging to a community (Guffey & Loewy, 2022).

People in low-context cultures are much more individualized, communication between people is more explicit, direct and more confrontational (Hall, 1976; Kim, 1998; Ramos, 2014; Yang et al., 2020). Speakers prefer explicit, task-related language (Hornikx & Pair, 2017). Low-context messages are more context-free, rely on environmental cues less, they disregard the status of the speaker and the audience more. Speakers communicate in a way which is more consistent with their inner feelings, they are more open and direct (Yang et al., 2020).

Dealing with conflict

High- and low context cultures have also been studied from the point of view of level of confrontation and the way they handle and solve conflict. High-context cultures are generally assumed to be more socially oriented and more confrontation-avoiding, they are believed to have more problems with dealing with new situations (Kim et al., 1998). On the other hand,

low-context cultures have been confirmed to be more dominant in handling conflicts, they prefer uncompromising and dominant communication style (Croucher et al., 2012). A person from a high-context culture will examine the setting and the environment first, then will avoid referring to the problem arousing from a conflict directly (Wurtz, 2005; Yang et al., 2020). People from high-context cultures are more likely to repress feelings and personal opinions to maintain social or interpersonal harmony and do their best to avoid open and direct disagreement (Hall, 1976). However, disputes and tensions will inevitable gather and culminate, and member of high-context cultures are often triggered by seemingly unimportant incidents or remarks and explode or escalade quickly. Such explosions occur without prior warning and many times unpredictably (Kim et al., 1998).

Individualization of context

Hornikx and Pair point out that studies and research findings published since the appearance of Hall's theory have failed to support the theory with substantial empirical data. They quote Cardon who notes that "Studies that use contexting as an explanatory framework for cross-cultural variation almost invariably accept the contexting continuum" (Cardon, 2008: 400 In: Hornikx & Pair, 2017: 1-2). Hornikx and Pair emphasize the importance of measuring and assessing individual context score, which is a significant move towards individualization within the national context of the high/ low culture continuum. This shift is necessary, because not all individuals can be characterized by national or cultural stereotypes and there are individual differences and cultural variations in various settings and environments. Of course, investigating and understanding the general characteristics of dominant culture types can be helpful for understanding basic communication patterns and styles and can help to improve the quality of communication between speakers with different cultural background, but individual differences must not be neglected, since the differences between individual speakers belonging to the same culture but having different characteristics, for example age, educational background, intelligence, level of empathy, experience, etc. can have a significant impact on interpersonal communication.

Communication between Chinese parents and their Chinese American children

Several research findings confirm that there is a link between cultural background and parent and child relationship, parenting techniques and expectations (Tang, 1998; Wang & Phinney, 1998; Lee, 2000). High-context cultures such as Asian cultures expect obedience from children, emphasize their duties towards parents, respect for elders, fulfilment of obligations and promote absolute control of parents over the child. Parents do not tolerate misbehaviour, are more restrictive and authoritative than the parents in low-context culture (Lau, 2006).

Cultural minorities have a very unique position, especially when it is high-context culture individuals living in a low-context cultural environment. China and Chinese culture is typically regarded as high-context culture, so Chinese American immigrant families living in the USA, a typically low-context culture, must handle a lot of challenges. In the context of immigrant families, it is not only intercultural difficulties that they need to overcome, but within the family unit, they tend to face intergenerational conflicts as well, which often stem from the fact that second generation Chinese Americans, the children of immigrant parents usually adapt to the dominant culture and values more quickly and they learn the language more easily and more rapidly. These differences usually result in what Lee at al. call "intergenerational acculturation-related conflicts" (Lee et al., 2000: 215) documented in Asian American samples (Lee et al., 2000).

Differences in cultural socialization between parents and children in immigrant families are accompanied by the stress connected with minority status (for example the stress of perceived discrimination in various field of life, lower social standing) (Adler, 2000). This can lead to an increase in the risk of child abuse (either verbal or physical) and parent – child aggression (Park, 2001; Lau, 2006).

High- and low-context culture in Amy Tan's narrative

Amy Tan is one of the most celebrated and acknowledged literary figures of Chinese American literature, who openly writes and speaks about her own cultural experience as the descendant of Chinese immigrant parents. Tan frequently explores the gap between her cultural and personal identity and the one of her mother's and examines the roots of the conflicts that arouse from these differences throughout her relationship with her mother (Puskás, 2023, Puskás, 2024).

The Joy Luck Club is Tan's first successful novel, which demonstrates the differences between high- and low-context cultures in an excellent way. The novel is highly fragmented; it is divided into four main parts, each consisting of four stories, sixteen altogether, each showing a different perspective, either the mother's or the daughter's. The novel centres around eight characters, four mothers and four daughters. The mothers are Chinese immigrants living in the USA, all of them arrived to the new country after serious suffering, personal tragedies, violence and humiliation in China with the hope of a better future. The mothers live in San Francisco, Chinatown, a milieu of cultural mixture and diversity. They decide to establish the Joy Luck Club, which involves frequent gatherings, making and eating traditional Chinese food and playing a Chinese game called mahjong. One of the mothers is already dead when the story begins, it is her daughter, Jing-Mei Woo (or June, as she is called in American English) who takes her place in the Club.

The mothers belong to Asian, Chinese culture, which is generally considered as high-context culture (Yang, 2020), but the daughters are already socialized in a low-context, American culture (Yang, 2020). They are somewhere in-between, no more Chinese, but not yet American. They are looking for ways to fit in the new environment, they have a kind of double identity. One of the daughters, Waverly explains: "Waverly Place Jong, my official name for important American documents. But my family called me Meimei, "Little Sister."" (Tan, 2019: 98). Even her age was different in China and in America: "I was seven according

to the American formula and eight by the Chinese calendar" (Tan, 2019: 99).

The relationship between Jing-Mei Woo and her Chinese mother is a great example of how conflict and misunderstanding arouses from cross-cultural encounters within one single family leading to "intergenerational acculturation-related conflicts" (Lee, 2000). One of the barriers to communication between mother and daughter is the language barrier. The first-generation immigrant mother speaks Chinese, while the second-generation daughter speaks English, she only understands Chinese but cannot speak the language fluently. The mother can only communicate in English with mistakes, when she is angry or upset, she switches to Chinese. "So ungrateful," I heard her mutter in Chinese." (Tan, 2019: 157). Jing-Mei refers to these Chinese speeches many times: "These kinds of explanations made me feel my mother and I spoke two different languages, which we did. I talked to her in English, she answered back in Chinese" (Tan, 2019: 26). This language barrier even intensifies tension, leads to more conflicts and widens the gap between parent and child.

The daughter has to put effort into understanding what the mother says, which can lead to misunderstandings and, not least, increase the distance between the two of them. In the stories, bilingualism, in addition to carrying the possibility of deception and exclusion, also refers to the cultural position of the speakers. The difference, misunderstanding and conflict between mother and daughter is also due to the different characteristics of Chinese and American culture, the result of the "two kinds" of life outlook and cultural heritage. Marina Heung highlights that "Because of their historical devaluation, women in the Chinese family are regarded as disposable property or detachable appendages despite their crucial role in maintaining the family line through childbearing. Regarded as expendable objects to be invested in or battered (...). The position of women-as daughters, wives, and mothers-in Chinese society is therefore marked-

¹ "Two Kinds" is also the title of one of the chapters in the novel, the story narrated from the point of Jing-Mei Woo. In this story, the famous line appears: "Only two kinds of daughters" (Tan, 2019: 164).

ly provisional, with their status and expendability fluctuating according to their families' economic circumstances, their ability to bear male heirs, and the proclivities of authority figures in their lives." (Heung, 1993: 601). Due to this culturally different background, the mothers understand the world and especially the American world of low-context culture with surprise, often even with shock.

The mother's cultural background significantly influences her relationship with her daughter, she interprets this relationship along the principles of authoritarianism, blind obedience and the child's dependence on the parent. Following long periods of silence, June's mother finally exploded and shouted the following: ""Only two kinds of daughters," she shouted in Chinese. "Those who are obedient and those who follow their own mind! Only one kind of daughter can live in this house. Obedient daughter!"" (Tan, 2019: 164). These Chinese mothers have different ideas about the proper behaviour of girls: "Haven't I taught you – that it is wrong to think of your own needs? A girl can never ask, only listen." (Tan, 2019: 73). They had been raised to be silent and serve the needs of men or older women.

Her daughter, however, is already a second-generation Chinese-American girl, who is alien to her mother's point of view and is being brought up and socialized in a more equal society based on partnership relations, freed from strict and rigid moral standards. Her different attitude is formulated in the following remark: "I didn't have to do what my mother said anymore. I wasn't her slave. This wasn't China" (Tan, 2019: 163). The Chinese American daughter openly refuses blind obedience to parents and the authoritative power hierarchy between parent and child. The individualistic principles of American culture are different from the authoritarian Chinese culture, and the latter is closer to the daughter than the former.

Tan further accentuates the difference between Chinese and American culture by making Chinese mothers closer to spirituality, while their daughters are more practical and pragmatic. Mark Singer points out that "Tan creates two entirely different scripts of cultural identity, a realistically-outlined "American" identity for the daughters and an Orientalized "Chinese" one for their mothers" (Singer, 2001: 324). Patricia L. Hamilton writes: "The mothers inherited from their families a centuries-old spiritual framework, which, combined with rigid social constraints regarding class and gender, made the world into an ordered place for them." (Hamilton, 1999: 126). For the mothers, both spirituality and a way of life based on obedience and strict rules of behaviour mean order and security.

Changing cultural identities

Based on their revelations and comments, the daughters' understanding of Chinese culture together with their mother's identity seems to have changed by the time they reach adulthood and go through significant personal milestones (for example getting married, breaking up with partners, leaving university, taking up jobs, losing beloved ones).

It can be assumed that the experiences of the daughters and their understanding both of their mothers and Chinese culture as children is very much different from the way they understand these as adults. Several examples from the narratives confirm that as adults, the daughters have a more sentimental and forgiving idea about their mothers' motives and they become aware of what their mother might have felt when looking at their children being part of a culture they felt so uncomfortable about. "And then it occurs to me. They are frightened. In me, they see their own daughters, just as ignorant, just as unmindful of all truths and hopes they have brought to America. They see daughters who grow impatient when their mothers talk in Chinese, who think they are stupid when they explain things in fractured English. They see that joy and luck do not mean the same to their daughters, that to these closed American-born minds "joy luck" is not a word, it does not exist. They see daughters who will bear grandchildren born without any connecting hope passed from generation to generation." (Tan, 2019: 35).

The daughters openly accept that they were alien to their mothers and vice versa, they did not have the tools and means of communication to get their meaning across. "My mother and I never really understood one another. We

translated each other's meanings and I seemed to hear less than what was said, while my mother heard more." (Tan, 2019: 31).

Jing-Mei had two mental pictures of her deceased mother, one perceived as a child and another one she saw as an adult. As a stubborn child with her attitude and individualistic beliefs she used to stand closer to American culture, but as an adult, she interprets the communication between her and her mother much more consciously, and even moves towards Chinese culture – both by becoming calmer, more humble and community-centred and by paying more attention to the processes and hidden values behind Chinese culture trying to understand them in the best way she can. After her mother's death, she travels to China to look for her lost siblings, consciously approaching Chinese communication. "No, tell me in Chinese. (...) Really, I can understand." (Tan, 2019: 40) she tells her father when they arrive in China and as an adult she listens to her father's retelling of her mother's story about how she had been forced to leave her twin babies behind in war-torn China. She wants to become part of Chinese culture and community also by absorbing the language and manners.

As adults, the daughters identify similarities between their character, personality traits and seem to understand their mothers' motives more. "And I thought how much I seemed like my mother, always worried beyond reason inside, but at the same time talking about the danger as if it were less than it really was." (Tan, 2019: 141). The mother image and the image of Chinese culture that the mother embodies becomes a more intimate part of their identity. "I realized my mother knew more tricks than I had thought" (Tan, 2019: 202).

They stop fighting against it, instead, they make an important step towards accepting that it is part of their personal identity. ""At first I thought it was because I was raised with all this Chinese humility", Rose said. "Or that maybe it was because when you're Chinese you're supposed to accept everything, flow with the Tao and not make waves. But my therapist said, Why do you blame your culture, your ethnicity?" (Tan, 2019: 182).

As M. Mary Booth Foster has pointed out: "Voice finds its form in the process of interaction, even if that interaction is conflict" (Booth, 2009: 97). Throughout the series of conflicts resulting from cultural differences, language barriers, different attitudes, the daughters come to a very important conclusion: "Here is how I came to love my mother. How I saw in her my own true nature. What was beneath my skin. Inside my bones." (Tan, 2019: 45).

Conclusion and implications for further research

The results of this preliminary study confirm that a broader understanding of high- and low-context culture concept is necessary, and a move towards a more individualized understanding of these concepts is required because of the individual differences between the speakers and members of one community. Understanding and experiencing high- and low-context cultures is subject to change even within the life period of a single individual. Cultural differences within immigrant families and differences between generations (first generation and second generation immigrants) can widen the concepts of high- and low-context cultures. The findings of this study are in line with the findings of Hemant Shah (2003) and Grace Wang (2009) who also confirmed that the images of Asian American identity are constantly reshaped, the boundaries of Western high culture are reformulated (Wang, 2009) resulting in more liberating cultural images in the media and in literary texts.

The scope of this study was limited to examining concrete verbal utterances and examples of non-verbal reactions and behaviour in the novel *The Joy Luck Club* by Amy Tan, and thus overgeneralization of the results will require caution or should even be avoided.

Given the complexity of intercultural communication and the scope of high- versus low-context culture concepts, further research involving more literary texts and examples of the same kind is needed before formulating claims about Chinese American literary texts so that these concepts could be examined much more accurately and precisely.

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