Digital Culture in Hong Kong Canadian Communities: Literary Analysis of Yi Shu's Fiction

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Hong Kong Canadian Communities have particularly expanded between the 1980s 191 and the mid-1990s, in part owing to a new wave of Hong Kong immigration to Canada in recent years. This large-scale migration is mainly due to Hong Kong's dynamic geopolitical and economic relationships with Mainland China and Canada as a result of its transformation from a British colony (1842-1997) to a postcolonial city. Hong Kong Canadian migration and communities offer important contributions to the sociohistorical, political, and economic heterogeneity of multicultural Canadian communities. As a trading centre on Mainland China's south coast, Hong Kong was an important stop on the travels of Chinese migrants to Canada from the late eighteenth century to the early twentieth century. With the hardworking ethics of its population and its role as a window to the rest of the world for Mainland China, Hong Kong gradually developed from a fishing port into an industrial city and then became an international financial centre, making the most of an economic uplift that began in the 1970s. With the advance of global capitalism, Hong Kong has progressively established its distinctive judicial, financial, medical, educational, transportation, and social welfare systems, and gradually produced a local culture and a sense of identity.

Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) play a significant role in shaping contemporary diasporic communities, such as those of Hong Kong Canadians. According to Leopoldina Fortunati, Raul Pertierra, and Jane Vincent, "The appropriation of the new media by migrants has changed the way in which today people migrate, move, negotiate their personal and national identity and make strategies to deal with new cultures. Central among the main causes of the diffusion, adoption and domestication of ICTs by migrants are the globalization and the development of the broadband society" (1). Improvements in communication and

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transportation allow Hong Kong Canadians to negotiate their diverse and fluid identities, maintain their transnational social and economic ties, lead cross-cultural lifestyles disregarding territorial and national boundaries, and thus produce what Benedict Anderson has described as an "imagined community."

The influence of digital culture on Hong Kong Canadian communities has received insufficient attention and deserves further analysis. Digital culture generates paradoxical implications in contemporary Hong Kong Canadian communities: it facilitates Chinese Canadians' transnational and transcultural communication through social media, electronic devices, and travelling across oceans and continents; meanwhile, it creates the risk of alienation due to the users' over-reliance on technology in communication. Its social influences depend on the choices the users make and the benefits they derive from it. This paper explores the contributions of digital culture to the mobility and diversity of Hong Kong Canadian communities through transnational connection, virtual communities, and cultural innovations,

192 as depicted in Yi Shu's (Isabel Nee Yeh-su 倪亦舒 1946-) novels Zongheng sihai 縱橫 四海 (Crossing the Oceans, 1995), Hongchen 紅塵 (Red Dust, 1995), Xian yangguang congpei 西岸陽光充沛 (The Sunny West Coast, 1988), and Shaonian bu chou 少年不 愁 (The Youth Have No Worries, 2009).

YI SHU AND HONG KONG CANADIAN COMMUNITIES

The term *Hong Kong Canadian* is more specific than the broader term *Chinese Canadian*, which has been commonly used in academia. Hong Kong Canadians are those with Hong Kong cultural heritage who live and work in Canada, while Chinese Canadians include Canadians of Chinese cultural heritage from many different places, such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, Mainland China, South East Asia, Europe, North and South America, Australia, and elsewhere. Within the broader category of Hong Kong Canadian are variations among the population, such as date of immigration (first, second, third, or more generations), gender, sex, sexual orientation, religion, level of education, social classes, and location, all of which contribute to the diversity of Hong Kong Canadian communities.

Rather than being homogeneous and isolated, Hong Kong Canadian communities are pluralistic and open to other cultures: "borders of every kind are continuously crossed by people with different backgrounds in interchanges that mix commodities as well as experiences, ideas and imaginations" (Mantovani 21). Hong Kong Canadians may have migrated from different places before residing in Hong Kong and then transiting to other places, or may have migrated directly to Canada. The cultural heritage of Hong Kong Canadians is constantly shifting and interacting with various other cultures, leading to temporal and spatial transformations as the members of the community cross cultural borders and help construct a hybridized Canadian culture. ICTs provide Hong Kong Canadian communities with efficient and affordable opportunities for communication and travel, which greatly support their intercultural development.

Yi Shu's transnational experience serves as an example of the mobility and crosscultural experience of Hong Kong Canadians amid geopolitical and sociohistorical changes. Many Chinese migrated from Mainland China to Hong Kong during various social and political movements, such as the Sino-Japanese war (1937-45), the establishment of the People's Republic of China (1949), and the Cultural Revolution (1966-76). Like many other Hong Kongers, Yi Shu's family came from Mainland China, where her hometown is in the city of Ningbo in Zhejiang Province. She was born in Shanghai in 1946 and then moved to Hong Kong when she was five in 1951. She has close connections with Mainland China and has experienced diaspora from childhood. After finishing high school in Hong Kong, she worked as a newspaper reporter and film magazine journalist and editor. Her insight of Hong Kong culture was nurtured during her youthful experience in Hong Kong in the 1960s and 1970s.

British colonial rule in Hong Kong encouraged many middle- and upper-class Hong Kongers to study in Britain. The British education system implemented in Hong Kong has trained elitist students to easily adopt and adapt to the English language and culture. The frequent mutual communication and widespread network between Hong Kong and Britain also inspired many Hong Kong students to further their studies in Britain. Yi Shu, for example, studied hotel management in Manchester from 1973 to 1976. After returning to Hong Kong, she worked as a hotel manager, a human resources manager, a film scriptwriter, and a government officer in the Hong Kong Information Services Department. Her fiction depicts Hong Kongers' experiences of studying abroad in England, as well as white-collar city dwellers in Hong Kong.

Historical events such as the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984 that announced the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China in 1997, and the Tiananmen Square demonstration and its crackdown by the Chinese Communist Government in 1989, created anxiety over the future of Hong Kong, thus sparking large-scale emigration of Hong Kongers to Canada and other countries in the 1980s and early 1990s. This was in part a continuation of migration patterns from the late 1960s, facilitated by the Canadian universal points-based immigration system of 1967 and the Canadian Immigrant Investor Program of 1986, which emphasized skill levels and financial capital. Many of these immigrants settled in large multicultural cities such as Vancouver, Toronto, Edmonton, Calgary, Montreal, and Victoria. As part of the "emigration exodus" (Fong 31) in Hong Kong, Yi Shu immigrated to Canada in 1993; her novels are set in Canada, particularly Vancouver, Victoria, Toronto, and some other parts of the west coast.

Yi Shu occupies a significant position in contemporary Sinophone Hong Kong Canadian literature, which has captured the consciousness and lifestyles of many middle-class Hong Kong Canadians from the early 1990s onward. Her novels feature strong and independent female protagonists, and themes such as gender, love, 193

sexuality, parenthood, commercialization, and history. Witty conversation, psychological analysis, short paragraphs, and both elegant and colloquial language mark her writing style. Though her fiction in general has been regarded as popular cultural production and has not been taken seriously by critics as canonical literature in Chinese literary history, her works have significantly contributed to the literary and cultural discourses of the Hong Kong community of the 1970s and 1980s and that of the Hong Kong Canadian communities from the 1990s and onwards.

EARLY CHINESE MIGRANTS' COMMUNICATION

Early Chinese immigrants to Canada traditionally had to endure both physical and psychological distancing from their hometowns due to geographic and communication obstacles. From the mid-eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries,
194 Chinese immigrants to Canada mainly came from the Guangdong province. Most of them were indentured labours who helped build the Canadian Pacific Railway and later worked in mines, on farms, or in local businesses. They spoke Siyi dialects, ate Cantonese food, and wore Cantonese styles of clothes, and thus early Chinese Canadian communities shared elements of Cantonese culture. Most communication and transportation between Hong Kong and Canada in these early days were conveyed by ship, which could take anywhere from a month to half a year. An official record of "Postage to Canada" from Hong Kong was dated May 3, 1870 (Fok 38). Unofficial means of communication at this time included confiding in people to bring letters for their friends and relatives in their hometowns. Visits to those hometowns might take years due to financial and institutional obstacles.

In Yi Shu's *Crossing the Oceans*, the protagonist, Luo Sihai, travels from a village in Guangdong to Hong Kong and then to Vancouver by ship, which takes him more than half a year. Luo survives by working as a cook on the ship, and then becomes a laundry owner in Vancouver's Chinatown. He endures separation from his mother and younger siblings in China. In order to communicate with and send remittance to his family in Guangdong, he asks his uncle to serve as a mail carrier. Later, he receives a letter from his mother through a man from his hometown:

That man took out a crumpled letter from his pocket. "Luo Sihai, are you willing to pay ten dollars for this letter?" Sihai was amazed. "What kind of letter is worth ten days of salary?" The Cantonese man smiled, "Your uncle Chen Yiheng said it's a letter from your mother." After Sihai had heard it, he took out his hand. "It's worth it. Give me the letter." (172, my translation)

Like his Chinese peers in Canada, he hopes to return to China one day to visit his family and relieve them from the suffering of poverty.

CONTEMPORARY TRANSNATIONAL CONNECTIONS

Extraterritorial contact with other parts of the world, which was previously impossible, has become part of Hong Kong Canadians' quotidian life experience since the 1990s, and these connections are creating astonishingly speedy changes: "Whether ten or fifteen years ago broadcast and telecommunications were distinct realms, these boundaries have long since faded. Major media conglomerates in Canada such as Rogers and Quebecor have merged content and hardware and operate through multiple platforms" (Taras xii). Digital globalization has shattered national and geographic boundaries, thus transforming and shaping the culture of Hong Kong Canadian communities. Digital media allow Hong Kong Canadians to maintain close connections with friends and family outside of Canada. They can use ICTs such as landlines, mobile phones, and webcams to communicate with others with whom they are in long-distance relationships. Personal history, family memories, friendships, and social events are now recorded and tracked via social media, such as Twitter, Facebook, blogs, and Web sites, in a public platform that promotes transnational connections.

Hong Kong Canadians, as members of a transcultural community, maintain involvements in both places and cultures. Many have dual citizenship; some have careers in Hong Kong while living in Canada; and some, known as "astronauts" (Ong 127), travel back and forth to take advantage of political, social, and economic opportunities. In the mid-1990s, a significant number of Hong Kong immigrants in Canada returned to live and work in Hong Kong, or shuffle between Hong Kong and Canada. Most of them came to Canada mainly to obtain Canadian citizenship for political security, and to seek better living and education conditions for their children. After the family settled down, usually the father would return to Hong Kong for better employment prospects and business environments. Family separation has become a common phenomenon among Hong Kong Canadians, and ICTs help to maintain connections between members of the family.

In Yi Shu's *The Youth Have No Worries*, for example, the father is, literally, an astronaut who communicates with his family via webcam while he is in space:

In a short while, the visual image appeared: "I am Captain Stana. Hi, Ms. Wong and Zidu. Please be ready for messages from the International Space Station... Zidu, please prepare pop and popcorn. Don't be too excited." [...] Dad appeared on the screen. I cried like a child: "Dad, how are you?" He smiled, "Zidu, we travelled along the orbit of the earth. We are now above the Pacific Ocean and are overlooking the Isabela Island and the Fernandina Island of the Galápagos. How's my little princess?" (20, my translation)

His use of the webcam to contact his daughter allows him to be a father in practice by relying on the assistance of digital media as he is separated from his family by time and distance. His occupation as an astronaut symbolizes most Hong Kong immigrant fathers' "astronaut" status—always flying up in the air. Whether the father is in space or in another country is no longer the centrality of the issue; what is at stake

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is that the family members' relationship is made possible by technology, though in a form of mediated relationship rather than a face-to-face relationship.

Travelling back and forth between Hong Kong and Canada by air is becoming more accessible and affordable for Chinese Canadians, due to the improvement of technology and the flourishing of the air transportation industry, especially since the late twentieth century. Many Chinese Canadians travel frequently between Canada and Hong Kong to visit friends and families and to deal with other businesses. An example can be seen in Yi Shu's *The Sunny West Coast*:

The guest of honour is Ms. Situ. They just had a farewell dinner with her three months ago. Today, they welcomed her back for her short visit [...] Then Situ complained to Yishi. She smiled and said, "You even don't write letters to me." Yishi smiled and replied, "You came back before the letters arrived." (40, my translation)

Ms. Situ enjoys her travels between Canada and Hong Kong, and demonstrates how Hong Kong Canadians maintain transnational connections. Migrants from Hong Kong no longer completely disappear from the lives of their family and friends who stay behind. Instead, their frequent interactions between Hong Kong and Canada enable them to act as cultural translators, who efficiently exchange information, goods, and lifestyle pecularities of both communities. The activities of transcultural Hong Kong Canadians have transformed the traditional gain-and-loss paradigm of the migration process into socioeconomic and cultural assets for both their country of origin and their home country.

VIRTUAL COMMUNITIES

ICTs allow Hong Kong Canadians to create "imagined communities" based on the creation and sharing of a common culture and identity via the transmission of information and the coordination of activities in virtual social networks such as online newspapers, blogs, and messageboards. According to Fortunati, Pertierra, and Vincent, "In fact migrants demonstrate a use of ICTs, such as Web 2.0, mobile phone and satellite television, which is often stronger than that of natives. Migrants can use the new media for mitigating the trauma of separation, being more able to keep in touch among themselves and with those left in their country of origin, but also for handling their life more easily in the new communities" (5). By enabling Hong Kong Canadians to maintain bonds with family and friends in Canada and elsewhere, ICTs diminish physical and social distance and create a sense of belonging to both Hong Kong and Canada.

Yi Shu's *Hongchen* 紅塵 (*Red Dust*) (1995), for instance, depicts the breaking down of boundaries, remoteness, and social segregation in a migrant's new life on Vancouver Island:

Ruxin raised her head and asked, "Can I watch TV?" "Oh, there are satellite signals on

the island. TV shows from all over the world can be received." It is definitely a peach blossom outside this worldly place, but it will not be isolated from the world. (31, my translation)

The female protagonist, Ruxin, is worried that after migrating from Hong Kong to Vancouver Island, she may experience social isolation. She is relieved when she learns that she can obtain updated information and entertainment from satellite television, overseas channels, and paid television shows or movies that feature Hong Kong, Canada, and other parts of the world. Both local and global, as well as traditional and contemporary, diverse narratives and storytelling are performed and widely available.

Digital culture has opened up a world without boundaries on the Internet. Chinese Canadians can receive information and obtain entertainment from television, social networks, and online websites, provided that they have access to these media. Hong Kong Canadians can enjoy multicultural media or those that are more specifically tailored to the interests of their immediate community. A risk of the latter, however, is the possibility that engaging only in Hong Kong Canadian media could entail ignoring other languages and culture and thus lead to the ghettoization of their community.

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Cultural Innovation

Technical innovations have nurtured cultural innovations that further support the development of Hong Kong Canadian communities. For example, Cantonese is the major spoken language of Hong Kong, while Chinese characters are the written language, mainly in the form of standardized Putonghua, which is the official language of the People's Republic of China. There are many differences between the auditory and visual aspects of the Chinese language: Chinese characters are pictorial and can be pronounced in different dialects, but the pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, and sentence structures of Cantonese and Putonghua are different. Putonghua has been commonly used in Hong Kong as a spoken language since the late 1970s, which saw the implementation of Mainland China's open-door policy and an increase in interaction between Hong Kong and the mainland. Since the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty from Britain to China, the Hong Kong government has attempted several times to implement Putonghua as the medium of instruction in local schools,¹ but received considerable resistance.² To this day, Cantonese still constitutes a significant part of the psychological, social, and cultural identity of Hong Kongers, and by extension that of Hong Kong Canadians.

The development of a system for digital representation of Cantonese written characters helps promote its usage and, by extension, the construction of Hong Kong Canadian communities. This also includes the transcription of words that are used in Cantonese but not in Putonghua. The juxtaposition of Cantonese with standard-

ized Putonghua gives Cantonese an equivalent status to the official language of the mainland. For example, in Yi Shu's The Youth Have No Worries, set in in a town on the west coast of Canada, two young Chinese Canadian high school students are arguing: "'你搶錢!' '我幾時見過你的錢。'" (3).3 The word "幾" is commonly used in spoken Cantonese to mean 'how many,' 'how much,' or 'what.' Together with the word 時 'time,' the combined words 幾時 mean 'when.' In Putonghua, the word 幾 is not commonly used; the more frequently used forms are 多少 'how many' or 'how much,' or 什麼 'what.'

Much of the vocabulary and grammar in Cantonese are based on classical Chinese. The word 幾, for example, can be found in ancient Chinese poetry and literature. The first line of the Song Dynasty poet 蘇軾 Su Shi's (1036-1101) famous poem "水調歌頭" [Prelude to Water Melody] is "明月幾時有".4 The word 幾 is used in this Song poem to connote the meaning 'when' in combination with the word 時. This word, 幾, commonly used in ancient Chinese, is retained in contemporary spoken 198 Cantonese.

Yi Shu's Crossing the Oceans presents an example of spoken Cantonese words that indicate feelings or emotions. When the protagonist, Luo Sihai, hears from an old sailor that Queen Victoria of the United Kingdom of Britain and Ireland is a plump lady, he exclaims, "噫,你怎麼知道?" (54).⁵ The word 噫, an interjection that expresses surprise, concern, or doubt, in this context denotes Luo's surprise. It is not commonly used in Putonghua, but can be found in classical Chinese, as in the following passage from 論語·先進 (Analects, Xianjin):「顏淵死,子曰:『噫!天喪予!天喪予!』」 (Lunyun 11/9).6 Yanyun is Confucius's most beloved disciple. Therefore, when Yanyun dies, Confucius expresses his deepest sorrow, as if Heaven is taking his own life. The word 噫 is used in this context to indicate Confucius's feelings of grief, pain, and concern.

These examples from classical Chinese literature and Yi Shu's fiction illustrate cases of Cantonese expressions that have been preserved in written form and widely circulated in permanent media. As these Cantonese characters are recreated for digital technology, they help to further foster the development of Cantonese-speaking communities, such as Hong Kong Canadians.

PARADOXICAL IMPLICATIONS OF DIGITAL CULTURE

In his groundbreaking work Understanding Media, Marshall McLuhan described the concept of the "global village" as "Electric Speed in bringing all social and political functions together in a sudden implosion has heightened human awareness of responsibility to an intense degree" (5). McLuhan claims that teenagers and different ethnic groups, including those that are less privileged, can no longer be contained but "are now involved in our lives, as we in theirs, thanks to the electric media" (5). Once they gain access to computers, phone services, networking sites, and social media,

Hong Kong Canadians are no longer objects reported by the media or passive receivers of information, but *creators* of media themselves.

The young generation, in particular, is more eager and competent in mastering new technology than its forebears: "The profile of young people with a high ICT role in the home context includes a high rate in attitude, belief and competence scales, more than average young people ask help from friends outside of home, and they have been encouraged to use ICT by useful tasks" (Lahtinen 593). Young people can help teach older generations, such as their parents and grandparents, how to skillfully use ICTs to access news, shop online, and share information with family and friends, among many other tasks. All of these technological advancements in the everyday lives of ordinary people significantly transform Hong Kong Canadian communities.

The Youth Have No Worries provides an example of the many roles of communication technology in the lives of Hong Kong Canadians:

On New Year's Eve, someone lights the firecrackers, far and close, with small sparks. I read a blessing from my father via email. At first, we wrote greeting cards and sincerely sent them out. Then, we greeted people by phone. That was better; at least we had to call and talk. Today, by pressing one button, a hundred emails were sent immediately. All done. I use the same method to greet my schoolmates. (176, my translation)

This passage demonstrates how electronic media help to contract the world into the "global village" described by McLuhan, and how Hong Kong Canadians are able to maintain contact with others from far away. The Internet provides an open platform for young people's self-expression and self-creation, thus overcoming spatial and temporal limitations.

A potential risk of digital culture, however, is that human autonomy could become compromised by technological control. McLuhan uses the metaphor of media as an extension of the human body in his exploration of the impact of digital culture on the community: "By continuously embracing technologies, we relate ourselves to them as servo-mechanisms. This is why we must, to use them at all, serve these objects, these extensions of ourselves, as gods or minor religions. An Indian is the servo-mechanism of his canoe, as the cowboy or his horse or the executive of his clock" (51). W.J.T. Mitchell picks up on this metaphor about half a decade later, when describing technology users as "the canoes that carry our smart gadgets around in pockets and backpacks, counting on them to send us messages about where to go and what to do" (89). Mitchell further argues that human beings have become technological media in themselves, and their engagement with one another is threatened by their heavy dependence on the information they receive.

Depending on the users themselves and their specific uses of communication technology, digital culture can either bring people closer together or farther apart. Yi Shu's *The Youth Have No Worries* depicts this paradoxical impact of digital culture on the lifestyles of Hong Kong Canadian youths, providing a vivid description of how technology can reduce physical contact between users: The more advanced the technology, the weaker the human relationship. Teachers no longer give tutorials. They only say the question is on what and what .com. The assignment is due next Monday and students should send their assignments to the following email address. When people call big companies, they only talk to machines. If you want... please press one. If you want... please press eight. Occasionally, when a real person speaks, you will freak out. Movies all use technology... The images of beautiful women in magazines are all edited by computers... Nothing is real. (145, my translation)

These examples of teaching and learning at school, telephone communication, and Photoshop enhancements of models in magazines, as seen from the perspective of a Chinese Canadian youth in Vancouver, illustrate the potential hindrances of ICTs on real-time or face-to-face communication that run the risk of driving human relationships further apart and creating a more fictionalized world.

200 CONCLUSION

In the past, Chinese Canadians were separated from their families due to geographic boundaries and communication barriers. Since the 1990s, Hong Kong Canadians have been extensively engaged in digital culture and have encountered its paradoxical implications. On the one hand, digital culture facilitates the flow of people, commodities, and social networks within Canada and in their countries of origin. On the other, the creation of virtual communities may jeopardize human physical contact. Yi Shu's fiction serves as eloquent reminders that the effects of ICTs on Hong Kong Canadians depend on how they use those technologies, and that digital culture is a powerful tool in the new world of fluid and diverse communities created through transnational connections and cultural innovations.

Notes

- In 2003, the Standing Committee on Language Education and Research of the Hong Kong government published the "Action Plan to Raise Language Standards in Hong Kong." This document pointed out that the Hong Kong government needed to investigate the conditions necessary for both primary and secondary schools to adopt Putonghua as the medium of instruction for Chinese-language education. From 2008 to 2014, 160 of 1000 primary and secondary schools in Hong Kong adopted Putonghua as a medium of instruction. See also "The Legislative Council Paper No. CB(4)1181/15-16(03)," www.legco.gov.hk/yr15-16/english/panels/ed/papers/ed20160702cb4-1181-3-e.pdf.
- Some examples of resistance groups are the Facebook groups "Cantonese Language" and "HKU CANTO," which defend the Cantonese language as a lingua franca in Hong Kong.
- 3. "You stole [literally, robbed] the money!" "When did I see your money?" (my translation).
- 4. "When will the full moon appear?" (my translation).
- 5. "Eh, how do you know?" (my translation).
- 6. "[When] Yanyun died, Confucius said, 'Alas! Heaven is destroying me! Heaven is destroying me!" (my

translation).

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