# Diasporic Histories

## Cultural Archives of Chinese Transnationalism

*Edited by*

**Andrea Riemenschnitter and Deborah L. Madsen**

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— Britta Erickson, *The Art of Xu Bing*

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# Introduction

*Andrea Riemenschnitter and Deborah L. Madsen*

Are we living in a "post-Westphalian" era that marks the end of the nation-state? This question is motivated by the rise of new forms of capitalist globalization and, in the academy, by new critical approaches that offer the postcolonial deconstruction of residual Eurocentric epistemologies. It is no longer feasible to view the globe as divisible into discrete, territorial nation-states with homogeneous populations and political sovereignty more or less exclusively controlled by representative governments. Instead, we witness both large-scale transnational flows of capital, goods, and people that produce structures of power that are located outside of and in parallel with the regulatory state, and formations of grass-roots resistance that appear increasingly heterogeneous, spontaneous, and violent. As the categories of East and West, Mainland China and Taiwan/Hong Kong, centre and periphery, nation and diaspora, power and knowledge, are joined in increasingly contingent relationships, our ideological, geopolitical, and metaphysical borders (like the Cold War "Iron Curtain") are blurring, and seemingly stable "identity enclaves" like national culture or civilization begin to crumble. The cultural construction "diaspora" can be (and in fact *is*) everywhere and, accordingly, any politics of identity production becomes entangled in contradictions, compelled to engage in large-scale renegotiations (Callahan 2004, 219–29).

In response to these macro-social developments, historians paradoxically need to reorient their inquiries towards micro-history, that is, towards local and particular moments, as well as fissures and gaps, in the production of historical knowledge. Archives are now being filled with diverse counter-narratives to the modernist "master narrative". A series of reflexive turns, particularly linguistic and cultural, have contributed further to a sense of crisis in the perception and representation of reality that can be defined as the "postmodernization of historiography". According to Arif Dirlik, the substitution of a paradigm of globalization for the paradigm of modernization has consequences that reach far beyond the recognition of new groups and the empowerment of other groups. This paradigm shift raises urgent questions about "the nation-state as an appropriate political, economic, and cultural unit" (Dirlik 2001, 40). The disappearance of socialist alternatives to capitalism and the erosion of Euro-American political and economic power have further induced Western historians to engage in a renegotiation

of global cultural relations. In particular, multiculturalist rewritings of history seek to reinscribe "those that had been left out of it or condemned to backwardness" (Dirlik 2001, 43). However, these formerly invisible or "subalternized" subjects are now less and less willing to accommodate themselves to a version of their past narrated by Western historians. Rather, their more radical aim is to reclaim their own historical narratives and, while writing back in the postcolonial sense, to seek not only alternative modernities but also alternatives to modernity and to academic historiography.

The situation is further complicated by an emergent multiplication of pasts, an ensuing erosion of the modernist paradigm of historical progress, and the marginalization of both historians and historiography in an era when popular and commodified forms of historical representation like novels, movies, and theme parks flourish. The consequences, Dirlik warns, are not necessarily favourable for democracy. When an ideologically loaded and distorted coherence is simply replaced with a potentially more realistic but opaque contingency, negotiations for political power by globalized subjects are weakened. We are thus confronted with a phenomenon of proliferating narratives and histories, which still await meaningful integration into new visions of human dignity and liberation. It is worth quoting Dirlik here at some length:

> If postmodernism in history means anything, at the very least it points to a proliferation of pasts making claims on the present. Such proliferation is liberating to the extent that it enriches the repertory of pasts to draw on in order to act in the present and imagine the future. But it can also be devastating in its consequences if it leads not to open-ended dialogue but to resurgent culturalisms that, against the evidence of history, insist on drawing boundaries around imagined cultural identities—not just to keep out what is constructed as foreign but, more seriously, to suppress the diversity within. What is constructed seems to be the more likely possibility in a world where identity is not the product of freewheeling negotiations but is still subject to the prerogatives of power of various kinds. Rather than usher in renewed hopes for alternative futures, the denial of the teleologies that have informed history instead has rendered the future opaque: As a chaotic present makes a mockery of any effort to contain the pasts it has unleashed, the future itself is caught up in the terrifying anxieties of the present, stripped of its power to inspire or to guide. (Dirlik 2001, 40f.)

Our book is certainly not the first to address these issues, and the essays assembled here draw from a wide range of interventions that deal with many of the problems which are foregrounded in our work.

The main line of argument presented here could be described as an attempt to study Chinese diasporas in their specific, historical situatedness as the most important aspect of their cultural dynamic. We do not attempt to privilege the idea of a *politics* (and poetics) of identity construction vis-à-vis the broader framework of a diasporic, cultural, or collective community consciousness as inscribed by particular realities, like traumatic events and injuries, as well as imaginings, such as memories and fictional narratives. Our approach tries to go beyond the notion of a group identity as first and

foremost a mental operation inasmuch as it acknowledges the (psychological, social, political, economic) imprints imposed by realities upon subjects. We see agency as the outcome of negotiations (however incomplete) between concrete, material conditions and locally available meanings and strategies. Therefore, diasporic histories are seminal in our attempt to retrace human experiences and ground them in the transnational cultural articulations that are circulating today. As Dirlik has cautioned, even postmodern historians need to adhere to a certain constructivism in order to envision alternatives for the future, but their vision must be sufficiently grounded in past and present realities: "History may not give us truth but it does help in uncovering (or discovering) those realities" (2001, 48f.).

The work of Rey Chow, certainly since the 1993 publication of *Writing Diaspora* but effectively since *Women and Chinese Modernity* appeared in 1991, has contributed powerfully to disciplinary moves that embrace the productively ambiguous meanings of "Chineseness". Chow's work has contributed positively to the development of a new paradigm for the study of diasporic Chinese identity as the effect of linguistic, social, economic, and cultural discourses. Other scholars from different disciplines have expressed their concerns about the conceptual stability and "theoretical respectability" of *diaspora* (Ong and Nonini 1997, 18), in view of the increasingly contested and complicated application of the term to a widening range of migration phenomena. Ping-hui Liao observes that "[a]pparently, diaspora has too many facets and does not adequately address concrete cultural issues". He goes on to list critical references to this term that range from "transnationality, the gay movement, ethnic communities abroad, consumerism, global contemporaneity, stateless and flexible citizenship, colonialisms, and alternative modernities, to return migration, foreignness, plurality, identity crisis, minority, exile, difference, exhibiting ... museum culture, etc." (Abbas and Erni 2005, 505).

From this perspective, micro-histories of diasporic Chinese experience have gained considerable significance in the fields of philological, regional, historical, and cultural studies. Well into the 1980s, Chinese diaspora communities constituted a minor subfield of migration studies, or Chinese ethnography, and were perceived by some anthropologists as constituting a "residual China", to be studied for lack of access to "the real China" (Ong and Nonini 1997, 7). Now, comparative analyses of Chinese migrational flows, in both premodern and modern historical contexts, not only explore economic, legal, and demographic conditions but also analyze diasporic subject positions, focusing analytical effort upon the ways in which modern nomadic actors tackle the fissures and boundaries between different historical times, diverse geographical regions, and distinct intellectual traditions. They also interrogate the relations between Chinese exile communities and both their native "home" and alien or "host" environments. A focus on the dynamism of minority communities within a nationalistic context, to be studied with respect to the economic and political as well as cultural processes of globalization, has considerably broadened the field of diaspora studies. In response to the intellectual expansion and disciplinary dynamism of the field, the present collection of essays offers a series of historical and theoretical interventions. In this Introduction

we want briefly to outline the issues with which our contributors engage and to indicate the nature of these interventions.

In order to gain new insights, we first need to revise our current concepts and vocabularies of displacement. It is now commonly accepted, based on a growing body of historical investigation into the various chronotopes of Chinese migration (workers in South-east Asia, the US, and Latin America, business people in cosmopolitan environments, middle-class Hong Kong families in Vancouver, dissidents, and so on), that the abstract notion of "Overseas Chinese" does not name a single and homogeneous way of Chinese minority community life (Lau 2006; Li 1989; McKeown 1999, 2000; Wang in JOC 2005). Understanding Chinese diaspora through "geographies of regions" (Ma and Cartier 2003, 385) and the diversity of historical experience and agency (Charney, Yeoh and Kiong 2003; Christiansen 2003; Pan 1999, 1994), rather than through homogenizing identity markers (as traditionally ascribed to diasporic subjects by host communities), has opened up the field to fine-grained explorations of identity formation — past, present, and future — that can only function in close relation to the localities inhabited by these transnational migrants physically and/or spiritually (Louie 2004; Chan 2006).

In the Chinese context, such an understanding of diaspora may constitute what Aihwa Ong and others refer to as a "new" diaspora of global post-nationalism in contrast with the "old" diaspora of indenture. Lily Cho, for example, notes that "Aihwa Ong's discussion of flexible citizenship...invests in a sense of urgency around the need to separate old and new diaspora subjects....This appeal for a consideration of a new migrant subjectivity divorced from the old one of indentured and migrant labour movements hopes to fend off contemporary racism by arguing against archaic representations of Chineseness that are not representative of contemporary Chinese diasporic populations" (Ng and Holden 2006, 58). Just what the implications might be of this perception of "old" and "new" diasporas is explored in the essays that follow.

Transnational players occupy regional, national, and international zones of cultural contact that are inscribed as increasingly complex transnational locations of belonging (Clifford 1994, 303). Yet, as the essays collected here demonstrate, the experience of displacement, whether that be voluntary migrancy at one extreme or exile at the other, has always been a complex business. Under the conditions of severely asymmetrical power relations produced by late capitalist, globalized regimes of "flexible accumulation" (Harvey 1989) that are not only economic and political but also cultural, agency must be revised in order to address adequately diverse new social arrangements. Thus, the dominant disciplinary gaze has turned inward, and the academic concept of diaspora is now instrumental to the theoretical analysis of subject positions that are posited as oscillating between home/s and host/s. As Liao argues, it "is above all about difference, cultural, socio-economic, political, religious, sexual and gender"; diaspora can and should be employed to analyze:

> the psychosocial experience of defeat and re-adjustment, of the arts of survival the characters (*of historical, anthropological, fictional, or aesthetic inquiries*) deploy in the face of huge obstacles to success. ... In response to dislocation, distanciation, and difference, diasporas tend to form disjunctive

> subjectivities, often in the almost unrecognizable form of what Jacques Lacan terms "anamorphosis", of a contorted projection of hopes and fears into a distorted field of vision. Diasporas desire to belong while tortured by lack; their worldviews and discursive practices are informed by fetish desires to reproduce or to fill in the gap between the home and the new world. (Liao in Abbas and Erni 2005, 507; emphasis added)

This kind of observation characterizes the discourse used by transnational diaspora scholars like Ping-hui Liao to express their uneasiness towards approaches that continue historically to map, or sociologically to define, diasporas as locally and demographically stable communities. These communities are not necessarily neatly situated within the borders of alien host nation-states. They share grievances that arise from one-way mobility as well as from the division of loyalties between a host nation and a distant nation-state conceived as "home".

After the last mass exodus of Chinese from mainland China on account of political turmoil, the second half of the twentieth century offered a continuously diversifying choice of overseas economic opportunities, ranging from the most ruthlessly exploitative forms of industrial labour to relatively comfortable white-collar professionalism in Hong Kong, Singapore, and other cities around the Pacific Rim. Even after the watershed of the Second World War and well into the 1980s, the majority of Chinese migrants from the Mainland experienced modernity as Western "otherness", to be painfully embodied through a double bind of racial discrimination and low incomes "here" and high expectations of financial support "there". Nevertheless, the living and working conditions of migrant groups are always locally as well as historically specific and need to be studied according to circumstances.

As a way to circumvent the fallacies of narrow definitions of diaspora that do not adequately allow for historical change and cultural dynamism, James Clifford proposes a "currency of diaspora discourses" (Clifford 2005) that establishes a fundamental difference between "tribal" and diasporic cultures. The "sense of rootedness in the land", characteristic of tribal societies, becomes for Clifford a crucial marker of the difference between diasporic and other kinds of communities. However, he does acknowledge the fundamental instability of diaspora as a descriptive concept, conceding that, in "the late twentieth century, all or most communities have diasporic dimensions (moments, tactics, practices, articulations). Some are more diasporic than others" (Clifford 2005, 532). This very flexible model of diaspora allows us to shift our attention from the culturalist assumption of homogeneous "old" diaspora communities to a more dynamic, functionalist approach that analyzes various forms of strategic (or tactical) position-taking — by individual subjects or groups — within a "new" diasporic referential matrix.

While extending the possibilities for postmodern diasporic identifications, Clifford reminds us also of the historical realities that provide the blueprint for William Safran's model. Safran had suggested a catalogue of six basic criteria for the definition of diaspora, which he and other scholars later revised and supplemented. He defined the concept of diaspora as applying to expatriate minority communities that share several of the following characteristics:

1. dispersal from a specific original center to at least two "peripheral" regions,
2. maintenance of a "collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland",
3. emotional alienation or insulation from the host society,
4. a vision of eventual return (of themselves or their descendants) to their ancestral homeland,
5. a commitment to the prosperity of the original homeland, and
6. an "ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity" that is importantly defined through their continuing relationship to this homeland. (Safran 1991, 83f.)

Safran's "ideal type" of diasporic community has since been significantly amended to account for the importance accorded to the specific institutions that diasporic communities create in their host countries in order to articulate and support their own, distinctive cultural frameworks of belonging (cf. Brah 1997, Safran 1999, Schnapper 1999). This aspect of diasporic self-fashioning is of undeniable relevance to representations of Chinese diasporic community life — and certainly needs to be studied along with the individual histories and fictional narratives of diaspora.

The question of how to interpret the heterogeneous enunciations of diasporic subjects has been advanced by extensive historical, ethnographic, and theoretical research over the past two decades (for example, Arkush and Lee 1989, Hsu 2000, JOC 2005, Ma and Cartier 2003, Ong and Nonini 1997, Wong 1999). Perhaps not surprisingly, the Jewish model has inspired a comparatively common diasporic strategy of meaning production through the portable symbol of a holy book, or, as Salman Rushdie has it, an "imaginary homeland" (Rushdie 1991), to be carried around, recited, and transmitted to successive generations. This is a clear indication of the barriers to immediate, experiential understanding that are universally inscribed into our forever alien pasts, yet it also provides an unmistakable, mysteriously profound marker of group distinction. Maybe this is the reason why this strategy even now circulates widely among cultural producers in Chinese diasporas. For example, the novel *One Man's Bible* (1999) by exile author Gao Xingjian prominently alludes to this signifying tradition while at the same time foregrounding the author's reservations about the trajectory of collective ideological identification. Another example is "the almanac" which, according to the US-based Asian art historian and fiction writer Nelson Wu, *must* be given as the "departure talisman" to every Chinese "departing for strange shores, ... even if one is illiterate or penniless" (Liao 2005, 501f.). A similar almanac eerily surfaces in Hong Kong New Wave director Wong Kar-wai's postmodern rendition of the traditional martial arts dystopia, *Ashes of Time* (1994). The secret code about *something lost* is even more thoroughly dematerialized as an eternal enigma, to be whispered desperately into a tree hole, in Wong's *In the Mood for Love* (2000). Even British sinologist Gregory Lee recently based his individual life story's "founding myth"— his *not* looking Chinese, combined with a premature interest in studying Chinese language — on a secret text in the form of a notebook. This book of poems, composed in handwritten characters, he has inherited from his grandfather who was of mainland Chinese origin. However, as a grandson of

only one quarter Chinese descent, he has no key with which to decipher the characters (Lee 2003). Returning to an earlier phase of diasporic dispersal, Ping-kwan Leung, in the essay that opens our collection, observes the flourishing of antiquarian bookstores, where the newly arrived refugees and the established, diasporic residents of Hong Kong alike would gather to unearth everything from rare editions of the classical canon to the recently banned dissident literature from China. Leung, in 2007, wrote a story that is even more in line with the phenomenon described here. The story tells of an itinerant monk who travels to the French Atlantic coast and is entrusted with the pacification of the vengeful ghosts of hundreds of drowned Chinese migrant labourers. This can only be achieved with the help of an ancient, mysterious scripture, the message of which he is able to decode only after lengthy research visits to the world's most famous metropolitan museums, where the colonial collections of Chinese scriptures were distributed.[1] These empty (or undecipherable) signifiers point to the dangers of looking back for displaced subjects, implying those "profound uncertainties ... that we will not be capable of reclaiming precisely the thing [that] was lost; that we will, in short, create fictions, not actual cities or villages, but invisible ones, imaginary homelands, Indias of the mind" (Rushdie 1991, 10). Equally it appears impossible that diasporic subjects will *not* look back. A community's cultural archive, filled with those foundational stories that have been continuously passed from one generation to the next, as themes with variations, seems to provide a pivotal device for bridging the gaps between here and there, past/s and present, individual and collective memories for most contemporary transnational storytellers.

For this reason, our book is also dedicated to the analytical exploration of the continuities and differences in those narrative enactments of transnational histories that implicitly or explicitly relate to the data collected in various archives. These may include both legal files, newspaper and other media reports, historiographical writing, photograph collections, autobiographies, or personal memoirs,[2] and aesthetic materials that are new and old in the double sense that they both rely upon and contribute to a cultural archive. We hold that aesthetic texts (films, novels, poetry, performing or visual arts) as fictions do not only reenact historical experiences in a meaningful way but also integrate these experiences into a community's cultural memory by way of mediating engagements that are intended to assist social groups to bridge the abyss between new knowledges, disruptive events, and their own particular foundational stories. This book witnesses the postcolonial emergence of a vibrantly productive, reverse flow of cultural capital from the peripheries to the symbolic "centres" of both the Chinese, and the American (trans-)nations,[3] and shifts, or multiplications, in the spatial location of symbolic centres as exemplified in the discourse of Asia Pacific Rim cities (Dirlik 1998). The emergent vocabularies of transnational study offer several beneficial departures from a postcolonial paradigm, as Maria Ng and Philip Holden observe:

> Transnational studies are neither bound to return to the question of the colonial nor tied to a progressive historical narrative of cause and effect in which elements of colonialism must be shown to persist or to have been left behind. Second, the transnational and its associated terminology — diaspora,

> migrancy — have provided a way of talking about ethnicized communities without the essentializing terminology of race. Third, transnationalism enables us to look not only outside but before the nation, to see continuities in the flows of people, cultures, and capital in a *longue durée* without the epistemic break of "liberation" that postcolonialism inevitably, albeit with increasing trepidation, posits (Ng and Holden 2006, 1).

We thus address the means by which a contemporary transnational/diasporic consciousness is (and was) produced, how it invests "in-between" global and local social networks, and how it reveals its potential to become a major agent of the emergent world order. In particular, we are interested in alternative visions of diasporic position-taking, including the agenda of (academic) postcolonialism, as it is inscribed in narratives produced by diasporic subjects themselves. Our close readings of some of these texts will, we hope, contribute to understanding those critical engagements with the particular cultural archives and forms — symbolic sites, canonical texts, myths, signs, vocabularies — that are exploited by diasporic subjects in order to organize, reconstruct, negotiate, or adapt their pasts to the present. Not incidentally, Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur suggest that we consider the double temporality of Janus, the mythic "figure from the Greek pantheon whose gaze is simultaneously directed both forward and backward" as providing a "seductive metaphor for the immigrant, exile, refugee, or expatriate". They hasten to add that its usefulness may be rather limited, given the fact that "hybridity, heterogeneity, and multiplicity ... characterize the situation of many diasporic communities and individuals", and that it is all but obvious what will happen when refugees *cannot or do not want* to look back, and future generations *do not know how* to look back, or their looking back means "looking back to a place *within* the United States where they spent their childhood and not to some primordial beginning in the home country" (Braziel and Mannur 2003, 9; emphasis added).

## The Sections and the Chapters

Hong Kong is certainly one of the locations in the world where the relationship between home and host, diaspora and exile has been most confused. Those Chinese intellectuals who, after 1949, turned their backs upon the newly established People's Republic in frustration at China's turn to radical communism tended to find themselves equally unprepared for the harsh realities of colonial Hong Kong's capitalist modernity. By juxtaposing the newcomers' struggles for survival during the 1950s with the Handover crisis of the city's residents since the early 1990s, Ping-kwan Leung reveals a deep structure of migrant anxiety; at the same time, his discourse analysis in the mode of a personal eyewitness account metonymically creates a signpost of Hong Kong's hidden, diasporic histories. The community of this permanent transit zone, with its accumulation of countless uprooted lives, did not for a long time aspire to the formation of a visible cultural identity. Nevertheless, ongoing creative reflection by intellectuals of their experiences of dislocation and multiple entanglements has sedimented into a unique

cultural practice of blended traditions, blurred genres, and alternative articulations, such as the phenomenon of a "three-tiered literature". Written in a mix of three languages – Chinese, Cantonese and English – the name for this literature is derived from the intimate metaphor of young, inexperienced housewives' rice cooking, which unintentionally produces three layers in the rice pot: the burnt, the thoroughly cooked, and the half-cooked rice. The domestic metaphor stands in stark contrast to the dystopian environment in which cultural workers found themselves. However, Leung argues, it does ingeniously convey the vexing image of something that is both difficult to swallow and necessary for survival. In addition to this dense description of an alternative modern Chinese cultural space that is simultaneously situated at the forefront *and* the margins of both China and the West, Leung offers his own poetic reflection on Hong Kong at the turn of the millennium. For him translation, like the crossing of any other border, might be perceived as a free act, but it is never without a high degree of risk. The fact that his essay, by relating in a very personal, autobiographical manner to the phenomena that have been described above, effectively blurs the genre boundaries between literary and scholarly enunciation, thus deconstructing in a seemingly playful yet deadly serious way the westernized, hegemonic conventions of academic reasoning, nicely introduces, and in fact broadens, our figure of the diversity of voices which, always engaged in transnational negotiations, search for a global market in which to trade their own historiographies of the diasporic.

While Hong Kong subjects have reason to resist an exclusively China-based cultural genealogy, the establishment of real and imaginary bonds with a Chinese homeland can be of existential importance for diasporic subjects in a predominantly non-Asian "host" nation. Deborah Madsen's essay opens with a set of distinctions among the notions of sojourning, migration, and diaspora by relating these terms to different degrees of local, national, or transnational orientation within displaced communities. Her use of the concept of diaspora is grounded in the material practices of transnational networking among communities of the same ethnic or cultural descent across the borders of nation-states. Her evocation of the idea of a strategic essentialism of origins (Ang 2001; Spivak 1993; Tölölyan 1996) that is at work in diasporic cultural production is explicated through her discussion of several ironic interventions concerning notions of Chineseness by contemporary ethnic cultural workers and their audiences. This concept of a strategic essentialism of origins can provide a response to the humiliating experience of racial discrimination by facilitating diasporic identifications that rely on ethnicity, culturalism, or nationalism and bind the migrant subject to reified concepts of home. A strategic, long-distance Han-centrism can effectively erase differences of ethnicity, culture, language, or place of origin, even in cultural enactments by diasporic communities themselves.

Origins and culture are not the only locations of diasporic identification. In our age of multiple modernities, unstable "phantom communities" can emerge from the imagination of displaced ethnic groups: they may choose to invest – financially and otherwise – either in a dangerously romantic, long-distance nationalism (Anderson 2005) or in economically interested transnational agents and networks that rely on highly efficient means of communication and traffic (Anderson 1998 and 2005; Appadurai

1996). In those phantom communities that are marked by increasingly volatile incomes (Ong 1999), even an individual's decision to join, avoid, or leave his or her community — be it diasporic, national, or tribal — has become contingent. Trapped between a colonial past and a neo-socialist future, Hong Kong's elites look back on a prolonged history of flexible, strategic position-taking that is ethnically and perhaps culturally but not politically Chinese (Ku and Ngai 2004). Helen Siu, in her essay, describes the social dynamism at work in the formation of an active middle-class citizenship consciousness in Hong Kong since the late twentieth century. Siu argues that today's middle-class professionals make full use of the complex, ambivalent dynamism of Hong Kong's historical legacy, global networks, and the Dengist "one country, two systems" formula, to negotiate their potential for political agency. They articulate their defiance of some of the other citizens' emergent opportunistic "Chinese ways" while themselves straddling the distance between nation and the world, or between groundedness and displacement. The politically articulate middle-class Hong Kongers of the twenty-first century strategically employ their nineteenth century merchant ancestors' heritage of an agency based on multicentred, global resources. Not to the complete satisfaction of Beijing, they enact their citizenship under the condition of gaining momentum in the Greater Chinese polity.

The historical constellation that Siu describes in her essay has also been considered by Ong and Nonini, who argue that, along with mass mobility and an increasingly flexible notion of cultural identity, the focus of diasporic consciousness may gradually shift from nostalgic longing for a lost home to active economic and political support for the native society. Like Siu, they describe diasporic actors as contributing to the innovative reconstruction of their native society through their external "national imaginaries", as well as through economic transactions that favour considerable parts of the homeland population. It is our hypothesis that, from these more self-assertive scenarios of diasporic mobility as well as the efforts of diasporic agents to achieve successful accommodation between cultures (Ong and Nonini 1997), narratives of alternative subject positions arise to replace the modernist paradigms of melancholy and resignation as the principal mood of displaced (intellectual) subjects in exile (Huang 1999; Xu 2000). How contemporary diasporic subjects constantly renegotiate their position vis-à-vis the majority when several diasporas meet in one place is described by Sau-ling Wong in her essay, which offers a case study in "racial triangulation". Wong analyzes the construction of diasporic Chinese identities as an exercise in contrastive ethnic comparison. Her body of materials comprising white American as well as sinophone cultural artefacts shows how the same racial triangulation can, under shifting historical circumstances, become the location of either solidarity or divergence, and sometimes both. "Yellow" and "Black" characters are thus represented in their complex relationships with white Americans in Chinese American fiction written across different times and in different places. Whereas Wong concentrates on narratives that feature clear ethnic demarcation, we may consider the emergent phenomenon of "Yellow and Black" solidarity in cinema. Box office successes like *Rush Hour* (1998, S Jacky Chan, Chris Tucker), *Ghost Dog* (1999, S Forest Whitaker) and *Romeo Must Die* (2000, S Jet Li, Aaliyah Haughton) arguably mirror visions of a

transnationalism that crosses ethnic boundaries and suggests solidarity among different minority communities. The lesser significance of these trends in Wong's sinophone fiction can be explained by distinct audiences and social functions. In an illuminating overview, Wong lists no fewer than twelve different classifiers for Chinese American literature written in Chinese. Rather than suggesting that the diversity of this semantic field be erased through homogenizing discourse, her catalogue invites our awareness with respect to the particular geohistorical situations and political messages embedded in these different notions.

Exiles and diasporic subjects look back to a history that precedes their own pre-exile memories, in order to explain their individual experiences within the rhetorics of ancient, and indeed very often mythic, collective narratives of displacement. China's long history of individual banishment and mass deterritorialization (resulting from war or natural disaster) has left deep traces in the corpus of her cultural texts. One such text, Qu Yuan's (340?–278 BCE) famous poem "Li sao" (Encountering Sorrow), marks the origin of a long tradition of resistance to the oppressive and arbitrary power of the state on the part of educated elites. This resistance more often than not ended tragically with exile and death. Arguably the most famous of a huge body of folk poems and legends about the miseries of displacement in the wake of wars or forced labour dating to the third century BCE, the story of Lady Meng Jiang tells how she wept so much for her deceased husband that the newly built Great Wall burst open to deliver his corpse. These sources furnish modern exiles with a rich vocabulary for semantic as well as symbolic identification. Drawing from historical documents rather than fictional narratives, Prasenjit Duara reminds us in his essay that the diasporic self-fashioning of Chinese emigrant communities —"not as idle inquiry, but as a matter of life and death"— did not begin with late capitalist transnationalism, and that the discourse of Chineseness is firmly rooted in both historical experiences and the cultural construction of historical legacies. At the turn of the twentieth century, Chinese migrant labourers in the US and merchants in South-east Asia such as the Peranakans in the Dutch Indies faced the multiple predicaments of being treated as "exceptions". Duara characterizes these migrant communities thus, in order to capture their contradictory status: they possessed economic privilege but few rights in South-east Asian colonial environments and in more oppressive nationalist contexts such as the US. Consequently, the formation of Chinese nationalism took place not only on the Mainland, as a reaction to Western imperialism, but equally on the newly constructed nation's diasporic peripheries. Duara argues that the negotiation of religious and philosophical heritage took place among leading (mostly exiled) intellectuals in dialogic exchange with the spiritual leaders of migrant communities. This insight illuminates the larger history of Chinese transnationalism, important features of which Duara has already explored in his previous publications (see, e.g., Duara 1997 and 2003). Analyzing the different conditions that prevailed among South-east Asian Chinese diasporas under capitalist pre-/nationalist and colonialist regimes, Duara also sheds light on the differential ideological and institutional resources of distinct regimes for handling their "exceptional" subjects. Duara's work, and the other essays included in this section, demonstrates that perspectives of *longue durée*

are an important source of information, allowing us simultaneously to look backwards to the formation of a community's cultural imaginary and forward to both habitualized and emergent patterns of continuity and disruption. Such perspectives on the historical dimension of recent phenomena are scarce, not only in US or European scholarship on Chinese diasporas, and are still perceived as marginal areas of academic interest.

While the different Chinese diasporas across the globe today need to be, and increasingly are, studied with a focus on their particular histories, diasporic cultural workers tend to draw from a common archive of stories, myths, and symbols when they engage with a reflection of the community's collective identity. In the present volume, Nicolas Zufferey and Roland Altenburger shed light on the development of premodern Chinese notions of exile and displacement, dating from Han antiquity (206 BCE–220 CE) and the formative years of the Qing Dynasty (1768–71). These essays open up new ground for comparative readings of diasporic voices from China's various dynastic pasts. Zufferey's comparative analysis of several of the most ancient "myths of displacement" is concerned with some examples drawn from Han historical sources. They provide the earliest textual evidence of exiles' changing perceptions of self and other in a foreign environment. For instance, Zufferey discusses several aristocratic women who, for political reasons, were married to barbarian chiefs and who composed poems in order to express their feelings of displacement, homesickness, and nostalgia. His essay engages with the formation of a discourse of Han patriotism, focusing upon a recurrent cultural motif: the right to be buried in one's ancestral home. As early as the Han period, proper burial was perceived as an individual right (for the privileged) among displaced subjects. Zufferey's intervention reveals that an instability of relation between concrete historical experience and conventional aesthetic representation is found as early as the Han Dynasty. While he rightly refutes the implication that there is a concrete historical diasporic antecedent in this early historical period, his materials allow us to draw a line between such subjects as the exiled Han court ladies Wang Zhaojun and Cai Wenji on the one hand and, on the other, contemporary Chinese American writers like Maxine Hong Kingston who, in her novel *The Woman Warrior* (Kingston 1989), alludes to these women as models for modern female diasporic identification.

Whereas exiled Han women in early medieval China, and even more so later on, were considered as singular victims under extreme conditions of exception, male members of the military as well as bureaucratic elites were systematically incorporated in the state's frontier politics. The genre of frontier poetry, and later frontier drama, flourished even before the establishment of the Tang Dynasty (618–907). By the mid-Qing period (of the eighteenth century), the practice of deporting convict labour to the empire's remote frontier areas had become institutionalized. The Qing government established a strategic regime of converting large areas of pasture into colonies that were tilled by exiled convicts and administered by military and civilian colonists as well as merchants. The result was the rapid assimilation of the Western Regions — present-day Xinjiang — into China proper. Ji Yun, a member of the less desperate class of deported scholar-officials, writes in a deliberately convoluted fashion about the two years he passed in temporary exile in Xinjiang. The letters addressed to his family, and

originally not meant for publication, praise the city of Ürümqi as a western paradise with a sweet climate, beautiful natural environment, and a Chinese urban culture that is of a surprisingly high quality. Quite differently, his poems encompass a host of historical and geographical as well as ethnographical information. Through the conventional literary persona of the travelling poet, Ji Yun suggests his degree of education and leisure, while admitting his status as a convict awaiting rehabilitation. Nostalgia and an imagery of loneliness and displacement prescribe the pervasive mood of Ji Yun's anthology of bamboo-branch songs. In his famous collection of casual writings (*biji*), *Random Jottings from the Cottage of Close Scrutiny*, Ji finally resorts to a strategic "othering" of the colony. Ji extensively documents cases of anomaly, violence, abuse, and tragedy that take place in an environment of barren and hostile wilderness.

By way of his employment of different genres and perspectives in order to articulate the experience of the Xinjiang exile, Altenburger argues, Ji Yun simultaneously conceals and reveals his individual mood of disgrace and loss, while at the same time offering his impressions of a community of Han exiles that did not yet have access to modern discourses of diasporic self-fashioning. Ji's literary project of an exile's history thus offers an important contribution to the modern nation's diasporic pasts. It might even be argued that Ji's self-reflexive engagement with genres suggests a sense of political discontent dating to an established literary practice during the late Ming, when most members of the gentry withdrew from service in the imperial administration apparatus and turned to a professionalized cultivation of the arts instead. How firmly frontier themes were tied to politics in Chinese cultural production well into modernity is demonstrated in the case of the Shanghainese painter Ren Bonian (1840–96) who, according to Lai Yu-chih, in several of his traditional-style frontier paintings wove native and foreign elements into a visual narrative of the modern crisis that "functioned as the object of multiple projections for many of Ren's contemporaries: as a narrative of the traditional northern frontier, a story with a strong nationalistic moral, a traditional locus of exile, and most important, an imagined 'foreign land' together meeting a variety of emotional needs created by residing in Shanghai in the 1880s" (Lai 2004, 568). The late-Qing painter's images of China's worried legendary warriors thus evoke the mid-Qing writer Ji Yun's Ming-derived aesthetic strategies by also representing time-space anomalies according to spatial inversions of the empire's moral topography — be it the excessive political power of the emperor's eunuch entourage in the case of the Ming, the Manchu redefinition of the empire's centre and peripheries in the case of Ji Yun's times, or the twisted borderline symbolism in Ren's occupied Shanghai.

Historical legacies do not always and necessarily reach back into a distant past. As histories multiply, so do modernities. How collective perceptions of dystopia can differ even in the same location, across different times that nevertheless encompass historiographical markers of modernity, is discussed in the essays about Hong Kong contributed by Leung Ping-kwan, Helen Siu, Mary Shuk-han Wong, Pheng Cheah, and Andrea Riemenschnitter. The variety of options for diasporic position-taking demonstrates that, at our contemporary moment, diaspora studies must seek to go beyond universalist models of identity like that proposed by Safran (cf. Ang 2001; Chan 2006;

Chow 1993, 1995, 2000; Lee 2003; Louie 2004; Ong and Nonini 1997; Ong 1999). On the one hand, we need to distinguish modern forms of diaspora that mostly consist of deterritorialized communities which, for whatever reasons, have *institutionalized* memories of, and longing for, a lost home while adjusting to new homes and cultures in only ephemeral ways. On the other hand, exile communities, according to Edward Said, are negatively caught between the pathos of losing one place and agonies of failed, incomplete, or rejected accommodation to another.[4] However, the difference between diaspora and exile may be less than the difference between early/high modern and late modern forms of diasporic consciousness.

After the Joint Declaration for the peaceful handover of the Hong Kong colony to Chinese sovereignty was signed in 1984, the colony's intellectual, political, and economic elites were, perhaps for the first time, eager to disseminate a distinctly local cultural *identity* in place of the previous tactic of inhabiting a critical space of alienation and alterity. This new quest for a collective identity suggests a form of cultural self-fashioning that is neither British nor Chinese, but both, inclusive of the various ethnic and cultural minority residents of the metropolis. Hong Kong writers and film directors disseminated to both local and global audiences their local versions of a Hong Kong history characterized by hidden, forgotten, or suppressed pasts. Looking back to an earlier constitutive moment of Hong Kong diasporic consciousness, characterized by the colonial regime's tactics of isolation and the drawing of borders, Mary Shuk-han Wong describes the quest for a worthy life, into which educated mainland Chinese refugees of the 1950s were forced by circumstances. She singles out a leitmotif in their narratives, the reluctant initiation into (and indeed fierce opposition to) the new culture that follows the protagonists' painful departure from their ruined homes. In this era, a considerable corpus of the city's sinophone fiction was forged into a localized form of the Western *Bildungsroman*, representing the various adventures and experiences of these intellectuals in a cosmopolitan perspective. The German model for these diasporic Chinese representations, with its roots in bourgeois individualism, is not an unproblematic category in the context of 1950s Hong Kong. However, by providing a metaphor for the development of the city, this fiction foreshadows not only the vicissitudes but also the unshakeable optimism of a "second-wave diaspora" (Ma and Cartier 2003, 382) in the making.

Strategic transnationalism in the "new" diasporas gradually replaces, or destabilizes, all essentialist notions of belonging. A consequence of this emergent global world order is the rise of flexible constellations rather than territorially stable borderlines between nations. Aesthetic representations, as both utopian experiments and critical interventions, work with new vocabularies, images, and scenarios. If we want to grasp the meaning of the politics and poetics behind transnational artistic projects, we need to analyze them in close relation to the social phenomena upon which their narratives are based. Evidently, it is not a matter of course that a "complicity of dystopia and utopia" (Clifford 2005, 541), as diagnosed in diasporic histories by James Clifford and others, and the "stubborn hope" inscribed in them, will be rewarded with the liberating historical sweep of a "globalization from below" (Clifford 2005, 549f.; see also Hardt and Negri

2005). The jubilant success stories of young cosmopolitan professionals with overseas connections, which surfaced (and sold well) in the mainland Chinese metropolitan centres of Shanghai and Beijing during the 1990s, were arguably less aesthetic mirrors of some real agents' moods and minds than a phenomenon of fantasizing adolescents carving out a utopian space for themselves in their newly liberated economic landscape (Chen 1999). Indeed, as we witness the growing participation of creative diasporic subjects in the project of re-storying Chinese diasporas as flexible, transnational "phantom" communities, the desirability of identifying Chineseness with East Asian capitalism is not a matter of course. Rather, a search for alternative modes of diasporic solidarity continues among transnational brokers of cultural practice. In this context, Pheng Cheah analyzes the situation of petty Mainland entrepreneurs after the Hong Kong Handover. He engages the "reverse constellation" of diasporic subjects who return to their home communities, telling marvellous success stories and disavowing the savage exploitation they have suffered at the hands of their "host" communities. The formation of what he calls a "subaltern diaspora" in Hong Kong, namely the traffic in sex workers and other illegal immigrants, is the outcome of a new social exclusionism that protects pre-Handover Hong Kong residents from Mainland business "invaders". Fruit Chan's filmic representation of migrant prostitution in *Durian Durian* illustrates the unstable position of Hong Kong within a broader environment of destabilized (South-east Asian and mainland Chinese) global capitalist communities. The allegedly Confucian paradigm of Chinese entrepreneurial spirit represented in this film is ironically recast in the figure of a Mainland sex worker. Cheah reads as a marker of subaltern, diasporic solidarity the much-invoked Sino-capitalist mantra of *guanxi* as a guarantor of economic prosperity which is problematized in the sex worker's dependence on her pimp and utopianized in the generous friendship between a northern Chinese sex worker and a southern Chinese illegal immigrant child.

Narratives of other, hitherto marginalized, agents and multidirectional, multicentred flows of migration broaden the scope of modern diasporic cultural production. These "other" histories of diaspora open the horizon of cultural analysis to anthropological inquiries that address non-elite experiences, and the "mood, moment and mind" (Daniel 2000, 333ff.) of transnational, diasporic community formation. Andrea Riemenschnitter undertakes a contrastive reading of emergent transcultural diasporic narratives in recent Taiwanese and Hong Kong historical fiction. Since the late 1980s, Taiwanese society has engaged in the promotion of a democratic national imaginary of multiple cultural origins. The official commemoration of Taiwan's long history of cultural/colonial encounters has encouraged the integration of minority history into the curricula of schools and universities. This, and an emergent literary production from the pens of Taiwan's ethnic minority representatives, has in turn stimulated Taiwan's Chinese writers to respond with their own fictional perspectives on aboriginal peoples' (*yuanzhumin*) historical memories. Meanwhile, the Taiwan-born female writer Shih Shu-ch'ing engages in a fictional border-crossing project first by writing a tripartite historical novel about Hong Kong and later embarking on another historical trilogy about Taiwan. The Hong Kong novels' main protagonist Huang Deyun and her family can also be read as an allegory of the city's

economic rise. Much more than this reading, these novels inspire an understanding of Hong Kong's history as significantly formed by non-elite communities and their tactics of survival in a thoroughly hostile environment. The butterfly metaphor of her nickname — which is handed over to the granddaughter, Huang Dieniang — is both the signifier of a botanic species indigenous to the region and a reference to the complex cultural semantics of Chinese operatic cross-dressing. In her analysis of the novels' participation in a (trans-)local discourse on queer transnationalism, Riemenschnitter relates the author's literary evocation of this phenomenon to several other, very influential aesthetic renditions that were realized in this same period, through various cultural productions ranging from movies to musical performances.

A comparable case, of a contemporary author *re-storying*[5] an established narrative, can be found in Zhao Shuxia's 1990 novel *Sai Jinhua*. Kathrin Ensinger's essay presents this diasporic woman writer's transnational feminist refiguration of the traditional, glamorous yet socially and territorially uprooted, courtesan trope in the story of a late imperial diplomat's concubine. The historical Sai Jinhua allegedly exerted considerable political agency in both Europe and occupied post-Boxer Beijing; Ensinger explores the fictional revision of her story in the context of a mobile, homeless "career" woman's self-assertion against both the traditional, male-dominated establishment and an emergent modernist discourse of the (new) woman. Although after her death, during the late Qing and early Republican eras, the real Sai Jinhua was to some extent promoted by male intellectuals as a still imperfect prototype of the modern national woman, Zhao Shuxia, with her own late twentieth-century version of a re-storied Sai, declares problematic on various levels this male modernist appropriation of exceptional female experience in the name of the construction of a Chinese model for female liberation. First, compensation for Sai's previously oversexed body is offered via the representation of socially respectable domains of female subjectivity. These domains comprise Sai's new emotional, diplomatic, and linguistic experiences in Europe. Secondly, her capacity to handle successfully public missions and enterprises sheds a different light on male axiologies of female agency in general. Finally, the identification of the author with her fictional double as a cultural mediator working and living under the conditions of displacement is suggestive of a new understanding of Sai's historical moment. Towards the end of the novel, journalists invade the aging Sai's private space in order to expose her decaying body as a public spectacle; in a comparable way, the postmodern uncannily bleeds into modernity and the quest for historical revision is unmasked as having a potential for empty voyeurism.

Equally, the best-selling, heavily self-orientalizing historical narratives of Chinese American writers since the 1980s, like Amy Tan, have raised suspicions about the authenticity of the experiences they represent. These writers are considered by some to cater as much to the expectations of an audience of non-Asian, voyeuristic spectators, as they reflect the processes by which a second immigrant generation works through the traumatic experiences of "real" disjunctive histories.[6] Tamara Wagner, in her essay, addresses the phenomenon of multiple migration flows in many Chinese South-east Asian sojourner biographies. Wagner argues that the current boom in diasporic fiction about

Singapore and the Asia Pacific region seems to dovetail with both a shallow "boutique multiculturalism" (Fish 1997) that sells well to Western readers and with profoundly ironic, self-reflexive re-plottings of the region's historical triangulations of diaspora, migration, and cultural hybridity. If we, as (literary) historians or cultural critics, avoid the most convenient of solutions, namely, to stigmatize such narratives as nothing but "fake" histories, then more knowledge about the specific discursive, historical, and interethnic backgrounds and the contexts of migrational flows is required.

## Diasporic Traversals: Frontiers and Trajectories

In these essays we are collectively inspired by Ping-hui Liao's "signposts on the diasporic pathways" (Liao in Abbas and Erni 2005, 506–8) to look more closely at the markers of cultural belonging that are circulating in different social, historical, and territorial communities. In order to deepen our knowledge of Chinese diasporic cultures, we turn away from normative top-down "nationalistic" projects, like the mainland Chinese regime's recent intervention in the (transnationally launched) New Confucian revival, in favour of bottom-up, empirical, and experimental approaches, which investigate the various religious beliefs, traditions, myths, and memories that are being written, and possibly written back, by diasporic subjects themselves. We want to pose questions about the addressees of their appellation, their specific agenda, and how these tactics and practices relate to social environments.[7] The multidisciplinary orientation of our approach relates to a series of lingering problems. If it is still possible to employ overdetermined notions like "diaspora", "exile", or "nation" at all,[8] how are we to specify our particular concerns? Can we rely on terms like "transnationalism" or "transculturalism", and how should they relate to the more neutral, but less specific, headings of "displacement", "deterritorialization", or "migration"? How, from which sources, and through what channels do particular diasporic communities derive and adjust their values and orientations? Upon which institutions and historical experiences, or *roots and routes* (Clifford 1994), are diasporic solidarities preferentially based? How do today's (and how did yesterday's) diasporic communities interact with their various home, host, and transit locations? How are we to integrate transnational chronotopes like Hong Kong, Singapore, or Taiwan (Chow 1995; Guan 2002; Lin 2006; Xu 2000; Ye 1997) into a general discourse of diasporic consciousness, when major groups, not just minorities, define themselves through their experiences of exile and impose on resident communities their immigrant imaginings of a cultural heritage?

Underlying these crucial issues are whole sets of more or less subliminal assumptions that appear to linger in our current academic discourse, such as the still widely shared, yet precariously biased, perception of displaced subjects as "hosted" or tolerated (Ang 2001). The vocabulary of cultural practice reflects a tendency in our theoretical analyses to impose disenfranchising agricultural metaphors like hybridity, roots, and transplantation onto what some scholars now tend to call "nomadic" subjects (Ong 1999, cf. Madsen in this volume). The impact of such ideological issues and conventions on our comparative analyses must be scrutinized. Other core issues tend to emerge regularly due to their

processual nature, such as the divergent ideas of belonging and acculturation across times and cultures. Here, we will only mention the "bleeding" into each other (Clifford 2005, 526) of the fluid contexts of postcolonialism and post-imperialism in cultural contact zones, or the problematic of a late capitalist cosmopolitanism, enacted by the so-called "astronauts". This latter phenomenon in particular raises many new issues, the most important of which may be the claim to active citizenship (rather than cultural belonging) as realized (or refuted in resignation) by the same astronauts as well as other diasporic subjects and their descendants (cf. Siu in this volume). We see, as of major importance in this context, the renewed interest in cultural reflections on memory and forgetting (cf. Zufferey and Altenburger in this volume). The question of how to deal with injustices experienced by displaced subjects, to enable them to survive and come to terms with their traumas, needs further exploration: for example, by envisioning an inventory of strategies of redress, including the option of surrendering markers of difference, such as incantations of Chineseness (cf. Cheah, Ensinger, Leung, and Riemenschnitter in this volume).[9]

Besides these strategic questions and interrogations, some doubts remain. Given the optimistic outlook of several leading scholars of diaspora with respect to the idea of "flexible citizenship" (Ong 1999), and the positive impact of transnationalism on a future world order (Clifford 1994, 2005; Hardt and Negri 2005; Ong and Nonini 1997), we caution that it remains to be seen whether and to what degree growing numbers of mobile social agents, with their diverse class and gender backgrounds, can in fact maintain a diasporic solidarity. Will the availability of reverse migration eventually limit the political influence of diasporic or transnational subjects? Will their cosmopolitan (economic) interests discourage these agents from local forms of engagement? How should we evaluate the phenomenon of reverse migration in a diasporic context? Here again, the visions and perspectives of avant-garde cultural workers are illuminating. We may ask whether there is an emergent literature, both Chinese-language and transnational, that reflects similar kinds of cross-cultural, transgender, diasporic minority bonding, resembling the representations in some popular crossover cultural forms, like Asian American martial arts and Trans-Chinese opera films. And how do these representations relate to social and cultural networks among different diasporic groups in real (or cyber) communities (cf. Duara, Wagner and S. Wong in this volume)?

Summing up the various approaches represented in the essays here, we can perceive a line of argument that attempts to explain, rather than attack as cultural essentialism, a perspective that looks back to the spatio-temporal origins of a "Chinese" culture and forward to the multiple hermeneutic encounters between this concept and diverse transnational environments. To paraphrase Rey Chow, we are interested in the continuities as well as the mobility and permeability of discourses of "Chineseness" (2000, 17). The revision or transformation of foundational narratives of identity in the context of migration experiences aims to create local cultural investment and to realize a transnational adaptation to concrete historical experience. It is in relation to this heterogeneous range of representations that we argue for the value of reflecting upon our critical vocabularies, sharpening their analytical usefulness, in order to explore

(as reading and writing agents) the social implications of contemporary transnational subject formation. Many aspects of this discourse must be left aside for other projects to elaborate. We need detailed investigations into the cultural forms of interaction between different social groups within transnational formations and detailed analyses of the various flows of cultural capital between resident citizens and diasporic agents. The Pacific Rim case in particular suggests that the encounter between homelanders and financially or culturally potent newcomer groups remains vexed. Although there is a growing body of historical evidence, there are still too few studies of those narratives which successfully transcend the surrogate discourses of imperialism and colonialism in order to describe the experience of social displacement caused by transnational cultural practice. By and large, phenomena like social class, frontier liminality, complicity in subaltern narratives — pointedly signified by the gendered figures of the courtesan/concubine and the sex worker as border-crossers (cf. Cheah, Ensinger, Riemenschnitter, and M. Wong in this volume) — and the haunting spectrality of suppressed memories (Cheah 2003; Martin 2003), are crucial aspects of diasporic experience that still await more scholarly attention.

# Notes

**INTRODUCTION**

1. Leung Ping-kwan, *Transcendence of the Drowned* (published in *Zihua /Fleurs de lettres*, vol. 7–9, April–Sept. 2007, Hong Kong).
2. Although this is not our main target of inquiry, we readily concede that border crossing between both modes is a common operation. Michael Szonyi, in his analysis of Guangdong emigrants' legal cases collected during 1945–49 in the archives of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, cites Natalie Zemon Davis's observation that "archives can be thought of as fictions, not in the sense of being feigned, but rather because they are formed, shaped, and molded into narratives" (Szonyi in JOC 2005, 49f.)
3. For lack of a better strategy we distinguish, as strictly as possible, between the two notions of nation and (as not identical with) state, following the timely exhortation by Partha Chatterjee, articulated in his attempt to disentangle the postcolonial community from the hegemonic, post-imperialistic preconception that it cannot, and must not, imagine itself other than as a Western-style modern nation: "The result is that autonomous forms of imagination of the community were, and continue to be, overwhelmed and swamped by the history of the postcolonial state. Here lies the root of our postcolonial misery: not in our inability to think out new forms of the modern community but in our surrender to the old forms of the modern state. If the nation is an imagined community and if nations must also take the form of states, then our theoretical language must allow us to talk about community and state at the same time. I do not think our present theoretical language allows us to do this" (Chatterjee 2005, 412).
4. Edward Said, who in this light does not attempt to differentiate between notions of exile and diaspora, has this to say about the negative aspects of exilic group identification: "Exile is a jealous state. What you achieve is precisely what you have no wish to share, and it is in the drawing of lines around you and your compatriots that the least attractive aspects of being in exile emerge: an exaggerated sense of group solidarity, and a passionate hostility to outsiders, even those who may in fact be in the same predicament as you. [...] The pathos of exile is in the loss of contact with the solidity and the satisfaction of earth: homecoming is out of the question" (Said 1990, 360f.).
5. "The twentieth century despite its many faults did witness a significant beginning, in Africa and elsewhere in the so-called Third World, of the process of 're-storying' peoples who had been knocked silent by the trauma of all kinds of dispossession. I

was lucky to be present at one theater of that reclamation. And I know that such a tremendously potent and complex human reinvention of self — calling, as it must do, on every faculty of mind and soul and spirit; drawing as it must, from every resource of memory and imagination and from a familiarity with our history, our arts and culture; but also from an unflinching consciousness of the flaws that blemished our inheritance — such an enterprise could not be expected to be easy" (Achebe 2003, 79f.).

6. A comprehensive overview of English-language sources on Chinese American literature is provided in Madsen 2001; on Amy Tan see Madsen, pp. 150f.
7. Research on Chinese intellectual discourses of exile to date concentrates on dissident voices and New Confucianism around Tu Wei-ming, especially his work on economic ethics. On the Tiananmen dissidents, see Ip 1998; on overseas intellectual discourses of cultural identity, see Tu 1991 and Duara 1997.
8. Here we draw from Appadurai's research on global trends of deterritorialization as "migrating ethnoscapes". See Appadurai 1996. Chinese notions of diaspora or exile appear even less systematic than their Western counterparts but are not all to the same degree, at least not in theoretical discourse, overdetermined. See the terms *piaobo, lisan, liuwang, liufang* for exile or diaspora, as well as the more prominent (and thus more contested) instances of *huaqiao, haiwai huaren*, or *huayi*, for Overseas Chinese.
9. Fran Martin, in the context of the *tongzhi* (homosexual subject) pleas for recognition, observes that it is only a minute distinction, but an important one, between the Nietzschean *ressentiment* spectacle that implies the agents' faith in the demystifying project of dramatically exposing hidden violence in order to arouse a collective desire for revenge on the one hand, and a reparation-oriented forging of affective links with the (implied) spectators of injuries done to the displaced or subalternized subjects on the other hand (Martin 2003, 239–49). Without the suggestion of "unqueering" her argument, we can easily imagine it to be applicable in a much broader context, that is, to other marginalized social groups such as diasporas.

## CHAPTER 1

1. Concerning Hong Kong writers from the 1950s and their research and writings on modern Chinese literary history, see Cao 1955; Jin 1997; Liu Huiying 1957, 1973; Sima 1975–78; Xu 1991; see also Yan and Wang 2003, Zhao 1964.
2. The literary journals which had published literary works in Chinese vernacular language before 1927 are *Xiang Gang wanbao* (Hong Kong Evening Post, vernacular essays, 1922); *Da Guang Bao* (vernacular fiction, 1923); *Yinghua qingnian* (Ying Wa Student, vernacular fiction, 1924); and *Xiaoshuo xingqikan* (The Novel Weekly, New poetry and poetry critique), 1924–25.

## CHAPTER 3

1. The term is used to describe the little understood networks, moralities and forms of authority that can be effectively mobilized through non-institutional channels to challenge the state in many volatile urban landscapes (from conversations with Thomas Hansen who works on strongmen and urban charisma in Mumbai).
2. A survey of over 1,000 protestors showed that over sixty percent had post-secondary education. See "Qiyi Youxingzhe Liucheng Dazhuan Xueli (60% of July 1 Marchers Hold Post-Secondary Degree)," *Mingpao Daily*, 7 July 2003. See also "July 1 Marchers Were Well-Educated, Says Survey," *South China Morning Post*, 7 July 2003. Some

of the materials in this paragraph and the next were presented at the conference organized by the Center for Strategic and International Studies, "Hong Kong on the Move: American and Hong Kong Perspectives on the First Ten Years of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region," Washington, DC, October 2007. The talk is included as a chapter and entitled "Hong Kong Mobile: Redefining the Hong Konger" in a volume entitled *Hong Kong on the Move: 10 Years as the HKSAR*, edited by Carola McGiffert and James T.H. Tang, CSIS Press, 2008.

3. A group of lawyers and pro-democracy legislators formed the Article 23 Concern Group in 2002, and started systematic campaigns to inform the public of the implications of the National Security Bill. See "Lanzhi caoan you shenme buhao (Why is the blue bill not good enough?)" by the Article 23 Concern Group (a pamphlet printed in Hong Kong by the group, April 2003)
4. For some detailed reporting of the marches, see *South China Morning Post*, 10 July 2003, "The protest goes to Legco's doorstep" by Jimmy Cheung and Klaudia Lee, from Wisers, no. 20030710027003?. See also "50,000 Protest in Central," *Tiger Standard*, 10 July 2003. For a personal chronicle of the Article 23 events, see Oi Yee Ng, *23 Tiao Lifa Rezhi (Article 23, a Chronicle)* (Hong Kong: Yi Chubanshe, 2004).
5. In the decade approaching 1997, many middle-class families immigrated to North America and Australia. They were said to have voted with their feet.
6. The large turnout was a pleasant surprise to the organizers, who had estimated a crowd of 100,000 and at most 250,000.
7. See a special volume on Hong Kong at the 1997 moment, in Breckenridge 1997, in particular, the articles by Ackbar Abbas (1997). See also a recent book on Hong Kong popular culture, Ng, Ma and Lui 2006.
8. See "Hu Jintao qiangdiao wending he tuanjie zhongchan (Hu Jintao Stressed Stability and Appealed to Bond the Middle Class)," *Mingpao Daily*, 28 September 2003. "Zhongyang Kending Tuanjie Zhongchan Zhongyaoxing (Central Government Confirmed the Importance of Middle-Class)," *Hong Kong Daily*, 29 September 2003.
9. The notable personalities are Albert Cheng, Wong Yu-man, and Alan Lee, whose radio talk-shows were extremely popular among the Hong Kong public.
10. These uncertain shifts probably represent different political factions in the Chinese leadership and their hard-line and more reformist views.
11. See "Zhongguo Zhengfu yaoyue Xiang Gang Wenhe Minzhupai miantan (Chinese Government Invited Hong Kong Democrats to Meet)," *BBC*, no. 16 September (2004), http://news.bbc.co.uk/chinese/trad/hi/newsid_3660000/newsid_3661400/3661484.stm. Sceptics would argue that this is Beijing's strategy to divide and rule. See Hongyi Lai, "Beijing Dui Xianggang Minzhu Suqiu De Sange Wupan (the Three Mis-Judgements by Beijing on Hong Kong's Democratic Pleas)," *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 13 March 2004.
12. See Jimmy Cheung, "Article 45 Group to Push for Democratic Reforms," *South China Morning Post*, 13 November 2003. See a good summary of the group in http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Article_45_Concern_Group. For fuller understanding of the efforts by Margaret Ng, a core member of the group, visit her website: www.margaretng.com. Rapport with Beijing was short-lived, as Beijing again gave the cold shoulder in 2005 when the group continued to advocate for universal suffrage and eventually formed the Civic Party. On efforts by the party leaders to start a dialogue with Beijing, see "Kuan Hsin-Chi zhuchi guoqing yanxi xiaozu, Gongmindang zhudong kou zhongyang damen (Kuan Hsin-Chi Chairs a Study Group on China Affairs Civic Party Takes the

Initiative to Knock on the Door of the Central Government)," *Mingpao Daily*, 19 May 2007.

13. Margaret Ng (Ng Ngoi Yee) was among the lawyers who led a similar silent march in 1999 in protest against the first interpretation of the Basic Law by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (SCNPC) over the right of abode of Mainland children with Hong Kong parents.
14. For a comprehensive and insightful summary, see Lui and Wong 2003.
15. See the drama series produced by the Radio Television Hong Kong, entitled "Below the Lion Rock" produced and aired on television channels from 1973 to 1994 and depicting working-class life. While movie star Chan Po-chu became the cultural idol of women factory workers, Sam Hui's music was for the ordinary office workers (dagongzi).
16. Many scholars have written on the identity of Hong Kongers. See the works of Tai-lok Lui, Thomas Wong, Siu-kai Lau, Hsin-chi Kuan, Alvin So, Stephan Chan, Leung Ping-kwan, Helen Siu, and Agnes Ku. For a recent study on the social/demographic and economic profiles of Hong Kong's post-war population, see an interim report by Siu, Wong and Faure 2005. See also Godstadt 2005. He is former head of the Central Policy Unit in Hong Kong and knows the perspectives inside the colonial administration.
17. Lung 2004. For recent debates on "Core Values" in Hong Kong, see public statements by the pro-China and pro-democracy camps in 2004, as reported in numerous Chinese- and English-language newspapers in Hong Kong (e.g., *Mingpao Daily, Hong Kong Economic Journal, South China Morning Post, Apple Daily*).
18. What the post-war Hong Kong middle classes need, according to the humanists, is a critical self-reflection of their historical and cultural baggage, a *wenhua qiyi* (cultural uprising).
19. Attitudes from China can be equally frustrating. Hong Kong should not be judged by its economic performance alone. The question missed the institutions and history behind the prosperity.
20. In a recent study (Siu, Wong and Faure 2005), my colleagues and I maintain that "one country, two systems" is a concept not uniquely reserved for post-1997 Hong Kong. "From the start of Hong Kong's existence, the territory has thrived on being simultaneously part of China and the world. Flexible positioning has been the key for Hong Kong to maintain a footprint that has reached far beyond the territory's physical boundaries. When catering to the needs of world trading empires, Hong Kong has provided the environment for cultivating layers of China resources; when engaging China, its residents offer unique worldly institutions, social networks, cultural styles and business horizons. Hong Kong's global institutions and the Mainland's priorities cross Hong Kong's borders in multiple directions." See a talk given by Helen Siu at a luncheon at the Asia Society, Hong Kong (16 February 2004). For a printed version, see Siu 2004.
21. The main ideas are from Sinn 1989. The quote is taken from a section written by Sinn in the interim report by Siu, Wong and Faure 2005, p. 15.
22. See David Faure's section in Siu, Wong and Faure 2005.
23. Sir Robert Ho-tung, comprador for Jardine Matheson, became a leading philanthropist. His wife, Lady Clara Ho-tung, through her charitable engagement with women's education and religion, greatly transformed (and modernized) Buddhist institutions in Hong Kong. Sir Kai Ho Kai supported modern medical training and public hospitals. Wu Ting-fong joined the Qing court and became ambassador to the Americas in the last decade of the nineteenth century. He also helped modernize the Qing civil law codes

and eventually supported the revolutionary cause of Dr Sun Yat-sen. On the relevant early Hong Kong history, see Carroll 2005 and Smith 1985. Listed as "Ho, Tung (Sir Robert)" in the Glossary.

24. For theoretical conceptualizations of how overseas Chinese related to political centres in China, see Duara 1995. See also Ong and Nonini 1997 and L. Siu 2005.
25. See Siu 1999. Part of this historical section is taken from my previous article.
26. On Hong Kong being a haven for Chinese intellectuals in face of political persecution, refer to the works of William Tay, Lu Wai-luen, Elizabeth Sinn (on Wang Tao), Leo Lee (on Lu Xun, Chang Ailing), Dong Chiao, and many others.
27. These views are gleaned from the local television and radio programmes broadcasting the events in June and July 1997. The descriptions in this and the following paragraph were presented in a public talk I gave at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology in July 1997.
28. In a radio talk show about the Handover, a wife vigorously contradicted her husband's patriotic views about China. She acknowledged that the British system in Hong Kong had advanced the position of women in important ways.
29. The concept is credited to the late Deng Xiaoping, but public opinion in China and Hong Kong claim that Deng had hardly thought through the issues when he suggested it. The fifty-year limit was quite arbitrary, a length of time during which Deng expected China to have caught up to Hong Kong's living standards and relative openness.
30. This point is made by Abbas 1997, pp. 293–314. See also photographs by Dermot Tatlow, "Hong Kong Negative Spaces," in the same volume, pp. 315–28.
31. Popular objects are postcards and photo albums of the harsh post-war years in Hong Kong, the street food stalls (*daipaidong*), and colonial architecture. See the special edition on Hong Kong 1997 in *Public Culture*.
32. In the summer of 1998, I attended an art exhibition at City Hall produced by the Provisional Urban Council and a group called Organizational Committee of China Grand Art Show. Hardly anyone was there. The art pieces focused on revolutionary figures fighting "imperialism" and on socialist realism about China's achievements. It reminded one of the Cultural Revolution. The few security guards did not know if there was a catalogue. I finally located it in a bookstore nearby. It was entitled "Journey to Reunification Exhibition" and very unprofessionally done. I also located a complimentary diary produced by pro-Beijing, small-scale business people commemorating the political transition. It was entitled "Hong Kong—Return to Motherland". The business people, and their biographies and business interests, were listed at the back of the diary as "advisors".
33. Among the voluminous literature on nationality issues, two edited volumes have been very useful. See Balakrishnan 1996, Eley and Suny 1996. On culture and globalization, see Appadurai 1996. On a critique of culture concepts, Gupta and Ferguson 1996 and Clifford 1997. On culture and colonialism, see Dirks 1992 and 1998.
34. For a theoretical summary of the making and unmaking of borders and boundaries, see an insightful ethnography by Berdahl 1999.
35. For the numbers and the capital outflow associated with emigration, see Siu 1996. See also, on "returnees to Hong Kong" in Census and Statistics Department Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Government, "Special Topics Report No. 25" (Hong Kong: 2000). And on the new immigrants, Siu 2008.
36. There is also a clear urban/rural divide between the two groups.

37. According to Liberal Democrat lawyers, the act was a constitutional crisis for Hong Kong, when the judgment of the Court of Final Appeal was politically overruled. See Chan, Fu and Ghai 2000.
38. See Siu, in Siu and Ku 2008.
39. On Shenzhen's entertainment industries, see Wang 1999.
40. See Siu 1989a and 1989b, 1995, 2002.
41. See the recent publications in China catering to the urban middle class. An example is the *Modern Weekly* (周末畫報) published in Guangzhou.
42. See Ma in Siu and Ku 2008.
43. See Ong 1999. The idea of a transnational Chinese public is not new, although the concept has long been associated with historical studies of the Chinese diaspora. See the works of Wang Gungwu and Siu-lun Wong, among others, on the Chinese diaspora.
44. For an analysis of the concept of "the new immigrant" as a derogatory label in Hong Kong and for policy implications of such labelling, see Siu 2008 and Siu 1986.
45. Around 1997, the Hong Kong media including newspapers carried many articles focusing on the Hong Kong identity and its Chinese orientation. For some vigorous debates among public intellectuals, see *Ming Pao Monthly*, August and September 1996, and July 1997.
46. For the importance of urban spaces, see Holston 1999.
47. See Lung Yingtai, talk at the Hong Kong Annual Book Fair (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Convention Centre, 2005) on the role of public intellectuals and on cultural horizons that reach beyond the Chinese framework; see also three short commentaries by Margaret Ng in response (*Apple Daily*, 25, 26, and 27 July 2005).
48. On the re-election of Tung in 2003, and on the reinterpretation of the Basic Law in 2005, see Margaret Ng, "Safeguards on Freedoms of Speech, Association and Religion under Test in Hong Kong — the Case of the Falungong," *Yale University*, 16 April 2001.
49. The issue on the right of abode for the children of Hong Kong residents has been particularly controversial. The controversy came to a head in May 1999. Overriding the interpretation of the Court of Final Appeal to grant the right to a broad range of children of Hong Kong residents, the Hong Kong government sought an interpretation of the law by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress in Beijing. By so doing, the government not only allowed the political and social agenda to overshadow the autonomy of the judiciary but also surrendered its own political autonomy. Before the incident, the legal interface between Hong Kong and China was restricted to very specific issues and through narrowly defined channels. The decision gave Beijing a much wider power of interference and final interpretation.
50. Since the resignation of Tung Chee Hwa, the Democratic Party seems to have lost popularity among the public. The party is also plagued by recent scandals involving the misdeeds of its leaders.
51. Ma, in Siu and Ku 2008.
52. Anson Chan's entire speech at the luncheon organized by Asia Society on 19 April 2001 can be obtained at http://www.asiasociety.org/speeches/chan2.html.
53. See "Chairman Mao Joins the Parade," *The New York Times*, 2 October 1999. Also see comments from Hong Kong newspapers during the few days of celebration, for example, 29 September and 2 October 1999. On the reactions to the design, see "Gang huache sheji jiabin he daocai (Guests at the Parade Greets the Design of the Float with Disapproval)," *Mingpao Daily*, 2 October 1999.

54. See Duara 1995 and Faure and Siu 1995. See also Crossley, Siu and Sutton 2006.
55. See Abrams 1982 and Giddens 1979.

## CHAPTER 4

1. All terms used to refer to a racialized group are necessarily suffused with history and evoke different connotations. Labels like *Negro*, *Coloured*, *Black* (capitalized), black (lower case) *African American* (without hyphen), *African-American* (with hyphen), etc., each have their adherents and detractors. For the limited purposes of this essay, I use *African American* and *black* more or less interchangeably.
2. My usage of *Sinophone* here is strictly descriptive, to distinguish Chinese American works written in Chinese from those written in English. It differs from Shu-mei Shih's much broader and theoretically substantive usage of the term "the Sinophone" (Shih 2007, esp. 23–39).
3. Huang speaks of "the cultural anxieties of the Chinese in Western society and the cultural rejection they show in societies of brown or black people" (2000, 45), but has not expounded further on his observations. In this and other passages originally in Chinese, unless otherwise stated, the translation is mine.
4. The stories discussed in the full version are: Xiang Cha, *Chunyan* ("New Year banquet") and Bai Fei, *Yige shenqiu de xiawu* ("An afternoon in late autumn"), both from a short-lived literary magazine *Xinmiao* (*The Bud*) published in New York Chinatown in the late 1940s; Bai Xianyong, *Zhijiage zhi si* ("Death in Chicago"), collected in his *Niuyueke* (New Yorker) (1975); Cong Su, *Yeyan* ("The Picnic") and *Zhongguoren* ("The Chinese"), collected in her *Zhongguoren* (*The Chinese*) (1978), and *Zun zhe banbeizi* ("The first Half of my life") (first published 1977); Shi Shuqing, *Changmanyi de yiri* ("One day in the life of Auntie Changman") (1976); and Lao Nan, *Haozhai qiyuan* ("Strange encounters in a mansion") (1997).
5. Whenever *racial* or *race* is used in this essay, the assumption is that the term does not refer to a biologically defined population but to a socially constructed identity. Thus, for example, Puerto Ricans are referred to as "black" without qualification when an author describes them as "black".
6. Bai Xianyong's widely cited essay, "The Wandering Chinese: The theme of exile in Taiwan fiction" (Pai 1976), may be taken as representative of such an approach. See also Hsia (1974).
7. The "selling of pigs" (*mai zhuzai*) is a slang term referring to the so-called "coolie trade", which often involved kidnapping, trickery, and abusive treatment. "Coolies" were shipped in vessels under inhumane conditions reminiscent of those on slave ships.
8. The cartoon was published in The *Wasp Magazine* 1893 (January–June), Vol. 30, 10–1. Caldwell's 1971 essay does not give the citation for the cartoon. The cartoon appears in Takaki (218), with acknowledgments to the California State Library, Sacramento and Roberto Haro for helping him locate the source. I thank Iyko Day for her tireless "detective work" in tracing this reference.
9. In the Bancroft Library collection, BANC PIC 2002.052—PAN. No copyright restrictions on reprinting.
10. Some of these factors are touched on in the special issue of *positions: east asia cultures critique* on "The Afro-Asian Century," Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 2003).

11. These include the black man speaking to Lalu Nathoy of freedom in Ruthanne Lum McCunn's fictionalized historical narrative *Thousand Pieces of Gold* (1981); the little black girl protecting the protagonist as she walks home from school in Maxine Hong Kingston's autobiographical *The Woman Warrior* (1976); Toussaint, who befriends the protagonist and teaches him street fighting in Gus Lee's autobiography *China Boy* (1991); Mona's accomplished, militant college roommate Naomi in Gish Jen's novel *Mona in the Promised Land* (1996); and most recently, Woody, the protagonist's tuberculosis ward mate who teaches him boxing, in William Poy Lee's memoir *The Eighth Promise* (2006). Interestingly, four of these examples (Kingston; G. Lee; Jen; and W. P. Lee) show friendly yellow-black interactions in childhood or young adulthood in the 1960s, suggesting not only first- versus second-generation disparity and the effects of the historical period but also the drifting apart of the two groups in adulthood, as socioeconomic differences become more acutely felt.
12. This is a burgeoning area of research. Apart from the *positions* special issue referred to above, a number of literary scholars using ethnic studies and other methodologies have traced Asian-black connections, such as Vijay Prashad (2001), Daniel Kim (2005), James Lee (2004), Julia Lee (2005); LeiLani Nishime (2004); and Fred Ho and Bill V. Mullen (2008).
13. All translations of excerpts from the Chinese stories are mine.
14. *Borayeva* is my English transliteration of the author's Chinese transliteration of the Russian name. According to a Russian informant, it is a common surname mostly for ethnic non-Russians of the Buryat-Mongol or Turkic origins.
15. Early male Chinese immigrants were portrayed as sexual perverts who lured innocent white women into opium dens and laundries in order to violate them (Takaki 2000, 217; Almaguer 1994, 160). That these images are not of "desexualization" or "emasculation" does not, however, mean that Chinese men were considered socially approved objects of sexual desire.
16. Xiao-huang Yin (2000, 165–6) suggests a different ideological valence and function for Chinese immigrant men's sexual liaisons with white women depicted in Sinophone Chinese American literature.
17. Readers interested in issues raised by changing nomenclature are referred to an excellent overview by Wang (2005).

## CHAPTER 5

1. What I describe here as "systemic misrecognition" is related to what Stephen Krasner has called "organized hypocrisy" among states (Krasner 2001, 173–4). Krasner argues that states violate rules or norms of an international system because 1) different actors in the system have differential levels of power, 2) rulers in different polities will be responsive to different domestic norms which may or may not be compatible with international norms, and 3) there is no clear authority structure that can resolve disputation of what rule or norm is applicable. While organized hypocrisy is a clearly related phenomenon and I agree with the conditions for its existence furnished by Krasner, I choose to emphasize the systemic conditions for the misrecognition. Nation-states are formed to serve organisms of global competition.
2. Agamben distinguishes his position from that of Antonio Negri on the question of the relationship of *constituting power* and sovereignty. Negri suggests that constituting power is radically distinguished from sovereign power because the latter (which

becomes an ontological category) marks the end of the creative freedom possessed by constituting power (Hardt and Negri 2000). Agamben avers that, since the "ban-structure" or power of interdiction is original to sovereign power, then perhaps there is no radical difference between it and the constituting power (1998, 43–4). As I understand it, sovereign power has to historically reconstitute itself and does so by producing new ban-structures (creating new internal others). Seen as historical process, sovereign power cannot but be a constituting power.

3. Many of the documents in this section can be found in the sourcebook (Kuhn 1998).
4. In 1910, the Dutch also responded to the Chinese nationality law of 1909 by declaring the category of Dutch "subjects", which included persons born in the colony of parents who were domiciled there. In practice, Chinese governments did not give up the claim of Chinese citizenship among Perankans until the Sino-Indonesian Treaty abolishing dual nationality in 1960 (Mackie and Coppel 1976, 9).

## CHAPTER 6

1. See for instance Loewe 1986, 110.
2. See for instance *Hanshu*, 96A:3873–4; see also Hulsewé 1979, 62–3.
3. On the legal specifics of hard labour and exile during the Han, see Hulsewé 1955, 128–34.
4. Translations from Cai Wenji's poems are taken from Frankel 1983, 135–42; the figures in brackets after the translated verses refer to the number of the poem.
5. *Lunyu yi zhu* 1980, 3.5:24. Confucius' words are liable to an opposite interpretation: see Arthur Waley's translation: "The barbarians of the East and North have retained their princes. They are not in such a state of decay as we in China" (Waley 1938, 94–5).

## CHAPTER 7

1. For brief biographical information in English, the primary reference still is the entry in Hummel 1943–44, 1:120–3. In Chinese we have a number of book-length biographical studies on Ji Yun. See Zhou 1994, Yang et al. 1993, and He and Wu 1993. More recently, popular as well as academic interest in Ji Yun's life story has been fostered by a dramatized version in an extensive TV series, which was based on the fictionalized account by Yi Zhaofeng (Yi 2000). Both the book and the TV series based on it appear to have one-sidedly emphasized the more frivolous sides of Ji Yun's personality. Popular fascination with Ji Yun is not entirely a new phenomenon, for previously he was celebrated in folk literature for his good sense of humour and his sharp wit. See two collections of folk anecdotes and legends about him: He and Han [n.d.]; and Sun 1985, 3:560–3.
2. Hummel 1943–44, 1:542 and 1:120; Zhou 2004, 60; cf. *Qing shilu*, "Gaozong shilu," *juan* 815, 18:1017–49.
3. See, e.g., the letters to his wife, quoted in He and Wu 1993, 49, 55.
4. According to the Qing code (*Da-Qing lüli*), Ji Yun could have received the maximum sentence of postponed execution for the crime he had committed. Banishment to the western frontier had to be considered a relatively lenient verdict (Zhou 2002, 66; cf. Zhou 1997).
5. Waley-Cohen erroneously assumes that Ji Yun served only one year in Xinjiang, but even two years may still be considered "an exceptionally brief term" (Waley-Cohen 1991, 6).

6. We are fortunate to have a meticulously annotated edition of this text (Chen et al. 1991), henceforth abbreviated *WZZ*, as well as a full translation into German (Ebner von Eschenbach 1992). References to *Miscellaneous poems* indicate the page numbers in *WZZ* and the running numbers (#) according to Ebner von Eschenbach 1992.
7. I refer to the modern standard edition (Ji 1980), henceforth abbreviated *YCB*. For selections translated into English, see Keenan 1999; for a fuller translation into German, see Herrmann 1983. For a study of this collection, which, however, does not take any special notice of the large set of items dealing with the western frontier and Ji's exile period, see Chan 1998.
8. Unfortunately, the *Family letters* were not included in the work edition, Sun 1985. For lack of access to the Republican edition of the *Family letters* (Jinxia Gezhu 1935) or any of its reprints, I have instead relied on the extensive quotations provided in He and Wu 1993, 49–55.
9. Two instances are discussed further below. In both cases, the motivation for non-inclusion is evident.
10. *WZZ*, ii, "Preface". *Miscellaneous poems* was included in one large-scale collection of bamboo-branch songs, Lei 2003, 5:3711–43, but not in another, Wang 2003.
11. "Wulumuqi zaji" (Various notes from Ürümqi), in Wang [n.d.], 2.120a–5b, 2:1161–72.
12. Having an estimated number of between 50 and 100 items (about five to ten percent) in *Yuewei caotang biji*, the vignettes about things heard and seen during the exile period at the western frontier comprises the second largest thematic group right after family affairs. See the different counts in Zhou 2004, 73, and Wu 2005, 43.
13. To most readers, *Random jottings* may be known as a collection of ghost stories, which, however, is a selective perception of the nature of this book.
14. Newby (1999, 463) proposes that Ji Yun, by his stories, actually introduced Chinese ghosts to Xinjiang.
15. E.g., "Zashi san shou" (Three miscellaneous poems), as quoted in Sun 1985, 3:338–9.
16. Ji Yun's comparison of Ürümqi to Hangzhou and Suzhou appears not to have been his own creation but was derived from the region's popular nicknaming as "Little Suzhou and Hangzhou" (*xiao Su-Hang*), i.e., "a little paradise on earth". Later on, this idealizing perception also became part of the region's official representation (Millward 1998, 125).
17. This danger seems quite acute in Waley-Cohen 1991 and Millward 1998.
18. It is worthwhile and perhaps helpful to provide a survey of the varied terminology Ji Yun employed in *Miscellaneous poems* for "own" and "other". The terms for China proper, the Chinese homeland, are: *neidi*, "the inner regions" (*WZZ*, 8, #3; 31, #24; 38, #30; 57, #47; 64, #54; 123, #103; 133, #112; 140, #120; 162, #141; 165, #143); *zhongtu*, "the central earth" (79, #66; 139, #118); and *zhongyuan*, "the central plains" (92, #75). The western frontier region is referred to as: *sai wai*, "[the region] beyond the wall" (41, #33; 63, #53); *sai yuan*, "[the region beyond] the wall" (57, #47); *Qin*, "Qin [i.e., culturally foreign lands]" (60, #50; 140, #120); *Qin di*, "the Qin territory" (151, #130); or *xi-Qin*, "the western Qin" (153, #132). For the local people, the region's native population, the following terms are used: *jiang fan*, "the subjugated barbarians" (18, #13); *xifan*, "the western barbarians" (20, #14; 128, #108); *fanren*, "the barbarians" (34, #26); *xiren*, "the westerners" (43, #34; 60, #50); *bianmeng*, "frontier folk" (31, #24); *turen* (85, #70; 106, #88; 133, #112) or *benturen* (129, #109), both terms meaning "the native people"; *Qin ren*, "the Qin people" (155, #135; 165, #143). The Chinese exiles are referred to as either *liuren*, "exiles" (45, #36; 54, #44), or *qianhu*, "banished households" (58, #48; 59, #49).

19. In other contexts, Ji Yun, by the term *youren*, also refers to people who are looking for amusement (160, #139) or to travelling merchants (57, #47).
20. Millward (1998, 282) characterizes *Miscellaneous poems* as "a sort of tourist guide", which, however, would seem quite inappropriate.
21. This phrase indicates the author's continuous process of writing and collecting of material during his sojourn.
22. There is a parallel item on this topic in *Random jottings* (*YCB*, 13.319), in which Ji Yun points out more precisely that the ruins were those of the Tang Dynasty city of Beiting, formerly called Jinman.
23. In one poem (*WZZ*, 141, #121), the exiles' quarters are referred to as "the waste colonies" (*huang tun*).
24. Millward (1998, 125) quoting a statement made in 1784 by Grand Councillor Heshen (1750–99).
25. For an example of the theme of nostalgia in *Random jottings*, see the entry *YCB*, 1.17 about the issuing of official certificates for coffins to be transported back to China proper, in order to let the souls "enter the passes" (*ru guan*).
26. The exiles, and hence their children, officially had slave status for the period of punishment. The children often had to serve in officials' households. As a rule, those exiles who had taken their families with them to the far west were rehabilitated as "common folk" (*min*) after five years of service but usually were not allowed to return to the mainland. Bachelors remained with their forced labour status for the rest of their lives.
27. Waley-Cohen 1991, 182–3. If an escapee returned voluntarily within twenty days, his life could be spared (*YCB*, 7.146).
28. The mass execution took place in the eighth month of 1768, i.e., several months prior to Ji Yun's arrival.
29. Cf. Strassberg 2002. For a reference to *Shanhai jing* in *Random jottings*, see *YCB*, 3.50.
30. To modern readers it certainly is disturbing that, in *Miscellaneous poems*, this particular item was classed among "local products", along with entries about wild and domestic animals.

## CHAPTER 8

1. *Hong Kong Statistics 1947–1967* (Hong Kong: Census Statistics Department, 1969), 14.
2. Newcomers included both legal and illegal immigrants. In 1950, the Hong Kong government began to control the border crossing of Chinese by introducing the quota system. From that time, there was a distinction between legal and illegal immigrants.
3. "When we remember that the *Bildungsroman* — the symbolic form that more than any other has portrayed and promoted modern socialization — is also the *most contradictory* of modern symbolic forms, we realize that, in our world, socialization itself consists first of all in the *interiorization of contradiction*, the next step being not to 'solve' the contradiction, but rather to learn ... to live with it, and even transform it into a tool for survival" Moretti 1987, 10 (author's italics).
4. Lü 1987. The novel was first serialized in the Hong Kong newspaper *Hua Shang Newspaper* from 1 July 1948, to 22 August 1948. It was then published in book form in 1952. See Hitang, Lu and Tay 1998, 15–27.

5. For example, Li Tie's *In the Face of Demolition* (*Weilou chunxiao*, 1953) and *Orchid in the Fire* (*Huoku youlan*, 1960) are representative Cantonese films of the generation. Furthermore, Mandarin films like Zhu Shilin's *Mr. Chen vs Mr. Chen* (*Yi ban zhi ge*, 1952), *House-Removal Greeting* (*Qiaoqian zhi xi*, 1954) and *Between Fire and Water* (*Shuihuo zhijian*, 1955) are stories that take place in cramped houses.
6. There are different representations, such as that of Eileen Chang. See Leung 1998.
7. Qin Mu, *The Gold Coast* (*Huangjin hai'an*) (revised version) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chunbanshe, 1978). A chapter of the novel appears, under the title of "The Fishing Net of Hong Kong Sea" (*Xiang Gang hai de wanggu*), in Liu 2002, 149–64.
8. For biographies of the authors mentioned in this essay, I mainly refer to Liu 1996.
9. The first issue of *Everyman's Literature* was published on 20 May 1952, and the last issue (no. 36) was published on 1 August 1954. The *Students' Corner* was well received by students in Hong Kong and other South-east Asian cities. Other editors of the magazine include Huang Sipin (1919–84), Qihuan (b.1930), and Xu Su (1924–81).
10. The short stories were first serialized in *Everyman's Literature* no. 25 in 1954. The novel was then published in book form in 1955. See Pei-Mo 1955.
11. Pei-Mo, "A-Hon's Boyhood 8: Aunt", *Everyman's Literature*, no. 35 (1 July 1954): 22. All English-language quotations from the stories are translations by the author of this essay.
12. Pei-Mo, 75.
13. Pei-Mo, "Aunt", *Everyman's Literature*, no. 10 (16 May 1953): 18.
14. *Everyman's Literature*, no. 10 (16 May 1953): 20.
15. Huang 1948, 22–3. The novel was first serialized in *Hua Shang Newspaper* in 1947. For a discussion of this novel, see Leung 1998.
16. Huang Sicheng, "Summer at Gulang Island 2," *Everyman's Literature*, no. 18 (16 September 1953): 15.
17. Zheng, Deng and Feng 1985, 54–9. Huang, Lu and Tay 1998, 71–7.
18. Qiheng, "*Yindi — A Barcarolle*," *Everyman's Literature*, no. 10 (16 May 1953): 6.
19. Qiheng, "*Yindi — A Barcarolle*," *Everyman's Literature*, no. 10 (16 May 1953): 7.
20. When I was editing a bibliography of Hong Kong literature, I came across a fourth edition of the novel published in 1954. See Wong 1996, 21.
21. Cao Juren was seriously attacked by both the right and the left political camps in the 1950s. As he did not particularly incline to either political side, his neutral position made him problematic in the context of the 1950s.
22. This perspective originates from the recollections of my mother, who passed away in 1998. Like most of the older generation in Hong Kong, my mother belonged to the generation that escaped from mainland China to Hong Kong around 1949, similar to the characters in the novels discussed. She enjoyed herself fully in this city, yet after living in Hong Kong for fifty years, she still preferred to return to her hometown when she grew old. This triggered the question: Had she really adapted to Hong Kong, where she had lived for so long? This personal question led to my academic research. Thanks to the support of the Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences of Lingnan University, I conducted a research project on "The Theme of Growth in Hong Kong Fiction from the 1940s to 1970s" in 2003. The short stories discussed in this essay were collected through this funded research. Reading these old stories made me understand more of Hong Kong in the past, as well as my mother's experience as a Hong Kong dweller.

## CHAPTER 9

1. This led, for instance, to William Skinner's (see Skinner 1957) anthropological studies of the Chinese in Thailand.
2. Aihwa Ong and Donald Nonini's *Ungrounded Empires* (Ong and Nonini 1997) is a representative collection.
3. Tu Weiming's collaboration with the Singapore state is the best example of this. I have provided a cognitive mapping of neo-Confucianism in my "Chinese Cosmopolitanism in Two Senses and Postcolonial National Memory," chapter 4 of Cheah 2006.
4. See Duara in Ong and Nonini 1997.
5. For instance, the movie studio tycoons, the Shaw Brothers, are Singaporean, the Kuok family that heads the Shangri-la group are from Penang and the Haw Par brothers of Tiger Balm are Burmese Chinese.
6. There is an elaborate plan for developing Disney consumerism in China through a spectacular programme of English-language education from kindergarten onwards that is infused with Disney characters.
7. See the report by Zi Teng, the Hong Kong-based NGO, Zi 2000.
8. For a fuller biography and study that positions Fruit Chan's work within Hong Kong film, see Gan 2005.
9. *Little Cheung* received the Silver Leopard at the Locarno Film Festival. *Durian Durian* won awards for Best Original Screenplay and Best New Performer (for Qin Hailu) at the 2001 Hong Kong Film Awards and won Best Film, Best Actress, Best New Performer and Best Original Screenplay at the Golden Horse Awards in 2002.
10. For a fuller study of the handover trilogy, see Yau 2001. I do not necessarily agree with the details of Yau's interpretations of the films.
11. *Little Cheung* already strains at transnationalism in the centrality it accords to the Filipina maid, and the illegal immigrant girl, who also appears as Ah Fen in *Durian Durian*.
12. For a fuller discussion, see especially Helen Siu's work on the construction of the Mainland immigrant in Siu 1986, and Ku 2001.
13. Cf. Wendy Gan's suggestion that Chan adopts a different mode of social realism when he goes back to China and enters the world of China's Sixth Generation filmmakers, who are interested in low-key realist explorations of contemporary Chinese life that is devoid of ideals, certainty and hope of a future "and filled instead with the worship of money as China embraces money-making" (Gan 2005, 40).

## CHAPTER 10

1. http://www.unhchr.ch/huridocda/huridoca.nsf; see E.CN.4.SUB.2.RES.1994.45 (databases), April 17, 2009.
2. NZZ no. 170, 23–24 July 2005, p. 5.
3. "Bridging the gap between Human Rights and development: From normative principles to operational relevance," lecture by Mary Robinson, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. http://www.unhchr.ch/huricane/huricane.nsf/0/2DA59CD3FFC033DCC1256B1A0033F7C3?opendocument, last viewed 17 April 2007.
4. Balcom 2005, 191–4 (*Notes on the Authors*). In this section, Balcom mentions that many of them have received prestigious literary awards, especially the Wu Cho-liu Award. Detailed information on this award is not yet provided on the Internet; it was

established in 1969 with Wu's donation of NT$100,000. See http://english.www.gov.tw/TaiwanHeadlines/index.jsp?recordid=22654&action=CNA, last viewed Sept. 7, 2007.

5. For a survey of relevant ideas, especially with respect to Taiwanese cultural nationalism, see Hsiau 2000, 1–28.
6. By speaking about "sinophone" communities I mean to include those authors whose writing medium is the Chinese language but who are not native speakers in the strict sense of the word, like members of Taiwan's aboriginal peoples. See Shih 2007.
7. On the mainland Chinese aesthetic discourse of minority empowerment during the late 1980s and early 1990s, see Riemenschnitter 2004.
8. Wang and Rojas (2007) do not mention indigenous literature at all, while Yip (2004, 240) has included a few lines on Huang Ming-ch'uan's movie *Man from Island West* (Xibu lai de ren, 1990).
9. Pratt uses this term "to refer to instances in which colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that engage with the colonizer's own terms. ... Autoethnographic texts are those the others construct in response to or in dialogue with those metropolitan representations. ... Autoethnographic texts are not, then, what are usually thought of as 'authentic' or autochthonous forms of self-representation ... . Rather autoethnography involves partial collaboration with and appropriation of the idioms of the conqueror. Often ... the idioms appropriated and transformed are those of travel and exploration writing, merged or infiltrated to varying degrees with indigenous modes. Often ... they are bilingual and dialogic. Autoethnographic texts are typically heterogeneous on the reception end as well, usually addressed both to metropolitan readers and to literate sectors of the speaker's own social group, and bound to be received very differently by each. Often such texts constitute a group's point of entry into metropolitan literate culture. ... I believe that autoethnographic expression is a very widespread phenomenon of the contact zone, and will become important in unravelling the histories of imperial subjugation and resistance as seen from the site of their occurrence" (Pratt 1992, 7f.).
10. The issue of collective memory construction is too complicated, and the respective literature far too abundant, to be discussed exhaustively here. Besides the valuable contributions in Wang (2007) and Yip (2004, 69–130), there are enlightening reflections on the various aspects of forgetting (amnesia, amnesty, selective commemoration, etc.) in Ricoeur (2004). See especially his discussion of the problem of interaction between bodily and social modes of memory (as a kind of afterthought to Foucault's findings), as well as that of the relationship between the cognitive capacities of reminiscence and imagination.
11. Wang 1995, 1996, 1997, and several others. His latest publication is (to my knowledge) *Moshenzai*, 2002.
12. Ke Lei, cited in Hsiau 2000, 61f.
13. Duara, "Between Sovereignty and Capitalism", in this publication, p. 109. For an in-depth discussion of May Fourth and Kang-Ri localism in the northern frontier regions of the 1930s, see Duara 2003, 209–43.
14. Wang 1996, henceforth SYH (*Shan yu hai*).
15. For the location of this tribe in the seventeenth century, see map in Wang 2001, 11.
16. The simple representation of Lin Daogan as a pirate in this text is questionable. There is a whole branch of folklore about this Chaozhou salesman who, during the sixteenth century, controlled the waterways in South-east Asia, including the initiation of large-

scale Chaozhou migration. Although interesting as part of Taiwanese (migration and anti-imperial insurgency) history, the author obviously has a different focus in mind here. See Cai 1998, http://ws.twl.ncku.edu.tw/hak-chia/c/chhoa-hui-ju/lim-to-khian.htm, last viewed 9 January 2009.

17. "Takao Hill covers 1000 hectares along the northeast edge of Kaohsiung. In the Japanese occupation era, it was listed as protected woodland, and logging, hunting, and development were banned. After the ROC government took over from the Japanese in 1945, the area was placed under military jurisdiction, and the area remained in its natural condition, leaving it as virtually the only oasis of green in the city. In 1989, the city government opened up the eastern part of the mountain below 250 meters for recreational use. This created a huge inflow of visitors. However, with visitors having little regard for the environment, Takao Hill's environment quickly suffered serious damage. Garbage was strewn everywhere. The trails widened as more and more people used them. And rare flora and fauna were victimized; for example, the Formosan rock monkey was hunted and trapped. In 1993, a group of WPPA members formed the THA. In cooperation with the Kaohsiung Bird Watching Society and other groups, they trained park guides. Through guided tours they educated people to change their recreational habits, steadily restoring the pristine appearance of the mountain." http://www.sinorama.com.tw/en/show_issue.php3?id=19976860607E.TXT&page=1; last viewed 2 August 2005. For an ethnographic inquiry into the construction of Taiwan's outdoor and hiking resorts, see Harrell 1994.
18. See, for instance, the *Shi-san hang* site protection campaign in 1991, mentioned in Hsiau 2000, 171f.
19. On Chen's voyage and ethnographic account, see Teng 2004, 62–8, and passim.
20. Among others, see SYH 139, 169; GY 17, and Barclay 2001.
21. On these topics, see Chang 2004, as well as Wang and Rojas 2007.
22. Stephen Teo (2003), Review of *A City of Sadness* by Berenice Reynaud, Senses of Cinema (September), http://www.sensesofcinema.com/contents/books/03/29/city_of_sadness.html, last viewed 3 July 2007.
23. See especially the poem "Distant Journey" *Yuanyou* (Tr. Hawkes 1959) in the collection of Chu poetry *Songs of Chu* that are conventionally attributed to Qu Yuan.
24. *Taiwan Today*, no. 18, v. 1, February 2005, p. 8f. (German edition). On the new official line on ethnic integration, see also Wang 2003.
25. On aboriginal multiculturalism and other strategies of survival in Taiwan's current phase of transcultural integration, see Katz 2003, especially chapter 5 (Rudolph 2003).
26. On the trajectory of building a music-based, multi-ethnic cultural identity in Taiwan since the late 1990s, see Ho 2007.
27. http://www.eastasian.ucsb.edu/projects/fswlc/tlsd/research/Journal03/foreword3e.html; http://www.tawww.com/Aborigi/index2.asp, last viewed 17 April 2009. For a good survey of current aboriginal literary production in English translation, see Balcom and Balcom 2005.
28. Ye Si (Leung Ping-kwan) 1995, 4–12; see also Chen 1999, 91–4.
29. Zhao Jingyu, Shi Shuqing yi xiaoshuo wei Taiwan li zhuan — Xingguo Luojin chuban (Shi Shuqing establishes a novelistic Taiwanese historical transmission — Transit Luojin has been published), www.libertytimes.com.tw; last viewed 6 September 2005.
30. Zhong 1997. Zhong Ling was born 1948 in Hengyang, Hunan, but grew up in Hong Kong.
31. Chow 1992, 162. For analyses of Shih's (documentary) sources, see Li 2002 and Lu 2003.

32. "Who is diasporic in Hong Kong: the poor from the mainland, the rich who also live in Vancouver, or the born-and-raised Hong Kongers themselves? How do we code the 'Taiwanese and Korean' wanderers: Japanese-Chinese-Korean-Taiwanese-American? Rather than the expected cosmopolitan 'third culture,' these contingent people seem more like the fabulous creatures from the *Shanhai jing*'s heterotopia: five heads and one body, or five bodies and one head. If diaspora is considered in terms of political poetics rather than ethnic identity, it is clear that we are all diaspora today. Diaspora almost by definition lack formal political status. Since they have little or no legal purchase on the powers of the state, diasporic activities are not best understood according to the popular sovereignty of representative government and civil society. Rather, the politics of these 'essential outsiders' (Chirot and Reid 1997) is best understood as part of a governmentality active in cultural, social, and economic spaces: the office, family, factory, and school in addition to the familiar state institutions. ... We are all diasporic now in the sense that power is located outside and alongside the regulatory states. Rather than working through civil society as 'citizens,' resistance is increasingly productive in economic and cultural spheres for all populations" (Callahan 2004, 226).
33. Following his suggestions concerning the employment of the category of queerness as "critical methodology based not on content but rather on form and style" (40), Eng delineates the transnational political scope of queerness in Asian American studies which in fact "far exceeds the limited notion of sexual identity; indeed, I am focusing on a politics of queerness that can function for Asian American studies as a method of wide critique, considering at once a nexus of social differences and concerns as they dynamically underpin the formation of Asian American subjectivities" (Eng 1997, 41).
34. A discussion of the erasure of signifiers of queerness by Mainland critics in Taiwanese fiction and a response to this strategy by Taiwanese politicians can be found in Martin (2003, 47–100). In her seminal work *Flexible Citizenship*, Aihwa Ong (1999) discusses at length the problematique of the changing relations between subjects, state, and capital under the conditions of global capitalism that underlie Martin's argument. Ong's reasoning is interesting for the informed critique of both universalizing theories that do not pay attention to particular (local) histories, and the predicament of cultural meaning-making that must cope with its entanglement with the statist discourse of collective identity — maneuvering in between participation and resistance.
35. "The *sinthome* — a term, as Lacan explains in Seminar 23, that he takes from an 'old way of writing what was written later as *symptom*' — speaks to the singularity of the subject's existence, to the particular way each subject manages to knot together the orders of the Symbolic, the Imaginary, and the Real. ...As the template of a given subject's distinctive access to jouissance, defining the condition of which the subject is always a symptom of sorts itself, the sinthome, in its refusal of meaning, procures the determining relation to enjoyment by which the subject finds itself driven beyond the logic of fantasy or desire. It operates...as the knot that holds the subject together, that ties or binds the subject to its constitutive libidinal career, and assures that no subject, try as it may, can ever 'get over' itself — 'get over', that is, the fixation of the drive that determines its jouissance" (Edelman 2004, 35f.).
36. Edelman 2004, 6f. He goes on to state: "As a particular story ... of why storytelling fails, one that takes both the value and the burden of that failure upon itself, queer theory, as I construe it, marks the 'other' side of politics: the 'side' outside all political sides, committed as they are, on every side, to futurism's unquestioned good" (2004).

37. The historical commander of the takeover was Captain Berger. See Welsh 1997, 327.
38. Zhuangzi once dreamt he was a butterfly. When he woke up, he could not determine whether he was a butterfly who dreams to be a man, or the other way around. See, for instance, Watson 1968, 49.
39. The dimension of the film's ethnographic as historical inquiry has been explored by Audrey Yue: "Rather than tracing a genealogy of nostalgia through the memories of his own childhood, Tokio's nostalgia is expropriated as a way of reading the past into the present. Tokio's self-reflexivity articulates a postmodern nostalgia that maps not just his experiences of alienation and loss; in experiencing (and literally recording) the past, it functions as a postcolonial ethnography of the history of a pre-post-1997 Hong Kong. For example, through his gastronomic quest, grandma's eulogy is archived and the secrets of her cooking preserved. Through his shopping accounts, Hong Kong is measured and negotiated. Through his friendship with Pui Wah, the authenticity of 'Chinese' culture is de-essentialised, hybridised and translated. Here, his nostalgic point-of-view is a movement that is both backward and forward; it narrates and records the wider metanarratives of a past that is already imaginary and a present that is already belated, and screens the ethnology of a place that is simultaneously mythical and real" (Yue 2000), also published on the Internet: http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue4/yue.html; last viewed 7 July 2008.
40. On the notion of flexible citizenship and multiple passport acquisition, see Ong 1999.

## CHAPTER 11

1. For detailed accounts see, for example, Li 1997, Ropp1997.
2. For further details about this network, its function and tasks, see Lai 1991, Chen et al. 1993, Cao 1996, Gu 1998, Ma 2001, and the journal *Huawen wenxue*.
3. For concepts of diaspora in general, see Safran 1991, 1999; Clifford 1994; Brah 1996; Schnapper 1999; Braziel and Mannur 2003. For Chinese diasporas, see Ang 2000, 2001; Duara 1997, 2005; Ong and Nonini 1997; McKeown 1999, 2000; Chow 2000; Yeh 2000; Bernier 2001; Ma and Cartier 2003.
4. See Butler 1990, 1993.
5. Defining Sai's social position I use two terms: courtesan and prostitute. While the first is used in the context of her popularity within the world of entertainment after the death of her first husband and is thus closely linked to the remarks on courtesan culture at the beginning of the essay, the latter points to her life before marriage and the more negative aspects of her image as they are informed by the changing perception of prostitution at the beginning of the twentieth century.
6. For a detailed account of literary, biographical, journalistic and historical works, see Minden 1994.
7. Sai Jinhua's year of birth still remains uncertain. Data to be found include 1864 and 1872 as well as 1874. The year given here corresponds to Sai Jinhua's last personal statement shortly before her death. For this see Du 1936: 12, 39. For a detailed account of the broad discussion of the matter, see Minden 1994: 76-8.
8. Hong Jun (Wenqing) (1840–93); for biographical details, see Hummel 1943, I: 360–1.
9. For further details of the Boxer Rebellion, see Chen 1971, Duiker 1978, Fairbank 1978/80, Cohen 1997, Xiang 2003.
10. This alliance united Japan, Britain, France, the United States, Italy, Russia, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Germany.

11. General Alfred Graf von Waldersee (1832–1904), in 1900, was appointed the commander-in-chief of the German troops sent to China.
12. For an account of the related journalistic documentation, see Minden 1994.
13. For translations into Western languages, see Zeng 1983, 2001; Minden 1994; Wilhelm 1957.
14. For a detailed analysis of changing images of prostitutes towards the end of the Qing, see Zamperini 1999.
15. Hershatter uses this term in a different context, but I think it is true in a much broader sense.
16. With her rather confusing statement, Zhao follows her precursors who all attempted to shift the reader's focus from the dominating protagonist to a wider perspective on historical events and their significance for China's approach to national strength and modernity.
17. According to the legend, Sai Jinhua had become the sworn brother of the Qing official Lu Yufang. Subsequently, she was known under the name Sai Erye.
18. If not indicated otherwise, translations are mine.
19. The idea of the transformative potential of certain processes originates in Victor Turner's study of modern rituals and their sociocultural significance. See, for example, Turner 1982, 1986.
20. In quotations from Salih 2002, "GT" refers to the 1990 edition of Butler's book *Gender Trouble* (see Butler 1999).
21. It seems worth noting that Butler rejects the idea of a pre-existing intentional subject which would be able to "perform" or to choose an identity. Rather, her position has been described as follows: "Gender identities are constructed and constituted by language, which means that there is no gender identity that precedes language. If you like, it is not that an identity 'does' discourse or language, but the other way around — language and discourse 'do' gender. There is no 'I' outside language since identity is a signifying practice, and culturally intelligible subjects are the effects rather than the causes of discourses that conceal their workings (GT, 145). It is in this sense that gender identity is performative" (Salih 2002, 64). In the context of Zhao Shuxia's course of diasporic identification, this notion of the performative character of identity needs further elaboration.
22. Here, I draw from Butler's notions of "'intelligible' genders" and subjects. In her book *Gender Trouble* she defines the "coherence" and "continuity" of "the person" as "socially instituted and maintained norms of intelligibility": "'Intelligible' genders are those which in some sense institute and maintain relations of coherence and continuity among sex, gender, sexual practice, and desire" (Butler 1999, 23). Likewise, "intelligible" cultural identities would institute and maintain relations of coherence and continuity among cultural origin, (assigned) cultural identity, cultural practice and political interest. Under the specific conditions of transcultural existence these constituting moments of identity are seriously challenged. Thus, for the diasporic individual, finding ways to re-establish the relations of coherence and continuity highlighted above turns out to be one of the most crucial tasks.
23. See Zhao 1988, 1993, 1997a, d, e.
24. The concept of liminality was first introduced by Victor Turner in the context of his ritual studies. In one of his numerous publications on the matter he defines it as follows: "This term, literally 'being-on-a-threshold,' means a state or process which is betwixt-and-between the normal, day-to-day cultural and social states and processes of getting

and spending, preserving law and order, and registering cultural status. ... Liminality is full of potency and potentiality. It may also be full of experiment and play. There may be a play of ideas, a play of words, a play of symbols, a play of metaphors" (V. Turner, Frame, flow and reflection: ritual and drama as public liminality, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 6/4 December 1979: 465–6). Since then it has been creatively used by artists, architects, and scholars of different orientations (urban studies, film studies, fine arts etc.). In postcolonial studies it was Homi Bhabha (1994) who further explored the concept to explain the conditions of complex identification processes: "The importance of the liminal for post-colonial theory [and, one might add, for diaspora theory as well, KE] is precisely its usefulness for describing an 'in-between' space in which cultural change may occur: the transcultural space in which strategies for personal or communal self-hood may be elaborated, a region in which there is a continual process of movement and interchange between different states. ... There,] identification is never simply a movement from one identity to another, it is a constant process of engagement, contestation and **appropriation**" (Ashcroft et al. 2000, 130; emphasis in original).

## CHAPTER 12

1. Additional diasporic novels about Singapore published in the last five years include *Shadow Theatre* (2002) by Singapore-born Asian American Fiona Cheong, and a historical novel, *Breaking the Tongue* (2004), by a Malaysian-born Vyvyane Loh, who grew up in Singapore before immigrating to the US. Catherine Lim, born in colonial Malaya (Malaysia after independence), yet acknowledged as one of Singapore's most established as well as prolific writers, has continued to publish both locally and abroad. *Following the Wrong God Home* (2001), her most socially critical novel, and *Song of Silver Frond* (2003) appeared abroad, the short romance *A Leap of Love* (2003) and the autobiographical *Unhurried Thoughts At My Funeral* (2005) in Singapore.
2. An important exception is *Playing Madame Mao* (2000) by Singapore-born Asian Australian Lau Siew Mei, which maps communist China onto Singapore's contemporary cityscape. As I have shown elsewhere, *Silver Sister* by Singapore-born Australian Lillian Ng fits particularly neatly into the category of the diasporic, self-styled "exotic" novel. The table of contents maps the stations in the heroine's journey towards financial independence: Village; Canton; Hong Kong; Singapore; Australia; Glossary. Compare Wagner, *Occidentalism* 33, 195ff. When Catherine Lim's *The Teardrop-Story Woman*, an historical romance set in colonial Malaya and Singapore, was published by Orion in London in 1998, for example, it sported on its cover a reference to Chang Jung's *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China* (1991): "If you loved Wild Swans, you'll adore this book." Apart from an interest in the suppression of women, there are few similarities between the two novels.
3. See Wagner, "Tan Syndrome," *passim*. Compare also Wagner, *Occidentalism* 219ff.
4. Stanley Fish speaks of the exploitation of the multicultural as a consumer good: "the multiculturalism of ethnic restaurants, weekend festivals, and high profile flirtations with the other" (378). Although he posits a — however, peculiarly vague — conceptualization of what he calls "strong" or "very strong" multiculturalism as a possible counterpoise, what is most important to note here is that he focuses on food, festivals, and food festivals, as the most easily consumable output of neatly stratified cultural diversity: "the multiculturalism of ethnic restaurants, weekend festivals, and high profile flirtations with the other" (Fish 378).

5. Compare Koh Tai Ann's recent overview of literature in English by Chinese in the British Straits Settlements and colonial Malaya (*passim*).
6. Lo provides an insightful interpretation of the play and the ways in which it has been received in the region and abroad. Kon's focus on the decline and increasingly labyrinthine memory of a Peranakan family, Lo argues, marks out multicultural origins that can easily be appropriated as a particularly "local" interest. The play won the Singaporean Drama Writing Competition and performed as the Singaporean entry in the Commonwealth Arts Festival and the Edinburgh Arts Festival Fringe in 1986.

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