Walking Between Slums and Skyscrapers

Illusions of Open Space in Hong Kong, Tokyo, and Shanghai

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— Britta Erickson, *The Art of Xu Bing*

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Introduction

Walking in the Global City:

Whose Open Space Is It?

> Capitalism thereby builds and rebuilds a geography in its own image. It constructs a distinctive geographical landscape, a produced space of transport and communications, of infrastructures and territorial organizations, that facilitates capital accumulation during one phase of its history only to have to be torn down and reconfigured to make way for further accumulation at a later stage. If, therefore, the word "globalization" signifies anything about our recent historical geography, it is most likely to be a new phase of exactly this same underlying process of the capitalist production of space.
>
> David Harvey

> If there is a history of walking, then it too has come to a place where the road falls off, a place where there is no public space and the landscape is being paved over, where leisure is shrinking and being crushed under the anxiety to produce, where bodies are not in the world but only indoors in cars and buildings, and an apotheosis of speed makes those bodies seem anachronistic or feeble.
>
> Rebecca Solnit

I was writing the last part of this project when the horrors of the September 11 attacks shocked the world. New York City, the global city that serves as a role model for many metropolises in the world, suffered the most audacious terrorist attacks. The collapse of the World Trade Center, the landmark of the quintessential global city, urges us to rethink the monumental space as an emblem of invincible power and the problems entailed by globalization. It is

noteworthy that the very globalization that gives rise to these monumental buildings also leads to their destruction: airplanes, a means and symbol of globalization, become a weapon in the hands of terrorists, who cross borders which were made permeable to facilitate global flows of information, travel, and capital. The capital flows that empower the monumental buildings can protect neither the steel and concrete of the skyscrapers nor the corporeality of those who inhabit the space. The fact that the global economy slowed down after the attacks further attests to the vulnerability of globalization, demonstrating what happens when "the center cannot hold." On the other hand, the tragedies, in a sense, mirror the dire consequences of the uneven development of globalization. The war between the US, the economic superpower, and Afghanistan, one of the most impoverished countries in the world, cannot be explained by merely another confrontation between Christianity and Islam or the good and the evil as simplified by George W. Bush.[1] It is also a clash between those who profit from capital flows and the marginalized others that relentlessly have been excluded from the process of globalization.

* * * * * *

Recurrent in its commercials, Microsoft emphasizes the slogan: "So we will ask it again: *Where do you want to go today?"* (emphasis original) The slogan exemplifies the ideology of open space enabled by globalization. Utilizing advanced technologies in the areas of communications and transportation, globalization in many ways seems to open up more possibilities in contemporary society, entailing such phenomena as deterritorialization, the decline of nation-state control, and decorporealization (abstraction of bodily experience).[2] Specifically, the utopia of globalization is a flexible, fluid, and mobile space, an open space that knows no boundaries. Just as the jumbo jet constantly reminds us of how modern transportation compresses the physical spaces and renders faraway places as close as one's backyard, the world wide web as part of the information revolution makes the world a virtual reality at one's fingertips.

One of the persistent concerns in this project is about the effects of globalization on our lived space of everyday life as witnessed in East Asian metropolises including Hong Kong, Tokyo, and Shanghai. To examine the ideology of the open space produced by globalization, it is essential to turn to cities. However mobile global capital can be, it requires concrete material

spaces for production, administration, and consumption: metropolises are thus chosen for flexible accumulation (Sassen 1996: 207–9). Given the increasing importance of the megalopolises, we need to address the following questions: How does the production of the global city change the lived space of the local people? Is the global city an open space for all of the inhabitants as many of its promoters celebrate? Or do the new possibilities brought about by the global flows compose another version of the myth of emancipation? My object of study focuses on one important dimension of the interaction between urban inhabitants and the East Asian global cities, the politics of walking as a practice and metaphor.[3] I explore films and literary works that address the politics of walking because in global culture it is often on the ground of narrativization that walking and the ideology of open space ally. The artistic works I analyze include Hong Kong director Wong Kar-wai's film *Chungking Express*, Japanese director Shinya Tsukamoto's works *Tetsuo: The Iron Man, Tetsuo II: Body Hammer*, and *Tokyo Fist*, and Chinese novelist Wang Anyi's "Meitou," "Looking for Shanghai," and *The Song of Unending Sorrow*. I argue that walking in the global city reveals the contradiction between everyday life and globalization. It is through walking that one witnesses vividly the oscillation between the yearning evoked by the ideology of open space and the dejection caused by the compression of living space as a consequence of capital globalization.

In the history of walking we see a drastic shift in the modern time from roaming in the wild nature to promenading in the urban street. From the ancient Greeks to the last quarter of the twentieth century, from garden path to pastoral, from boulevard and arcade to a labyrinthine, kaleidoscopic metropolis constructed and constrained by technology and global capital, walking, as a simple physical act that allows us to move beyond the confines of the body, has been utilized as an important means of access to and construction of a liberating open space. Giving lectures while walking on a covered path in the garden, Aristotle and his peripatetic school used walking as a way to prepare the thinking subjects for acquiring truth, which points to freedom. The intricate relationship between walking in Nature and the ideology of open space takes another form in Romantic poetry. For example, in Wordsworth's poems, pacing around the countryside, the poet finds a path to himself, to Nature, to people, and to everyday life. Here an important connotation of the poet's walking is its intimation of liberation in democratically open Nature. It is noteworthy, however, that the long tradition of walking as a means to spatial freedom sees a striking change in the

nineteenth century. While the pastoral landscape sets free ambulatory subjects such as Aristotle and Wordsworth, the city has become more and more commanding as a new setting for walkers. The romantic tradition of walking in nature still exists; nevertheless, urbanization not only replaces the rural landscape with city streets as the dominant habitat of walkers but also complicates the relationship between strollers and their social space. The Baudelairean *flâneur*, strolling in the city without a specific destination or purpose, defines freedom as the right to derive pleasure from wandering in the streets and pretending to be what he isn't. For the leisure-class *flâneur*, walking as a means to explore the shifting social space is also a persistent attempt to assert his privilege of being at home in the world, one of the most extreme forms of the open space imaginable.

Technology and global capital redefine the act of walking: these two determinants dramatically change urban *flâneur's* habitat, his ways of walking, and the sights he sees with his footsteps. If walking is access to an open space, and globalization appears to blur the boundaries between human beings and their living environment, one has to ask the question: is walking in the global city an epitome of spatial freedom? According to Michel de Certeau, pedestrians' unplanned footsteps are transgressive and liberating in a world constructed by the panopticon power: the macro-discourse of the urban system cannot contain the wild footsteps of city walkers; rather, it is the pedestrians' performative act that (re)shapes the city. I would like to consider the possibility that the subversive power of walking in the global city may be more illusory than what de Certeau argues. Before we glorify the liberation of walking in global cities, we have to ask what pedestrians de Certeau has in mind: are the footsteps of low-paid workers as transgressive as those of white-collar managers? Also, how does globalization act upon the city-walkers? Given the fact that global culture is one within which physical boundaries can be repeatedly redrawn to promote all kinds of global flows, such as those of money, people, ideas, machinery, and images as Arjun Appadurai describes, the myth of an open space catering to pedestrians is necessarily transformed by the specific cultural-economic dynamics of the global city (33). This study will seek to contribute to the question of how the ideology of open space in global cities has been appropriated, rewritten, or complicated by agents of different social groups.

The historical trajectory of walking seems to show that the global city has become the ultimate habitat of walkers. In fact, the global city registers a historically unprecedented phenomenon in terms of the size and density of

human population, the complexity of infrastructures and construction, and the mobility of capital, information, commodities and people. The question of how global cities change the everyday life of their urban inhabitants thereby requires rigorous analysis. Among the theorists of global cities, John Friedmann, Anthony D. King, and Saskia Sassen are of paramount significance in terms of shaping the "global city model." For Friedmann, world cities designate the nodal points of capital flows:

> … the world economy is defined by a linked set of markets and production units, organized and controlled by transnational capital; world cities are the material manifestation of this control, occurring exclusively in core and semi-peripheral regions where they serve as banking and financial centres, administrative headquarters, centers of ideological control and so forth. (qtd. in King 12–13)

Drawing on Friedmann's conceptual framework of the world city, King affirms that "[t]he most inherent feature of the world city is its global-control function and this gives it its principal geopolitical characteristic" (25).

Friedmann's and King's definitions of the world city as a command-post site for global capital are further elaborated by Sassen, who defines the world city as "the global city" which "represents a strategic space where global processes materialize in national territories and global dynamics use national institutional arrangements" (1998a: 478). Specifically, global cities "function as international business and financial centers are sites for direct transactions with world markets that take place without government inspection" (1996: 216). Engaging in a full-scale analysis of the global city, Sassen contributes much to the research on the complex relationship between metropolises and the globalization of capital. Her studies bring to light that the widely recognized imaginary of geopolitical decentralization one encounters in a global city is actually underpinned by a network that she calls "a new geography of centrality and marginality" (1996: 210). This is a network that facilitates logistics with the advancement of technology to assure the fast return of profit or "time-space compression" in David Harvey's words. Based on her field studies, Sassen proposes to understand the global city as a dual city with the intensification of two classes — the new elite or the international business people and the low income "others."[4] The international business people's claims to the urban space produce the "glamour zone" of the city, embodied by the impressive skyscrapers, whereas the marginalized people's

claims to the city are often naturalized as non-existent. Sassen's dual city model points to one way to the concealed spatiality, the uneven development of the global city that is often glossed over by government officials, urban planners, or multinational corporations as "our shared future," a prosperous space of hope for every inhabitant regardless of their gender, class, or ethnic identity.[5]

Henri Lefebvre, an insightful thinker who pioneered the investigation of the tangled relationship between the details of life and space against the background of globalization, also offers many suggestive theories for us to further explore the complicated relationship between urban everyday life and global cities. His *Production of Space* highlights the presence of the "lived space", largely ignored by the rational and epistemological theories of space, so as to illuminate the discrepancy between how the space is mapped out scientifically — the representation of space — and how it is experienced emotionally — the representational space.[6]

Reviewing contemporary literature on globalization and metropolises, I define the global city as the urban space that has been intensively subjected to the global flows of capital to the extent of compressing the living space of the inhabitants in the service of capital accumulation in the last two decades.[7] Capitalist space such as landmark office buildings, fancy hotels and restaurants, and international airports often expands at a galvanizing speed and takes over the prime areas of the global city. For example, Hong Kong's Chek Lap Kok International Airport and Hong Kong Disney transformed the quiet Lantau Island to a land of convenience for international business people and tourists. In Tokyo, the metropolitan government urges the citizens to "make room" for Tokyo to become a global financial and trade center. The large-scale urban rezoning in the business district and the skyrocketing rent in the urban center leave the middle and lower class Tokyoites not many choices but to move to the distant suburbs, with long commuting hours a routine nightmare of the day. Shanghai's urban development in the 1990s particularly demonstrates how global capital changes the landscape of the city. The cluster of dazzling skyscrapers in Pudong and the newly constructed buildings everywhere in the whole city account for the disappearance of the traditional alley houses and relocation, voluntary or not, a shared experience for the majority of Shanghainese.

Given the unprecedented speed and massive scale of the formation of the global city, the morphology of the Pacific Asia metropolises is more radically transformed to facilitate capital flows in the last two to three decades

than that of Western global cities such as New York and London. While the urban spaces of London and New York were originally formed by forces of Industrial Revolution, nationalistic expansion, and local business growth before globalization, those of Asian global cities can be seen as the products of capital globalization, which gathered its full momentum in the 1980s. To be precise, the landscape of Hong Kong, Tokyo, and Shanghai has been shaped predominantly during the campaign of their "global city formation." The urban space and discourse of these three cities thus serve as pertinent examples to demonstrate the interconnections among city users, public space and capital globalization as seen in East Asia megalopolises.[8] Statistics show that between 1970 to 1990, Hong Kong's GDP rose fifteen-fold, and exports twenty-seven-fold: the city saw its most amazing economic growth in the mid-1980s (Yeung 17). Similarly, Tokyo emerges as a leading global city in the 1980s: the Japanese TNCs increased from 35 in 1975 to 90 in 1987, 84.6 percent of the 1,251 foreign companies had headquarters in the city, and the Tokyo Stock Exchange ranked the second largest in the world (Yeung 31). Shanghai, the uprising global city of the Pacific Asia was integrated into the world economy in the 1990s. In 1993 Shanghai mobilized more than 1 million construction workers for its key construction projects, and the next year 9,580 million US dollars' foreign direct investment flowed in. For Shanghai to discharge its function as a nodal point of global transaction, one-fifth of the world's construction cranes are in intensive service. The urban development we saw in Hong Kong, Tokyo, and Shanghai exemplifies the rise of Asian global cities as the best site to examine the effects of globalization on the urban space.

Inspired by Walter Benjamin, I venture to call the theoretical framework of my discussion of walking in Hong Kong, Tokyo and Shanghai a montage method. Benjamin's method of undertaking the archeology of modern life from individuals' walking and seeing in the city, attempting a "double exposure of past and present" to comprehend modern life through the knowledge of the past (Buck-Morss 1986: 109), opens a window to a micro, private approach to understand what Lefebvre defines as the representational space. Susan Buck-Morss rightly calls this a montage method (1986: 99). While Benjamin superimposes the past and the present, my project juxtaposes social and literary discourses. In each chapter I superimpose the social account of the city's urban space as reshaped by the process of globalization with the private account of registering the urban landscape experienced by its walkers, as represented in the films of Wong Kar-wai and Shinya Tsukamoto and the novels of Wang Anyi. With an interdisciplinary nature, the montage method

that juxtaposes these two accounts, urban discourse and artistic work, manifests both the divergence and the intersections between the highly aggrandized official narrative of globalization and the private sensory experience of walking in the global city.[9] The interaction thereby proposes a constellation that may contribute to grasping the gap between the representation of space and the representational space, the problems of living and walking in a city increasingly defined by global flows.[10]

Part One of this book will employ Hong Kong, a prominent East Asian global city, as an example to explore the walking of the *flâneur* in twentieth-century global cities and the ideology of open space. Buck-Morss argues insightfully that the *flâneur*, the renowned nineteenth-century city roamer, is actually "more visible in his afterlife [in the contemporary era] than in his flourishing" (1986: 105). As Rob Shields maintains, the importance of the figure of the *flâneur* lies in "its utopian presentation of a carefree (male) individual in the midst of the urban maelstrom" (qtd. in Tester 67). The cityscape of the nineteenth century seduces the *flâneur* with the illusion of infinite spatial freedom. We might ask if the era of globalization also presents the contemporary *flâneur* with such walking space to assume individual liberation from the traditionally defined social space (public/private, home/streets) and social relations (self/crowd). I would like to explain why the Baudelairean *flâneur* in the global city might not be able to enjoy being at home in the world. *Flâneurs* in Hong Kong have been subscribing to the image of their city produced by the official and the multinational consortia as a free land of opportunities. Is their knowledge of Hong Kong a reasonable speculation or an inflated myth?

To answer this question, I juxtapose the social/historical account of Hong Kong's urban development in response to globalization with Wong Kar-wai's 1994 film *Chungking Express*. I argue that Hong Kong as a global city is a space of dual compression. The global compression refers to the vast urban space restructured for Hong Kong to fulfill its role as a hub of transnational capital, for example, the construction of the new international airport and the landmark business buildings. The local compression means the consequences of the global spatialization such as the influx of foreign laborers and the severe housing problem for ordinary people who have to jostle for living space with the top-level professionals coming to the city with the global flows. Wong Kar-wai's *Chungking Express*, telling the story of four lonely walkers' frustrations and longings in the Hong Kong streets, provides a key to the problem of embracing Hong Kong as a convenient door to all kinds of

possibilities while the monumental space that nurtures this global dream is more for the transnational corporate workers rather than for everyone that walks its sidewalks.

Part Two focuses on the changes in the urban space and people's everyday life brought about by the globalization of Tokyo with a particular emphasis on how the city-user might respond to the contradiction between living in an ever-compartmentalized and compressed space (what one experiences) and imagining to be part and parcel of the global city, a corridor to the world as the epitome of an open space (what one conceives the city to be). The juxtaposition of the official account of Tokyo as a preeminent global city famous for its technological progress and power of capital with the private account of contemporary Tokyo as a space where walkers are oppressed by the urban jungle of steel and concrete in Shinya Tsukamoto's horror films suggests the problematics embedded in the logic of producing the global city. As Anthony Giddens reminds us: globalization is "a process of uneven development that fragments as it coordinates," so is the global space a site of contradiction (qtd. in Yeung 9). Tsukamoto's films, the *Tetsuo* series and *Tokyo Fist,* show an extreme case when a docile salaryman, the ideal citizen of the global city Tokyo, is overwhelmed by the city of high-rises to such an extent that he mimics the space he inhabits and turns into a killing machine so as to blend in. The striking violence enacted by the films' protagonists can be read as a reaction to the global city formation, which not only renders much urban space to serve capital accumulation but also requires the inhabitants to identify with the drastically different city at the cost of losing more and more of their concrete space of everyday life. Mimicry, a term originally used to describe the living organism's imitation of their environment in order to survive the power of the space, thus becomes a dominant trope for us to recognize the violence of the global spatialization often imposed on the local people in the name of urban development with a pass to the open world on the table as the most seductive chip.

Part Three attempts to elucidate how Shanghai's rise as a global city in the 1990s brings to light the production of such a global space and its problems. After China's open policy in 1978, with its glamorous past as a cosmopolitan city in the 1920s and 1930s, Shanghai emerged on the map of the nation and the world as the most promising member of the global club. Exploring the urban discourse and the actual development of Shanghai's transformation into a global city, I argue that Shanghai is made in the image of existing global cities such as New York, London, Tokyo and Singapore.

The logic is that the built environment and the social structures of Shanghai have to be rebuilt before it can work as one of the centers of the global economy. We might say that Shanghai was not born as a global city as many claim with the city's cosmopolitan past as evidence, but becomes one because of the ambition to attract capital flows. The process of remaking Shanghai into a global city shows how the capitalist space takes precedence and subjugates the lived space of local people's everyday life. Moreover, the uneven development as seen in other global cities cannot be overlooked in Shanghai's case: the rise of the new elite class including expatriates and local "successful people" parallels the marginalized "blind flow" of migrant workers flowing in from neighboring provinces. While copying the image of a global city as a success story to pass on, the urban planners or government officials downplay the dual city problem as we saw in those "role-models."

Shanghai writer Wang Anyi's works, dedicated to the details of Old Shanghai life in the traditional housing, the alley houses (*lilongs* or *longtangs*), help us to see the gap between the dazzling new look of the city and the vanished Old Shanghai represented by the minutia of daily life in the *lilongs*. While the grand narrative of Shanghai regaining its old glory encourages the city-dwellers to envision being (re)connected with the world, the strong sense of loss and nostalgia experienced by the walkers in Wang Anyi's works narrate a different story of living in the global city. Wang's zealous efforts to supplement the glittering monumental space of the new Shanghai with the details of everyday as she remembers in the Old Shanghai reveals one critical oversight of making the city in the image of the global space at the expense of the lived space of daily life. Yet, more significantly, the writer's obsession with filling out the void, i.e., the ignored details of daily life, as she sees in the global Shanghai, endorses the official slogan of the global city formation: "Development is the irrefutable truth." Wang envisions globalized Shanghai as what she has to work on with an insider's memories and experiences rather than a cultural and economic construct as a result of globalization. Obsessed with the "lack" of contemporary Shanghai, Wang leaves unanswered how it becomes a global metropolis and the social problems entailed by the globalization.

Time-space compression (space and time collapse to facilitate flexible accumulation) has given rise to accessible catch-phrases such as "the global village" and "this is a small world."[11] Yet for many of the inhabitants of the global city, the "shrinking world" phenomenon is deeply literal: the lived space of everday life is shrinking to make room for rezoning, construction of

infrastructures, space modification — all in the name of urban development. The contradiction between the widely disseminated belief in an open space that enables us to be connected with the world and the fact that the here-and-now lived space is subjugated to the capitalist space might not be an unhappy coincidence of modern life. The fact that global capital penetrates every corner in the world does not equal to maximum spatial freedom for every user of the global city. Moreover, physical boundaries can be transgressed but not erased. Before embracing the global city as a space of freedom for those who walk its streets and sidewalks, first of all we will have to clarify whose open space is enabled by the social infrastructures of global cities. For money to flow without obstruction at the fastest speed imaginable, capitalism has been producing such urban spaces that can be defined with terms like "decentralization, openness, possibility of expansion, no hierarchy, no center, no conditions for authoritarian or monopoly control" (Sassen 1998b: 177). Yet the open space embodied by the global city for the capital accumulation is paradoxically confining and oppressive for many of the city-users.

Coda

The past two decades of the twentieth century saw technological advances in communication and transportation facilitate capital globalization, which gives rise to a popular belief in a new global space that is fluid, flexible, and open to everyone democratically. Examining the validity of such a conception of space, I turn to Asian global cities such as Hong Kong, Tokyo, and Shanghai, whose urban geography has been radically reshaped to cater to the needs of flexible accumulation at an unprecedented speed. The social/historical account of the urban development of these cities during the campaign of their "global city formation" reveals how the idea of an infinite space opened up by global flows is mediated in development slogans, government white papers, or commercial films for real estate agency. Hong Kong people, Tokyoites and Shanghainese are instructed to make room for their metropolises to accelerate capital flows as well as to take pride in being a member of the global city, which supposedly should lead them to a prosperous utopia of possibilities. Pointing to the azure, the glittering skyscrapers become the sites where urbanites project their desire for a space of limitless aspirations despite the fact that many of them never get to use the monumental space in their everyday life. The collective longing for an open space enabled by globalization often finds its anchor in the monumental buildings in the city.

To address the question of whether the utopian aspect of globalization should also be represented and if one has to be completely pessimistic about the future of people's ability to be in control of their everyday life in the global city, I argue that the tone of this project on globalization is "critical" rather than "pessimistic." As I illustrated in these chapters, interest groups like nation-states, transnational corporations, real estate companies,

multilateral financial organizations, and a small group of elite urban planners and architects have been disseminating and promulgating globalization as a decentralized, open space for everyone in every corner of the world. I choose to leave the happy story for them to tell. Yet, in the future when government officials or urban planners proudly present their campaign of global city formation and monumental buildings, hopefully they also have in mind the September 11 attacks and the needs of the exploited people before telling the grand narrative of globalization.

The artistic account in each chapter tells the story of walking in these global cities as an experience of oscillating between yearning and frustration. It is through the representation of walking in the films and novels that we see the contradictions inherent in the lingering belief in the open space mobilized by global flows. The walkers' footsteps compose "little narratives" of the concrete here-and-now of the global city as experienced rather than conceived by the individuals. The sense of melancholy, angst, and nostalgia these walkers display while wandering the streets of their cities suggests the fallacy of globalization as an immediate utopia without any inhibitions. Investigating the representation of walking in global cities, I conduct an inquiry into the way in which the power of capital, by re-inscribing the ideology of open space on the urban landscape, conceals or misrepresents the forbidden, confined, or monitored in the global city. The critique of the ideology of open space, presented through the politics of walking and the gap between the official account and the private account of the Asian global cities, is to provide a counter narrative to the myth of globalization as a progress to the best interest of all.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1 As Edward Said argues, Islam and the West are inadequate banners to comprehend the attacks.
2 Such a tendency to abstract the bodily experience and deprive the space of the body is what Derek Gregory calls the violence of abstract space, that of decorporealization. A good scenario to demonstrate decorporealization can be as follows: an investment broker steps into an office building to monitor through telecommunications global capital flows. The object of the gaze turns to be what is seen through the technological eyes, for instance, the figures of a foreign stock market on a computer screen. To see with the eyes of the machine seduces one to elide the immediate surroundings. A perfect world defined by the rule of time-space compression allows little space for corporeality.
3 I would hasten to add, my argument prioritizes the physical sense of walking over the metaphorical one since such a seemingly simple physical act enables the city-users to experience the urban space of everyday life, and thus serves as a powerful vehicle to examine the widely disseminated belief in the open space of globalization from a micro-level. Representing urbanites' walking and seeing in the global city, I hope to lay bare the paradoxes of life in contemporary global cities. The glamorous cityscape that the eye sees all the time (e.g. the monumental buildings) often contradicts what the body experiences on a daily basis (e.g. living in a small apartment in a high-rise project).
4 She identifies the huge population of low-income Others as "African Americans, immigrants, and women" (1996: 221). Sassen explains the two expanding classes in the global city are the "top-level professional workers largely in the corporate sector" and "the other types of economic activities and workers" (1998a: 480).
5 The title of Bill Clinton's speech in Taipei is "Our Shared Future: Globalization in

the 21st Century." Clinton's trip to Asia (scheduled to arrive in Taiwan on September 12) was cancelled because of the terrorists' attacks in New York City and Washington D.C.

6 As Rob Shields summarizes, "[a] large portion of *Production of Space* is devoted to developing a radical phenomenology of space as a humanistic basis from which to launch a critique of the denial of individual and community's 'right to space' under the abstract spatialisation embodied in capitalism and technocratic knowledge structures of the state" (146).

7 For a historical account of the theorization of the global city, see Hill and Kim "Global Cities and Developmental States." As Hill and Kim point out, while Friedmann and King use the term "world city," Sassen prefers "the global city" (2188). In contemporary theories of globalization, it is not unusual to see the terms "world city," "global city," and "command-post city" used interchangeably.

8 The reason why I exclude Beijing, Seoul, or Taipei is not that they are fundamentally different from Hong Kong, Tokyo and Shanghai as global cities, but rather the latter three are better representatives of global cities in degree.

9 While following Lefebvre's theorization of space to divide discourses into the official and the private, I do not intend to imply a clear-cut separation between the official space and the private space. On the contrary, my juxtaposition of the official account and the private account of the global cities seeks to emphasize the complexity between the public and the private life in the metropolises. To be precise, the theoretical framework is more the official account versus the private account of the global city (representation of space and representational space in Lefebvre's words) rather than official space against private space. The divergence and convergence of these two accounts reveal how the global space of the city subjugates and compresses the living space of everyday life. The Lefebvrian method effectively helps us identify that the official narrative of a global city and the private account of the same urban space could be enmeshed together, and the international mobility of global capital is tightly related to the mobility of the urban inhabitants.

10 I use the term "global flows" to describe global capital accumulation in relation to globalization. As Saskia Sassen and David Harvey argue, one distinctive feature of globalization is the unprecedented deterritorialized circulation of capital due to liberalization of the market and the accelerating turnover time of capital, made possible by technological development. Grasping the process of globalization in terms of "flows" helps to reveal the often veiled operations of such transnational financial agglomeration. Urban geographer Kris Olds also uses such terms as "cross-border capital flows" and "financial flows" to explain specific aspects of the restructuring of global financial systems (1995: 1715).

11 Harvey defines the concept of time-space compression as "processes that so revolutionize the objective qualities of space and time that we are forced to

alter, sometimes in quite radical ways, how we represent the world to ourselves" (1990: 240). The distinctive difference between modernism and postmodernism exactly lies in our new perception of space and time: "[w]e have been experiencing, these last two decades, an intense phase of time-space compression that has had a disorienting and disruptive impact upon political — economic practices, the balance of class power, as well as upon cultural and social life" (1990: 284).

CHAPTER 1

1 From a British colony to socialist China's Special Administrative Region after the handover in 1997, Hong Kong's postcoloniality has received much attention and discussion because of its unique history. It is important to note that Hong Kong's postcoloniality cannot be disentangled from capital globalization. As Yiu-wai Chu points out, Hong Kong's postcoloniality has to be situated not only in the context of global capitalism but also in the space of the metropolis (129, 172). In other words, Hong Kong as a global city functions as a strategic site to explore Hong Kong's postcolonial imagination.

2 Lantau Island is twice as big as Hong Kong Island. It is a resort for Hong Kong people when they need to take a break from the noisy city life, a "primitive" land where high-rise buildings or fancy recreational facilities are scarce.

3 Such a mechanism of global capital is what David Harvey defines as postmodernity.

4 Bridge points out Lefebvre's influence on Harvey. In fact, Harvey's "proposed schema for the translation of the global forces of capital accumulation and the individual experience of space and time utilises Lefebvre's (1991a) conception of the production of space through the interrelations between imagined, perceived, and experienced (or lived) space" (613).

5 Mike Rowse, Hong Kong's tourism commissioner, estimates that the theme park will bring in $19 billion over four decades, a fast turn-over profit, given its cost of US$3.6 billion.

6 The global compression, a force that demands an ever-expanding strategic space in the city for capital flows, drastically deprives the urban space of the old city users, in particular, those who have no access to the spatial forms of global space.

7 James T. H. Tang points out that according to the Heritage Foundation's *Index of Economic Freedom*, "[i]n recent years Hong Kong has been consistently ranked the most liberal economy in the world with virtually no barriers to trade and capital flow . . . " (177).

8 Suzie Wong, the prostitute in the novel *The World of Suzie Wong*, lived in the Luk Kwok Hotel, which was demolished for new urban development (Rafferty 60).

9 By "placeless" architecture, Abbas means those hotels and office buildings with no local memories (1997: 82).

10 Wanchai is the chosen site for entrepreneur Gordon Wu's 90-story high hotel, a plan announced before Hong Kong's tallest building, Bank of China Tower, opened in 1989 (Rafferty 57).

11 For a detailed physical description of the two buildings, see Abbas, 1997: 84–5.

12 The bank claims it cost HK$5 billion, but this estimate does not include the cost of the land (owned by the bank itself) and the high furnishing cost. One staff member's remarks, a typical view of the fancy building, show how monumentality shapes a collective will to power. Asked about the incredible cost of the building, the staff member says, "[w]e have a fine building. What does it cost? — a few years' profits, but it's put us on the world architectural map" (Rafferty 294).

13 The exhibit was promoted by the Hong Kong Institute of Professional Photographers to raise funds for young photographers for advanced studies by public auction of photographs (Leung 93).

14 As Abbas notes, Lan Kwai Fong predominantly appeals to the affluent. Due to its high cost of admission, teenagers can sample the flavor of this trendy spot by strolling its streets, a pleasure not too different from "window shopping" (1997: 87).

15 Chek Lap Kok Airport is supposed to replace Kai Tak with its capacity of handling 35 million passengers and 1.5 million tons of cargo a year (Buckley 133).

16 The dowry metaphor implies a sexist ideology of the handover: Hong Kong is compared to a daughter to be married, with Britain her father, and China her husband. As Gayle Rubin points out, trafficking in women guarantees a patriarchal society its power and mastery.

17 "[E]very time relations between Britain and China become strained the future of the airport is threatened" (Welsh 534).

18 "When completed, it will be by far the most modern airport in China, and will act as the international gateway [for mainland China], thus fortifying the economic pre-eminence of Guangdong over the rest of the country" (Welsh 534).

19 "It was Japanese banks more than any other players who could make or break such major investment projects as the new airport in Hong Kong, but these decisions would be made on the basis of global trends in interest rates and rates of return on investment around the globe" (Segal 167).

20 Nathan Road, laid out between 1904 and 1907, is the major road that cuts through Kowloon, now the world famous "golden mile."

21 Among the Vietnamese migrants, those who came from China (ex-China Vietnamese illegal immigrants) are to be deported. Hong Kong government's increasingly high-handed policy toward Vietnamese migrants culminates in April 1994: "500 prisons officers, in full riot gear and with use of tear gas, make successful dawn swoop on the Whitehead Detention Centre and move 1,456 Vietnamese internees to High Island" (McMillen and Man xxi).

22 No sight in Hong Kong crystallizes the contradictory space of global city more clearly than Central on Sundays. Anyone who has paid a visit to Central on Sundays can hardly miss the quintessential scene of the dual city claimed by the global capitalists and the marginal people. Instead of the flow of well-groomed white-collar workers, the upscale Central on Sundays is occupied by thousands of Filipino maids, who gather in small groups at the open spaces among the skyscrapers in the hope of shaping a community in a foreign land. Jan Morris summarizes how these foreign laborers claim Central for their own use.

> Every Sunday morning, throughout the year, Statue Square is taken over by the Filipina maids of Hong Kong, who assemble here in their thousands to meet friends, swap news, cook al fresco meals, sell things to each other, read the Manila newspaper and sometimes dance to the music of transistors…. The women swarm upon the square in mid-morning [after their mass] pouring out of the subway stations, streaming off the ferries, and settling upon every bench, every patch of ground in a great eddy of shopping bags. If it is wet they occupy arcades, pedestrian bridges and shopping centres for half a mile around (104-5).

The Filipino maids make themselves visible actors that refuse to be overlooked by means of their festival Sunday gatherings at the very center of the city, surrounded by those glass buildings that signify capital and phallic power (the Statue Square is opposite to HSBC Headqaurters and adjacent to the fancy Mandarin Oriental Hotel). Yet their seemingly subversive claim to the urban glamour space cannot overlook the fact that these maids are foreign workers with low paid and few legal rights. For an insightful analysis of how foreign domestic laborers stake claims on Hong Kong's public space, see Lisa Law, "Defying Disappearance: Cosmopolitan Public Spaces in Hong Kong," *Urban Studies* 39.6 (2002), pp.1625–45.

23 Due to the large number of immigrants in the late 1970s and the consequent surplus of labor force, the Hong Kong government imposed a new immigration policy that requires legal documents for Mainland Chinese to work and stay in Hong Kong. It is not until the early 1990s, with new infrastructure projects to be completed, that a shortage of labor forced Hong Kong to open the door for importing laborers. For example, the project of a US$20 billion airport at Chek Lap Kok put forward the urgent need for construction workers. The scheme for the new airport allows 2,000 construction workers from China in 1990, 17,000 in 1994, and finally 27,000 in 1996 to help with the grand project. An important source of male labor is illegal immigration from China (Cuthbert 1995: 147).

24 Illegal immigrants from China to Hong Kong have been a concern for both parties. Before the handover, the Hong Kong police and the Chinese government

launched a large-scale anti-illegal-immigration campaign. About 2,000 policemen of Guangdong Province participated in the Shenzhen campaign to prevent a large number of illegal immigrants from taking advantage of the approaching handover. It was believed that Hong Kong SAR would cut a deal with illegal immigrants in Hong Kong after the sovereignty was transferred to China (Walden xxvi).

25 The expatriates from international corporations and the returned emigrated professionals, estimated at least 12% of the emigrated, also contribute to the problem of local concentration (Skeldon 1995: 311). Their usually luxurious and spacious living space is a sharp contrast to the overcrowded public housing. Their demand of the urban space, supported by the global capital influx, ensures the escalating price in the housing market and leaves half of the local population packed in the public housing.

26 Hong Kong, along with Singapore, has the world's largest public housing program, with 47% of its population living in such housing projects, and forty thousand new flats a year are built to meet the increasing demand (Borja and Castells 145).

27 As Abbas maintains, "[h]yperdensity is partly the result of limited space, but it is also a result of how this limited space could be exploited for economic gain" (1997: 86).

28 "Before the June 4 incident, Japanese companies were very active in the second-hand market but their leading position was taken over by Chinese enterprises after the event" (Lai 189).

29 The minimalist nature of Hong Kong's town planning indicates another strategy for the state to have the maximum flexibility of the land-use.

30 In the 1970s the formerly rural areas of the New Territories have undergone significant urbanization, and the agricultural way of life, which was still clearly discernible a quarter-century ago, has disappeared (Rafferty 84–9).

31 Residential densities average 7,000 persons per hectare (Cuthbert 1987: 144).

32 "On average a new housing unit is opened every 7.5 minutes of the working day" (Rafferty 20).

CHAPTER 2

1 By cognitive mapping, I follow Jameson's use of the term. As Colin MacCabe notes, for Jameson "cognitive mapping is a way of understanding how the individual's representation of his or her social world can escape the traditional critique of representation because the mapping is intimately related to practice—to the individual's successful negotiation of urban space" (xiv).

2 Quite a few critics have pointed out a striking resemblance between Brigitte Lin's character and Gena Roland's Gloria, a gangster in Cassavettes's film of the same title (Stokes and Hoover 197).

3 See Andre Breton's film *Nadja*.

4 The airport in the film is the former international airport, Kai Tak (1925–1998).

5 For detailed discussion of the dynamics between Hong Kong's phenomenal economic success and its cultural space, see Rey Chow's "Things, Common/Places, Passages of the Port City: On Hong Kong and Hong Kong Author Leung Ping-kwan" and Ackbar Abbas's *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance*, chapter 1.

6 Wong describes her walk in Chungking Mansion as "an animal roving" in the jungle (http://www.wongkarwai.net/stories.php?story=01/05/04/7440916).

7 For a comprehensive analysis of the dynamics between the idea of pollution and the division of urban space as well as the resonance between bodies and cities, see Stallybrass and White, *The Politics & Poetics of Transgression*.

8 For example, Arjun Appadurai argues that cities tend to replace nations as the social imaginary of citizenship and to represent the localization of global forces. See "Cities and Citizenship."

9 "Love at last sight" is quoted from Baudelaire's famous sonnet " une passante," in which the poet is fascinated by a woman passing by in the street and doomed to miss his object of desire forever after that fleeting chance encounter. Benjamin argues that "the delight of the urban poet is love—not at first sight, but at last sight. It is a farewell forever which coincides in the poem with the moment of enchantment" (1969: 169).

10 Elizabeth Wilson argues that city as a labyrinth designates the decline of masculine power. She believes that "[v]oyeurism and commodification lead to the attenuation and deferral of satisfaction" (74). The Baudelairean spleen indeed results from male impotence. Walking in the city is one of the activities that fight against the destructive spleen. See "The Invisible *Flâneur*."

11 As Alexander Cuthbert points out, there have been two dominant discourses in Hong Kong — traditional Chinese Confucianism-Taoism and British colonialism. A third discursive system, the socialism of People's Republic of China, becomes more and more influential because of the handover. In other words, "Hong Kong is crossing an ideological tightrope from the discourse of capitalism to that of socialism" (1995: 145).

12 According to Benjamin, shock experience is closely related to the encounter with the metropolitan crowds in the fragmentary urban life. He quotes Freud to explain shock:

> For a living organism, protection against stimuli is an almost more important function than the reception of stimuli; the protective shield is equipped with its own store of energy and must above all strive to preserve the special forms of conversion of energy operating in it against the effects . . . which tend toward an equalization of potential and hence toward destruction. (1969: 161)

Benjamin thus argues, "[t]he threat from these energies is one of shocks. The more readily consciousness registers these shocks, the less likely are they to have a traumatic effect" (1969: 161).

13 According to Freud, "melancholia is the effect of unavowable loss" (Butler 170).
14 OK convenience store is a transnational franchised business in East Asia.
15 223's password to his voicemail system, "love you 10,000 years," speaks for his desire for a less mutable space.
16 Lisa Stokes and Michael Hoover consider this change as one of the many changes that requires explanation in the film: how does 633 afford purchasing the fast-food counter? (196) Yet his taking over Midnight Express from the owner, who newly opens a Karaoke bar, can also be regarded as a realistic example of Hong Kong's fast-changing space.
17 Working at Midnight Express, Faye seems to be confined by the limited space of the fast food stand, separated from the crowd by the counter. Yet from the very beginning Faye destabilizes her image as a woman circumscribed by space with her improvised dancing at work. Dancing to her favorite song "California Dreamin'," with pots and pans in hands, Faye somehow manages to liberate herself from the claustrophobic and monotonous space of Midnight Express.
18 As Anke Gleber notes, "[l]imited excursions of shopping in a prescribed ghetto of consumption amount to little more than secondhand distraction, never approximating the flaneur's wide-reaching mode of perception, unimpeded by aims, purposes, and schedules" (59–60).
19 The ideology of inviting global flows lingers even after China's takeover: after France, Hong Kong will join the Disneyland franchise soon after the millennium.

CHAPTER 3

1 Benjamin's study of Paris arcades is an effort to historicize "[p]laces that were incomprehensible yesterday, and that tomorrow will never know" (qtd. in Abbas 1997: 8).
2 Cameron Bailey, "Wong Kar-Wai's Works Show Enormous Energy," http://www.xs4all.nl/~chinaman, 6 July 1997.
3 Michael Ciment, "A Chat with Wong Kar-wai," *Positif* 410 (1995), http://www.xs4all.nl/~chinaman/chat.html#begin, 6 July 1997.
4 Jaime Wolf, "The Occidental Tourist, " http://www.xs4all.nl/~chinaman/chat.html#begin, 6 July 1997.
5 Benjamin describes *flâneur* as such: "His leisurely appearance as a personality is his protest against the division of labour which makes people into specialists" (1973: 54).
6 Film critic Chiao Hsiung-Ping argues that "[t]he only special characteristics of Hong Kong cinema are precisely entertainment and commerce" (159). Chuck

Stephens comments on Wong's role in Hong Kong's film industry as such: "Prone to musings on stylists as varied as John Ford and Manuel Puig, Haruki Murakami and Alain Renais, Wong's films are as distinctly representative of the myriad flavors and cultural influences that comprise cosmopolitan Hong Kong as they are disparate from the mainstream that he has at last begun to influence" (3).

7 The overlapping part of the representation of space and the representational space, for instance, the congested, hybrid, compartmentalized urban space, is addressed in the early discussion of specific walkers and their journeys in the film.

8 The yearning for taking a less-trodden path echoes that of the romantic poets, who envision themselves as solitary bards wandering the world.

9 In a sense, the image of overcrowded high-rise public housing is represented through Chungking Mansion and Cop 633's apartment. The sense of a congested and compartmentalized space one identifies in these two spaces more or less parallels the lived space in public housing. One way to account for the invisible public housing in the film is the "logic of the place" Wong endeavors to follow. For example, Faye's improvised walk from where she works to 633's place is hardly imaginable if 633 lives at a high-rise housing project at distant New Territories instead of an apartment in the same area Central. Wong opts for Chungking Mansion rather than any anonymous residential building also lies in the fact that Chungking Mansion is a building of local memories, both personal and collective — another example of the director-*flâneur's* resistance to globalization. The desire to register Chungking Mansion as the authentic local renders the multi-ethnic and multinational space of the building a site of mystery. For example, a walk in Chungking Mansion brings to light how the compartmentalized space of the building is monitored. Next to the elevators are the video cameras showing the interior of each elevator. The director-*flâneur* shoots the woman in the blonde wig taking the elevator to meet the Indians, yet the technological apparatus of surveillance remains out of sight.

10 Like the blonde-wigged woman walker in his film, Wong always wears sunglasses in public.

11 On July 1, 2003, more than 500,000 Hong Kong people demonstrated against the proposed internal-security bill known as Article 23 of the Basic Law in the hope of sustaining freedom and democracy for their city. Looking back at Hong Kong today, six years after the handover and a few weeks after the SARS outbreak was officially over, I find it necessary to update my descriptions of Hong Kong as a dream land of capital and democracy.

Obviously the virus flow of the global city severely impedes the capital flow. However, it is worth noting that just as Tokyo witnessed a decade's economic decline after Japan's bubble burst in the 1990s, Hong Kong has suffered two recessions since 1997. Evidence of the lackluster economy since Asia's financial

crises of 1997 abounds: sluggish property market, fallback in trading volumes, and high unemployment rate, just to name a few. As Chi Hung Kwan points out,

> Average annual economic growth in the five years since reversion has been about 2.5 percent — a far cry from the 5 percent that was seen in the five years prior to 1997. Conversely, unemployment, which stood at 2.2 percent in 1997, has surged to currently stand at 7.5 percent. In addition to a series of external shocks such as the 1997-8 Asian financial crisis and SARS, the Hong Kong economy is being further hit by the decline of its predominance in intermediating China's international trade.

To be precise, in addition to the SARS Epidemic and Asia's financial crisis, Hong Kong's economic slowdown can also be attributed to the strong intervention from China, beleaguered global economy in recent years, and keen competition with rival cities such as Singapore, Shenzhen and Shanghai.

From the world's top financial center to a city threatened by serious economic setbacks and mounting political crisis, changes in Hong Kong once again seem to validate Abbas's description of the city as "a space of disappearance." Yet I hasten to add that the relationship between the economic downturn of the global city and the city users' imaginary and material claims to the urban space requires further rigorous research.

12 For example, residents of Lantau Island must live with a US$20 billion airport and a Disney theme park.

13 Other filmic elements that suggest the omnipresent globalization in Hong Kong include the music, particularly the theme song of Faye's story, "California Dreamin'," which implies Faye's global dream as well as her walk as sleepwalking. The scenes where Faye runs into 633 in the local street market also illuminate the presence of global space. Against the background music of Cantonese opera and the image of a traditional market, Faye confides in her dream of going to California. For a detailed analysis of the music in Wong Kar-wai's films, see Yeh Yueh-yu's "A Life of Its Own: Musical Discourses in Wong Kar-wai's Films" in *Phantom of the Music: Song Narration and Chinese-language Cinema*.

14 Again, Benjamin's metaphor of phantasmagoria helps to grasp how globalization and its ideology of economic success reshape Hong Kong's cultural/urban landscape. Derek Gregory's explication of why Benjamin uses the phantasmagoria to allegorize modern culture explicates the analogy drawn here:

> [p]ainted slides were illuminated in such a way that a succession of ghosts ("phantasms") was paraded before a startled audience. But the phantasmagoria was no ordinary lantern, because it used back-projection to ensure that the audience remained largely unaware of the source of the image: Its flickering creations

thus appeared to be endowed "with a spectral reality of their own." (231–3)

PART TWO

1 For the social tension resulted from the expansion of business space in central Tokyo, see Machimura 126-7. For examples of resistance to the urban rezoning, see Peter Popham's *Tokyo: the City at the End of the World*, Chapter 3.
2 1,770 apartments are being built at the east side of the river (Tajima 88).
3 Indeed, Ohkawabashi River City 21 can be seen as a textbook case of Lefebvre's theory of metonymy and metaphor. See Lefebvre 96–9.

CHAPTER 4

1 In a sense, Lefebvre reads against Plato's endorsement of mimesis as a necessary instrument to nurture the guardian class.
2 As Takashi Machimura points out, "in the 1980s, when Japan experienced trade disputes with the United States and the EC, the rapid up-valuation of the yen and financial globalization, Japanese capital began to transnationalize on a greater scale" (1992: 116). For a discussion of bubble economy and the trade disputes with the US, see the first chapter of Christopher Wood's *Bubble Economy* and *New Left Review* 229 (1998), 231–36. From 1981 to 1984 about 30,000 domestic companies moved their head offices to Tokyo and in 1985 the total number of companies in Tokyo reached 390,000. Foreign companies also poured into Tokyo; 1985 alone saw about 100 finance and securities companies settling down in the city. For example, IBM moved its Far Eastern headquarters from Hong Kong to Tokyo in 1985 with an astonishing acquisition of 100,000 meter-square of office space (Ogura 19).
3 For a detailed discussion of the relationships between the company and the salaryman, see Ezra F. Vogel's *Japan as Number One: Lessons for America*, 131-57 and Peter Tasker's *Inside Japan: Wealth, Work and Power in the New Japanese Empire*, 87–99.
4 The large floor space of 400,000 square meters accommodates 13,000 employees. Upon its completion in 1991, the official cost of the buildings is US$ 1.23 billion (160 billion yen) (Tajima 220).
5 The New City Hall embodies what Lefebvre calls "an ideology in action" (308).
6 For a detailed discussion of the analogy between the Edo castle and the New City Hall, see William Coaldrake's *Architecture and Authority*.
7 The architectural details of the New City Hall complex also function to boost the civic consciousness. They convey a strong sense of practicality, of serving the city-users literally from a pedestrian level. The pedestrian access to the city hall was promoted as an indispensable part of the package of the construction of

the sublime towers. In so doing, Shinjuku subcenter is expected to transform into a comfortable environment for the walkers (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 1989: 74). Another pertinent example can be found in the "Citizens' Plaza," located between the assembly building and the No. 1 building. The semi-oval plaza, reminiscent of Vatican's St. Peter's Square, was designed to "create a symbolic space serving as the 'bridge' between the citizens and the metropolitan administration" (1989: 74). This open plaza functions more than a pit of a theatre which offers the citizens a chance to catch a glimpse of the officials working in the city hall buildings (Tajima 222).

8 The buildings were completed just three weeks before Suzuki's April election for his consecutive term as the governor, in which he was first time forced to run the campaign as an independent member of LDP. The New City Hall became the best promotion prop to the citizens in this competitive game of politics (Coaldrake 276). Also contradictory to the governor's statement of building a new city hall as a gift for the hard-working Tokyoites is the location of his office. Looking out to the Citizens' Plaza, his magnificent suite at the center of the twin buildings has an imperial style balcony, which "might foreseeably provide a spot for waving to a gathered populace against a monumental backdrop" (Tajima 224). Kenzo Tange, the patriarch architect of the postwar era, was responsible for the old metropolitan government office and the Tokyo Olympics Buildings. His open support of Suzuki's re-election, along with their old personal relationship before Suzuki's governor days, is considered one reason for his project for the New City Hall to be chosen over other competing ones.

9 In 1985, 60% commuters who work in three core wards spent more than 60 minutes to get to work, 20% of them spent 90 minutes (Udagawa 34).

10 See http://www.jarts.or.jp/en/tech/sec05.html.

11 Roman Cybriwsky, a scholar of Tokyo's urban landscape, gave two vivid examples to illustrate the unthinkably overcrowded subway train ride. He witnessed "a man who had been lifted out of one shoe by the press of the crowd, and who had the most awful time trying to retrieve it . . . " Another time a woman bumped her face against the man in front of her and left a clear lipstick mark on his white shirt (188). My own experience as a first-time tourist echoed a similar nightmare. I waited for half an hour to take the Chūō line, assuming the next train coming in 5 seconds might have room for me to squeeze in, only to find out that there will never be a train less crowded. Boosting all of my courage, I squeezed myself into the car. My body was twisted due to the compression. I was not standing on the ground of the train, but rather on a pile of feet. It was impossible to move an inch; therefore I wasn't able to see the name of the stop I was supposed to get off at. It didn't really make any difference since I was not able to move toward the door anyway.

CHAPTER 5

1 Homi Bhabha employs mimicry as the central trope in his theorization of colonial presence as a site of ambivalence. The colonial mimic man will not entirely resemble the colonizer but constitute a partial representation of the images, which the colonizer attempts to reconstruct in the colonized Other. Such a partial representation of the colonizer turns to be a subversive identity that questions the purity and originality of the authority. The mimic relationship between subject and abstract space is different from Bhabha's mimicry, which designates defiance against the environment, in that the former situation is an internal colonization. What confronts the occupant of abstract space is a power of no logo: the identity of the "colonizer" remains opaque.
2 *Tetsuo II: Body Hammer* and *Tokyo Fist*.
3 Tsukamoto's style is reminiscent of David Cronenberg and David Lynch, seasoned with the fascination of Godzilla series and Japanese video-game culture. The dominant background music is from laying the foundation of skyscrapers.
4 He is identified as "The Salaryman" in the credit.
5 The shots of Tsuda's routine walk in Tokyo suggest how mimesis successfully tames the subject: the salaryman follows the right pace of walking in the city and finds the right place in the society. The office scene in which the only thing Tsuda says to his superior with a polite bow "*onegaishimasu*" (please kindly…) reinforces the image of the indoctrinated body of the salaryman. In the space of corporate monumental, both the building as the material environment and the hierarchical corporate culture in the office offer models for Tsuda to imitate, the former a proud user of the capitalist space and the latter samurais, the feudal warriors devoted to the lords.
6 The color of the paint suggests blood.
7 The cryptic remarks can be a pertinent footnote to Tsuda's anger directed against the space. "It" is the power of the abstract space of Tokyo that has been determined Tsuda's life but never recognized as the rival.
8 Tsuda's survival despite the bleeding and severe wounds further illustrates the logic of masochism, which in essence "is not about death" but "nomadic disappearances," to disappear "like nomads in order to reappear somewhere else, where one is not expected" (Noyes 219). Tsuda's walking as a dysfunctional salaryman in the city exemplifies such a "nomadic disappearance" from the familiar social space.

PART THREE

1 The fast-paced development in Pudong is summarized by Shanghai officials as a maze to all: "The map will have to be changed once a week otherwise you'll

not be able to find your way about" (Xin 19). Such a statement might not be too much an exaggeration if we take a closer look at Shanghai's urban change as a whole since Pudong's development. According to Li Jianeng, Vice-President of the Pudong Development Office, the master plan is to revive Shanghai to become "the centre of the biggest economic and trading area in the West Pacific and we've chosen Pudong as the breakthrough point" (Lammie 174).

2 Under the Four Modernizations scheme, the open door policy was launched in 1978 (Olds 1995: 1729).

3 See Part Two for a detailed discussion of such kind of "mimesis" in Tokyo's case.

4 Shanghainese call *lilong*, their characteristic residential design, as *longtang*. "Long" means alley or lane and "tang" parlor or hall. "All houses are facing the lanes and lanes become the public space used by all residents. Enclosed, the whole *longtang* area seems to be a closed 'city within the city.' The bustling and noisy city is separated from the *longtang*. Once one enters the *longtang*, as if he had already been half at home" ("Life and Episodes in the Longtangs"). In the following discussion, *lilong* or *longtang* is sometimes referred to as alley houses.

CHAPTER 6

1 The report of the 14th Central Committee of CPC states, "We should also open more cities along the Yangtze River, while concentrating on the development and opening of the Pudong Area of Shanghai. We want to make Shanghai one of the international economic, financial and trade centers as soon as possible…." (Chen and Shi 14). The driving force of Shanghai and Pudong's economic rebound is Deng Xiaoping. During his visit in Shanghai in February 1990, Deng instructed to accelerate the development of Pudong (Cheung 78). For an analysis of the political context of Shanghai's development, see Peter T.Y. Chueng, who concluded that Shanghai's role as "China's most populous city, major cultural center and largest urban economy will ensure that it can never escape the watchful eyes of the central government, no matter who is in power" (82). Chueng's argument helps to explore the dynamics between state and global capital, which is more of a partnership than a zero-sum game. The timing of the announcement, several months after the Tiananmen massacre, is interpreted as "another success story to boost his [Deng Xiaoping's] stature and to strengthen his own political power in the aftermath of the 1989 political crisis" (Cheung 79). Such affirmation is also a reaffirmation of the open door policy after Tiananmen. For example, upon replying why Shanghai needs a fourth economic development zone in Pudong in addition to the three existing ones, then-mayor Zhu Rongji argues that Pudong as the largest development zone and the first bonded zone

"proves that Shanghai has the power and the superiority to further implement the policy of reform and opening to the outside world" ("Shanghai Mayor on Pudong Development"). Also see Thomas Gold's article for the politics of Pudong and Tiananmen.

2 The population of Pudong before 1990 is 1.33 million. Before 1992, Pudong was basically

> . . . a large stretch of farmland with patches of desolate reed marshes. While Puxi (west of the Huangpu River) is the symbol of a flourishing metropolis, Pudong is the synonym of a rural village. Puxi and Pudong residents, divided by the river, seem like living in two different worlds. Therefore, a Shanghainese catchword is "rather have a bed in Puxi than a room in Pudong." (Xin 18)

3 As a strategic city, "Shanghai has to make room for the global capital" (Wu 1374).

4 Pudong reminds one of the Lantau Island before Hong Kong government miraculously built Chek Lap Kok Airport and Disneyland on this quiet land as discussed in Part One.

5 For example, Fei Xiaotong, chairman of the China Democratic League, notes that Shanghai's Pudong should be developed as the future "mainland Hong Kong," "a centre of finance, foreign trade, information, transportation and science and technology" (27).

6 *Yongpan fengdian: Pudong kaifa kaifang shinian fazhan yanjiu chengguo jicui (Challenging the New Height: A Decade of Development of Pudong, Shanghai)* was an award-winning research project.

7 On the one hand, Pudong aspires to get closer to (靠攏) other global cities "physically" with the help of advanced technology and communications. To be connected with the global financial and commercial market is targeted from the very beginning as the primary function of Pudong. On a symbolic level, Pudong is expected to resemble as closely as possible these global cities on which it models.

8 Shanghai or Pudong is conceived as the dragon's head of the Yantzi River Valley. The dragon is a symbol of "China's future goal of becoming a global economic power" (Olds 1995: 1734).

9 For a careful discussion of the "global intelligence corps" and their works, see Kris Olds: "Globalizing Shanghai: the 'Global Intelligence Corps' and the Building of Pudong." Also see Streshinsky and Wu for the function of hiring these "foreign monks" as predominantly a marketing strategy to sell Pudong to the multinational consortia.

10 See *New and Trans-Century Architecture in Shanghai* Volume III, 120. By 2002, Pudong International Airport serves as the international airport of Shanghai, and Hongqiao Airport is mainly for domestic flights.

11 For an elaborate account of Shanghai's recent urban redevelopment and its social impact, see *Understanding Shanghai: From 1990 to 2000*.

12 By 1998, the total sum of import/export in Pudong is $11,982,000,000, 140% of the whole region's total net production (Yao 184).

13 As early as 1994, 45 world famous multinationals invested US$1,775 million in 57 projects in Pudong, 18.5% of the total FDI of US$9,580 million (Chen Shaoneng 3).

14 See Anthony G. O. Yeh for details of the preferential treatment to attract FDI.

15 For all the doubts cast upon building skyscrapers, a heatedly-debated issue in response to the September 11 attacks, Japanese construction company reassures the public that they will not be deterred by the terrorist threats. The project of the Global Financial Center in Shanghai is to be completed in time for Beijing Olympics in 2008. By that time, this building will be the tallest skyscraper in the world, currently the Twin Towers in Kuala Lumpur ("Shanghai Financial Center: Challenging the New Height").

16 The global compression, a force that demands an ever-expanding strategic space in the city for capital flows, drastically shrinks the urban space of the old city users, in particular, those who have no access to the spatial forms of global space.

17 As discussed in my previous chapters on Hong Kong, we see from the story of Hong Kong Disney such claims to the urban space, made by the power elite, as hotels, airports, and networks of inland transportation.

18 Olds summarizes Lujiazui Central Area Project as a coalition of the state and the global intelligence corps: "the design, construction, and marketing phases are being structured by the agents of contemporary globalization processes." In other words, Lujiazui is a space produced both "functionally and symbolically" for "the international firms which are charging into China in the 1990s" (1995: 1735).

19 For more details on the up-scale villa development, see Gaubatz "China's Urban Transformation: Patterns and Processes of Morphological Change in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou."

20 Yu Minfei's observation on the land leases and rezoning supports Wu's argument:

> Land-leasing inevitably moves the inhabitants away from the city proper. . . . A brief survey of the 135 tracts of land transferred [in Shanghai between January and September 1992 — containing 818,000 square meters of housing] indicates that most of them are utilized for high-quality comprehensive buildings for

> residence and offices for business. Because of this, many former residents have to be content with new houses in the suburbs, as few of them can move back into the city centre. Downtown Shanghai is becoming exclusively a commercial and financial centre. (qtd. in Gaubatz 1517)

The process of making space for the city to serve as a node of global capital is not unprecedented: in 1980s, for example, residents in Tokyo's CBD experienced a similar scenario.

CHAPTER 7

1 For the background of China's labor force and the control of the floating population, see Tamara Jacka's article "Wanted: Job for the Unwanted Migrant." Also see Li Peilin's *Transition in Social Stratification in the Market China* for detailed discussion of social classes in contemporary China.
2 According to Olds, the relocation was not a high-profiled issue for all the efforts of Kahn, a journalist who attempted to call attention to the relocation of residents in Shanghai (1995: 1737).
3 See Roger Chan's discussion on page 311.
4 Two recent books on the disappearing alley houses are *Shanghai Longtang Houses on the Verge of Disappearing* and *Shanghai Longtang*.
5 According to *New York Times* (May 30, 2001), Suzhou and Shanghai are the designated high-tech centers in China. As early as 1988, Shanghai's Caohejing Economic-Technological Development Zone was established to be the "Silicon Valley" of China. In 2000, IBM announced that they plan "to invest $300 million to build a chip-manufacturing plant in Shanghai, China" (Wilcox).
6 Pamela Yatsko tells the story of Ai Hua, a female worker who was laid off from a state-owned textile factory at the age of 38 after 17 years of hard work. The employer's story is that "our girls [lay-offs] can easily convert to being waitresses, stewardesses, subway personnel or neighbourhood committee workers." However, in Ai Hua's case, she was not qualified to take the training course provided by the factory after losing her job since she was not a member of the Communist Party. Her dream of being a maid for foreigners (service class) was shattered when she found out that she was too late to sign up for the highly competitive training program. A new job like a shop clerk is out of the picture. Ai Hua told the reporter: "The factory promised to find jobs for us in a short time. . . . So we're scared that if it calls and finds out we're already working, it will stop providing medical insurance and won't help us any more. If we lose the new job, then what?" (1996b: 59) As Yatsko argues, "Ai Hua is just one of the many Shanghai residents stuck in the city's past rather than its future" (1996b: 58).

7 The master plan drafted by the National Commission on Land Development of for Tokyo echoes Frankfurt, an emergent world city:

> From now to the coming 21st century, it is expected that Tokyo will acquire greater importance as a world city, by providing a basis for communication at both worldwide and national levels. To be effective in achieving these goals, Tokyo must resolve the functional paralysis caused by over-concentration, and make its living conditions more attractive. (qtd. in Machimura 1998: 183)

8 Lefebvre calls for the urgency to elucidate the deceptive transparency of space:

> The idea of a new life is at once realistic and illusory — and hence neither true nor false. What is true is that the preconditions for a different life have already been created, and that that other life is thus on the cards. What is false is the assumption that being on the cards and being imminent are the same thing, that what is immediately possible is necessarily a world away from what is only a distant possibility, or even an impossibility. The fact is that the space which contains the realized preconditions of another life is the same one as prohibits what those preconditions make possible. (189–90)

CHAPTER 8

1 To name a few: paradise of adventurers, whore of the orient, and the sin city.
2 For Benjamin's retelling the fairy tale of Sleeping Beauty, see Susan Buck-Morss's *The Dialectics of Seeing*: *Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought*.
3 Quotes from Wang's writings are my translation.
4 The novel was awarded the prestigious Mao Tun Literary Prize.
5 As Sasha describes, Wang Qiyao's cooking is homey but delicious (2000: 227).
6 Mrs. Yan considers her a friend for "remembering the good old days" because both of them have seen the good days of Shanghai and now take shelter at this less luxurious "Ping An Li."
7 Likewise, to Kang Mingxun, Wang Qiyao's lover and the father of her daughter, Wang's charms always have something to do with the old glory. She resembles the actress Ran Lingyu of the 1930s, the quintessential mystic enchantment of the time before Shanghai is liberated by communists: "He seems to see fanciful sights and sounds behind her, almost mirage-like" (2000: 203). The images of her photo, the magazine *Shanghai Life* and all the gossip about Miss Number Three excite him:

> Now the city is a new one with all the roads renamed. The buildings and street lamps look the same, but the old interiors are gone. He remembers those days when even the wind felt romantic. . . . He feels that he moves along in time, but somehow forgets to take his heart with him from the previous generation and thus becomes a "heartless" man. It is Wang Qiyao, a reminder of the past that brings his heart back to him. (2000: 204)

Kang Mingxun is attracted to Wang Qiyao's charms that mirror the romantic Old Shanghai.

8 The narrator describes,

> Long Leg loves the crowd. It is these Shanghainese that make the city he loves. They are the masters of the beautiful streets, unlike he and his family, the looked-down-upon outsiders. Now with his hard work, he becomes one of them. Walking on the street, he feels like home. Every pedestrian is endeared as a family member, sharing the same thoughts with him. (2000: 361)

9 The disappeared laohuzao is displayed in the simulated street of the 1930s in Shanghai Urban Planning Exhibiton Hall.

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