

Masculinities and Hong Kong Cinema

Edited by

Laikwan Pang & Day Wong

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— Britta Erickson, *The Art of Xu Bing*

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Introduction

The Diversity of Masculinities in Hong Kong Cinema

Laikwan Pang

MASCULINITY IN ITS PLURAL

Hong Kong cinema has recently been “discovered” as one of the most interesting and successful alternatives to Hollywood’s dominant global, commercial film market. Many critiques of, and academic books on, Hong Kong cinema have been published in the past few years.¹ If American cinema is “Hollyworld,” then the movie industry in this small corner of Asia is “Planet Hong Kong.”² Both cinemas are celebrated and criticized for their long traditions, contributions to cinematic conventions, transnational appeal, and market ideology. If the wealth of scholarship and criticism has established the discursive coherency of Hollywood cinema as a unified body with its own ideology, tradition, and aesthetics, bountiful local and international critical efforts are similarly constructing a discursive Hong Kong cinema. The outstanding commercial success of Hong Kong cinema seems to have welcomed and cultivated scholarly criticism of and theorization about its film language, genre development, and audiences’ (trans)national cultural identification. These critical efforts combine to construct a legacy of Hong Kong cinema that is increasingly taken for granted.

Hong Kong cinema has been particularly attractive to film scholars in two dimensions: its transnational commercial appeal and its local specificities. There seem to be many Hong Kong cinema followers around the world, which contributes to the impression that the

commercial appeal of this cinema is universal and that there is negligible local specificity interfering with transnational entertainment. However, many movie fans and scholars also notice that the plots, characterizations, style, and “feel” of Hong Kong cinema are unique, which makes them hard to mistake Hong Kong films as productions of other cinemas. As Esther Yau declares, “Circulating in the far-reaching networks already established by immigrant business and economic diasporas, Hong Kong movies can appear provincial yet also Hollywood-like.”³ These seemingly contradictory transnational and local characteristics dialectically amalgamate Hong Kong cinema into a coherent entity that defines it as unique, and therefore “cultist.” I find this discursive “coherency” of Hong Kong cinema particularly interesting in view of the discussions of gender in recent critical dialogues.

There may be scholarship on gender issues in Hong Kong cinema, but there is an implicit overall reading of the cinema as a unified collective: the auteur/genre dichotomy that such work often assumes leaves the commercial cinema untouched by, or unworthy of, gender analysis. While a handful of directors, such as Stanley Kwan (Guan Jinpeng) and Ann Hui (Xu Anhua), are singled out as gifted auteurs with feminine sensibilities,⁴ most gender problems and nuances are taken for granted within the larger commercial framework. It is as though the sheer banality and shamelessness of mainstream Hong Kong cinema precludes it from complex gender analysis. Faced with an ultra-commercial cinema, instead of the more “sophisticated” Taiwanese or mainland Chinese films, most critics find it unproductive to impose a gender analysis on, for example, the outright sexist films of Wong Ching (Wang Jing). Individual auteur directors are praised particularly with reference to the surrounding “trashy” commercial films that demonstrate no gender ambiguities. Hong Kong cinema’s overt commercialism, which often exploits gender stereotypes and hierarchy unabashedly, discourages us to come to terms with its gender issues in a complicated and sophisticated fashion. This selective (un)awareness is particularly evident in scholars’ hitherto inattention to masculinity — a theme, ideology, and industrial structure that has ruled Hong Kong cinema for so many years.

Hong Kong cinema is famous for its action, and this long tradition of “male cinema,” with its male stars and male stories, has won over millions of Chinese and other movie-goers around the world in the past few decades. But surprisingly few scholars have interrogated the complexity of this masculine tendency. Particularly during a time when Hong Kong cinema is in a slump, more are interested in investigating,

explaining, and reclaiming its past commercial success than seeing that very success as symptomatic of a gender hierarchy.

Steven Cohan argues that a normative standard of a hegemonic masculinity is never stable or coherent or authentic; it has to exist alongside a range of alternative forms in representation. He defines hegemonic masculinity as “the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy.”⁵ Cohan believes that while there are always multiple forms of masculinities existing simultaneously, a hegemonic gender normality dominates and accommodates others. While Cohan is right that different forms of masculinities are always fighting for control, in the case of Hong Kong cinema its volatility hardly allows any one to dominate. Maybe if we are really interested in studying the complexity and fluidity of Hong Kong cinema, not as a consistent body of work but a vigorous and contested cultural site that always contains disharmonious and contradictory ideologies and representations, we need to confront the diversity of masculinities underlined and represented in this cinema. To me and to the volume’s contributors an interesting aspect of Hong Kong cinema is the cultural and theoretical complexity behind such diversity of masculinities. By confronting the multiple forms of masculinities contained in and interpreted by this cinema, not only can we understand the particularity of the cinema, but light can also be shed on general masculinity issues.

As the chapters in this volume demonstrate, even within a single genre and a single period in Hong Kong cinema we see multiple types and ideologies of masculinities interacting with each other. King Hu (Hu Jinquan) and Zhang Che developed and preached very different types of masculinity around the same time within the same genre (ch. 1). Jackie Chan (Cheng Long) is heroic and macho, but he can also be docile and domestic; his masculinity is so unstable and polyvalent that although he is considered an authentic Hong Kong hero he can be appropriated by mainstream American stereotypes of effeminate Asian men (ch. 10), and identified by female audiences as a gender-transcending model for self-empowerment (ch. 12). Stephen Chow (a.k.a. Stephen Chiau) (Zhou Xingchi) can play a clown and play God at the same time (ch. 11), so could the male filmmakers project their and the market’s conflicted desires on the male characters they produce (ch. 9). Male ideologies might be fulfilled by female roles, even though they are often embarrassingly trapped between conflicting gender and racial discourses (ch. 4 and ch. 7). This wide array of masculinities that simultaneously

exist is partly a result of the fluid and disorganized structure of the cinema, in which characters and stories are often created out of haste and by accident. Unlike precisely calculated Hollywood productions based on plenty of market research, Hong Kong cinema is famous for its lack of discipline, which is why alternative forms of masculinity can be created, as Yeeshan Chan documents in her chapter, simply out of the filmmaker's resentment about his own failures in life. The writing collected in this volume attests to the diversity of masculinities manifested and implied in this cinema, which is a vast resource within which we can re-interrogate the fictitiousness and diversities of male bodies.

If Chris Holmlund is right to argue that "visibility frequently translates to social acceptance,"⁶ we are indeed seeing a rather open Hong Kong cinema industry and society producing and accepting such a diversified array of male bodies, naked or clothed, masculine or fragile, vigilant or limp, among and within which it is often difficult to find cohesive moral values or stable ideologies governing masculinity. However, we must not mistake such plural representations as ideal; seeing them simply as reflections of ideologies at odds with each other might not fully reflect the codependency, non-coherency, or even emptiness of these forms. While the production and representation of a masculine body are always woven by different forces, a single force can also shape a number of alternative masculine bodies and forms, and what they present is far from a romanticized picture of the congenial coexistence of different values and lifestyles. While I do not agree with Cohan that there is necessarily a "visible" hegemonic masculinity overruling or incorporating others, an invisible power structure, which operates not through a single masculinity but through many, is still intact. One of the most common pitfalls in studying masculinity in cinema is reflectionism, which assumes that one masculinity corresponds to one set of ideology. As the following chapters show, all forms of masculinity (if we can identify them as such) are so intimately related to other masculinities or identity structures that in the end it might be futile to locate or differentiate the dominant from the alternative. Each and every masculinity is at the same time too full of meaning and empty, but its transient nature should not rid it of the power it represents. I believe that different forms of masculinity are embodied identities and experiences, and at the same time discourses constructed for the sake of fulfilling people's fantasies and desires. Masculinity is a source of power, and a site where power operates, so that it is also subjected to power. Therefore, any simple political agenda that involves using one form of masculinity against another simplifies

their ultimate interconnectedness, which is manifested in different ways under different social and cultural circumstances.

This complicated power network corresponds to the scenario depicted by Yeeshan Chan, whose chapter demonstrates that patriarchy approves and indeed derives pleasure from certain forms of female empowerment and alternative masculinities. The multiplicity of masculinities allowed in this industry is an effort to appeal to the market, whose power is not challenged but rather reinforced by such a happy coexistence of masculinities. Travis Kong's chapter also demonstrates a similar situation in Hong Kong cinema, in which the plurality of gay images allowed does not imply that they are not operated under a coherent set of powers determined by the market and heterosexual norms. As Kwai-cheung Lo pertinently points out in his chapter, "multiplicity or pluralization only helps make the ideology of masculinity even stronger and more powerful, turning it into a stable origin or foundation exempted from any radical deconstruction."⁷ The heterosexual norm and the capitalist market are highly elusive and flexible structures of power that survive on, rather than are annihilated by, differences and crises.

The diversified forms of masculinity available in Hong Kong cinema are tempting texts to invite even more diversified interpretations; trying to engage critically with the wealth of possible meanings derived from these many male forms while always recognizing the specific discursive environments these meanings came from is the critical task our contributors have had to deal with. To avoid generalizing about a dominant Hong Kong cinema masculinity yet continue to investigate how power operates on various masculinities inter-relatedly, we must carefully situate masculinities at the specific time and in the specific space we want to investigate. David Bordwell describes this cinema as dynamic and full of kinetic energy,⁸ which I think can refer positively to its vigor and negatively to its chaos. While the masculine Hong Kong cinema has been celebrated for its boundless actions and imagination, we can also describe it as a hysterical space, which stereotypically belongs to women. In turn, such volatility inevitably translates itself from representation to issues of identity and identification.

While we want to highlight, confront, and analyze in a sophisticated manner the diversity of masculine manifestations and ideologies before rushing to any conclusive statements about masculinity in Hong Kong cinema, "differences" are not our only concern. We are in fact committed to exploring issues related to identity, in spite of our critical distance

against simple identity politics. As Helen Leung and James Steintrager demonstrate in their chapters, the hastening efforts of some queer and postcolonial critics asserting a certain identity are often based upon misunderstandings, bias, and stereotypes. Identity, if taken seriously, should be seen as a negative concept built on differences and negations, not as an uncritical endorsement of something ideal.⁹ While the various cinematic masculinities explicated in this volume are by no means natural mirrors reflecting social facts, critically engaging in various forms of masculinities inevitably brings us back to the complexity of identity politics, as many chapters of this volume document. In spite of their different approaches, many chapters are ultimately concerned about Hong Kong or Chinese identity. The chapters of Shen Shiao-Ying, Sheng-mei Ma and Kwai-cheung Lo investigate and theorize the discursive formations of the Hong Kong-Chinese identity through the construction of a certain otherness, while Steintrager's and my chapters focus rather on the difficulties theoretically and cinematically in the project of postcolonial Hong Kong identity. Other chapters, like Travis Kong's, Helen Leung's, and Day Wong's, are committed to investigating the identity politics and subject formations of non-heterosexual male gender and sexual subjects in Hong Kong. Many contributors here show that to understand the Hong Kong identity at large is to confront first the alternative masculinities or gender forms posited as others, as accomplices, or as that which simply refuses interpretation. What this anthology shows is that only through careful and respectful readings of differences can we come to a complex scenario interpellating any form of identity, this is particularly so in the case of masculinity, which has claimed too much power while at the same time been rendered too vulnerable.

Issues of identity are also connected to the theoretical and practical predicaments of identification, which, regardless of its sex, is never simple but always involves many forms of desire, desire is always mobile, fluid, and constantly transgressing.¹⁰ How critics and audiences read and appropriate the different masculinities captured on screen is also a deeply-felt concern shared by many of this volume's contributors. As many of the following chapters show, audiences and critics establish diversified relationships with films, and with the complication of racial, ethnic, and sexual differences involved in Hong Kong cinema, masculinity is bound to be received in multiple ways according to different reception contexts and dynamics. As Wong demonstrates, the receiving end of these masculinities can be very unstable, contrary to earlier feminist spectatorship studies that suggest a unified male

identification as opposed to dis-unified female identification.¹¹ But claiming the seemingly politically correct position of articulating differences by no means makes the task easier for the contributor, because we in fact face the more difficult project of analyzing and providing ethical responses to these differences.

Avoiding the study of masculinity is to make it invisible and therefore to reinforce its omnipresence and omnipotence. But aggrandizing masculinity as a grand, monolithic, and hegemonic structure ruling over the entire film scene also prevents us from studying the complex ways in which genders and sexualities manifest and interact. We hope this volume can present us with a set of sophisticated studies balancing the dynamics of identity and differences, gender and culture, so that we can avoid running into the trap of either ignoring transcultural gender dynamics or privileging and glossing over the cultural and social specificities of Hong Kong cinema.

ABOUT THE BOOK

This anthology has two major objectives. First, we investigate the multiple meanings and manifestations of masculinities in Hong Kong cinema that compliment, contradict, and complicate each other. Second, we analyze the social, cultural, and theoretical environments that make these representations possible and problematic. Therefore, respecting the originality and uniqueness of each film text, we study gender representations beyond the representations themselves, and emphasize the intimate relationship between text and context. We want to provide a comprehensive picture of how Hong Kong mainstream cinematic masculinities are produced within their own socio-cultural discourses, and how these masculinities are distributed, received, and transformed within the setting of the market place. To address these complex problems in a comprehensive and organized manner, this anthology is divided into three interrelated parts: the local cinematic tradition, the transnational context and reverberations, and the larger production, reception, and mediation environments. We hope that a combination of these three perspectives will reveal the dynamics and tensions between the local and the transnational, between production and reception, between theory and practice, and between text and context that construct and constantly self-revise this very colorful and complex tradition of male representation.

In Part I, we argue that to critically assess the particularities of the representations of masculinity in Hong Kong cinema, it is vitally important to situate them in their unique historical and cultural environment. Looking back at the history of Hong Kong cinema, there was a phasing out of female-audience-oriented productions from the 1960s to the 1970s and a phasing in of those reflecting prominent male tastes and ideologies. This film trend of spreading overt male power and chauvinism has since played a dominant role in the development and success of Hong Kong's commercial cinema.¹² As most Hong Kong movie fans well know, not only are the action movies of Bruce Lee (Li Xiaolong), King Hu, Jackie Chan, and John Woo (Wu Yusen) clearly male-oriented, but the extremely popular comedies of the Hui Brothers, Cinema City, Wong Ching, and the early Stephen Chow from the 1980s and 1990s also show very little intention of attracting female audiences. The important Hong Kong new wave that began in 1979 was heavily slanted toward action films. Starting in the 1970s, when Hong Kong cinema was beginning to gain local and international fame, it produced very few melodramas and romance comedies, and no female performers could enter the first tier of the star division. Instead, action and comedy reigned, and these genres were almost always male-dominated.¹³

This extensive tradition that has produced so many diversified types of male bodies and masculine models by no means invites a simple-minded, generalized criticism of sexist gender representations. Instead of simplifying the criticism into an opposition between two genders, we should read more carefully the nuances and complexities of these male representations within their historical context to investigate how they produce different, or often unstable, meanings of maleness. David Desser, in "Making Movies Male: Zhang Che and the Shaw Brothers Martial Arts Movies, 1965-1975," provides a detailed and careful reading of the development of 1970s male cinema within a complex cultural context. Comparing the two martial arts movie masters, Desser argues that by any standard it was Zhang Che who had the more profound impact on Hong Kong cinema, although the female affinities of King Hu's movies are more critically attractive and would have made a stronger impact on Hong Kong films in the 1980s and 1990s. As the anthology's first chapter, Desser's argument sets up the historical context of the emergence of the dominating masculine tradition that this volume analyzes and questions. It also makes the bold statement that within the specific historical environment, King Hu's female sensibilities were residual while Zhang Che's masculine style was emerging and progressive. My chapter

“Post-1997 Hong Kong Masculinity” brings us to the end of this tradition and offers a close study of the genealogy and the corpus of Milkyway Image — an important Hong Kong film studio that emerged around 1997 — in its depiction of masculinity with reference to the dominating masculine aesthetics of Hong Kong cinema, as suggested in Desser’s chapter. I focus on the studio’s representation of masculinities in relation to Hong Kong’s cultural environment and the film industry’s concerns of recent years. I argue that the homosocial male bonding and the female characters depicted in Milkyway Image films are both characteristic and exceptional in the context of Hong Kong cinema, and that these changing representations witness the difficulties of a declining industry trying to come to terms with its own male traditions.

The homophobia of Hong Kong cinema, in which gay men are usually stigmatized as bitchy and campy sexual perverts, provides the impetus for two chapters investigating alternative masculinities. Travis Kong’s “Queering Masculinity in Hong Kong Movies” presents a comprehensive picture of a diverse representation of gay men that has emerged since the 1990s. Many films have included images of ambiguous gender blending and an implicit homosexual subtext under a “homosocial overcoat.” Some have even directly addressed homosexual love. But Kong explains how the logic of capitalism and heterosexual norms governs this proliferation of “gay visibility.” He concludes that although homophobic and masculinist definitions are dominant in Hong Kong movies, they are constantly being subverted, which has thus allowed a visual queer space to grow. Helen Leung continues the examination of queerness in Hong Kong cinema in her chapter “Unsung Heroes: Reading Transgender Subjectivities in Hong Kong Action Cinema.” Instead of revelling in the politics of destabilizing gender identity, she shows us the limits of queer theory in understanding transgender subjects. Her focus is on the butch lesbian characters in the films *Swordsman II* (Xiao’ao jianghu II zhi Dongfang Bubai) (dir. Ching Siu-tung, 1992) and *Portland Street Blues* (Hongxing shisan mei) (dir. Raymond Yip, 1998). She meticulously demonstrates that if these characters are read only as symbols of gender subversion, as typical queer criticisms would read them, they lose the agency to desire a gender of their own. Leung’s chapter invites us to detect the subtle and deviant homoeroticism portrayed in the films beyond the queer discursive boundaries, and she believes that such explorations can help us unpack the complex discursive networks set up between mainstream masculinity and its repressed homoerotic roots typified in the respective genres.

The chapters in Part II focus on the different meanings of masculinity that Hong Kong cinema has produced within a transnational environment. Hong Kong cinema would fail to be what it is today without the enthusiastic support and contribution, both financially and conceptually, of transnational markets and audiences in the past six or seven decades. As I mentioned earlier, the transnational appeal of Hong Kong cinema is a key discussion topic in international film criticism. The chapters in the second part of the book investigate why and how Hong Kong cinema can or cannot anchor transnational identification, and more specifically discuss the ways in which such transnational identification is constructed around gender to raise our awareness of the underlying masculine ideologies that function nationally and transnationally.

Sheng-mei Ma's "Kung Fu Films in Diaspora: Death of the Bamboo Hero" discusses the adaptation of Hong Kong kung fu films migrating from Hong Kong's Chinese cultural context to the global market. In a careful textual analysis of *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (Wohu canglong) (dir. Ang Lee, 2000) and a number of recent kung fu films, Ma demonstrates how certain filmic elements inherent in traditional martial arts movies — bamboo, traditional martial arts forms, and bodily exudation — are suppressed or reshaped to cater for the new audience. His analysis of the three thematic components also demonstrates how the polyphonic and loaded symbols bring a diverse Chinese-speaking global audience together through Hong Kong films and how they have to be sacrificed to forge a new global audience. In "Obtuse Music and the Nebulous Male: The Haunting Presence of Taiwan in Hong Kong Films of the 1990s," Shen Shiao-Ying calls our attention to the "Taiwan factor" in Hong Kong cinema. She demonstrates that while Taiwan has always been a major market for Hong Kong cinema, it is also often deliberately ignored. However, the elusive Taiwan factor both contributes to and frustrates the Hong Kongness constructed. Interestingly, as Shen demonstrates, this Taiwan factor is often represented by effeminate or lyrical masculinities that echo or struggle with China's paternal call. The Greater China saga can only be told with the dismissible but extant presence of Taiwan.

Through a close reading of *The Untold Story* (Baxian fandian zhi renrou chashaobao) (dir. Danny Lee, Herman Yau, 1992) in both its cinematic text and its reception in the West, James Steintrager presents us with a true nightmare of postcolonial critics: Western men viscerally enjoying a trashy Hong Kong film in which a Hong Kong man brutally

rapes female victims and eats their flesh! If a postcolonial critic works so hard to find a “worthy” Hong Kong subject for its new postcolonial stage, Steintrager asks, how should the critic deal with a situation in which both the subject of the film (a male Hong Kong rapist and cannibalist refusing any cinematic identification) and the viewer of the film (the white male fan who cares nothing about Hong Kong people but obscenely enjoys their animality) are so “unworthy”? Steintrager presents a theoretical enigma yet also sheds light on current postcolonial discourse, which often repudiates its own claims by constructing an ideal non-subject. While Ma and Shen believe some sort of transnational male Chineseness, however distorted, is established through male subjects in Hong Kong cinema, Steintrager takes the position that, from the perspectives of Western film-goers and Western theories, there may never have been a transnational understanding of Hong Kong films, particularly when a subject turns object. Also focusing on the issue of Hong Kong cultural identity, Kwai-cheung Lo asks whether female fighters in Hong Kong cinema only reveal the impasse of Hong Kong masculinities in particular and Hong Kong identity in general. Similar to Helen Leung’s strategy, Lo’s “Fighting Female Masculinity: Women Warriors and their Foreignness in the Hong Kong Action Cinema of the 1980s” focuses on masculinized female characters to elucidate the politics of masculinity in Hong Kong cinema. Yet, in the context of the construction of Hong Kong identity, Lo adds the dimension of race to complicate further the unstable gender meanings in martial arts films that feature women fighters. In his careful analysis of several films featuring female fighters, he demonstrates how certain characters, particularly those played by Michelle Yeoh (Yang Ziqiong), dis-identify with the men around them only to convert themselves into “copies” of their opposite gender. Meanwhile, others, such as those played by Cynthia Rothrock, are presented as conventional asexual kung fu artists whose female masculinity, in making up for what’s lacking in the colonized Hong Kong male subject, helps ease their desires.

While the chapters in the first two parts of this anthology explore the multiple significations of masculinities in Hong Kong cinema, the third part is more socially oriented. We believe that a pertinent study of Hong Kong cinema must have a comprehensive contextual perspective that takes into account not only the city’s cultural, political, and economic milieux, but also the industry’s structure as well as the specific reactions and responses of the audience; thus the interdisciplinary approach of this volume. Part III focuses on the dynamics among reception,

production, and mediation. Although Hong Kong cinema has been celebrated for its commercial success, studies of its commercial setting are scarce. Those very few existing studies are relatively empirical and uncritical.¹⁴ Some scholars are beginning to interrogate the hegemonic nature of Hong Kong cinema in other Asian markets,¹⁵ but more thorough and in-depth discussions of its production environment and marketing network are urgently needed. We believe the industrial structure of Hong Kong cinema is as culturally unique as it is institutionally pre-determined. In a cinema industry where government and labor union regulations are minimal, the irregular working schedules, physical rigor, and high mobility structurally limit most positions to men and directly encourage sexism. Therefore, while many authors in this anthology take the film texts as sites of contestation to discuss the representations of masculinities in their complexity and nuances, we also want to study the masculine domination of Hong Kong cinema as not only a cultural but also an industrial and market symptom. The last part of this anthology is designed to provide extra information, insights, and critical analysis from the perspectives of the industry and the audience not only in Hong Kong but also in the United States to allow greater understanding of Hong Kong cinema's problematic gender disposition.

In "Bringing Breasts into the Mainstream," Yeeshan Chan asks how and why a recent group of comedies featuring female breasts was so widely accepted by local female audiences. Chan demonstrates that the films strategically re-package women's breasts for entertainment consumption through elegant clothing, a sense of professionalism, and quasi-feminist semiotics to appeal not only to male audiences but also middle-class Hong Kong women. Drawing on her experiences as a female script-writer in Hong Kong and her personal interviews with many filmmakers working in the field, she shares with us how the experiment of "upgrading" sex was motivated by the decline of locally made pornographic films and of the industry at large. Her thought-provoking chapter shows how "female empowerment" can be used to benefit patriarchy and the market. While Chan investigates the local industry, Wai-kit Choi's "Post-Fordist Production and the Re-Appropriation of Hong Kong Masculinity in Hollywood" asks whether the crossover of Hong Kong film professionals into Hollywood signifies that there is now greater multiculturalism in the U.S. film industry. Why did U.S. film producers decide to incorporate Hong Kong masculinity into the U.S. film market? Choi argues that despite the migration of Hong

Kong film professionals to Hollywood, the dominant social groups in the U.S. maintain their cultural hegemony in the film industry, and their (mis)perception of other groups continues to reign in cinematic representation.

Agnes Ku, in her “Masculinities in Self-Invention — Critics’ Discourses on Kung Fu–Action Movies and Comedies” meticulously identifies three common reading strategies — reflectionism, deconstruction, and hermeneutics — adopted by film critics in their study of Hong Kong’s action and comedy heroes. While she finds some criticisms more gender sensitive and vigilant than others, she demonstrates that all fail to explicate fully the domination of masculinism in Hong Kong cinema. With regard to action heroes, many critics connect in a coherent framework elements of masculinity in action movies and nationalist discourses, thus reinforcing both masculinity and nationalism. With regard to comedy heroes, critics’ celebration of Stephen Chow’s images of typical Hong Kong men encourage us to take them as a-gendered subjects and ignore the gender dynamics involved. Both discursive efforts naturalize and reinforce the deeply embedded masculinist norms in our culture. Like Chan, Day Wong studies Hong Kong cinema by combining in-depth interviews with pertinent cultural observations. In “Women’s Reception of Mainstream Hong Kong Cinema,” however, her emphasis is on those on the receiving end. Wong examines how local female audiences communicate with mainstream melodramas and action movies. Rather than assuming women are passive receivers of media content, Wong examines the selective and creative ways in which women engage with images of gender in mainstream Hong Kong cinema. While many women consider Bruce Lee, not Jackie Chan, to be the real hero, they prefer to take their family to watch Chan’s, not Lee’s, films. Through various interviews she compares and contrasts the diverse ways in which women interpret the films and derive pleasure from them, and argues that even in the supposedly shallow and sexist films of Jackie Chan, meanings are produced and mediated by the discourses surrounding the female audiences, as well as their lived experiences of being female at different times. Wong’s chapter concludes the anthology, and leaves a reverberating call for a reconsideration of many of the issues raised in earlier chapters.

This anthology is not simply a collection of writings with a focus on gender and Hong Kong cinema. Through this interdisciplinary collaboration we want to introduce a specific framework and setting

within which to understand the complex interrelations of popular cinema and masculinities in today's global cultural economy. We stress local uniqueness as much as transnational context, and reception as well as production. Hong Kong cinema provides a wonderful case study in this regard because it manifests unique and diversified depictions and narrations of masculinities with a broad local and transnational appeal. Through the particular and commercially successful representational politics of masculinity, the authors in this anthology demonstrate that gender issues and representations can intimately and in a complex way demonstrate the values and everyday embodied experiences of filmmakers, audiences, and critics, and they reveal also the commercial logic of Hong Kong cinema. The authors argue against the assumed equation of commercial cinema with a monopolizing, naïve, and tyrannical masculinity. A close study of the gender complexities of Hong Kong cinema once again proves that the word "masculinities" can no longer be rendered singular in our complex world. We hope this anthology shows how the simultaneous concerns and sensibilities, in practice and abstract theorization, can be brought together in an interdisciplinary collaboration.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

I need to thank Day Wong, who provided wonderful insights into and critical comments about my earlier draft.

1. International film criticism of Hong Kong cinema is too voluminous to cite, but some examples of scholarly books include Stephen Teo's *Hong Kong Cinema: The Extra Dimensions* (London: British Film Institute, 1997); Lisa Odham Stokes's *City on Fire: Hong Kong Cinema* (London: Verso, 1999); David Bordwell's *Planet Hong Kong: Popular Cinema and the Art of Entertainment* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2000); Poshek Fu and David Desser, eds., *The Cinema of Hong Kong: History, Arts, Identity* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Esther Yau, ed., *At Full Speed: Hong Kong Cinema in a Borderless World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).
2. The two terms borrow from the titles of two recent books, Aida Hozic's *Hollyworld: Space, Power, and Fantasy in the American Economy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001) and Bordwell's *Planet Hong Kong*.
3. Esther C. M. Yau, "Introduction: Hong Kong Cinema in a Borderless World," in Esther C. M. Yau, ed., *At Full Speed: Hong Kong Cinema in a Borderless World*, 2.
4. See, for example, Patricia Brett Erens, "Crossing Borders: Time, Memory, and the Construction of Identity in *Song of the Exile*," *Cinema Journal* 39.4 (Summer 2000): 43–59; and Shuqin Cui, "Stanley Kwan's *Center Stage*: (Im)possible Engagement between Feminism and Postmodernism," *Cinema Journal* 39.4 (Summer 2000): 60–80.
5. Steven Cohan, *Masked Men: Masculinity and the Movies in the Fifties* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 35.
6. Chris Holmlund, *Impossible Bodies: Femininity and Masculinity at the Movies* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 5.
7. Kwai-cheung Lo, this volume, 140.
8. Bordwell, 8.
9. Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: Free Press, 1996), 7.

10. John Ellis, *Visible Fictions* (London: Routledge, 1982).
11. See, for example, Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" *Screen* 16. 3 (1975): 6–18; and Mary Ann Doane, *The Desire to Desire: The Woman's Film of the 1940s* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).
12. See Sek Kei's "The War between the Cantonese and Mandarin Cinemas in the Sixties or How the Beautiful Women Lost to the Action Men," in Law Kar, ed., *The Restless Breed: Cantonese Stars of the Sixties (The 20th Hong Kong International Film Festival)* (Hong Kong: The Urban Council, 1996), 26–33.
13. There are exceptions, of course, such as some of the action films featuring Michelle Yeoh, which demonstrate a complex intertwining of femininity and masculinity. See Kwai-cheung Lo's chapter in this volume.
14. See Zhang Jian, *Jiushi niandai gangcanpian gongyi yipie* (A glance at Hong Kong's film productions in the 1990s) (Hong Kong: Guanzi Xianggang dianying gongyi fazheng yanjiu hui, 1998), and Grace Leung and Joseph Chan, "The Hong Kong Cinema and Its Overseas Market: A Historical Review, 1950–1995," in Law Kar, ed., *Fifty Years of Electric Shadows: The 21st Hong Kong International Film Festival* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1997), 136–51.
15. Ding-Tzann Lii, "A Colonized Empire: Reflections on the Expansion of Hong Kong Films in Asian Countries," in Kuan-Hsing Chen, ed., *Trajectories: Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 122–41.

CHAPTER 1

I would like to thank Prof. Cheuk Pak-tong of Hong Kong Baptist University for inviting me to participate in a conference on the Shaw Brothers on the International Movie Stage, where I presented an earlier version of this chapter. I would also like to thank Prof. Lo Wai-luk of HKBU for his help with translations from the Chinese and providing a deeper understanding of the critical discourse surrounding these films. And a special thanks to Dhugal Meachem, graduate assistant extraordinaire, for more help than I can even remember.

1. Winnie Fu, ed., *The Making of Martial Arts Films — As Told by Filmmakers and Stars* (Hong Kong Film Archive, 1999), 43.
2. *Ibid.*, 90.
3. Tony Rayns, "King Hu: Shall We Dance?" in *A Study of the Hong Kong Martial Arts Film* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1980), 103.
4. See Hector Rodriguez, "Questions of Chinese Aesthetics: Film Form and Narrative Space in the Cinema of King Hu," *Cinema Journal* 38.1 (1998): 73–97.
5. Zhang Zhen, "Bodies in the Air: The Magic of Science and the Fate of the Early 'Martial Arts' Film in China," *Post Script* 20. 2–3 (2001): 44.

6. A glimpse of what King Hu-inspired martial arts movies look like can be gleaned from the swordplay films made at Cathay in the late 1960s, with stars like Tian Qing, better suited to light comedy than hard-edged martial arts (e.g. *The Smiling Swordsman*, dir. Jiang Nan, 1968; *Mad, Mad Sword*, dir. Wang Tianlin, 1969). Perhaps only Roy Chiao (Qiao Hong) starring in *Escorts over Tiger Hills* (Hushan xing) (dir. Wang Xinglei, 1969), approximates the kind of *yanggang* Zhang Che demanded. Chiao, of course, would go on to star in Hu's *A Touch of Zen* and *The Fate of Lee Khan* (1973), the latter, however, best remembered as a veritable Who's Who of female *wuxia* stars: Xu Feng, Li Lihua, Angela Mao and Helen Ma (Ma Hailun). See also Stephen Teo, "Cathay and the Wuxia Movie" for a discussion of the problems Cathay had in making *wuxia* movies in the late 1960s (Stephen Teo, "Cathay and the Wuxia Movie," in *The Cathay Story: The 26th International Hong Kong Film Festival* [Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2002].) It is arguable that had King Hu directed a film from 1966 to 1969 his influence in Hong Kong cinema might have been greater. *Dragon Inn* was a huge hit in Hong Kong and the most influential film in Taiwan during this period. The lengthy production process of *A Touch of Zen* and its subsequent commercial failure (generally attributed to mishandling of its release) gave Zhang the opportunity to release films in Hu's absence. By the time *A Touch of Zen* was released, with its female action star and non-action male lead, it was out of touch with the emerging martial arts genre. *A Touch of Zen*, to be sure, would have some impact on martial arts choreography and stunt scenes, with its brilliant use of trampolines and (re)construction of action through fragments and eye-line matches, but the themes of the films all derive from Zhang.
7. David Desser, "Diaspora and National Identity: Exporting China Through the Hong Kong Cinema," *Post Script* 20.2 & 3 (2001): 126.
8. Sek Kei, "The Development of 'Martial Arts' in Hong Kong Cinema," in *A Study of the Hong Kong Martial Arts Film* (Hong Kong Urban Council, 1980), 29.
9. Fu, 21.
10. *Ibid.*, 43.
11. David A. Cook, *Lost Illusions: American Cinema in the Shadow of Watergate and Vietnam, 1970–1979 (History of the American Cinema, volume 9)* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2000), 339.
12. Sek Kei, 29.
13. Fu, 21.
14. *A Study of the Hong Kong Martial Arts Film*, 2.
15. Wendy Siuyi Wong, *Hong Kong Comics: A History of Manhua* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002).
16. Fu, 21. *Ibid.*, 32.
17. Fu, 32.

18. <http://changcheh.Ocatch.com/yang.htm>.
19. Dessler, 126–7.
20. The quote is from an essay by Zhang Che in *The Making of Martial Arts Films — As Told by Filmmakers and Stars*, 19.
21. Zhang Che continued to work unabated throughout the 1970s, averaging five or six films a year, though never again putting a film in the top ten. Yet it is in this period of the resurgent masculinist martial arts film, 1978–79, that Zhang directed some of his most favored films: *The Five Deadly Venoms* (Wudu) (1978) and *Ten Tigers from Kwantung* (Guangtong shihu) (1979).
22. I have not undertaken an analysis of 1960s box-office figures yet to see exactly when and how immediately Zhang's films began their dominance. It is generally acknowledged that *One-Armed Swordsman* became the first Hong Kong movie to gross HK\$1,000,000. (See, for instance, Wong Yan, "Chang Cheh's Directorial Journey" *Influence Magazine* no. 13 [April 1976]). Retrieved from: <http://changcheh.Ocatch.com/ch-bio2.htm>). Shaw Brothers Studio certainly had faith in Zhang's films thereafter: in 1969 he directed six, all with some combination of stars Lo Lieh, Wang Yu, David Chiang, and Ti Lung.
23. *Yang ± Yin: Gender in Chinese Cinema* [Nansheng nuxiang: Zhongguo dianying de xingbie]. Transcription of the opening fifteen minutes. <http://changcheh.Ocatch.com/yang.htm>.
24. Interview with Lau Kar-leung, <http://changcheh.Ocatch.com/lau-int.htm>.
25. Ibid.
26. See Dessler, "The Kung Fu Craze: Hong Kong Cinema's First American Reception," in Poshek Fu and David Dessler, eds., *The Cinema of Hong Kong: History, Arts, Identity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
27. A user comment on the Internet Movie Database is particularly revealing of how the film reproduces Zhang Che's favored motifs, with the writer claiming that Zhang in fact, directed the film! "There is a certain charm to a Chang Cheh film. It's a sense of futility and dread. You just know things are going to go bad, and when you think it won't get more brutal, somehow, Chang Cheh can always make it worse. *Five Fingers of Death* (aka *King Boxer*) is a classic film in two ways. First it is your usual Chang Cheh grindhouse film with the master director in top form. Second, *Five Fingers* is one of the films that helped Western audiences gain exposure to kung fu flicks in the early 1970s. It may not be the greatest Chang Cheh work or even the greatest kung fu film, but it is certainly not without its gruesome eye gouging, hand smashing, hot coal training, disemboweling, supernatural-glowing-fist-power charms." This would be a neat summation of Zhang's films, were it not for the fact that he did not direct this one! See: <http://us.imdb.com/Title?0070800>.
28. *Five Fingers of Death* lifts a number of scenes from the classic Hollywood Western *Shane* (George Stevens, 1951). To the extent that *Shane* is a virtual

paradigm of masculinist mythmaking, it is interesting to think that such overt borrowings from a Hollywood Western further helped this film achieve its international breakthrough. It is something of a cliché to compare kung fu films to Westerns, but recognizing these borrowings on the part of *Five Fingers of Death* allows us to think more fully about what such comparisons mean and their significance in terms of worldwide appeal and ideologies of masculinity.

CHAPTER 2

1. Julian Stringer, "'Your Tender Smiles Give me Strength': Paradigms of Masculinity in John Woo's *A Better Tomorrow* and *The Killer*," *Screen* 38.1 (1997): 40.
2. Interview with author, 1 October 2000.
3. Tania Modleski, *Feminism without Women: Culture and Criticism in a "Postfeminist" Age* (New York, London: Routledge, 1991), 7.
4. John Beynon, *Masculinities and Culture* (London: Open University, 2002), 90.
5. Clearly the patriarchy has been under constant challenges from all directions, and it is not able to deal with them with the same degree of success. See, for example, the several studies on the crisis of masculinity quoted in R. W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 84.
6. Stephen Teo, "Sinking into Creative Depths," in Law Kar, ed., *Hong Kong Panorama 97–98: The Twenty-second Hong Kong International Film Festival* (Hong Kong: Provisional Urban Council, 1998), 11.
7. David Bordwell, *Planet Hong Kong: Popular Cinema and the Art of Entertainment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 269.
8. Athena Tsui and C. Fong, "Too Many Ways to be a Filmmaker: Interview with Johnnie To," in Law Kar, ed., *Hong Kong Panorama 98–99: The Twenty-third Hong Kong International Film Festival* (Hong Kong: Provisional Urban Council, 1999), 64.
9. Bordwell, 269.
10. Wai Kar-fai, however, denies in an interview any direct relation between his film and *Young and Dangerous* (Tsui, 24–5).
11. Connell, 76–81.
12. Steven Cohan, *Masked Men: Masculinity and the Movies in the Fifties* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 34–9.
13. In another paper I discuss more specifically how the gangster formula is interrupted in this film. See Laikwan Pang, "Death and Hong Kong Cinema," *Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 18.1 (Spring 2001): 15–29.
14. Esther C. M. Yau, "Border Crossing: Mainland China's Presence in Hong

- Kong Cinema,” in Paul U. Pickowicz, et. al., eds., *New Chinese Cinemas: Forms, Identities, Politics* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 180–201.
15. Wai-luk Lo, “Xianggang dianying zhong de daluren—xiangxiang, xianshi yu yuwang” [Mainlanders in Hong Kong films: Imaginations, Reality, and Desire], paper presented to the Conference on Hong Kong Culture, Hong Kong, 1999.
 16. Yau, “Border Crossing.”
 17. Susan Jeffords, *Hard Bodies: Hollywood Masculinity in the Reagan Era* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 176.
 18. Among the annual top ten most popular films, there were two action films in 1992, five in 1993, two in 1994, three in 1995, four in 1996, six in 1997, and six in 1998. See annual box-office records published in the annual publications of MPIA (Hong Kong, Kowloon and New Territories Motion Picture Industry Association Ltd).
 19. Jitao, “Mission,” <http://www.filmcritics.org.hk/mission/reviewC.html/> (2000).
 20. See Bordwell, 248–60; Law Kar, ed., *Transcending the Times: King Hu and Eileen Chang (Hong Kong International Film Festival 1998)* (Hong Kong: Provisional Urban Council, 1998).
 21. Jillian Sandell, “Reinventing Masculinity: The Spectacle of Male Intimacy in the Films of John Woo,” *Film Quarterly* 49.4 (1996): 23.
 22. Eve K. Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).
 23. Johnny To, Post-screening discussion of *The Mission*, Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong, November, 1999.
 24. Peter Krämer, “A Powerful Cinema-going Force? Hollywood and Female Audiences since the 1960s,” in Melvyn Stokes and Richard Maltby, eds., *Identifying Hollywood’s Audiences: Cultural Identity and the Movies* (London: BFI, 1999), 103–4.
 25. Ibid., 104. Quoting Anne Thompson, “Studios Stick to their Guns over Sex Appeal of Pics,” *Variety* 7 (January 1991): 111.

CHAPTER 3

1. “Glb” means “gay, lesbian, bisexual and transsexual,” but it is also an umbrella term that includes other sexual minorities such as transvestites, sadomasochists, paedophiles, etc.
2. By post-structuralism, I refer to a loose interdisciplinary movement that originated in France during the 1960s. Its members primarily (re-) appropriated Saussure’s theory of language. The prominent figures in the movement included Jacques Lacan, Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, Julia

Kristeva and Jacques Derrida. Their divergent paths of thought cannot or should not be treated as a unified perspective, or even as a coherent paradigm. What unites all these scholars, however, seems to be their attempt to problematize the traditional epistemologies by arguing that we have no way of accessing the reality in which our theory can be grounded without some form of conceptual and linguistic ordering with which to understand experiences, and thus that there is a need for discourse to be analyzed if the social world is to be understood (Chantal Mouffe, "Feminism, Citizenship, and Radical Democratic Politics," in Linda Nicholson and Steven Seidman, eds., *Social Postmodernism: Beyond Identity Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 315–31; Steven Seidman and David G. Wagner, eds., *Postmodernism and Social Theory* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1992); Steven Seidman, ed., *The Postmodern Turn: New Perspectives on Social Theory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994)). Post-structuralism per se is thus the social thought that rejects the stable structure of fixed binary pairs through which meanings can be found and suggests that the production of meaning is always deferred, both in process and intertextually (Chris Barker, *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice* [London: Sage, 2000]).

3. The following works of queer theory are emblematic: Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosexual Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Diana Fuss, *Essentially Speaking: Feminism, Nature and Difference* (London: Routledge, 1989); Diana Fuss, ed., *Inside/Out: Lesbian Theories, Gay Theories* (London: Routledge, 1991); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1990); Michael Warner, ed., *Fear of A Queer Planet: Queer Politics and Social Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).
4. Andrea Cornwall and Nancy Lindisfarne, "Dislocating Masculinity: Gender, Power and Anthropology," in Andrea Cornwall and Nancy Lindisfarne, eds., *Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies* (London: Routledge, 1994), 12.
5. First, the rise of women's liberation at the end of the 1960s provided a powerful critique of the exaggerated differences between men and women. The growing body of feminist research on gender and sex roles since then has critically examined the male/female dichotomy, and has provided new ways of understanding gender (Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Towards a Corporeal Feminism* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994]; Thomas W. Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990]; Carol S. Vance, "Social Construction Theory and Sexuality," in Berger Maurice, Wallis Brian, and Watson Simon, eds., *Constructing Masculinity* [London: Routledge, 1995]).

Second, the conflation of masculinity with heterosexuality has been severely criticized by lesbian and gay academics and activists since the late 1960s (Lynne Segal, *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Men* [London: Virago, 1990]; Sedgwick, 1990).

Third, historians, anthropologists, ethnographers and post-colonial theorists have provided valuable materials with which to dismantle a unifying but Eurocentric notion of masculinity by showing how masculinity changes over time in a society as well as how it is perceived differently in different cultural settings. A more recent understanding of masculinity can be gained by recognizing its global dimension (R. W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995); Roger N. Lancaster, "Subject Honour and Object Shame: The Construction of Male Homosexuality and Stigma in Nicaragua," *Ethnology* 27.2 (1988): 111–25; Dennis Altman, "Rupture or Continuity? The Internationalization of Gay Identity," *Social Text* 48: 14.3 (1996): 77–94; Cornwall and Lindisfarne, 1994).

6. Connell, 1995.
7. Kenneth Plummer, ed., *Modern Homosexualities: Fragments of Lesbian and Gay Experience* (London: Routledge, 1992), 19, (italics original).
8. Adrienne Rich, "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence," *Signs* 5 (1980): 631–60.
9. Rice (1980), 648.
10. Butler, 1990.
11. George Weinberg, *Society and the Healthy Homosexual* (New York: Doubleday, 1973); Rich, (1980); Butler, (1990); Gayle S. Rubin "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality," in Henry Abelove, Michele Aina Barale and David M. Halperin, eds., *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 1993): 3–44.
12. Lan Kwai Fong is the name of a small street in Central, the business district of Hong Kong, but Hong Kong people use it to refer to the surrounding area as well. The area is characterized by new, bright and trendy Western-style bars, restaurants, cafés, saloons and other entertainment venues. It thus signifies an "up-town" atmosphere and the glorification of the Western-values of hedonism and consumption. It is also alleged to be a "gay ghetto."
13. W. S. Chou and M. C. Chiu, *The Closet Sexual History* (Chinese Edition) (Hong Kong: Comrade Research Centre, 2000).
14. Roland Barthes, *Image-Music-Text*, trans. S. Heath (Glasgow: Collins-Fontana, 1977); Barthes, "From Work to Text," in Josué V. Harari, ed., *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-structural Criticism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979), 73–81.
15. Pierre Bourdieu, *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology* (Cambridge: Polity, 1990).
16. Bourdieu, (1990), 63.

17. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume One: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1980).
18. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Penguin Books, 1977).
19. Sandra Lee Bartky, "Foucault, Femininity and the Modernisation of Patriarchal Power," in Irene Diamond and Lee Quinby, eds., *Feminism and Foucault: Reflections on Resistance* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989), 61–86.
20. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967).
21. Travis S. K. Kong, "The Seduction of the Golden Boy: The Body Politics of Hong Kong Gay Men," *Body & Society* 8.1 (2002): 29–48.
22. Foucault, (1980), 86.
23. Stuart Hall, "Culture, Media, and the 'Ideological Effect,'" in J. Curran, M. Gurevitch, and J. Woollacott, eds., *Mass Communication and Society* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), 333.
24. Jeffrey Weeks, *Sexuality and Its Discontents: Meanings, Myths and Modern Sexualities* (London: Routledge, 1985); Steven Seidman, "Identity and Politics in a 'Postmodern' Gay Culture: Some Historical and Conceptual Notes," in Michael Warner, (1993), 105–42; Annamarie Ruston Jagose, *Queer Theory: An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 1996).
25. Barthes, 1977.
26. Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon, 1972); Foucault, (1977); Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976); Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Stuart Hall et al., *Culture, Media, and Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972–79* (London: Hutchison, 1980); see also Charles C. Lemert, "Post-structuralism and Sociology," in Seidman (1994): 265–81.
27. Foucault, (1980), 86.
28. Alexander Doty, *Flaming Classics: Queering the Film Cannon* (London: Routledge, 2000); see also James R. Keller, *Queer (Un)Friendly Film and Television* (London: McFarland & Company, Inc, 2002).
29. Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations* (London: Fontana Press, 1992 [1968]).
30. Aspasia Kotsopoulos, "Reading Against the Grain Revisited," in *Jump Cut: A Review of Contemporary Media*, no. 44 (2001).
31. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (London: Methuen, 1987): 241–68.
32. For example, Brett Farmer, *Spectacular Passions: Cinema, Fantasy, Gay Male Spectatorships* (London: Duke University Press, 2000).
33. Linda Nicholson and Steven Seidman, eds., *Social Postmodernism: Beyond Identity Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Steven Seidman, ed., *Queer Theory/Sociology* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1996); Jagose, 1996.

34. Fuss, 1989; Sedgwick, 1990; Butler, 1990.
35. Butler, (1990), 31.
36. Butler, (1990), 6.
37. Rosemary Hennessy, "Queer Visibility in Commodity Culture," in Nicholson and Seidman, (1995), 142–83.
38. Diane Raymond, "Popular Culture and Queer Representation: A Critical Perspective," in Dines, Gail and Jean, M. Humez, eds., *Gender, Race, and Class in Media: A Text-Reader* (London: Sage, 2003).
39. S. G. Epstein "Gay Politics, Ethnic Identities: The Limits of Social Constructionism" *Socialist Review* 17.3–4 (1987): 9–50.
40. Butler, 1990.
41. Raymond, (2003), 104.
42. Travis S. K. Kong, "Queer at Your Own Risk: Marginality, Community and the Body Politics of Hong Kong Gay Men," *Sexualities* 7.1 (2004): 5–30.
43. C. Lee Harrington and Denise D. Bielby, eds., *Popular Culture: Production and Consumption* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), Introduction.
44. Lam, *Fake Sexual Politics*. (Chinese Edition) (Hong Kong: Big Camp, 1993).
45. Frank Mort, *Cultures of Consumption: Masculinities and Social Space in Late-Twentieth Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 1988).
46. Chang Hsiao-hung, "Taiwan Queer Valentines," in Chen Kuan-Hsing, ed., *Trajectories: Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* (London: Routledge, 1998), 283–298.
47. Chang (1998), 294.
48. Ibid.
49. Caroline Evans and Lorraine Gamman, "The Gaze Revisited, or Revisiting Queer Viewing," in Paul Burston and Colin Richardson, eds., *A Queer Romance: Lesbians, Gay Men and Popular Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995), 32.
50. Emig Rainer, "Queering the Straights: Straightening the Queers: Commodified Sexualities and Hegemonic Masculinity," in Russell West and Frank Lay, eds., *Subverting Masculinity: Hegemonic and Alternative Versions of Masculinity in Contemporary Culture* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), 223; see also Brian McNair, *Striptease Culture: Sex, Media and the Democratisation of Desire* (London, New York: Routledge, 2002).
51. Alan Sinfield, *Gay and After* (London: Serpent's Tail, 1998), 168.
52. D. Kellner, *Media Culture: Cultural Studies, Identity, and Politics Between the Modern and the Postmodern* (London: Routledge, 1995), 40.
53. bell hooks, "Eating the Other," in S. Hesse-Biber, C. Gilmartin, and R. Lydenberg, eds., *Feminist Approaches to Theory and Methodology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).
54. Helen Leung Hok-sze, "Queerscapes in Contemporary Hong Kong Cinema," *positions: east asia cultures critique* 9.2 (2001): 423–47.

55. Samshasha [Xiaomingxiong], *History of Homosexuality in China*. (Chinese Edition) (Hong Kong: Ng, Siuming and Rose Winkel Press, 1997).
56. The *dan* character in Peking Opera might be less a culturally determined phenomenon than the result of a specific policy of the puritan Qing government, which banned all public appearances by females. Joshua Goldstein's discussion of Mei Lanfang is a good example to look at the political implications of men's playing *dan* characters in Peking Opera (Joshua Goldstein, "Mei Lanfang and the Nationalization of Peking Opera, 1912–1930," *positions: east asia cultures critique* 7.2 [1999]: 377–420).
57. Kam Louie and Edwards Louise, "Chinese Masculinity: Theorizing Wen and Wu," *East Asian History* 8 (1994): 135–48; see also Susan Brownell and Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, "Introduction" of *Chinese Femininities/Chinese Masculinities: A Reader* (London: University of California Press, 2002), 1–46.
58. Lam, (1993); Lenuta Giukin, "Boy-Girls: Gender, Body, and Popular Culture in Hong Kong Action Movies," in Murray Pomerance, ed., *Ladies and Gentleman, Boys and Girls: Gender in Film at the End of the Twentieth Century* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2001).
59. Kong, 2004.
60. See Helen Chan's discussion of the same movie in this collection.
61. Stanley Kwan, *Yang ± Yin: Gender in Chinese Cinema*. (Video Format) (London: Connoisseur Video, 1995).
62. Kong, 2004.
63. The *Butterfly Lovers* (Liangshanbo yu Zhuyingtai) is a famous Chinese legend of two lovers, Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai. Liang was a boy who had been sent away to school. Disguised as a boy, Zhu went to school as well. They met at school, became good friends and lived together for three years. During this time, Liang never knew that Zhu was a girl, although she tried many times to reveal her true identity. Zhu was later sent back to her family and forced to marry a rich neighbour. When Liang discovered that Zhu was a girl and in love with him, he fell sick and died of sorrow. On her wedding day, when Zhu was taken in a bridal chair to the house of her future husband, she passed the grave of Liang. She descended in bitter despair and begged the grave to open up. There was a clap of thunder, the tomb opened and Zhu leapt in. They then became two butterflies and flew away, which symbolized the union of their long-awaited love.

The story has been played many times in operas, TV, films and plays, and the music has become one of the most famous pieces in classical Chinese music. But the story could be read from a queer perspective. For example, Lam, (1993); Lam, *The Male Boundary* (Chinese Edition) (Hong Kong: Big Camp, 1994). The fact that Liang had not realized that Zhu was a girl is quite unbelievable if they had been living together for three years. It is more difficult to believe that Liang actually knew that Zhu was a girl

but was such a gentleman who strictly followed Confucian teachings that he refrained from engaging in any “acts” of intimacy. It is thus more believable that Liang was a closet gay and thus did not want to admit that Zhu was a girl.

64. Butler, 1990.
65. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, “Gosh, Boy George, You Must Be Awfully Secure in Your Masculinity,” in Maurice Berger, Brian Wallis and Simon Watson, eds., *Constructing Masculinity*, (London: Routledge, 1995), 12.
66. Sedgwick, (1995), 16.
67. Many films use the same logic but focus on “women to women” relationships: *Intimate Confessions of a Chinese Courtesan* (Ainu) (dir. Chor Yuen, 1972); *An Amorous Woman of the Tang Dynasty* (Tangdai haofangnü) (dir. Fong Ling-Ching, 1984); *Twin Bracelets* (Shuangzhuo) (dir. Wong Yuk-Saan, 1991); *Intimates* (Zishu) (dir. Cheung Chi-Leung, 1997); *Portland Street Blues* (Hongxing shisan mei) (dir. Raymond Yip, 1998); *Peony Pavilion* (Youyuan jingmeng) (dir. Yonfan, 2001).
68. Butler, 1990.
69. David Forrest, “We’re Here, We’re Queer, and We’re Not Going Shopping: Changing Gay Male Identities in Contemporary Britain,” in Cornwall and Lindisfarne, (1994), 97–110; Segal, (1990); Sedgwick, (1989), (1990).
70. Jachinson W. Chan, “Bruce Lee’s Fictional Models of Masculinity,” *Men and Masculinities* 2.4 (2000): 371–87.
71. Chan (2000), 376, brackets added.
72. Kwan, 1995.
73. Julian Stringer, “Your Tender Smiles Give Me Strength: Paradigms of Masculinity in John Woo’s *A Better Tomorrow* and *The Killer*,” *Screen* 38.1 (1997): 25–41.
74. Jillian Sandell, “Reinventing Masculinity: The Spectacle of Male Intimacy in the Films of John Woo,” *Film Quarterly* 49.4 (Summer, 1996): 23–34.
75. Kong, 2002; Chris Berry, “Sexual DisOrientations: Homosexual Rights, East Asian Films, and Postmodern Postnationalism,” in Xiaobing Tang and Stephen Snyder, eds., *In Pursuit of Contemporary East Asian Culture* (Colorado, US: Westview Press, 1996): 157–82.
76. Stephen Whittle, ed., *The Margins of the City: Gay Men’s Urban Lives* (Aldershot: Arena, 1994); Plummer, 1999.
77. William L. Leap, ed., *Public Sex/Gay Space* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); David Woodhead “‘Surveillant Gays’: HIV, Space and the Constitution of Identities,” in David Bell and Gill Valentine, eds., *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexualities* (London: Routledge, 1995): 231–44.
78. Emig Rainer, (2000), 223.
79. Kong, 2002; c.f. Connell, 1995.
80. Doty, *Making Things Perfectly Queer: Interpreting Mass Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), xvii.

CHAPTER 4

Earlier drafts of this article were presented during 2002 at Inside Out: The 12th Toronto Gay and Lesbian Film and Video Festival, the “Intersecting Asian Sexualities” conference at the University of British Columbia, and the “Queer Visualities” conference at SUNY-Stony Brook. I have benefited enormously from the thoughtful responses to my work at these events. I am also grateful to Kam Wai-kui, whose rich experience in transgender activism and continual love of Hong Kong cinema have illuminated endless conversations that ultimately shaped many of my best ideas.

1. Susan Stryker, “The Transgender Issue: An Introduction,” *GLQ* 4.2 (1998): 149.
2. In addition to the works cited in the article, the growing scholarship that is defining the emergent field of transgender theory includes, among others, the works of Kate Bornstein, Jacob Hale, Kate More, and Riki Wichins. See Susan Stryker and Stephen Whittle, ed., *The Transgender Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2003) for a comprehensive review.
3. One of the earliest critiques of transphobia in feminism is Sandy Stone’s now classic rebuttal to Janice Raymond in “The Empire Strikes Back: A Posttranssexual Manifesto,” revised 1993 version, <http://www.sandystone.com/empire-strikes-back>. See also Pat Califia, *Sex Changes: The Politics of Transgenderism* (San Francisco: Cleis, 1997), 86–119.
4. For an account of gay studies’ relation to transgender theory, see Califia, 120–62. For works that intersect lesbian gender practices and transgender theory, see Minnie Bruce Pratt, *S/he* (New York: Firebrand, 1995) and Joan Nestle, *A Fragile Union* (San Francisco: Cleis, 1998). For the intersection between transgender theory and bisexuality, see Claire Hemmings, *Bisexual Spaces: A Geography of Sexuality and Gender* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 99–144.
5. In 1997, the Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association (HBIGDA), the professional organization of health specialists in transgender care, elected transgender individuals to sit on its board of directors for the first time. See Stryker, 146.
6. For a description of the aims and activities of the centre, as well as links to recent scholarly works on transgender issues in Asia, visit the centre’s web site at <http://web.hku.hk/~sjwinter/TransgenderASIA/>.
7. Jin Yong (Louis Cha), *Xiao’ao Jianghu* (The smiling, proud wanderer) Vol. 4 (Hong Kong: Minghe she, 1980), 1690. Subsequent references to this text will be given parenthetically after quotations. All translations of Chinese that appears in the chapter is my own.
8. Dongfang Bubai has also been variously translated as “Master Asia” or “Asia the Invincible” in the film’s English subtitles and other English-language publications on the film.
9. For a discussion of this historiographic “use” of the eunuch, see Samshasha

- (Xiaomingxiong), *Zhongguo tongxing'ai shilu* (History of homosexuality in China), revised ed. (Hong Kong: Rosa Winkel Press, 1997), 348–9.
10. For a discussion of the role of the hero-hermit in martial arts fiction, see Chen Pingyuan, *Qianggu wenren xiaokemeng: wuxia xiaoshuo leixing yanjiu* (The literati's chivalric dreams: narrative models of Chinese knight-errant literature) (Taipei: Rye Field Publishing, 1995), 187–228. See, also, Kam Louie's study of the archetypes of masculinity in Chinese culture, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity: Society and Gender in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
 11. I am indebted to one of the anonymous reviewers of the book for pointing out this intriguing relation between feminization and freedom from female sexuality in the martial arts genre.
 12. For an analysis of the relationship between the decriminalization debates and the emergence of gay identity in the 1980s–1990s, see Petula Sik-ying Ho, "Policing Identity: Decriminalisation of Homosexuality and the Emergence of Gay Identity in Hong Kong" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Essex, 1997).
 13. See Stanley Kwan's documentary *Yang ± Yin: Gender in Chinese Cinema (Nansheng Nuxiang)* (1996) for a provocative look at transgressive gender representations throughout Chinese cinema.
 14. The description of the film in the festival catalogue celebrates Dongfang Bubai's "ease with this newly acquired gender identity as a woman." http://www.transgenderfilmfestival.com/2001/_GB/article_swordsman.html.
 15. Jay Prosser, *Second Skins: The Body Narratives of Transsexuality* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 23.
 16. Chou Wah-shan (Zhou Huashan), *Tongzhi lun* (On tongzhi) (Hong Kong: Tongzhi yanjiu she, 1995), 300.
 17. Yau Ching (You Jing), *Lingqi luzao* (Starting another stove) (Hong Kong: Youth Literary Bookstore, 1996), 165.
 18. Ibid., 166.
 19. Chou, *Tongzhi*, 300.
 20. Didier Anzieu, *The Skin Ego: A Psychoanalytic Approach to the Self*, trans. Chris Turner (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). For a discussion of Anzieu's notion of the "self" in the context of the development of psychoanalytic theory, see Barbara Socor, *Conceiving the Self: Presence and Absence in Psychoanalytic Theory* (Madison and Connecticut: International Universities Press, 1997), 253–60.
 21. Prosser, 65.
 22. Ibid., 77.
 23. Ibid.
 24. Ibid., 84.
 25. Updated versions of the Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association Standards of Care for Gender Identity Disorders are available from <http://www.hbgda.org/soc.html/>.

26. For an account of transgender activism that challenges the medical discourse of transsexuality, see Califia, 221–44.
27. Leslie Feinberg, *Stone Butch Blues* (Milford, CT: Firebrand, 1992), 301.
28. See, especially, Leslie Feinberg, *Trans Liberation: Beyond Pink or Blue* (Boston: Beacon, 1998), Kate Bornstein, *My Gender Workbook* (London: Routledge, 1998), and Joan Nestle, Clare Howell, and Riki Wilchins, eds., *Genderqueer: Voices from Beyond the Sexual Binary* (Los Angeles: Alyson, 2002).
29. For a detailed analysis of the *Young and Dangerous* series in relation to the gangster genre in Hong Kong cinema, see Lisa Odham Stokes and Michael Hoover, *City on Fire: Hong Kong Cinema* (London: Verso, 1999), 79–86.
30. Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 142–73.
31. Sek Kei, *Shi Qi yinghua ji* (Collected Reviews of Sek Kei), Vol. 4 (Hong Kong: Subculture, 1999), 39.
32. Shelly Kraucer, email correspondence, 28 May 2002.
33. David Bordwell, *Planet Hong Kong* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 108–9.
34. Jillian Sandell, “A Better Tomorrow: American Masochism and Hong Kong Action Film,” *Bright Lights Film Journal* 13 (1994). Reprinted on http://www.brightlightsfilm.com/31/hk_better1.html/.
35. Mikel J. Koven, “My Brother, My Lover, My Self: Traditional Masculinity in the Hong Kong Action Cinema of John Woo,” *Canadian Folklore* 19.1 (1997): 55–68.
36. *Ibid.*, 56.
37. For a beautifully written account of the homoerotic tradition (*nanfeng*) in pre-modern Chinese literature and culture, see Kang Zhengguo, *Chongshen fengyue jian* (*Aspects of Sexuality and Literature in Ancient China*) (Taipei: Rye Field Publishing, 1996), 109–66.
38. Natalia Chan (Luo Feng), *Shengshi bianyuan* (*City on the Edge of Time*) (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press [China], 2002), 41–2.
39. The Gender/Sexuality Rights Association in Taiwan has created a memorial website for Lin. See <http://www.gsrat.org/>.

CHAPTER 5

1. Hector Rodriguez argues in “Hong Kong Popular Culture as an Interpretive Arena: the Huang Feihong Film Series” that the Huang films of the 1950s are situated at the intersection of “overseas capital,” and search for “ethnic identity” of Cantonese emigrants, and filmmakers’ “self-proclaimed goal of promoting patriotism, social responsibility and a sense of ethnic identity”

- (*Screen* 38.1 [1997]: 2). With some qualification, Rodriguez's commentaries can be applied to explain my and my fellow expatriates' interest in Hong Kong films.
2. What Sheldon Hsiao-peng Lu asserted about Chinese mainland films, particularly Zhang Yimou and Chen Kaige's "art films," is equally valid with respect to King Hu and Ang Lee: " 'transnational' films [are] primarily targeted to non-Mainland audiences and international film festivals and are distributed outside of China" (9) and these films are "funded by foreign capital (Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, Europe), produced by Chinese labor, distributed in a global network, and consumed by an international audience." (Sheldon Lu, "Historical Introduction: Chinese Cinemas [1896–1996] and Transnational Film Studies," in Sheldon Lu, ed., *Transnational Chinese Cinemas: Identity, Nationhood, Gender* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1997), 1–31).
 3. Stefan Hammond makes the same observation that "many of HK's [sic] action heroines like Michelle Yeoh, Cynthia Khan, and Moon Lee were ballet-trained prior to stepping in front of the camera, and many action heroes had Peking opera or acrobatic training" (Stefan Hammond, *Hollywood East: Hong Kong Movies and the People Who Make Them* [Lincolnwood : Contemporary Books, 2000], 78); Lenuta Giukin, in addition, attributes the rise of untrained martial arts performers — Maggie Cheung (Zhang Manyu), Brigitte Lin, Anita Mui — to technology: "Another major feature of the eighties and nineties martial arts movies is the presence of modern techonology — such as cars, motor bikes, explosives, guns, and automatic weapons — which, combine with special effects and fast editing techniques, was at the base of a new modality of making and viewing martial arts films" (Lenuta Giukin, "Boy-Girls: Gender, Body, and Popular Culture in Hong Kong Action Movies," in Murray Pomerance, ed., *Ladies and Gentlemen, Boys and Girls: Gender in Film at the End of the Twentieth Century* [Albany: SUNY Press, 2001], 57).
 4. Evidence even links the assassination with Chiang Ching-kuo's second son. For details, visit <http://www.taiwandc.org/twcom/tc19-int.pdf/>.
 5. David Bordwell, *Planet Hong Kong: Popular Cinema and the Art of Entertainment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 224.
 6. Citing *Swordsman II* (1991) and *The East Is Red* (1992), Lenuta Giukin argues that in the fin de siecle Hong Kong action movies, "the strong masculinization of the heroine often creates a break with the classical representation of feminine passivity in cinema, a transformation that affects her body representation to a degree that questions the received notion of gender" (55). However, Giukin totally ignores the titillating effect of lesbian love. By turning a well-known actress like Brigitte Lin into a male engaged in implied love-making with another actress does not question gender divisions at all. It strengthens the worst of gender divisions, namely, a

pornographic use of gender. More specific to Hu's use of eunuch antagonist, Giukin believes that "the presence of eunuchs, castrated men in the service of the emperor, prepared society for ... another gender: the neutral ... In action films, eunuchs are often evil presences" (Giukin, 66).

7. David Bordwell in "Richness Through Imperfection: King Hu and the Glimpse" maintains that King Hu "stress[es] certain qualities of these feats; their abruptness, their speed, their mystery. And he chooses to do so by treating these feats as only partly visible" (in Poshek Fu and David Desser, eds., *The Cinema of Hong Kong: History, Arts, Identity* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000], 118). To illustrate, Bordwell analyzes Hu's leaping stunts: "Hu gives us only phase 1 or 2 or 3 — launch or leap or landing, or only two of them. ... Hu teases us with mere glimpses of the action" (120). Bordwell terms this "constructive editing."
8. Stefan Hammond comments on the Wong Fei-hong myth as used by Tsui Hark: "A turn-of-the-century hero renowned for his abilities as both a martial artist and a herbalist/physician, Wong [Fei-hong]'s defense of Chinese culture against Western encroachment, while opposing internal political corruption, continues to be seen as an atypical manifestation of Confucian values in a practical, modern setting" (152). Hammond continues to dissect the irony: "A Beijing native [Jet Li] and an American-educated Vietnamese immigrant [Tsui Hark] coming together on a Hong Kong production about a legendary hero [Wong Fei-hong]" (Hammond, 155).
9. Qu Yuan's *Zu Ci*: "*Ju Qing Ming er shu hung xi*" ("Leaning against the sky [for the ultimate realm], I arrange a rainbow"). "*Qing Ming*" signals "the sky" or "the ultimate level one could hope to approach."
10. In *The Sacred Wood* (1920), T. S. Eliot uses "objective correlative" to describe an artistic approach whereby a situation or a set of objective materials is presented to evoke a certain effect.
11. The middle-aged Chow Yun-fat who plays Li is obviously too heavy for such wirework and looks rather clumsy, especially on landing. Another flaw in the digital manipulation comes when a long shot shows Li and Jen flying on top of bamboo before reaching the boulder by a pool of water. They hold their swords in their left hand in the distance, only to reemerge from bamboo with swords in their right hands.
12. Georges Bataille writes in *Death and Sensuality: A Study of Eroticism and the Taboo* (New York: Arno Press, 1977) that the major cause of transgression is the desire to eliminate a felt discontinuity in life. The erotic form of violation, intercourse, eases the sense of isolation in each individual. Sometimes called "little death," love or lust in consummation, due to the magnitude of the act, propels the participants to a state of temporary cessation of life.
13. To Lo (played by the Taiwanese actor/singer Chang Chen), there is no ambiguity. Jen asks him to make a wish and Lo replies: "Bring you back

to Xin Jiang.” As Jen leaps into the ravine, Lo holds back his tears. The homeward longing is shared by any immigrant or exile, one increasingly intensified with the passage of time, since there is no way to return home.

CHAPTER 6

1. Stanley Kwan's *Lan Yu* won best actor and best director; Fruit Chan's *Durian Durian* won best picture and best actress.
2. The Golden Horse had about 17 Taiwan entries and 28 Hong Kong entries in 2002.
3. Consider Peter Chan (Chen Kexin)'s *Comrades: Almost a Love Story* (Tianmimi, 1996) and Ann Hui's *Ordinary Heroes* (Qianyan wanyu, 1998).
4. Ping Lu's 2002 novel, *He-je chiun tsai-lai* (Heri jun zailai) (Whence shall you visit again) (Taipei: INK Publishing), explores Teresa Teng's death through the investigations of a defunct Taiwan secret agent.
5. The film's sculpted figure clearly resembles the statue erected in Tiananmen Square in May 1989, which was modeled after America's Statue of Liberty; the protesting Chinese students at the square named their statue Goddess of Democracy.
6. Sheldon Lu, in his article "Filming Diaspora and Identity: Hong Kong and 1997," Poshek Fu and David Desser, eds., *The Cinema of Hong Kong: History, Arts, Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 273–88, analyzes *Farewell China*, but does not mention "Ssu Hsiang Ch'i." Lu, however, does pay a lot of attention to the Mainland song "My Motherland" (Wo de zuguo) in the same film.
7. See Lan Tsu-wei, *Film Music Composers* (Taipei: Rye Field Publishing Company, 2001): 243–5. Shen Sheng-te, also known as Jim Shum, is presented by Lan Tsu-wei as a music person "from Hong Kong, but who has fallen in love with Taiwan" (238).
8. *Ibid.*, 243–4.
9. Lan Tsu-wei, in his eight-page interview with Shen Sheng-te, adamantly takes three pages to question Shen on his choice of "Ssu Hsiang Ch'i." *Farewell China* took part in Taiwan's Golden Horse Award in 1990, and garnered awards for best actor, editing, and sound (not music); it was also awarded a special jury prize. It is recorded that the award judges heatedly debated *Farewell's* music choice; some thought it to be a stroke of genius, some, a cheap trick (Lan, 51).
10. *A Barthes Reader*, ed. Susan Sontag (New York: Hill & Wang, 1983), 317–33.
11. *Ibid.*, 320.
12. *Ibid.*, 319.
13. *Ibid.*, 320.

14. Even today, when reporting the death of Taiwan's musicologist Hsu Chang-hui, *Taipei Times* (7 September 2001) would cite his discovery of Chen Ta, "the true voice of Taiwan," in 1970 as one of his major cultural contribution. "Ssu Hsiang Ch'i" was made popular when the Cloud Gate dance troupe chose it for their Hsin Chuan dance.
15. Barthes, 331–2.
16. *Ibid.*, 318.
17. Clara Law and Eddie Fong, aside from their continued interest in subjects of migration (Law's first work, *The Other Half and the Other Half* (1988), was a comedy about immigration to Canada), moved to Australia in the 1990s and produced works such as *Floating Life* (1996) and *The Goddess of 1967* (2000) from Down Under.
18. In Hong Kong, the Chinese translation of *Chinese Box* is precisely "Zhongguo he." Although many films have different Chinese titles when released in different Chinese markets, the case of *Chinese Box* is particularly evident in how the political and cultural is linked with the commercial when considering the Taiwan and Hong Kong markets.
19. Articles in *City Entertainment* and 1998 *Xianggang dian ying hui gu* all deride *Chinese Box* as a film that spectacularizes Hong Kong at the time of its handover. However, positive reviews can be found in English publications: in "Chinese Box," *Film Quarterly* 52.1: (Fall 1998) 31–4, Wena Poon finds the film "reflective, timely, encyclopedic" when compared to works such as *Pillow Book* or *Irma Vep*. More recently, *Chinese Box* has become a film text academics find much to write about: three papers analyze Wayne Wang's film in *Before and After Suzie: Hong Kong in Western Film and Literature* (part of the *New Asia Academic Bulletin* Series, No. 18), an anthology based on the essays from a symposium on Western Images of Hong Kong in Film and Literature, held on May 4–5, 2000 at the Chinese University of Hong Kong.
20. See Kristin Hohenadel, "A Human Face for Hong Kong's Identity Crisis," *The New York Times* (19 April 1998), 38.
21. *Ibid.*, 29.
22. For readers who have not yet viewed *Chinese Box*, Maggie Cheung's character actually has a facial scar; the history of the intriguing scar is never explained in the film (neither in the theater nor the DVD version released in Taipei). However, one cannot help but infer that her scar might be related to her love and loss of her past colonial lover. In a way, this somewhat parallels the two females in the film — Gong Li as a Chinese woman with a shady past (the character worked as an up-market prostitute when she first arrived in Hong Kong) and Maggie Cheung as the Hong Kong local with a scarred past. I have also been informed that in the 110-minute version of Wayne Wang's film (shown at the 1997 Toronto International Film Festival), Maggie Cheung's scar might have something to do with the

- character's attempt to escape from the clutches of an incestuous father; but she probably gave this explanation to the Jeremy Irons character, the voyeuristic Western journalist, to shock him. Whichever way we might want to speculate, Wayne Wang cleverly keeps the scar unexplained, thereby conferring it more allegorical potential.
23. Dadawa's 1997 album was named "Voices from the Sky." In 2000, she named her concert "Heavenly Music for Sentiment Beings — Dadawa@2001" (yes, it uses "sentiment," not "sentient"). In the musical theater "The Riddler," the part she plays is identified as the Celestial Spirit.
 24. "Chinese Box." http://www.geocities.com/hungry_ghost_2000/box-kit.htm/.
 25. Barthes, 323–4.
 26. Wena Poon identifies *Chinese Box* as a thinking picture, and as a picture with thought-out intelligence, 32.
 27. It is curious how the number three functions so prominently in *Happy Together*. In Chris Doyle's journal about the film's making, he mentions the insistent emergence of the number during filming ("To the End of the World" *Sight and Sound* [May 1997] 16): "There's something ominous about the number three in this film. It comes before 'four', which is homonym for death in Chinese. Outside the 3 Amigos bar/cabaret, bus number 33 is about to stop ... They dance to a song called 'Milonga for Three'. Now Wong is talking about adding a third character to the story ... It's all getting a little too 'mystical' for me, with all these threes ..." Doyle's *Happy Together* shooting diary appears in more extended form as "Don't Try for Me, Argentina" in John Boorman and Walter Donohue, eds., *Projections 8: Film-makers on Film-making* (London: Faber and Faber, 1998).
 28. "News of the Week," *Hong Kong Cinema*, 21 May 1997, Internet edition (<http://egreto.stanford.edu/hk/reports/97may21.html#7/>).
 29. Marc Siegel analyzes the spaces in *Happy Together* in his "The Intimate Spaces of Wong Kar-Wai," in Esther C. M. Yau, ed., *At Full Speed: Hong Kong Cinema in a Borderless World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).
 30. Production material about *Happy Together*, such as Chris Doyle's shooting journal, reveals that the film's story started out with only the two male roles played by Tony Leung Chui-wai and Leslie Cheung. The film's shooting began mid-August in Argentina, Chang Chen and Shirley Kwan (Guan Shuyi) were called to join the picture at around mid-November; according to Doyle, these two actors "idle in their rooms waiting for their roles to materialize while WKW hides in nearby coffee shops hoping for the same" ("Don't Try for Me," 176). Scenes with Shirley Kwan were discarded in the final editing while those with Chang Chen have become integral to this very rare happy-ended Wong Kar-wai film.
 31. In the many existing writings about *Happy Together*, Rey Chow, in her "Nostalgia of the New Wave: Structure in Wong Kar-Wai's *Happy Together*"

- Camera Obscura* 42 (1999): 31–48, observes the Taiwan Chang as a character who provides an alternative kind of relationship for Fai (41). Helen Hok-sze Leung, in her “Queerscapes in Contemporary Hong Kong Cinema” *Positions* 9.2 (Fall 2001): 423–47, goes further and reads Chang as signifying the possibility of reinventing the boundaries of sexual and political identity (439). In “What’s So Queer about *Happy Together*? A.k.a. Queer (N)Asian: Interface, Community, Belonging” *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 1.2 (2000): 251–64, Audrey Yue notes that Chang has become “the emergent third space in the Hong Kong transnational and diasporic imaginary” (261).
32. Chu’s article has been published both in Chinese and English. *Chung-Wai Literary Monthly* 29.10 (March 2001): 6–18; *Post Script* 20.2 & 3 (Summer 2001): 147–58.
 33. Huang Wu-lan, ed., *Dang-tai chung-guo tian-ying, 1995–1997* (Contemporary Chinese Cinema, 1995–1997) (Taipei : Shihpao, 1998), 142.
 34. In her *City Entertainment* (521 [April 1999], 27–9) interview, Ann Hui talks a lot about the actual figure — Li Siu-tung — who inspired the story of *Ordinary Heroes*. Hui specifically stated that she wanted “an outsider” to play the role of Li Siu-tung.
 35. Lee Kang-sheng had a part in TV drama *Boys* (also translated as *The Kid*), directed by Tsai Ming-liang in 1991, before making his film debut in Tsai’s 1992 *Rebels of the Neon God*.
 36. In his 1997 *The River*, Tsai’s probing went as far as examining the taboo of taboos — father-son incest.
 37. I use “Taiwan Lee Kang-sheng” rather than “Taiwanese Lee Kang-sheng” to accommodate the entangled identity-language situation in Taiwan: “Taiwanese” is often still used to refer to people of Fukien descent; my use of “Taiwan” keeps the origins more open.
 38. This song was often sung by the students at Tiananmen Square before June Fourth.

CHAPTER 7

1. Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), where she looks at films and theater in order to trace the many distinctive characteristics of such masculinity without men. However, she is not interested in the “sexy” kind of female masculinity portrayed in mainstream Hollywood movies, those muscular female leads such as Sigourney Weaver in *Aliens* (dir. James Cameron, 1986), Linda Hamilton in *Terminator 2: Judgment Day* (dir. James Cameron, 1991) and Demi Moore in *G. I. Jane* (dir. Ridley Scott, 1997), who are all heterosexual though transgressing gender in various senses especially through their muscular look and manly behavior. What Halberstam argues for is a more threatening

- kind of female masculinity engaging in different types of masculine performance and relating primarily to same-sex desire.
2. I have serious doubts about Halberstam's view that "female masculinity seems to be at its most threatening when coupled with lesbian desire," *Female Masculinity*, 28. To whom is it threatening? To men or feminine women? Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick also argues that male homosexuality is far more threatening than the female version to a male-dominated society. See her *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985). But I have to admit that, for some people, the two kinds of threat co-exist.
 3. The full quotation from Lacan's *Encore* is: "Woman precisely, except that Woman can only be written with a bar through it. There's no such thing as Woman, Woman with a capital W indicating the universal. There's no such thing as Woman because, in her essence — I've already risked using that term, so why should I think twice about using it again? — she is not-whole." See Jacques Lacan, *Encore: The Seminar of Jacques Lacan, Book XX: On Female Sexuality, the Limits of Love and Knowledge 1972–1973*, trans. Bruce Fink (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 72–3.
 4. For a similar argument that masculinity does not exist, see John MacInnes, *The End of Masculinity: The Confusion of Sexual Genesis and Sexual Difference in Modern Society* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1998).
 5. I am of course reiterating here the famous line from George Orwell's *Animal Farm*: "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others."
 6. The concepts of deterritorialization and reterritorialization have played a significant role in the works of Deleuze and Guattari. They see capitalism as a force that decodes and deterritorializes according to its tendency. See *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977).
 7. The term, of course, is taken from Laura Mulvey's classic article, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," originally published in *Screen* 16.3 (1975), reprinted in Bill Nichols, ed., *Movies and Methods*, vol.2 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), 303–15.
 8. Sek Kei, "Achievement and Crisis: Hong Kong Cinema in the 80s," in Law Kar, ed., *Hong Kong Cinema in the Eighties: A Comparative Study With Western Cinema* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1991), 59.
 9. David Bordwell, *Planet Hong Kong: Popular Cinema and the Art of Entertainment* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 153.
 10. See Stefan Hammond and Mike Wilkins, *Sex and Zen & A Bullet in the Head: The Essential Guide to Hong Kong's Mind-Bending Films* (New York: Fireside, 1996), 49.
 11. See Bey Logan, *Hong Kong Action Cinema* (London: Titan Books, 1995), 153.
 12. Detailed depictions of the swordswoman character can be traced back to the fictions and legends of the Tang Dynasty (618–907 AD). One of the earliest

Tang swordswoman characters was Hong Xian (Red Thread), whose previous life was as a male doctor being punished for malpractice: he is reincarnated as a woman. Meanwhile, the first woman warrior on Chinese screens was played by the actress Xuan Jinglin in the silent film *The Nameless Hero* (Wuming yingxiong) (dir. Zhang Shichuan, 1926). See Law Kar, ed., *A Study of the Hong Kong Swordplay Film 1945–1980* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1981). For more discussion on the female subgenre of martial arts film in early Chinese cinema, see Zhang Zhen, “Bodies in the Air: The Magic of Science and the Fate of the Early ‘Martial Arts’ Film in China,” *Post Script: Essays in Film and the Humanities* 20.2 & 3 (2001): 52–5.

13. Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 4.
14. In the action comedy *My Lucky Stars* (1985), directed by Sammo Hung, the orphanage buddies are obsessed with smirking at long-suffering policewoman Sibelle Hu in the scenes that are typically a gang rape joke. In another scene, one of these buddies who does not speak Japanese tries to get a sausage by underhandedly displaying a part of his anatomy to a Japanese waiter, who brings him a plate with a tiny mushroom.
15. For a detailed chronicle of Michelle Yeoh’s filmography from the 1980s to date, see Tony Williams, “Michelle Yeoh: Under Eastern Eyes,” *Asian Cinema* 12.2 (2001): 119–31.
16. Logan, *Hong Kong Action Cinema*, 157.
17. For a brief history of D & B Films, see Chen Qingwei, *Xianggang dianying gongye ji shichang fenxi* (The Structure and Marketing Analysis of the Hong Kong Film Industry), (Hong Kong: Film Biweekly, 2000), 654–60.
18. Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 24.
19. As Morpheus tells Neo in the sci-fi movie *The Matrix* (dir. Andy Wachowski, Larry Wachowski, 1999): “It is the world that has been pulled over your eyes, to blind you from the truth ... that you are a slave, Neo. Like everyone else, you were born into bondage, born into a prison that you cannot smell or taste or touch. A prison for your mind.” The most powerful ideology is one that makes you do something without your being aware of it.
20. Rothrock was initially offered a chance to play the main fighting villain in Jackie Chan’s *Armour of God*. But she made the smart choice by accepting a co-starring role, opposite Yuen Biao, in *Righting Wrongs*.
21. The action sequence of the mahjong parlor scene — in which Rothrock displays great martial arts skills by hand- and foot-cuffing four guys together with only a chair and one pair of cuffs — is so impressive that Bordwell has analyzed it frame by frame to illustrate Hong Kong action cinema’s versatility and inventiveness in cutting. See Bordwell, *Planet Hong Kong*, 238–43.
22. David Desser, “The Martial Arts Film in the 1990s,” in Wheeler Winston Dixon, ed., *Film Genre 2000: New Critical Essays* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 81.

23. There is a parallel development in Hollywood. Desser points out that “[m]ore than any other genre, it has been the martial-arts film, while co-opting an Asian genre and remaking it for white, mainstream cultural needs, that has nevertheless opened up a space for Chinese directors and Asian and Asian American stars,” “The Martial Arts Film in the 1990s,” 108.
24. Tasker, *Spectacular Bodies: Gender, Genre and the Action Cinema* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 24–5.
25. Even in *The Inspector Wears a Skirt* (Baiwang hua), produced by Jackie Chan, a mixed genre of comedy and female-cop action, in which every Chinese policewoman in the film is romantically paired with a cop, Rothrock is left alone. She disappears in the middle of the film, filled with alleged comic relief, and shows up again in time for the final fight scene, and is only given opportunities to show off her kung fu fighting skills in a duet with a Caucasian robber that may be symbolically understood as a virtual coupling act.
26. For further elaboration on the traditional Chinese concepts of chivalry that emphasize the desexualization of the heroes, see James J. Y. Liu, *The Chinese Knight-Errant* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967) and Kam Louie, *Theorizing Chinese Masculinity: Society and Gender in China* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002). It is indeed not difficult to find asexual portrayals of the heroes in Bruce Lee’s (Li Xiaolong) and Jackie Chan’s kung fu movies.

CHAPTER 8

1. Ackbar Abbas, *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 23. Page numbers of citations from this work are henceforth noted parenthetically in the main text.
2. We might trace this distrust back to Plato and Aristotle, but I would probably emphasize the critique of the spectacular by French theorists such as Guy Debord and Michel Foucault. See Martin Jay’s engaging study *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in 20th-Century French Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
3. This perceived maleness requires that we overlook or at least argue around the simple fact that women have frequently played important roles in Hong Kong action films (the heroic bloodshed genre strikes me as somewhat of an exception in this regard). I might simply mention as standout examples Cheng Pei-pei (Zheng Peipei)’s swordplay in *Come Drink with Me* (Da zuixia) (dir. King Hu, 1966) or the derring-do of Maggie Cheung (Zhang Manyu), Michelle Yeoh (Yang Ziqiong) and Anita Mui (Mei Yanfang) in *The Heroic Trio* (Dongfang sanxia) (dir. Johnnie To, 1992).

4. A deeper look into the question of “maleness” in the work of Woo would have to take into account the issue of masochism, the strong presence of which runs counter to the obviously sadistic side of many action films. See the following: Julian Stringer, “‘Your tender smiles give me strength’: Paradigms of Masculinity in John Woo’s *A Better Tomorrow* and *The Killer*,” *Screen* 38.1 (Spring 1997): 25–40; and Anthony Enns, “The Spectacle of Disabled Masculinity in John Woo’s ‘Heroic Bloodshed’ Films,” *Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 17.2 (2000): 137–45.
5. Concerning postcoloniality and the spectral woman (including a reading from Hong Kong cinema), see Bliss Cua Lim’s “Spectral Times: The Ghost Film as Historical Allegory,” *positions: east asia cultures critique* 9.2 (Fall 2001): 287–329.
6. There is some confusion in the secondary material as to whether producer Danny Lee (Li Xiuxian), who also has major role in the film, is to be given partial directorial credit as well. Most sources, however, including Tai Seng, the film’s distributor, simply credit Yau.
7. For readers unfamiliar with the Hong Kong rating system, Category III is similar to the NC-17 designation in the United States or the British X in that sexually explicit content and violence are primary considerations.
8. See Darrel W. Davis and Yeh Yueh-yu, “Warning Category III: The Other Hong Kong Cinema,” *Film Quarterly* 54.4 (Summer 2001): 12–26. This engaging essay will no doubt serve as a prolegomenon to any future study of this aspect of the rating system.
9. See Darrell W. Davis and Yeh Yueh-yu, 20–1.
10. Paul Fonoroff, *At the Hong Kong Movies: 600 Reviews from 1988 Till the Handover* (Hong Kong: Film Biweekly Publishing House, 1998), 299.
11. *Ibid.*, 299.
12. David Bordwell, *Planet Hong Kong: Popular Cinema and the Art of Entertainment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 189–90.
13. On the film’s success in Hong Kong as well as in the overseas market, see Bordwell, 77 and 155.
14. See Daniel Dayan, “The Tutor-Code of Classical Cinema,” *Film Quarterly* 28.1 (Fall 1974): 22–31. On “suture,” see also: Jean-Pierre Oudart, “La Suture,” *Cahiers du Cinéma* 211 (April 1969): 36–9; Jean-Pierre Oudart, “La Suture” (part two), *Cahiers du Cinéma* 212 (May 1969): 50–5; Steven Heath, “Notes on Suture,” *Screen* 18.2 (1977–78): 48–76. The concept and its reception are nicely summed up and explained in Kaja Silverman, *The Subject of Semiotics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 194–236. For a postcolonial take on the concept and its limitations, see Rey Chow, “Film and Cultural Studies,” in John Hill and Pamela Church Gibson, eds., *The Oxford Guide to Film Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998): 169–75. I might add that the concept of “suture” as originally put forward by

Lacanian psychoanalyst Jacques-Alain Miller was not a theory of how the Imaginary is stitched to the Symbolic (as it became in its film-studies reception). Rather, Miller is interested in how lack becomes constitutive of the subject (Frege's set theory and specifically the generation of the series of natural numbers from zero serve as a model). This puts Miller's work somewhat more in line with the theories of identity formation discussed below.

- 15 See Julia Kristeva, "L'abjet d'amour," *Tel Quel* 91 (Spring 1982) 17–32. See also, Julia Kristeva, *Pouvoirs de l'horreur* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1980), 9–39 in particular. One might compare in this regard Darrell Davis and Yeh Yueh-yu's discussion of extreme "objectification" in Category III horror, including *The Untold Story* (Davis and Yeh, 19–20).
- 16 See Jacques Lacan, *Le Séminaire VII L'éthique de la psychanalyse* (Paris: Seuil, 1986), 55–86, passim. Lacan's notion of *das Ding* gets an explanation and political spin in Slavoj Žižek, *For They Know Not What They Do: Enjoyment as a Political Factor* (London: Verso, 1991), 229–77.
- 17 A historical genealogy of such psychoanalytic notions would also include Freud's *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* at the very least — there are many affinities with Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy* and Artaud's "theater of cruelty" as well.
- 18 See Bordwell, 97.
- 19 For a French example, one need go no further than Monléon's grimly theatrical adaptation — severed limbs and heads are revealed onstage by suddenly pulling back curtains — of Seneca's aforementioned work *Thyeste* (1638). Similar works from the German Baroque have gained academic recognition thanks to Walter Benjamin's *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osbourne (London: Verso, 1998).
- 20 Notable commentaries on *Bullet in the Head* include Stephen Teo, *Hong Kong Cinema: The Extra Dimensions* (London: British Film Institute, 1997), 178–9; Kenneth E. Hall, *John Woo: The Films* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 1999), 135–47; Lisa Odham Stokes and Michael Hoover, *City on Fire: Hong Kong Cinema* (London: Verso, 1999), 183–4; and Bordwell, 109–11. See also, my essay "Bullet in the Head: Trauma, Identity, and Violent Spectacle," in Chris Berry, ed., *Chinese Films in Focus: 25 New Takes* (London: British Film Institute, 2003) 23–30.
- 21 See Laikwan Pang, "Death and Hong Kong Cinema," *Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 18.1 (2001) 15–29.
- 22 On the separation of place and space as a fundamental feature of modernity, see Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 17–21.
- 23 See Rey Chow, *Primitive Passions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 176–202.
- 24 I borrow the expression from Clifford Geertz's classic explanation and

- defense of hermeneutic anthropology: "Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 452.
25. Thomas Weisser, *Asian Trash Cinema: The Book* (Miami: ATC/ETC Publications, 1994), 110.
 26. Thomas Weisser, *Asian Trash Cinema: The Book (Part 2)* (Miami: Vital Sounds Inc. and ATC Publications, 1995), 58.
 27. *Ibid.*, 130.
 28. Weisser (1994), 52.
 29. Stefan Hammond and Mike Wilkins, *Sex and Zen & A Bullet in the Head* (New York: Fireside, 1996), 239. The authors also note the galvanizing effect that the success of *The Silence of the Lambs* had on Category III production (v. 227). I should remark that although Hammond and Wilkins are given as the primary authors of this book, much of the writing is done by "contributing writers." Thus, for the entry on *The Untold Story*, the author is Jim Morton. Of the nine additional contributors, eight are men.
 30. *Ibid.*, 237.
 31. Bordwell, "Aesthetics in Action: *Kungfu*, Gunplay, and Cinematic Expressivity," in Esther C. M. Yau ed., *At Full Speed: Hong Kong Cinema in a Borderless World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 73. See Bordwell's similarly appreciative and ambivalent comments on fandom in *Planet Hong Kong*, 82–97.
 32. Specifically, Abbas objects to Hong Kong cinema being labeled "'a cinema of blazing passions,' which was how one popular festival of Hong Kong films was billed in the United States" (16). This disdain for the popular — neither intellectual nor subaltern — might be further looked into. As for the local-versus-foreign issue, Abbas states: "When the Hong Kong cinema is praised (interestingly enough, more often by foreign than by local critics), it is for its action sequences, its slick editing, its mastery of special effects [...] as if the mere downplaying of dialogue, narrative structure, or even intelligence somehow made Hong Kong cinema more immediate, more like 'pure cinema'" (18). Note how this polarizing and charged binary is sneaked in the back door, appearing offhandedly within parentheses.
 33. We are here reminded that when it comes to information theory, analysis of the parasite/host relationship often leads to the discovery of unexpected ambiguities (see Michel Serres, *Le Parasite* [Paris: Éditions Grasset et Fasquette, 1980]), and a discovery shared by deconstruction (J. Hillis Miller, "The Critic as Host," in Gregory S. Jay, ed., *Modern American Critics Since 1955, Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol. 67 [Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1988]: 327–32).
 34. A point nicely made by Jinsoo An in "*The Killer*: Cult Film and Transcultural (Mis)Reading," *At Full Speed*: 95–113. An's intervention makes several interesting gestures in the direction of the breaking apart of traditional

- hermeneutics (the cultural unity of producer, product and consumer), but ultimately falls back on a sort of nativism (q.v. the essay's title).
35. On the ways in which mass media simultaneously engender the notion of "culture" and render it largely irrelevant, see Niklas Luhmann's *The Reality of the Mass Media*, trans. Kathleen Cross (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 85–7.
 36. On the return of the native, see the chapter of Rey Chow's *Writing Diaspora: Tactics of Intervention in Contemporary Cultural Studies*, entitled "Where Have All the Natives Gone?" (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 27–54. See also Chow's more recent analysis of the topic in her *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 95–127.

CHAPTER 9

1. Some interviewees criticized other films and filmmakers. To avoid conflicts and problems that could result from their comments, the names of many informants have been withheld in this chapter.
2. This trend is even more pronounced in Hong Kong.
3. The Chinese titles and names of actors, scriptwriters and directors are given in the corresponding Chinese characters and Mandarin pinyin romanization in the following section. The English names and titles of other persons and movies that appear throughout the text employ the spellings chosen by the individuals involved because Hong Kong-style English names and titles convey specific meanings and cultural symbols.
4. Although some recent international-award-winning artistic films have attracted the attention of academics, they received little popular support in Hong Kong. This makes them of limited use in any coherent cultural analysis of local society. I therefore selected these two comedies, which were popular locally, to develop a cultural analysis of gender in Hong Kong.
5. Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Culture* (NY: Basic Books, 1973), 5.
6. Several filmmakers shared the observation, based on their experiences in East Asia, that although Hong Kong women live in a modern, international city, their sexual attitudes seem to be more traditional than those of women in other Confucian-influenced societies, such as South Korea, Japan, mainland China and Taiwan.
7. Category III refers to X-rated publications and films that are approved for exhibition only to persons in Hong Kong who are at least 18 years of age.
8. Robin Lakoff, *Talking Power: The Politics of Language in Our Lives* (NY: Basic Books, 1990), 203.
9. Nancy Bonvillian, *Language, Culture, and Communication: the Meaning of Messages* (NJ: Prentice Hall, 1993), 145–241.

10. Kingsley Bolton and Christopher Hutton, "Bad Boys and Bad Language: Chou Hau and the Sociolinguistics of Swearwords in Hong Kong Cantonese," in Grant Evans and Maria Tam, eds., *Hong Kong: The Anthropology of a Chinese Metropolis* (Surrey: Curzon, 1997), 304.
11. S. I. Hayakawa, *Language in Thought and Action* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 5th edition, 1990), 191.
12. The survey was conducted by the Psychology Department of the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 2002, and reported by many local newspapers. Please also refer to *Oriental Daily*, 8 June 2002.
13. Stuart Ewen, "Marketing Dreams," in Alan Tomlinson, ed., *Consumption, Identity & Style* (Routledge, 1990), 43.
14. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Penguin Books, 1997).
15. Kwai-cheung Lo, "Muscles and Subjectivity: A Short History of the Masculine Body in Hong Kong Popular Culture," in *Camera Obscura* 39 (September 1996): 106–7.
16. Kenneth Clatterbaugh, *Contemporary Perspectives on: Masculinity* (Westview Press, 1990), 40–5.
17. Ibid.
18. Sean Nixon, "Exhibiting Masculinity," in Stuart Hall, ed., *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (Sage Publications, 1997), 298.
19. Ann Hui also said this to Winnie Chung, a reporter with the *South China Morning Post*, 14 March 2002, 5.
20. David Bordwell, *Planet Hong Kong: Popular Cinema and the Art of entertainment* (Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 2000), 123–4.
21. Walker Percy, *The Message in the Bottle* (NY: Straus & Giroux, 1983), 115.
22. Ackbar Abbas, "The New Hong Kong Cinema and the Deja Disparu," *Discourse* 16.3 (1994): 66.
23. Greg Dancer, "Film Style and Performance: Comedy and Kung Fu from Hong Kong," *Asian Cinema* 10.1 (Fall 1998): 44.
24. I discovered that Michelle Reis had modeled for plastic surgery when she appeared in a Taiwanese TV program during the summer of 2001. I missed the title of the program, which was a show inviting members of the audience to guess who among several women had had plastic surgery.
25. Leonard Quart and Albert Auster, *American Film and Society Since 1945* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984), 2–3.
26. Liesbet van Zooner, *Feminist Media Studies* (Sage Publications, 1994), 8.
27. Please refer to *Oriental Sunday Magazine* [Dongfang xindil, issue 287, 11 June 2003. Maggie Cheung Ho-yee is an actress.

CHAPTER 10

1. Georg Lukacs, *History and Class Consciousness; Studies in Marxist Dialectics*, Translated by Rodney Livingstone, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971), 27.
2. Lo Kwai-cheung, "Double Negations: Hong Kong Cultural Identity in Hollywood's Transnational Representations," *Cultural Studies* 15.3 & 4 (2001): 465.
3. Richard Natale, "Springing to Action; Adopting Hong Kong's Style of Martial Arts Scenes, with Their Ballet-Like Moves, Has Helped Movie Makers Revive a Genre with Less Graphic Violence," *The Los Angeles Times* (8 January 2002).
4. Pierre Bourdieu and Loic Wacquant, "On the Cunning of Imperialist Reason," *Theory, Culture and Society* 16.1 (1999): 41.
5. Ibid.
6. John Beynon, *Masculinities and Culture* (Buckingham; Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2002): 16; Judith Kegan Gardiner, "Introduction," in Judith Kegan Gardiner ed., *Masculinity Studies and Feminist Theory: New Directions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 11.
7. King-kok Cheung, "Art, Spirituality, And the Ethic of Care: Alternative Masculinities in Chinese American Literature," in Judith Kegan Gardiner, ed., *Masculinity Studies and Feminist Theory: New Directions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 263.
8. Gina Marchetti, *Romance and the "Yellow Peril": Race, Sex and Discursive Strategies in Hollywood Fiction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 35.
9. David Bordwell, *Planet Hong Kong: Popular Cinema and the Art of Entertainment* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2000), 98.
10. (Kehr, 2002: 1)
11. Julian Stringer, "'Your Tender Smiles Give Me Strength': Paradigms of Masculinity in John Woo's *A Better Tomorrow* and *The Killer*," *Screen* 38.1 (1997): 32.
12. Ibid., 29.
13. Ibid., 30.
14. Ibid., 32.
15. Robert Hanke, "John Woo's Cinema of Hyperkinetic Violence: From *A Better Tomorrow* to *Face/Off* (Critical Essay)," *Film Criticism* 24.1 (1999): 7.
16. Ibid., 8.
17. Ibid., 9.
18. Ibid.
19. Bordwell, 113.
20. Ibid., 50.
21. Ibid., 55.
22. Paul Ng Chun-ming, "The Image of Overseas Chinese in American Cinema,"

- in Kar Law, ed., *Overseas Chinese Figures in Cinema* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1992), 84.
23. Marchetti, 116.
 24. Lo, 475.
 25. Hugh Hart, "Fall Sneaks; His Career Is No Stunt; Comedy may be his forte, but Jackie Chan is quite serious about which movies he chooses," *The Los Angeles Times* (8 September 2002): 9.
 26. Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), xvi.
 27. *Ibid.*, xviii.
 28. *Ibid.*, xviii–xix.
 29. *Ibid.*, 125.
 30. Theodor W. Adorno, *The Cultural Industry* (London: Routledge, 2002), 99–100.
 31. *Ibid.*, 100.
 32. *Ibid.*, 100–1.
 33. David Held, *Introduction to Critical Theory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press: 1980), 77.
 34. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1 (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 439–636.
 35. David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 124.
 36. Douglas Gomery, *Movie History: A Survey* (Belmont: Wardworth, 1991), 169–81.
 37. Robert Allen and Douglas Gomery, *Film History: Theory and Practice* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1985), 143.
 38. Michael Storper, "The Transition to Flexible Specialization in the US Film Industry: External Economies, the Division of Labour and the Crossing of Industrial Divides," in Ash Amin, ed., *Post-Fordism: A Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 201.
 39. Kristin Thompson and David Bordwell, *Film History: An Introduction* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994), 380.
 40. Storper, 196.
 41. Natale.
 42. *Ibid.*
 43. *Ibid.*
 44. *Ibid.*
 45. Claudia Eller and Lorenza Munoz, "The Plots Thicken in Foreign Markets," *The Los Angeles Times* (6 October 2002), A26.
 46. *Ibid.*
 47. *Ibid.*
 48. See Kenichi Ohmae, *The End of the Nation State: The Rise of Regional Economies* (New York: Free Press, 1995); Jean-Marie Guehenno, *The End of the Nation State* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995);

Walter Wriston, *The Twilight of Sovereignty* (New York: Charles Scribners Press, 1992).

CHAPTER 11

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1. Jachinson W. Chan, "Bruce Lee's Fictional Models of Masculinity," *Men and Masculinities* 2.4 (2000): 371–87; David Desser, "The Kung Fu Craze: Hong Kong Cinema's First American Reception," in Poshek Fu and David Desser, eds., *The Cinema of Hong Kong: History, Arts, Identity*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 19–43; Mark Gallagher, "Masculinity in Translation: Jackie Chan's Transcultural Star Text," *The Velvet Light Trap* 39 (1997): 23–40; Philippa Gates, "The Man's Film: Woo and the Pleasure of Male Melodrama," *Journal of Popular Culture* 35.1 (2001): 59–79; Siu-Leung Li, "Kung Fu: Negotiating Nationalism and Modernity," *Cultural Studies* 15.3 & 4 (2001): 515–42; Kwai-Cheung Lo, "Muscles and Subjectivity: A Short History of the Masculine Body in Hong Kong Popular Culture," *Camera Obscura* 39 (1996): 105–25; Laikwan Pang, "Masculinity in Crisis: Films of Milkyway Image and Post-1997 Hong Kong Cinema," *Feminist Media Studies* 2.3 (Fall 2002), 325–40; Barbara Ryan, "Blood, Brothers, and Hong Kong Gangster Movies: Pop Culture Commentary on 'One China,'" in John A. Lent, ed., *Asian Popular Culture* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995), 61–77; Jillian Sandell, "Reinventing Masculinity: The Spectacle of Male Intimacy in the Films of John Woo," *Film Quarterly* 49.4 (1996): 23–34; Julian Stringer, "'Your Tender Smiles Give Me Strength': Paradigms of Masculinity in John Woo's *A Better Tomorrow* and *The Killer*," *Screen* 38.1 (1997): 25–41.
2. Li, "Kung Fu," 515–42; Lo, "Muscles and Subjectivity," 105–25; Stephen Teo, *Hong Kong Cinema: The Extra Dimension* (London: BFI, 1997), 97–8, 110–22; Stephen Teo, "The True Way of the Dragon: The Films of Bruce Lee," in *Overseas Chinese Figures in Cinema (The 16th Hong Kong International Film Festival)* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1992), 70–80.
3. Teo, *Hong Kong Cinema*, 97–8, 110–22; Teo, "The True Way of the Dragon," 70–80.
4. Lo, "Muscles and Subjectivity," 105–25.
5. Ibid., 106.
6. Sek Kei, "The War between the Cantonese and the Mandarin Cinemas in the Sixties, or How the Beautiful Women Lost to the Action Men," in Law Kar, ed., *The Restless Breed: Cantonese Stars of the Sixties (The 20th Hong Kong International Film Festival)* (Hong Kong: The Urban Council, 1996), 26–33.

7. Linda Chiu-Han Lai, "Film and Enigmatization: Nostalgia, Nonsense, and Remembering," in Esther Yau, ed., *At Full Speed: Hong Kong Cinema in a Borderless World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 231–50.
8. Gallagher, "Masculinity in Translation," 23–40.
9. Gates, "The Man's Film," 59–79; Sandell, "Reinventing Masculinity," 23–34; Stringer, "Your Tender Smiles," 25–41.
10. Sek, "The War between."
11. *Ibid.*, 30.
12. Li, "Kung Fu," 525.
13. Teo, *Hong Kong Cinema*, 110–4.
14. Tony Rayns, "Bruce Lee: Narcissism and Nationalism," in *A Study of the Hong Kong Martial Arts Film, Hong Kong International Film Festival Catalogue* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1980). On this issue, one reviewer kindly shares the information that Stephen Teo's "The True Way of the Dragon" (1992) was partially written to answer Rayns's comments.
15. Teo, *Hong Kong Cinema*, 116.
16. *Ibid.*, 111–2.
17. *Ibid.*, 114.
18. Li, "Kung Fu," 515–42; Lo, "Muscles and Subjectivity," 105–25.
19. David Desser, "Diaspora and National Identity: Exporting 'China' Through the Hong Kong Cinema," *Post Script* 20.2 & 3 (2001): 124–36.
20. Desser, "Diaspora and National Identity," 124.
21. Teo, *Hong Kong Cinema*, 124.
22. Desser, "Diaspora and National Identity," 124–36.
23. Teo, *Hong Kong Cinema*, 122.
24. Desser, "Diaspora and National Identity," 127.
25. *Ibid.*, 134.
26. David Bordwell, *Planet Hong Kong: Popular Cinema and the Art of Entertainment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 46–7.
27. Lo, "Muscles and Subjectivity," 105–25.
28. Li, "Kung Fu," 515–42.
29. *Ibid.*, 528–9.
30. *Ibid.*, 522.
31. Jenny Kwok-wah Lau, "Besides Fists and Blood: Hong Kong Comedy and Its Master of the Eighties," *Cinema Journal* 37.2 (1998): 18–34.
32. Lo, "Muscles and Subjectivity," 105–25.
33. Lau, "Besides Fists and Blood," 26.
34. In the early 1990s there was some local discussion in Chinese on the culture of "nonsense talk" epitomized by Stephen Chow's movies, but it remained brief, sketchy, and impressionistic. Perhaps one exception is that in recent years Chow's movies have aroused some phenomenal discussion among the young intellectuals in China.

- 35 Linda Chiu-han Lai, "Film and Enigmatization Nostalgia, Nonsense, and Remembering," in Esther Yau, ed., *At Full Speed Hong Kong Cinema in a Borderless World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 231–50
- 36 Lai, "Film and Enigmatization," 231–50
- 37 Besides Chow's cinema of nonsense, ritualistic commemoration is also found in nostalgic films
- 38 Lai, "Film and Enigmatization," 232
- 39 Hong Kong Film Critics Society, *Review on Hong Kong Movies (1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999)* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Critics Society), Zhuotao Li (Cheuk-to Li), *Guan Ni Ji* (Hong Kong: Ci Wan Hua Tang, 1993), Zhuotao Li, *Linli Yingxiang Guan — Paozhuang Pian* (Hong Kong: Ci Wan Hua Tang, 1996), Zhuotao Li, *Linli Yingxiang Guan — Jingshui Pian* (Hong Kong: Ci Wan Hua Tang, 2000), Chiu-hing Lee, *Hong Kong Postmodern* (Hong Kong: Compass Corporation Ltd, 2002), Sek Kei, *Shiqi Yinghua Ji* (Hong Kong: Ci Wan Hua Tang, 1999), W. Wang, *Hong Kong Cinema POV* (Taipei: Yang Zhu Wen Hua Shi Ye Gu Fen You Xian Gong Si, 2002), see also website <http://filmcritics.org.hk/>
- 40 Hong Kong Film Critics Society, *Review on Hong Kong Movies (1996)*, 282
- 41 Wang, *Hong Kong Cinema POV*, 364
- 42 Ibid., 365
- 43 Lee, *Hong Kong Postmodern*
- 44 Ibid., 86
- 45 Ibid., 42
- 46 This contrasts quite interestingly with the representation of male homoeroticism in some of the action films, especially those by John Woo
- 47 Stephen Whitehead and Frank Barrett, *The Masculinities Reader* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001)
- 48 Among Western critics there is increasing attention to the question of different forms of masculinity in Hong Kong cinema (Gallagher, "Masculinity in Translation," 23–40, Gates, "The Man's Film," 59–79, Sandell, "Reinventing Masculinity," 23–34). For discussion by a local scholar, see Pang, "Masculinity in Crisis."

CHAPTER 12

- 1 Laura Mulvey, "Visual pleasure and narrative cinema," *Screen*, 16:3 (1975) 6–18. Reprinted in P. Erens, ed., *Issues in Feminist Film Criticism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990), 28–71
- 2 Mary Ann Doane, "Film and masquerade: theorizing the female spectator," *Screen* 23:3–4 (1982). Reprinted in Mary Ann Doane, *Femmes Fatales* (New York & London: Routledge, 1991), 17–32
- 3 Laura Mulvey, "Afterthought on 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' "

- inspired by *Duel in the Sun*,” in Constance Penley, ed., *Feminism and Film Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 69–79.
4. Tania Modleski, *Loving with a Vengeance: Mass Produced Fantasies for Women* (London: Methuen, 1984).
 5. Stuart Hall, “Encoding/Decoding,” in Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe and Paul Willis, eds., *Culture, Media, Language* (London: Hutchinson, 1980), 128–38.
 6. Janet Bergstrom and Mary Ann Doane, “The female spectators: contexts and directions,” *Camera Obscura*, 20–21(1989): 5–27.
 7. See Jackie Stacey’s discussion of different forms of cinema identification in *Star Gazing: Hollywood Cinema and Female Spectatorship* (London & New York: Routledge, 1994), 126–75.
 8. See Stacey, 1994, 176–223, for a discussion of how female spectators related to Hollywood stars through consumption practices in different historical periods.
 9. Ann Gray, “Behind closed doors: video recorders in the home,” in H. Baehr and G. Dyer, eds., *Boxed in: Women and Television* (London: Pandora Press, 1987), 38–54.
 10. Annette Kuhn makes a distinction between a social-audience approach that emphasizes the context of the actual viewing process, and a psychoanalytic approach that is concerned with the ideal spectator provided by a text. See Kuhn’s criticism of the either-or approach in Annette Kuhn, “Women genres,” *Screen* 25.1 (1984):18–28. Reprinted in Graeme Turner, ed., *The Film Cultures Reader* (London & NY: Routledge, 2002), 20–7.
 11. Kuhn, *ibid.*
 12. Elizabeth V. Spelman, *Inessential Woman: Problems of Exclusion in Feminist Thought* (London: Women’s Press, 1990).
 13. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 136.
 14. Constance Penley, *Untitled*, *Camera Obscura* 20–21(1989): 256–60.
 15. Judith Mayne, “Paradoxes of spectatorship,” in Graeme Turner, ed., *The Film Cultures Reader* (London & New York: Routledge, 2002), 28–45.
 16. Janet Staiger, “Reception studies in film and television,” in Graeme Turner, ed., *The Film Cultures Reader* (London & NY: Routledge, 2002), 46–72.
 17. Stephen Teo, “The decade with two faces: Cantonese cinema and the paranoid Sixties,” in *The Restless Breed: Cantonese Stars of the Sixties* (Hong Kong: The Urban Council of Hong Kong, 1996), 18–25.
 18. Sek Kei, “The war between the Cantonese and Mandarin Cinemas in the Sixties, or how the beautiful women lost to the action men,” in The 20th Hong Kong International Film Festival, ed., *The Restless Breed: Cantonese Stars of the Sixties* (Hong Kong: The Urban Council of Hong Kong, 1996), 30–3.
 19. Sam Ho, “Licensed to kick man: the Jane Bond films,” in The 20th Hong

- Kong International Film Festival, ed., *The Restless Breed: Cantonese Stars of the Sixties* (Hong Kong: The Urban Council of Hong Kong, 1996), 34–6.
20. Lisbeth Ku, "Mass-mediated images of women: Connie Chan Po-chu and Josephine Siao Fong-fong as desired cultural images," in *Hong Kong Cultural Studies Bulletin*, 819.8–9 (Spring/Summer 1998): 31–40.
 21. Janet Salaff, *Working Daughters of Hong Kong* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
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 23. Ku, 1998.
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 25. Sek, 1996.
 26. Yvonne Tasker, "Fists of Fury: Discourses of Race and Masculinity in the Martial Arts Cinema," in Harry Stecopoulos and Michael Uebel, eds., *Race and the Subject of Masculinities* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 315–36.
 27. Mark Gallagher, "Masculinity in transition: Jackie Chan's transcultural star text," in *The Velvet Light Trap* 39 (Spring 1997): 23–41.
 28. Lau Siu-kai, *Hongkongese or Chinese: the Problem of Identity on the Eve of Resumption of Chinese Sovereignty over Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1997). Also see Kuan Hsin-chi and Lau Siu-kai, *Political Attitudes in a Changing Context* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1997) for a discussion of the identity of Hong Kong Chinese.
 29. Tasker, 1997.
 30. David Bordwell, *Planet Hong Kong: Popular Cinema and the Art of Entertainment* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 60.
 31. Gallagher, 1997, 29.
 32. Penley, 1989, 256.
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 34. Janice Radway, *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1984).
 35. Ibid., 222.
 36. In the Sino-British Joint Declaration signed by the Chinese and British governments in 1984, it is stated that the socialist system and policies of China shall not be practised in Hong Kong after China resumes her sovereignty in 1997. A committee was formed in 1985 to draft the Basic Law. The Basic Law is a constitutional document that enshrines the concept of "one country, two systems" and that prescribes the various systems to be practised in Hong Kong.
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