

Chris Berry and Mary Farquhar

China on Screen

CINEMA AND NATION



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Introduction: Cinema and the National

JACKIE CHAN'S 1994 global breakthrough film *Rumble in the Bronx* is a dislocating experience in more ways than one. This is not just because of the gravity-defying action, or because Jackie is far from his familiar Hong Kong. Set in New York but shot in Vancouver, the film shows a Rocky Mountain backdrop looming between skyscrapers where suburban flatlands should be. The film also marks a watershed in Chan's efforts to transform himself from Hong Kong star to global superstar and his character from local cop to transnational cop. Funded by a mix of Hong Kong, Canadian, and American companies, *Rumble in the Bronx* is an eminently transnational film. In its North American release version, it cannot even be classified using the currently fashionable term for films from different Chinese places, "Chinese-language film" (*huayu dianying*):¹ not only are the settings and locations far from China but all the dialogue is in English.² Indeed, one fan claims *Rumble in the Bronx* for the United States when he complains that, "From the very start you will realize that this film seems to be trying to set a record for worst dubbing in a supposedly 'American' film."³

While it might seem a stretch to imagine even the North American release version of *Rumble in the Bronx* is an American film, *Rumble in the Bronx* certainly illustrates how futile it can be to try and pin some films down to a single national cinema. However, although *Rumble in the Bronx* demands to be understood as a transnational film, the *national* in the transnational is still vital to any account of its specificity. It says something both about the importance of the American market to Chan and the aspirations of Hong Kong's would-be migrants in the run-up to China's 1997 takeover that Chan's character, Keung, visits the United States (rather than Nigeria or China, for example).

Even though Jackie Chan successfully vaulted to global stardom in the wake of *Rumble in the Bronx*, his cultural and ethnic Chineseness and his

Hong Kong identity remain—not only recognized by fans but also as significant elements that he exploits for the jokes, action, and narratives of his films. In *Rush Hour* (1998), Chan's first commercially successful Hollywood film, his cop persona is again assertively from Hong Kong, as he saves the PRC (People's Republic of China) consul's daughter in Los Angeles from Hong Kong gangsters with the help of a maverick black LAPD sidekick. As will be discussed in chapter 6, *Rush Hour* blends regional, cultural, and political Chinese nationalism. This Hollywood movie proclaims both Hong Kong Chinese and blacks as outsiders, who nevertheless save the day for the great and good: the USA, the PRC, and Hong Kong as well as the consul, the FBI, the LAPD, and even China's archaeological heritage, on display in Los Angeles after being saved from a corrupt, British colonial administrator in league with Hong Kong triads.

This book examines some of the many and complex ways the national shapes and appears in Chinese films. Our core argument is twofold. First, the national informs almost every aspect of the Chinese cinematic image and narrative repertoire. Therefore, Chinese films—whether from China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, the diaspora, or understood as transnational—cannot be understood without reference to the national, and what are now retrospectively recognized as different Chinese cinematic traditions have played a crucial role in shaping and promulgating various depictions of the national and national identity. Second, as the challenge of locating *Rumble in the Bronx* and *Rush Hour* demonstrates, the national in Chinese cinema cannot be studied adequately using the old national cinemas approach, which took the national for granted as something known. Instead, we approach the national as contested and construed in different ways. It therefore needs to be understood within an analytic approach that focuses on cinema and the national as a framework within which to consider a range of questions and issues about the national.

Why is the national so central to Chinese cinemas? Put simply, ideas about the national and the modern territorial nation-state as we know them today arrived along with the warships that forced “free trade” on China in the mid-nineteenth-century opium wars. Both the national and the modern territorial nation-state were part of a Western package called *modernity*, as was cinema, which followed hot on their heels. Like elsewhere, when Chinese grasped the enormity of the imperialist threat they realized that they would have to take from the West in order to resist the West. The nation-state was a key element to be adopted, because this modern form of collective agency was fundamental both to participation as a nation-state in the “international” order established by the imperialists and to mobilizing resistance.⁴

However, as Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto pointedly indicates, scholars are less sure about how to study cinema and the national than they used to be:

"Writing about national cinemas used to be an easy task: film critics believed all they had to do was to construct a linear historical narrative describing a development of a cinema within a particular national boundary whose unity and coherence seemed to be beyond all doubt."⁵ Once, it might have been possible to produce a list of elements composing something called "traditional Chinese culture" or "Chinese national culture," or even some characteristics constituting "Chineseness." Then we could have tried to see how these things were "expressed" or "reflected" in Chinese cinema as a unified and coherent Chinese national identity with corresponding distinctly Chinese cinematic conventions. This would then constitute a "national cinema."

In this era of global capital flows, multiculturalism, increasing migration, and the World Wide Web, it is clear that the national cinemas approach with its premise of distinct and separate national cultures would be fraught anywhere. But in the Chinese case, its difficulty is particularly evident. Today, "China" accommodates a multitude of spoken languages, minority nationalities, former colonies, and religious affiliations. Until 1991, it designated a territory claimed by two state powers: the People's Republic of China with its capital in Beijing and the Republic of China currently based on Taiwan. Even when President Lee Teng-hui of the Republic of China made reforms in 1991 removing the Republic's claim to the territory governed by the mainland, it was still stated that, "the ROC government recognized the fact that two equal political entities exist in two independent areas of one country."⁶ A glance at the Chronology at the back of this book shows that China has been through numerous territorial reconfigurations over the last century-and-a-half, and has spawned a global diaspora.

With these circumstances in mind, how do we need to rethink the cinema's connection to the national and ways of studying it? This introduction attempts to answer this question. On the basis of our exploration of the issues discussed below, we argue for the abandonment of the national cinemas approach and its replacement with a larger analytic framework of cinema and the national. Instead of taking the national for granted as something known and unproblematic—as the older national cinemas model tended to—our larger analytic framework puts the problem of what the national is—how it is constructed, maintained, and challenged—at the center. Within that larger framework, the particular focus of this book is on cinematic texts and national identity. But we hope this book can serve as both an embodiment of our larger argument and a demonstration of the kind of studies that can come out of such a shift.

Although it may sound odd at first, the transnational may be a good place to start the quest to understand what it means to speak of cinema and the national as an analytic framework. As if taking a lead from Mitsuhiro

Yoshimoto's critique, Sheldon Hsiao-Peng Lu begins his introduction to *Transnational Chinese Cinemas* by characterizing the anthology as "a collective rethinking of the national/transnational interface in Chinese film history and in film studies."⁷ He goes on to trace how the cinema in China has developed within a transnational context. As in most of the world, it arrived in the late nineteenth century as a foreign thing. When Chinese began making films, they were heavily conscious that the Chinese market was dominated by foreign film, and increasingly they saw the cinema as an important tool for promoting patriotic resistance to Western and Japanese domination of China. Following the establishment of the People's Republic, most foreign film was excluded and an effort was made to "sinicize" the cinema. Meanwhile, the cinemas of Taiwan and Hong Kong came to depend on diasporic Chinese audiences. Most recently, Chinese cinemas have participated in the forces of globalization through coproductions and the work of *émigrés* in Hollywood. With this history in mind, Lu concludes, "The study of *national* cinemas must then transform into *transnational* film studies."⁸

This is a very suggestive insight. The essays in Lu's anthology focus on the transnational dimension of transnational film studies. But to use this insight as a way into our project, we need to ask where the national is in transnational Chinese cinemas and in transnational film studies. This question can be addressed by spinning a number of questions out of Lu's comment.

What does "transnational" mean and what is at stake in placing the study of Chinese cinema and the national within a transnational framework?

The term *transnational* is usually used loosely to refer to phenomena that exceed the boundaries of any single national territory. However, there is a tension around the term, which stems from its relation to the idea of "globalization." In many uses, "transnationalism is a process of global consolidation" and transnational phenomena are understood simply as products of the globalizing process.⁹ For example, while the multinational corporation is headquartered in one country and operates in many, "a truly transnational corporation . . . is adrift and mobile, ready to settle anywhere and exploit any state including its own, as long as the affiliation serves its own interest."¹⁰

In contrast, other writers use "transnational" to oppose the rhetoric of universality and homogenization implied in the term *globalization*. For them, the "transnational" is more grounded. It suggests that phenomena exceeding the national also need to be specified in terms of the particular places and times in which they operate, the particular people they affect, and the particular ways they are constituted and maintained.¹¹

The focus on China in Chinese film studies precludes assumptions about global universality (although certainly not the impact of capitalist “globalization”). However, the issue of homogeneity versus specificity remains crucial to the question of how we might understand the transnational in “transnational Chinese cinemas.” One possibility is that the territorial nation-state and national cinema as sites of Chineseness are being eclipsed by a higher level of unity and coherence, namely a Chinese cultural order that is transnational. This would be the kind of culturalism that supports Western discourses ranging from Orientalism (as critiqued by Edward Said) and Samuel Huntington’s “clash of civilizations” to Chinese discourses on Greater China (*Da Zhonghua*) and Tu Weiming’s “Cultural China.”¹²

The alternative is that the transnational is understood not as a higher order, but as a larger arena connecting differences, so that a variety of regional, national, and local specificities impact upon each other in various types of relationships ranging from synergy to contest. The emphasis in this case is not on dissolving the distinctions between different Chinese cinemas into a larger cultural unity. Instead, it would be on understanding Chinese culture as an open, multiple, contested, and dynamic formation that the cinema participates in. Key to understanding these two different trajectories for the deployment of the “transnational” is the question of what the “national” in the word *transnational* means. This leads to a second question.

What does the “national” mean?

Understandings of Chinese transnationality as a higher level of coherence above the nation-state reinstate the modern nation under a different name. Whether Chinese or Western in origin and whether praising or critical, they simply deploy culture or ethnicity rather than territorial boundaries as the primary criterion defining the nation. The distinction here is between an ethnic nation and a nation-state. Yet both forms retain the idea of the nation as a coherent unity. This coherent unity is also usually assumed in the concept and study of national cinemas. But it is precisely this understanding of the nation that has come under interrogation in English-language academia over the last twenty years or so, and the directions this critique has taken must guide efforts to transform the study of national cinemas into the study of cinema and the national.

The rethinking of the nation and the national in a general sense has produced a very large body of literature. However, three major outcomes are especially relevant to the arguments in this book. First, the nation-state is not universal and transhistorical, but a socially and historically located form of community with origins in post-Enlightenment Europe; there are other ways of conceiving of the nation or similar large communities. Sec-

ond, if this form of community appears fixed, unified, and coherent, then that is an effect that is produced by the suppression of internal difference and blurred boundaries. Third, producing this effect of fixity, coherence, and unity depends upon the establishment and recitation of stories and images—the nation exists to some extent because it is narrated.

Before elaborating on these points, the implications of these outcomes must be briefly considered. For those committed to the nation, the idea that the nation is constructed can seem to be an attack on its very existence. And for those opposed to the nation, this can seem to presage its imminent demise. Yet if the metaphor of construction implies potential demolition, it also suggests that new nations can be built and existing nations renovated. In other words, how this more recent discourse on the nation gets used is not immanent to that discourse, but dependent upon social and institutional power relations.

One reason for the frequent assumption that recent thought constitutes an attack on the nation is the title that looms over this entire field: *Imagined Communities* by Benedict Anderson.¹³ In a recent survey of writing on national cinemas, Michael Walsh finds that “of all the theorists of nationalism in the fields of history and political science, Anderson has been the only writer consistently appropriated by those working on issues of the national in film studies.”¹⁴ However, Anderson does not use “imagined” to mean “imaginary,” but to designate those communities too large for their members to meet face-to-face and which therefore must be imagined by them to exist. He also distinguishes between the modern nation-state as one form of imagined community and others, including the dynastic empire. For example, he points out that empires are defined by central points located where the emperor resides, whereas nation-states are defined by territorial boundaries. Those living in empires are subjects with obligations, whereas those living in nation-states are citizens with rights, and so forth.¹⁵ After Anderson’s watershed intervention, the nation no longer appears universal and transhistorical but as a historically and socially located construction. Indeed, if Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri are right, our transnational era is already a new age of empire.¹⁶

Anderson’s intervention also demands attention to distinctions all too easily collapsed in the thinking that took the nation for granted and long characterized the national cinemas approach. As well as the distinction between an ethnic or cultural nation and a territorial nation-state made above, there is also the question of the concept of a biologically distinct nation. However, although most cultural nations and nation-states retain links to ideas of race, it is difficult to assert that they are one and the same after the notorious example of the Holocaust and Nazi rule in Germany. This then raises the issue of internal divisions and blurred boundaries of nations,

both ethnic and territorial. Although members of nations are (supposedly) constituted as citizens with equal rights and obligations, this individual national identity is complicated by citizens' affiliations to other local and transnational identity formations, including region, class, race, religion, gender, and sexuality, to name but a few. These issues and the questions and problems arising from them are foreclosed upon in a national cinemas approach that takes the national for granted as something fixed and known. But with the shift to a framework of cinema and the national that puts the focus on the national as a problem, they take center stage.

Why does this proliferation of different affiliations for citizens create tensions within the modern nation-state and provoke efforts at containment, when the same situation was commonly accepted in empires? In empires, agency is understood to lie with a deity, an absolute monarch, or a hierarchy of differently empowered subjects. In these circumstances, the various differences among the people in an empire are not so crucial. But the modern nation-state is understood as a collective agency composed of its citizens, whether acting through the ballot box, the dictatorship of the proletariat, or some other mechanism. In these circumstances, loyalties to other collectivities created by diverse identity formations threaten the ability of "the people" to act as an agent, and must be managed either through suppression or careful containment.

However, this is a "catch-22." As Homi Bhabha points out, quite apart from all the other tensions, producing the nation as collective agency in itself leads to a split between the people as objects and as subjects of the discourse that depicts them.¹⁷ So, in addition to the differentiation of nations according to defining criteria such as culture, territory, and race, we also need to distinguish between nation as subject or agency and nation as object. This distinction cannot necessarily be reduced to that between the state (subject) and people (object), as neither of these entities is a stable given, nor is there always a clear line between them.

It is the need to produce and maintain citizenry as a collective national subject in the face of competing and challenging forces that leads Ann Anagnost to write that the nation is "an 'impossible unity' that must be narrated into being in both time and space," and that "the very impossibility of the nation as a unified subject means that this narrating activity is never final."¹⁸ To understand this endless narrating activity in the case of the collective national subject, Judith Butler's work on the individual subject—"me"—may be useful. She argues that the individual subject is not a given but produced and, furthermore, that it is produced through the rhetorical structures of language. Here she notes the Althusserian idea of *interpellation*. Interpellation is the hailing of the subject, where language calls upon us to take up positions that encourage psychological identifica-

tion and social expectations of who we are. An example might be when heterosexual couples repeat the marriage vows read out to them by the celebrant. Butler terms this process “performative”—doing is being. Her particular contribution to the understanding of this performative process is to ground it in history. She notes that each citation of a subject position is part of a chain that links different times and spaces. This causes it to be necessarily different from the previous citation in locally determined ways. Butler’s privileged example is drag as a citation of gender that undermines the citation it repeats. Another clear example would be the way in which some members of the Chinese business and political communities cite Confucianism today. Although the rhetorical form of their citation declares continuity, there must be difference because premodern Confucianism despised commerce.

Butler’s ideas on performativity and citation give us tools for analyzing the paradox of discourses that declare the national subject as fixed and transcendent yet are marked by contradiction, tension, multiple versions, changes over time, and other evidence of contingency and construction.¹⁹ Furthermore, her insight about the impact on the citation of the different times and spaces it occurs in is particularly pertinent to colonial and post-colonial environments. When the European concept of the modern nation-state is imposed onto and/or appropriated into other environments, it is likely to be made sense of through a framework composed of other already circulating concepts of imagined community. For example, Tsung-I Dow has given an account of the impact of the Confucian environment upon Chinese elaborations of the modern nation-state.²⁰

What happens to “national cinemas” in this new conceptual environment?

The rethinking of the nation discussed above has combined with changes in cinema studies to undermine the expressive model of national cinemas. It is no longer possible to assume that the nation is a fixed and known bundle of characteristics reflected directly in film. In cinema studies itself, there is growing awareness of the dependence of nationally based film industries upon export markets, international coproduction practices, and the likelihood that national audiences draw upon foreign films in the process of constructing their own national identity.²¹

In these circumstances, it becomes proper to talk about the reconfiguration of the academic discourse known as “national cinemas” as an analytic framework within which to examine cinema and the national. Just as Anderson’s work grounds the nation as a particular type of imagined community within Europe, national cinemas reappear in this framework as a set of institutional, discursive, and policy projects first promoted by certain

interests in Europe and usually defined against Hollywood. The framework of cinema and the national extends beyond these specific national cinema projects. It also includes the idea of a national cinema industry, which concerns film production within a particular territory and the policies that affect it but might not include participation in the production of a national culture. Other areas include the activities of a national audience within a particular territory, censorship, regulation within a particular territory, and so on. This broadening of work on national cinemas to include the cinema as an economic and social institution shapes Yingjin Zhang's important new chronological history of Chinese national cinema.²²

Unlike Yingjin Zhang's book, many other examples of the institutional approach to national cinemas also abandon analysis of films, their dissemination of images and narratives about the national, and their role in the construction of national identity. There is no question that the challenge to the expressive model of national cinemas has drawn interest away from national imagery and identity. Some writers have even claimed that with the discrediting of national identity as something fixed and transcendent, it would be better to abandon the examination of cinema and national identity, and just speak about common cinematic tropes and patterns as "conventions" within the cinema of certain territorial nations.²³

However, such a move would perform a sort of short circuit that forecloses consideration of what is most crucially at stake in cinematic significations of the national, namely the production of the collective identity and, on its basis, agency. Relying on the rethinking of the national subject as located and narrated into existence outlined in the previous section, this book returns to national identity in the cinema, not as a unified and coherent form that is expressed in the cinema but as multiply constructed and contested. Furthermore, just as preexisting Chinese ideas of community provide a framework through which the imported European nation is made sense of, we are also interested in how the imported discursive techniques of the cinema work with and are worked upon by existing local narrative patterns and tropes, creating cinematic traditions in which Chinese national identities are cited and recited. Each chapter considers a particular aspect of this process.

The scope of the book is wide, both socially and historically. This is necessary to capture the complexity of the national in its various Chinese configurations. Efforts to recast China as a modern nation-state coincide with the century of cinema, making it desirable to range from among the earliest surviving films to the most recent. Two intertwined themes became increasingly clear as we watched film after film. First, there are patterns that appear and reappear in new forms across Chinese-language cinemas over the last century. Martial arts movies are just one example: banned in

mainland China in 1931, they remorphed in Hong Kong and Taiwan from the middle of the twentieth century to be reclaimed by the People's Republic in the 1980s with the ascendancy of Jet Li. Filmmakers and audiences are aware of this heritage. Thus, for example, bamboo forest fight scenes in both Taiwan-American director Ang Lee's *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (2000) and mainland director Zhang Yimou's *House of Flying Daggers* (2004) pay homage to the extraordinary combat scene in the bamboo forest in King Hu's *A Touch of Zen* (1971). Second, the transformations in these patterns that cut across the cinema are linked to different ideas about the national and nationhood that have appeared in different Chinese places at different times. The range of these ideas cannot be grasped by only attending to one Chinese space and cinema, such as the People's Republic or Taiwan or Hong Kong. Therefore, we have attempted to bring films from different Chinese societies and cinemas together in each chapter.

The topics of each chapter emerged in the process of exploring both the Chinese and English-language writings on Chinese cinema, and the films themselves. The most significant and consistent intersections with the national formed the basis for the following seven chapters. In the next chapter, we look at the intersection of cinematic time and the time of the nation. Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the intersection of the national with indigenous and imported cultures to produce distinctive modes of cinema opera and melodramatic realism. Chapters 5 and 6 examine the intersection of gender and the national in the production of modern Chinese femininity and masculinity. Chapter 7 extends that discussion into the intersection of the national and ethnicity in Chinese cinema, and our final chapter returns to the transnational to examine how the national is recast in a globalizing cinematic environment. In order to understand these topics, we have explored recent work in cinema studies, Chinese studies, and other related fields. We begin each chapter with a section that explains the framework of thought that we have developed to approach the topic under consideration.

Chapter 2 examines time in the cinema. Where many have focused on cinematic time as a philosophical concept, our interest is in time and the formation of nation and community. We demonstrate that cinematic time and the national are configured in at least three major ways. Each corresponds to a different perspective on the nation-state and modernity. First, national history films operate from within the logic and vision of the modern nation-state to produce time as linear, progressive, and logical. Often, as in the example of the Opium War films examined, these narratives start from a moment that produces national consciousness in humiliation. Prompted by crises in modernity, a second group of films takes a critical look back at the projects of the modern nation-state. Our primary examples are the post-Cultural Revolution film *Yellow Earth* (1984) in the People's Republic

of China and the post-martial law film *City of Sadness* (1989) in Taiwan. Finally, and possibly most radically, our third group registers a yearning for lost pasts before modernity—and maybe new futures—from within modernity itself. Films like *In the Mood for Love* (2000) engage haunted time, running wormholes in and out of modernity to ruin the linear logic of national progression and mark the persistence of nonmodern formations.

Chapters 3 and 4 turn to Chinese cinematic modes. A *mode* transcends individual films, genres, periods, and territories as the broadest category of resemblance in film practice. We argue that the Chinese cinema exhibits two main modes whose variations must be explained within contexts of different formations of the national: the operatic mode, which began with opera film as a statement of cultural nationalism, and the realist, which was intimately linked to modernity and nation-building.

Chapter 3 explores the operatic mode as the syncretic core running through Chinese cinemas. We call this mode “shadow opera.” It relies on cultural spectacles that link the premodern and the modern in a Chinese cinema of attractions, and appears in a range of genres from opera film to martial arts movies over the last century. These genres are seen as explicitly Chinese, but they vary according to different—and often contested—understandings of Chineseness. The earliest opera films sinicize the foreign art form of the cinema for cultural and commercial purposes, just as the nation-state itself had to be made Chinese in the process of appropriation. Later revolutionary operas, like *The White-haired Girl* (1950) and *Azalea Mountain* (1974), appropriate and transform opera as a national cultural form in the pursuit of a proletarian nation. Shadow opera operates below, within, and beyond the idea of the nation-state. Early Taiwan films, based on a local operatic form called *gezaixi*, were reinterpreted in the 1990s as a nationalist form that projects an independent Taiwan identity. *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* borrows a mythic sense of the Chinese national to originate a new form of transnational and diasporic identity, while *Hero* (2002) borrows the same generic form to promote a vision of the territorial and expanding Chinese nation-state back in the mists of time.

In chapter 4, we argue that Chinese reformers adopted realism as the hegemonic and “official” mode of modernity in the Chinese cinema. Operatic modes were frequently proscribed as “feudal” or dismissed as crassly commercial. Realist modes were considered both contemporary and modern. However, realist modes were almost always qualified by melodramatic conventions that, in their different forms, proffered different views of the national through stories of the family and home. In pre-1949 China, films of divided families, such as *Tomboy* (1936), *Street Angel* (1937), and *Spring in a Small Town* (1948), reflect the deep anxiety about a China divided by migration, war, and politics in conservative, leftist, and politically

nonaligned film. After 1949, Mao Zedong's People's Republic of China on the mainland and Chiang Kai-shek's Republic of China on Taiwan each separately "prescribed" realist modes with melodramatic happy endings for different national purposes: socialist construction and class justice on the mainland and small-scale capitalist construction in Taiwan's countryside. The final section looks at realist aesthetics in films from different Chinese New Waves, including *Father and Son* (1954; 1981) from Hong Kong and *Yellow Earth* from the People's Republic. The happy endings required by national aesthetic codes become social critique through the "unhappy ending." These films rewrite the local and the national outside received linear versions of modernity by reinventing realism and melodrama as a form of nostalgia. Nation, community, and the promises of Chinese modernity all fragment through images of the "emptied out" family home.

Not only culture but also gender is transformed in modernization. Most discussions about gender in the cinema have focused on Hollywood's various ways of communicating heterosexual desire within the modern patriarchy of North America. However, in chapter 5 we argue here that dominant images of Chinese women in the cinema can be understood better in relation to different configurations of modernity and the nation-state. To understand this, we develop a framework showing that debates about how a modern Chinese woman should act in life appear in the cinema as images showing how she should look. We examine three senses of the look—the look of the camera upon the woman, the woman's subjective look, and her appearance or how she looks before others. Ruan Lingyu, Xie Fang, Gong Li, and Maggie Cheung's star images are manifested in these different senses of the look. They respectively embody the contestation of Confucianism and values appropriated from the West in the effort to produce China as a modern nation-state in the 1930s; the political passion of the Communist heroine who represents the proletarian nation in the People's Republic; the libidinal woman who represents the desiring subject of the "marketized" post-Mao People's Republic; and the cosmopolitan woman who signifies the "world city" of Hong Kong.

In chapter 6 on masculinity and ordering the nation, we examine how men should act. We argue that Confucian legal codes that privileged masculinity in governing the nation and the family are reinvented across Chinese cinemas as a moral measure of masculinity, honor, and leadership in modern times. These codes—filiality, brotherhood, and loyalty—are ethno-symbolic myths that link contemporary struggles over masculine identity with various constructions of the colonial and the national in Hong Kong and China, respectively. Other chapters look at Taiwan cinema. We suggest that Jackie Chan's early films, such as *Drunken Master II* (1993), are about the liminal state of adolescence that mirrors the liminal status of Hong

Kong as a colony that constantly reasserts its right to semiautonomous identity; that John Woo's film on Hong Kong brotherhood amongst gangsters and cops, *The Killer* (1989), depicts a vanishing world of honor within a violent and lawless society caught between paternal systems in London and Beijing; and that Zhang Yimou's ambivalent attitudes to patriarchy and the state in his early and mid-career films are revisited as mandatory loyalty to the ruler who, as we said, promises unification of the territorial nation-state in *Hero*.

The circulation of signs of ethnicity in the cinema is examined in chapter 7. However, here we go beyond the dominant understanding of ethnicity and nationality as the drawing of a line between national self and foreign other. Instead, we demonstrate some less noticed but equally important configurations of ethnicity and nationality. First, in films like Ang Lee's *The Wedding Banquet* (1993), the line is drawn around the good foreigner to accommodate him within the Chinese family. We argue this is a modern transformation of a pattern that can be traced back to practices like the imperial tribute system. A second pattern appears in the People's Republic after 1949. Faced with the tension between the Chinese ethnic and territorial nation embodied by the minority nationalities, films tried to stabilize the situation by depicting minorities as "little brothers" to the Han Chinese "big brother." Finally, a third pattern consists of lines drawn between different Chinese groupings. We examine how these intra-Chinese distinctions appear in films made in Taiwan and Hong Kong following the influx of refugees after the establishment of the People's Republic.

Our final chapter returns to the transnational. If the national is to be thought of now as part of transnational film studies, it seems fitting to close the book by examining how the national and the transnational interact. The focus on the transnational in Chinese cinema so far has been a celebration of export success as a kind of resistance to the forced opening up of China in the opium wars. We acknowledge these successes, but ask what price has been paid for them by examining three instances: Bruce Lee's recasting of Chinese masculinity by borrowing from Hollywood, the appropriation of the blockbuster concept to counter the threat posed by Hollywood imports today, and the use of the transnational cinema market to support the revival of Singapore's film industry.

What does it mean to think about "transnational film studies" as an academic field?

Finally, Sheldon Lu's remark suggests that not only Chinese cinema but the field of film studies itself is now to be understood as transnational. Yingjin Zhang has trenchantly criticized Chinese film studies in English and its frequent complicity with orientalism.²⁴ Therefore, in this final section of

the introduction, we must address the position of this book within that transnational field and also our position as researchers and authors.

It is noteworthy that Lu's conclusion is phrased as a general remark. He does not say that the study of *Chinese* national cinemas needs to be transformed into transnational *Chinese* film studies, but simply that the study of national cinemas needs to be transformed into transnational film studies. Although Lu himself does not explicitly make the claim, this implies that Chinese cinemas can stand as exemplary sites in the study of cinema and the national.

This is an important point. For, as Rey Chow has noted, "while [authors dealing with Western cultures] are thought to deal with intellectual or theoretical issues, [authors dealing with non-Western cultures,] even when they are dealing with intellectual or theoretical issues, are compulsorily required to characterize ... their intellectual and theoretical issues by way of a national, ethnic or cultural location. Once such a location is named, however, the work associated with it is usually considered too narrow or specialized to warrant general interest."²⁵

So long as the expressive model of national cinemas reigned, privileged locations for their study were places that troubled the assumed unity and coherence of the nation the least. For the most part, these were the European nation-states and Japan. As Yeh Yueh-Yu has pointed out, while this national cinema paradigm was dominant, the difficulty of fitting Hong Kong and Taiwan cinemas into it contributed to their neglect in English-language academia and helped people to write about mainland cinema as Chinese "national cinema" in a seemingly unproblematic way.²⁶ The recent attention to the transnational has reversed the bias in the other direction, with the Maoist period of national isolation and socialism-in-one-country suffering from relative neglect today.

Within the framework of cinema and the national, the national appears as multiple and constructed. Therefore, places that have the most evidently complex relation to the national are likely to emerge as privileged sites of analysis now. Many people would agree that few places have a more complex relation to the national than the combination constituted by the People's Republic, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the Chinese diaspora. Therefore, Chinese cinemas can emerge as key sites in the intellectual shift to cinema and the national, and also be part of the urgently needed attack on Eurocentrism in English-language film studies as that field also becomes transnational.

For if "English-language film studies" really exists, it certainly does not exist as a world unto itself. The rapid increase in the international circulation of scholars studying Chinese cinema in various academic disciplines over the last few years stands as evidence for the emergence of transna-

tional film studies as a field. What are the implications of this? In this introduction we have argued in our discussion of the nation for an understanding of the transnational not as homogenization but as the connection of difference, and of knowledge itself as located rather than universal. In these circumstances, we need to address our readership and our location as scholars.

First, although transnational connection may exist in film studies, language is still a divider. The main readers for this book will be speakers of English and located outside most Chinese societies. In writing the book, we have tried to take their needs into account, supplying background where needed, citing English-language materials wherever possible, and focusing in particular on films which are either known in the English-speaking world or available with English subtitles. However, at the same time and in order to present a fuller picture of the topics we have decided to address, we have included other materials and films wherever necessary.

Even though we have certainly tried to include reference to important films less well known in the West and the writings of Chinese scholars, there is no question that we ourselves are Western scholars. Again, Rey Chow raises an important issue:

It is ... important for us to question the sustained, conspicuous silence in the field of China studies on what it means for certain white scholars to expound so freely on the Chinese tradition, culture, language, history, women and so forth in the postcolonial age.... The theorization of Chineseness, in other words, would be incomplete without a concurrent problematization of whiteness within the broad frameworks of China and Asia studies.²⁷

In making a claim for placing Chinese cinema at the center of an analysis of cinema and the national within the emergent field that Sheldon Lu has proposed as transnational film studies, we hope it is clear that we are moving outside sinological orientalism. By drawing upon the work of Chinese scholars, we are not setting ourselves up as the subjects and China as the object of analysis. Rather, we are invoking an environment of transnational scholarly exchange and discussion around an analytic project that we believe could and should be extended to include the cinemas of other nations, including Western nations. Of course, we do not expect the connection of differences constituted through such a transnational exchange to lead to homogenization or to invalidate our perspective from outside China. However, in this era when some forces in both China and the West seem determined to construct a confrontation between two separate "civilizations," we hope this contribution to the arena of transnational film studies can constitute a step, however small, in the opposite direction. As we move into

a new century when global economics, politics, and war demand new ways of imagining community, we believe that Chinese cinemas, which have always been transnational and challenge conventional understandings of the national in so many ways, will take an ever more central position both in global popular culture and in scholarship around the world.

Notes

1. Introduction: Cinema and the National

1. In the light of the tensions between the People's Republic of China and those favoring Taiwan independence, the term "Chinese-language film" has been used to sidestep the possibility of seeming to endorse or having to oppose the "one China" claims of the People's Republic. However, not all the Chinese films we examine in this book are in Chinese. Therefore, we have continued to use the term *Chinese*, but in a cultural sense that recognizes its different facets and does not imply affiliation to any nation-state on our part.
2. Steve Fore has analyzed Chan's career trajectory and transformation at length in "Jackie Chan and the Cultural Dynamics of Global Entertainment" and "Life Imitates Entertainment: Home and Dislocation in the Films of Jackie Chan."
3. Bob the moo, "Awful dubbing, awful acting but good action."
4. Prasenjit Duara argues that Hegel's remark that the British defeat of China was necessary implies two things: first, only territorial nations can participate in the world system, and second, these territorial nations assumed the freedom to destroy other polities, such as tribal systems and empires. Duara, "The Regime of Authenticity: Timelessness, Gender, and National History in Modern China," 289.
5. Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto, "The Difficulty of Being Radical: The Discipline of Film Studies and the Postcolonial World Order," 338.
6. *Republic of China Yearbook 1991–92*, 141. Thank you to Bruce Jacobs for this citation.
7. Sheldon Hsiao-peng Lu, "Historical Introduction: Chinese Cinemas (1896–1996) and Transnational Film Studies," in Lu, ed., *Transnational Chinese Cinemas: Identity, Nationhood, Gender*, 1.
8. Lu, "Historical Introduction," 25.
9. Mohammed A. Bamyeh, "Transnationalism," 1.
10. Masao Miyoshi, "A Borderless World? From Colonialism to Transnationalism and the Decline of the Nation-State," 86–87.
11. See, for example, Ulf Hannerz, *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*, 6; and Prasenjit Duara, "Transnationalism and the Predicament of Sovereignty: China 1900–1945," 1030.

12. Edward Said, *Orientalism*; Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?"; Stephen Uhalley Jr., "'Greater China': The Contest of a Term"; Tu Wei-ming, "Cultural China: The Periphery as the Center."
13. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*.
14. Michael Walsh, "National Cinema, National Imaginary," p. 6.
15. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 20–28.
16. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire*.
17. Homi K. Bhabha, "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation," in Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration*, 297.
18. Ann Anagnost, *National Past-Times: Narrative, Representation, and Power in Modern China*, 2.
19. Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. On drag, see Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*.
20. Tsung-I Dow, "The Confucian Concept of a Nation and Its Historical Practice."
21. All these factors are mentioned and the third is particularly emphasized in Andrew Higson, "The Concept of National Cinema."
22. Yingjin Zhang, *Chinese National Cinema*. As we accept the importance of this approach but do not follow it here, we believe Zhang's work can be an important complement to our own.
23. Walsh, "National Cinema, National Imaginary."
24. Yingjin Zhang, *Screening China: Critical Interventions, Cinematic Reconfigurations, and the Transnational Imaginary in Contemporary Chinese Cinema*.
25. Rey Chow, "Introduction: On Chineseness as a Theoretical Problem," 4–5.
26. Yeh Yueh-Yu, "Defining Chineseness"; and Yeh Yueh-Yu and Abe Mark Nornes, "Introduction" to *Narrating National Sadness* (1998).
27. Chow, "Introduction: On Chineseness," 9–10. See also Stephanie Donald, "Women Reading Chinese Films: Between Orientalism and Silence."

2. Time and the National: History, Historiology, Haunting

1. Mao dates the end of feudal society and the emergence of semifeudal, semicolonial China to the Opium War of 1840 in *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*.
2. Robert A. Rosenstone, "The Historical Film: Looking at the Past in a Postliterate Age," 54.
3. Andrew H. Plaks, "Towards a Critical Theory of Chinese Narrative," in Plaks, ed., *Chinese Narrative: Critical and Theoretical Essays*, 312.
4. Traditional and modern examples are official historiography in biographical form (*ji-zhuan*), historical biography (*zhuan*), unauthorized or fictional biography (*waizhuan*), tales of marvels (*chuangqi*) and the historical novel (*Shuihuzhuan* or *Water Margin*). Also see Plaks, "Towards a Critical Theory," 318–19. For further analysis of the relationship between fiction and historiography, see Sheldon Hsiao-peng Lu, *From Historicity to Fictionality: The Chinese Poetics of Narrative*.

5. Dai Jinhua, *A handbook of film theory and criticism* (in Chinese), 169.
6. Duara, "The Regime of Authenticity," 289. Partha Chatterjee has traced the same defensive logic in the Indian move from Puranic to nationalist historiography in chapters 4 and 5 of *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*.
7. Maureen Robertson, "Periodization in the Arts and Patterns of Change in Traditional Chinese Literary History," 11.
8. Reinhart Koselleck's *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* argues the same was true of European history before the modern mode came to dominate.
9. Q. Edward Wang, *Inventing China Through History: The May Fourth Approach to Historiography*, 3.
10. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 19, cited in Homi K. Bhabha, "Introduction: Narrating the Nation," in Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration*, 1. This is misquoted in Bhabha, with "nations" appearing as "nation states," but this may be a more precise way of stating the point.
11. Chow, "Introduction: On Chineseness," 4–5.
12. Ann Anagnost, "Making History Speak," in *National Past-times*, 17–44.
13. Chen Da, "A call to national consciousness: on seeing the film, *The Opium War*" (in Chinese), 14. In both quotations, the original Chinese term used for "nation" (*minzu*) specifically designates the national people rather than the nation-state.
14. Sigmund Freud, "Analysis of a Phobia in a Five-Year-Old Boy ('Little Hans')."
 15. Jacques Lacan, "The Mirror Stage as Formative of the Function of the I."
16. Laura Mulvey draws on Freud's *Three Essays on Sexuality* to make the classic statement in film studies of this thesis in "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." For further discussion, see ch. 4 (this volume).
17. Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China*, 4.
18. Cheng Jihua et al., "The 'Orphan Island' film movement and the occupation regime's monopoly over the cinema," in *The history of the development of the Chinese cinema* (in Chinese), vol. 2:117.
19. David Desser, "From the Opium War to the Pacific War: Japanese Propaganda Films of World War II." See also Washitani Hana, "*The Opium War* and the Cinema Wars: A Hollywood in the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere."
20. This scholarship is covered in the latest (and most thoroughly researched) intervention into the debate: Poshek Fu, "The Struggle to Entertain: The Politics of Occupation Cinema, 1941–1945," in *Between Shanghai and Hong Kong: The Politics of Chinese Cinemas*, 93–132.
21. Freda Freiberg, "*China Nights* (Japan, 1940): The Sustaining Romance of Japan at War."
22. Rebecca E. Karl, "The Burdens of History: *Lin Zexu* (1959) and *The Opium War* (1997)," 236.
23. The literature on this topic forms a vast and contested debate, but foundational writings on the how cinematic rhetoric may position spectators includes Jean-Pierre Oudart, "The System of the Suture," and Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema."
24. The standard analysis of the classical cinema's primary features remains David Bordwell, "The Classical Hollywood Style," in David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin

- Thompson, eds., *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960*, 1–84.
25. Ron Suskind, "A Plunge into the Present," 89. The title's consignment of those living outside Western culture to the past repeats the refusal—also typical of this modern and colonial mode—of "coeval" coexistence. See Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. Philip Rosen traces the critique of modern historical thinking and its intimate connection to colonialism to Claude Lévi-Strauss's attack on Jean-Paul Sartre in *The Savage Mind* in *Change Mummified: Cinema, Historicity, Theory*, xiii. For a lively direct account of the cultural and historical specificity of understandings of time, see Anthony Aveni, *Empires of Time: Calendars, Clocks, and Cultures*.
 26. Trinh T. Minh-ha, "Truth and Fact: Story and History," in *Woman, Native, Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism*, 119–21.
 27. Vivian Sobchak, "Introduction: History Happens," in Sobchak, ed., *The Persistence of History: Cinema, Television, and the Modern Event*, 4.
 28. Ann Curthoys and John Docker, "Is History Fiction?"
 29. Plaks, "Towards a Critical Theory," 314.
 30. Lionel Gossman, "History and Literature: Reproduction or Signification," 5, cited in Curthoys and Docker, "Is History Fiction?" 14.
 31. Nicholas B. Dirks, "History as a Sign of the Modern," 25.
 32. Wang, *Inventing China Through History*, 14.
 33. Of course, settler nation-states, such as the United States of America or Australia, must acknowledge their newness. But for them, previously existing monarchies are not the competing polities, but rather those of prior inhabitants.
 34. Johannes Fabian, "Time and Movement in Popular Culture," in *Moments of Freedom: Anthropology and Popular Culture*, 88.
 35. For further discussion of the changes at this time, see Chris Berry, "Market Forces: China's 'Fifth Generation' Faces the Bottom Line," in Berry, ed., *Perspectives on Chinese Cinema*.
 36. Zhang Xudong discusses the films in these terms in *Chinese Modernism in the Era of Reforms*.
 37. Yomi Braester, *Witness Against History: Literature, Film, and Public Discourse in Twentieth-Century China*.
 38. Crucially for the survival of the film, China's conservative censors would be among those least likely to perceive this metaphorical possibility. Furthermore, given that even perceiving such a possibility would breach a fundamental assumption of Chinese revolutionary discourse, it is unlikely that they would admit to perceiving it.
 39. This experience is detailed in Ni Zhen, *Memoirs from the Beijing Film Academy: The Origins of China's Fifth Generation Filmmakers*.
 40. Fifth Generation films are not the only mainland examples of critical historiography. Chris Berry discusses the sharing of memories of postrevolutionary suffering in the films of the late 1970s in *Postsocialist Cinema in Post-Mao China: The Cultural Revolution After the Cultural Revolution*.
 41. Chen Kuan-Hsing discusses other films that recover subaltern memory from both sides of Taiwan's divide between locals and "mainlanders" in "Why is 'Great Reconciliation'?"

- Im/possible? De-Cold War/decolonization, or modernity and its tears." Also in abbreviated form in Chris Berry and Feii Lu, eds., *Island on the Edge: Taiwan New Cinema and After*.
42. The reorientation and democratization of Taiwan since the late 1980s has changed this situation. What was New Park near the Presidential Palace has been renamed Peace Park and is home to a memorial to the victims of the February 28 Incident. See Fran Martin, *Situating Sexualities: Queer Representation in Taiwanese Fiction, Film, and Public Culture*, 74–78.
 43. The reaction is discussed in Robert Chi, "Getting It on Film: Representing and Understanding History in *A City of Sadness*." Chi gives the box office statistics on p. 47. A primary example of the critique of the film available in English is Liao Ping-hui, "Passing and Re-articulation of Identity: Memory, Trauma, and Cinema."
 44. David Bordwell, *Ozu and the Poetics of Cinema*, 120–42.
 45. On Mizoguchi's long takes, see Donald Kirihaara, *Patterns of Time: Mizoguchi and the 1930s*, 125–29.
 46. Abe Mark Nornes and Yeh Yueh-yu, "Behind City of Sadness," 1994.
 47. Nick Browne, "Hou Hsiao-hsien's *Puppetmaster*: The Poetics of Landscape."
 48. Esther C. M. Yau, "Yellow Earth: Western Analysis and a Non-Western Text."
 49. Rey Chow, "Silent Is the Ancient Plain: Music, Filmmaking, and the Concept of Social Change in the New Chinese Cinema," in *Primitive Passions: Visuality, Sexuality, Ethnography, and Contemporary Chinese Cinema*, 79–107.
 50. Françoise Proust, *L'Histoire à Contretemps*.
 51. Benedict Anderson, *The Spectre of Comparisons*. See also Pheng Cheah, *Spectral Modernity: Passages of Freedom from Kant to Postcolonial Literatures of Liberation*.
 52. Kim Soyoun and Chris Berry, "'Suri Suri Masuri': The Magic of the Korean Horror Film: A Conversation," 53.
 53. Bliss Cua Lim, "Spectral Times: The Ghost Film as Historical Allegory," 289, 292.
 54. Ackbar Abbas, *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance*, 39–44; Rey Chow, "A Souvenir of Love," in *Ethics After Idealism: Theory—Culture—Ethnicity—Reading*, 133–48; Audrey Yue, "Preposterous Horror: On *Rouge*, A Chinese Ghost Story, and Nostalgia."
 55. Feii Lu, "Another Cinema: *Darkness and Light*," in Chris Berry and Feii Lu.
 56. Abbas, *Hong Kong*, 24.
 57. Tony Rayns, "The Innovators, 1990–2000: Charisma Express," 36.
 58. Lim, "Spectral Times," 54.
 59. Tony Rayns, "Poet of Time," 12–14.
 60. For an explanation of "step-printing" and "smudge-motion," see Janice Tong, "Chungking Express: Time and Its Dislocation," in Chris Berry, ed., *Chinese Films in Focus: 25 New Takes*, 50.
 61. David Bordwell, *Planet Hong Kong: Popular Cinema and the Art of Entertainment*, 274.
 62. Bordwell, *Planet Hong Kong*, 280.
 63. Two extended examples of allegorical readings of Wong's films are Lisa Odham Stokes and Michael Hoover, *City on Fire: Hong Kong Cinema*, and Curtis Tsui, "Subjective Culture and History: The Ethnographic Cinema of Wong Kar-wai."
 64. Jeremy Tambling, *Wong Kar-wai's "Happy Together"*, 15.

65. Stephen Teo suggests this "restraint" is "ennobling" and "poignant," constituting "a touching reminder of the didactic tradition in Chinese melodrama" ("Wong Kar-wai's *In the Mood for Love*: Like a Ritual in Transfigured Time").
66. Bordwell, *Planet Hong Kong*, 266.
67. Teo, "Wong Kar-wai's *In the Mood for Love*"; Audrey Yue, "In the Mood for Love: Intersections of Hong Kong Modernity," in Berry, ed., *Chinese Films in Focus*.
68. Ewa Mazierska and Laura Rascaroli, "Trapped in the Present: Time in the Films of Wong Kar-wai," 2.
69. Mazierska and Rascaroli, "Trapped in the Present," 4.
70. Tong, "Chungking Express," 49–50.

3. Operatic Modes: Opera Film, Martial Arts, and Cultural Nationalism

1. Wade Major, "Tiger' Time," 31.
2. David Bordwell, for example, comments, "Hong Kong filmmakers, probably drawing from indigenous Chinese traditions of theatre and martial arts, have developed a rhythmic conception of expressive movement." The rhythm is in fact central to the operatic mode across all Chinese cinemas. Bordwell, "Transcultural Spaces: Toward a Poetics of Chinese Film," 13.
3. Luo Yijun, "A preliminary discussion of national style in film" (in Chinese), 268–69.
4. Geremie Barmé, "Persistence de la tradition au 'royaume des ombres,'" 113.
5. Lu Hongshi, "Evaluations of Ren Qingtai and first Chinese films" (in Chinese), 86.
6. Sek Kei, "Thoughts on Chinese Opera and the Cantonese Opera Film," 16.
7. Stephen Teo, *Hong Kong Cinema*, 111. While the statements by both Teo and Sek Kei (note above) refer to Cantonese opera film and Hong Kong martial arts, they apply more generally to the transformation of twentieth-century art and literature, as recognized in Mao Zedong's famous "Talks at the Yan'an [Yenan] Forum on Literature and Art" (1942), for example. For the distinction between cultural and political nationalism, see Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, and John Hutchinson, "Re-interpreting Cultural Nationalism," 392–407.
8. Paul Pickowicz, *Marxist Literary Thought in China: The Influence of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai [Qu Qiubai]*, 99.
9. For example, Teo, *Hong Kong Cinema*. See references to discussions of Hong Kong martial arts films later in this chapter and throughout the other chapters.
10. Tom Gunning, "Early American Cinema," 255.
11. Thomas Elsaesser, "General Introduction," 1.
12. Tom Gunning, "The Cinema of Attractions," 58–59.
13. Li Suyuan and Hu Jubin, *Chinese Silent Film History*, 39.
14. Zhong Dafeng, Zhen Zhang, and Yingjin Zhang, "From *Wenmingxi* [Civilized Play] to *Yingxi* [Shadowplay]," 53; Chen Xihe, "Shadowplay," 192–204. Chen calls for "an archaeological" comparative study of Chinese film aesthetics.
15. Li Suyuan, "About film theories in early China" (in Chinese), 25.
16. Bai Jingshen, "Throw Away the Walking Stick of Drama," 5–9.

17. Li, "About film theories in early China" (in Chinese), 22. Li analyses three categories of terms used to denote early film. One of these, the northern word "electric shadows" (*dianying*), is the term used today.
18. Cheng, *The history of the development of Chinese cinema* (in Chinese), 2:8–9n4.
19. Li, "About film theories in early China" (in Chinese), 22.
20. The films are *Dingjun Mountain*, Beijing (1905), and *Right a Wrong with Earthenware Dish and Stealing a Roasted Duck*, Hong Kong (1909).
21. The first Cantonese film was of Cantonese opera, *White Gold Dragon* (1933), made in Shanghai; it broke all box office records in Hong Kong and Guangdong (Teo, *Hong Kong Cinema*, 40). For a history of Taiwanese-language films, see Oral Cinema History Unit, *The era of Taiwanese-language films* (in Chinese).
22. Luo, "A preliminary discussion" (in Chinese), 273–74.
23. Gunning, "Early American Cinema," 263.
24. Verina Glaessner, *Kung fu: Cinema of Vengeance*, 7–14.
25. Lu, "Evaluations" (in Chinese), 86.
26. Ibid., and Barmé, "Persistance de la tradition au 'royaume des ombres,'" 114.
27. Hu Ke, "Hong Kong Cinema in the Chinese Mainland (1949–1979)," 16.
28. Teo, *Hong Kong Cinema*, 77–78.
29. Rick Lyman, "Watching Movies with Ang Lee."
30. Lin Nien-tung, "Some Problems in the Study of Cantonese Films of the 1950s," 32.
31. Sek Kei, "Li Hanxiang," 93.
32. Wu Hao, "The Legend and Films of Huang Fei-hong," 101. See also Hector Rodriguez, "Hong Kong Popular Culture as an Interpretative Arena: The Huang Feihong Film Series," 6. For a Peking opera–Hong Kong martial arts family tree, see Bey Logan, *Hong Kong Action Cinema*, 11.
33. Stephen Teo, "Only the Valiant: King Hu and His Cinema Opera," 19–24. See also Mary Farquhar, "A Touch of Zen: Action in Martial Arts Movies," 167–74.
34. Yamada Hirokazu and Koyo Udagawa, "King Hu's Last Interview," 75."
35. The PRC government supported this genre in the 1950s and 1960s. See Yingjin Zhang and Zhiwei Xiao, *Encyclopaedia of Chinese Film*, 167.
36. For example, *Sing-Song Girl Red Peony* (1931) and *Two Stage Sisters* (1964).
37. See Ben Xu, "Farewell My Concubine and Its Nativist Critics," 155–70.
38. Elsaesser, "General Introduction," 4.
39. Lu, "Evaluations" (in Chinese), 82. Lu corrects many factual errors, including miscalling him "Ren Fengtai."
40. Ibid., 83.
41. Charles Musser, "The Nickelodeon Era Begins," 257.
42. Lu Hsun, *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction*, 320.
43. Colin Mackerras, *Chinese Drama*, 71.
44. For information on these films, see Li and Hu, *Chinese Silent Film History*, 18–19, and the Chinese original, *Zhongguo wusheng dianying shi*, 15–16.
45. Mackerras, *Chinese Drama*, 67.
46. Wu Zuguang, Huang Zuolin, and Mei Shaowu, *Peking Opera and Mei Lanfang*, 8–9.
47. Hong Shi, "The first film tide—On Chinese commercial movies in the period of silent film" (in Chinese), 6.

48. Mackerras, *Chinese Drama*, 71.
49. Lu, "Evaluations" (in Chinese), 83.
50. Huang Zuolin, "Mei Lanfang, Stanislavsky, Brecht," 114. See also Gina Marchetti, "Two Stage Sisters," 103, for a discussion of Brecht and Chinese opera, especially Brecht's understanding of Chinese opera as "alienating" and the actors' "awareness of being watched," core features of a cinema of attractions.
51. Li and Hu, *Chinese Silent Film History*, 18.
52. For more discussion see Li and Hu, *Chinese Silent Film History*, 245–49, and Zhang Zhen, "Bodies in the Air: Magic of Science and the Fate of the Early 'Martial Arts' Film in China," 43–60.
53. Chen, "Shadowplay," 196–97.
54. Qu cited in Pickowicz, *Marxist Literary Thought in China*, 109, 163–64, 175. The title of this section, a proletarian cinema of attractions, is adapted from Qu Qiubai's call for a "proletarian May Fourth."
55. Mao, "Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," 82.
56. David Holm, *Art and Ideology in Revolutionary China*, 312–13, 332.
57. Zhang Gang, "Reminiscences of the drama movement in 'Luyi' before and after the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art" (in Chinese), 11, cited in Holm, *Art and Ideology in Revolutionary China*, 322.
58. Zhang, "Reminiscences of the drama movement" (in Chinese), 11–12, cited in Holm, *Art and Ideology in Revolutionary China*, 322.
59. James Belden, *China Shakes the World*, 210–11, quoted in Lois Wheeler Snow, *China on Stage: An American Actress in the People's Republic*, 202.
60. Chinese Filmmakers Association, *A discussion of Chinese minority films* (in Chinese), 177.
61. Lee Haiyan, "On *The White-haired Girl*: class and sexual politics in the national narrative" (in Chinese), 110–18.
62. Zhou Weizhi, "On the film *The White-haired Girl*" (in Chinese), 18.
63. Ibid., 15. Note that black-and-white characterization is a feature of a cinema of attractions. See Gunning, "The Cinema of Attractions," 59.
64. Zhai Jiannong, "Ups and downs of new model opera films" (in Chinese), 40.
65. *Peking Review* 17.4 (January 25, 1974): 12, quoted in Colin Mackerras, *The Chinese Theatre in Modern Times*, 209–210. See also Lowell Dittmer, "Radical Ideology and Chinese Political Culture," 126–51.
66. See Shao Zhou, "Sun Yu and the film *The Life of Wu Xun*" (in Chinese), 96.
67. Richard Curt Kraus, *Pianos and Politics in China: Middle-Class Ambitions and the Struggle Over Western Music*, 133–39.
68. Zhai, "Ups and downs of new model opera films" (in Chinese), 41.
69. Barmé, "Persistance de la tradition au 'royaume des ombres,'" 119–20.
70. Dai Jinhua, "Xia Yan's *Problems of Screenwriting*," 75–84.
71. Dai, "Xia Yan's *Problems of Screenwriting*," 81.
72. Ibid., 80.
73. Bordwell, *Planet Hong Kong*, 163–64.
74. Barmé, comments to Farquhar (July 2000).
75. Luo, "A preliminary discussion" (in Chinese), 268–69.

76. Craig S. Smith, "Hero Soars and Its Director Thanks *Crouching Tiger*."
77. Ang Lee, "Foreword," in Linda Sunshine, ed., *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon: A Portrait of the Ang Lee Film*, 7.
78. Huang Ren, *Lamenting Taiwanese-language films* (in Chinese), 23.
79. Zeng Yongyi, *Development and changes in Taiwan's gezaixi* (in Chinese), 51–53.
80. Ye Longyan, *Spring flowers and dreams of dew*, in Huang, *Lamenting Taiwanese-language films* (in Chinese), 68.
81. Li Xiangxiu, *The Lost Kingdom—the Gongle Opera Troupe*.
82. Ye, *Spring flowers and dreams of dew*, 68, in Huang, *Lamenting Taiwanese-language films* (in Chinese), 231.
83. Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film*, 24.
84. Bai in Ye, *Spring flowers and dreams of dew*, in Huang, *Lamenting Taiwanese-language films* (in Chinese), 68.
85. Sunshine, ed., *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (dust jacket).
86. Stephen Chan, "Figures of Hope and the Filmic Imaginary of Jianghu in Contemporary Hong Kong Cinema," 489.
87. Ang Lee, "Foreword," 7.
88. Ibid.
89. Stephen Teo, "Love and Swords: The Dialectics of Martial Arts Romance."
90. Lyman, "Watching Movies with Ang Lee," 2, 6.
91. For an account of various readings, see Felicia Chan, "*Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*," 56–64.
92. Craig S. Smith, "Hero Soars and Its Director Thanks *Crouching Tiger*."
93. Ian Whitney, "Hero."
94. J. Hoberman, "Review of *Hero*."
95. Craig S. Smith, "Hero Soars and Its Director Thanks *Crouching Tiger*."
96. Tim Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture, and Everyday Life*, 29.
97. Henry Chu, "Beijing—Crouching tiger, hidden who?"

4. Realist Modes: Melodrama, Modernity, and Home

1. Julia Hallam with Margaret Marshment, *Realism and Popular Cinema*, 122.
2. Linda Williams, *Playing the Race Card: Melodramas of Black and White from Uncle Tom to O. J. Simpson*, 44.
3. Yin Hong and Ling Yan, "Foreword" (in English), *A history of Chinese cinema, 1949–2000* (in Chinese), n.p.
4. Hallam with Marshment, *Realism and Popular Cinema*, x. They claim that realism is the "dominant form of representation" in Western culture and explore its diversity through realist "moments."
5. Ginette Vincendeau, "Melodramatic Realism: On Some French Women's Films in the 1930s," 51–65.
6. Chang Hsiao-hung, quoted in Fran Martin, "Vive L'Amour: Eloquent Emptiness," 126.
7. Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess*, 56–80.

8. Ted Hutters, "Ideologies of Realism in Modern China: The Hard Imperatives of Imported Theory," 161.
9. Gillian Beer, *Darwin's Plots: Evolutionary Narrative in Darwin, George Eliot, and Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 145.
10. Zheng Zhengqiu, "How to walk on the road ahead," in Tan Chunfa, "An appreciation of *Twin Sisters*: mistress and maid from the same family" (in Chinese), 36.
11. Stephen Teo, "Hong Kong's New Wave in Retrospect," 17–23.
12. The term is not equivalent to the English word. Raymond Williams suggests that the difficulty with the English term, *realism*, lies partly in the complex disputes in art and philosophy and partly in the intricate history of the related words *real* and *reality*. The Chinese inherited some of these Western difficulties when they appropriated realism as an aesthetic: *xianshizhuyi*. The everyday word for "real" is different: "zhen." Like Chinese political rhetoric, the Chinese usage of *xianshi* emphasizes modernity as desire and modernization (*xiandaihua*) as process: changing present reality (however perceived) into a better future reality (however imagined). Williams, *Keywords*, 216.
13. See Hallam with Marshment, *Realism and Popular Cinema*, 190–96, 149–50, and 32, for discussions on social realism, critical realism, and socialist realism, respectively.
14. Hutters, "Ideologies of Realism in Modern China," 160–61. See also Marston Anderson, *The Limits of Realism: Chinese Fiction in the Revolutionary Period*.
15. Susan Hayward, *Key Concepts in Cinema Studies*, 141–43.
16. Law Wai-ming, "A Time for Tears," 23.
17. Leung Noong-kong, "The Long Goodbye to the China Factor," 72.
18. Law "A Time for Tears," 23.
19. John Hutchinson, "Myth Against Myth: The Nation as Ethnic Overlay," 109–123.
20. Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780–1950*, 48.
21. Jaroslav Prušek, *The Lyrical and the Epic: Studies of Modern Chinese Literature*, 2. For a detailed discussion of debates around romanticism in the interwar period, see Mary Farquhar, *Children's Literature in China: From Lu Xun to Mao Zedong*, 91–142.
22. Ma Junxiang, "The nationalist creation of modern Chinese cinema" (in Chinese), 114–18; Linda Ehrlich and Ma Ning, "College Course File: East Asian Cinema," 63–64.
23. Christopher Williams, "After the Classic, the Classical, and Ideology: The Differences of Realism," 282. See also Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, "Minnelli and Melodrama," 74, and Hallam with Marshment, *Realism and Popular Cinema*, 18–22.
24. Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination*, 108. See also Thomas Elsaesser, "Tales of Sound and Fury: Observations on the Family Melodrama," 49, and L. Williams, *Playing the Race Card*.
25. Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination*, 155.
26. Mulvey, "It Will Be a Magnificent Obsession: The Melodrama's Role in the Development of Contemporary Film Criticism," 121.
27. Elsaesser, "Tales of Sound and Fury," 68n3. For a discussion of scholarship on Chinese cinema and melodrama, see Zhang, *Screening China*, 61–63. See also Wimal Disanyake, ed., *Melodrama and Asian Cinema*; Ma Ning, "Symbolic Representation and Symbolic Violence: Chinese Family Melodrama of the Early 1980s," 32–49; Ying Xiong, "The dazzling dusk of classical writing: Xie Jin's world of family values" (in Chinese),

- 46–59; Paul Pickowicz, “The ‘May Fourth’ Tradition of Chinese Cinema,” 295–326; Nick Browne, “Society and Subjectivity: On the Political Economy of Chinese Melodrama,” 40–56 and 295–326; Steve Fore, “Tales of Recombinant Femininity,” 57–70; and Jerome Silbergeld, *China into Film*, 188–233. For a discussion of the “Xie Jin model,” see Zhu Dake, “The Drawback of Xie Jin’s model”; Li Jie, “Xie Jin’s Era Should End,” 14–148, and Silbergeld, *China into Film*, 204–233.
28. Zhong, Zhen, and Zhang, “From *Wenmingxi* (Civilized Play) to *Yingxi* (Shadowplay),” 46–64.
 29. Li Suyuan, “The narrative model of Chinese early cinemas” (in Chinese), 28–34. He writes: “*Datuan yuan* closures are an aesthetic representation of the ideology of ‘fullness’ [expressed in *tuan* and *yuan*], reflecting Chinese hope and desire for happiness. Therefore these closures romanticize real life, painting it with light. They also bring a pleasurable warmth that consoles and satisfies audience emotions” (29).
 30. Ma, “Symbolic Representation and Symbolic Violence,” 82.
 31. Law Kar, “Archetypes and Variations: Observations on Six Cantonese Films,” 15. The lineage has shifting subcategories. An early example is *Orphan Rescues Grandfather* (1923), a box office success that inaugurated Chinese family melodrama as popular film form (see ch. 6). This was then called “a social film” (*shehuipian*). According to Li Suyuan and Hu Jubin in *Chinese Silent Film History*, 128, the “social film” then gave rise to various subgenres that are categorized by content: the family lineage–children’s education film (*yichan he jiaoyu wenti*), women’s film (*funü wenti*), and ethical film (*lunlipian*), with a focus on family ethics (*jiating lunlipian*). An example of the family ethics film is *Mother’s Happiness* (*Ersun fu*, dir. Shi Dongshan, 1926). The title is ironic: a mother sacrifices her life for her children, who abandon her until literally reunited in tears on her deathbed. In retrospect, all of these so-called subgenres are arguably a single genre and mode: melodrama with its tears, coincidences, virtuous victims, and family reunions (or *datuan yuan*). For a further discussion of melodrama as genre, see Chris Berry, “*Wedding Banquet*: A Family (Melodrama) Affair,” 183–90.
 32. Law, “Archetypes and Variations,” 15.
 33. See Daniel Gerould, “Melodrama and Revolution,” 185, for a general discussion on melodrama and revolution. He argues that the focus on victims means that “evil” may be transferred from the personal to the “social and existential level.” See also Elsaesser, “Tales of Sound and Fury,” 64.
 34. Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 112–13.
 35. Elsaesser, “Tales of Sound and Fury,” 68n1.
 36. Yi Dai, “The theory of realist cinema” (in Chinese), 6–7.
 37. Mu Weifang, “*Tomboy*” (in Chinese), 832; originally published in *Minbao* 7 (June 1936).
 38. Feng Min, “*Street Angel* and neo-realism” (in Chinese), 95–100.
 39. Ma Ning, “The Textual and Critical Difference of Being Radical: Reconstructing Chinese Leftist Films of the 1930s,” 22–31.
 40. Mu Yun, “A wan feeling—seeing *Spring in a Small Town*” (in Chinese), 272.
 41. See Li Cheuk-to, “*Spring in a Small Town*: Mastery and Restraint,” 59–64.
 42. Ying, “The dazzling dusk of classical writing” (in Chinese), 13–14. For a discussion of poetry and painting in Fei Mu’s films and his rejection of film as drama, see Li Shaobai, “A forerunner of modern Chinese film: on the historical significance of Fei Mu’s *Spring*

- in *a Small Town*, parts 1 and 2" (in Chinese), 73–78 and 34–42, respectively. See also the special edition on Fei Mu in *Dangdai Dianying* 80 (1997): 9.
43. Dudley Andrew, "Sound in France: The Origins of a Native School," 62–63. See also Andrew, "Poetic Realism," 115–19.
 44. Vincendeau, "Melodramatic Realism," 52.
 45. Mu, "Tomboy" (in Chinese), 832.
 46. *Ibid.*, 833.
 47. Cheng Jihua et al., eds., *The history of the development of Chinese cinema* (in Chinese), vol. 2:495.
 48. Mu, "Tomboy" (in Chinese), 832.
 49. Gao Feng, "Tomboy and other matters" (in Chinese), 834.
 50. Peter Brooks, "Melodrama, Body, Revolution," 11.
 51. Lu Xun, "Preface to *Call to Arms*," 34–35.
 52. Ma, "The Nationalist creation of modern Chinese cinema," (in Chinese), 114–18.
 53. Ma, "The Textual and Critical Difference of Being Radical," 22–31.
 54. Chen Mo, "On Fei Mu's films" (in Chinese), 39.
 55. Li, "A forerunner of modern Chinese film, part 2" (in Chinese), 77–78.
 56. For examples and a discussion of walls in Lu Xun's writing, see Farquhar, *Children's Literature in China*, 53. For examples of the continuing use of Lu Xun's metaphor in post-Mao culture, see Geremie Barmé and John Minford, "Walls," in *Seeds of Fire: Chinese Voices of Conscience*, 1–62.
 57. Li, *Spring in a Small Town: Mastery and Restraint*, 64.
 58. Elsaesser, "Tales of Sound and Fury," 62.
 59. Nowell-Smith, "Minnelli and Melodrama," 73.
 60. Ashish Rajadhyaksha, "Realism, Modernism, and Post-colonial Theory," 415.
 61. Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination*, 13, 15.
 62. Farquhar, *Children's Literature in China*, 30.
 63. Wang Yunman, "Director Lee Hsing's aesthetic point of view" (in Chinese), 13.
 64. Lu Fei, *Taiwan cinema: politics, economics, aesthetics* (in Chinese), 103–104.
 65. For more discussion on the distinction between *xieshi* and *xieyi* in Chinese animation, see Mary Farquhar, "Monks and Monkeys: A Study of 'National Style' in Chinese Animation," 14–19.
 66. Lee, quoted in Huang Ren, *In the footsteps of a filmmaker: Lee Hsing's films over fifty years* (in Chinese), 133.
 67. Lu, *Taiwan cinema* (in Chinese), 104–106.
 68. Martin, "Vive L'Amour: Eloquent Emptiness," 176.
 69. Law Kar, "An Overview of Hong Kong's New Wave Cinema," 50. See also Law Kar, "Hong Kong New Wave: Modernization Amid Global/Local Counter Cultures," 47.
 70. Zhang, *Screening China*, 276–87. See also Teo, "Hong Kong's New Wave in Retrospect," 17–23.
 71. Martin, "Vive L'Amour: Eloquent Emptiness," 173–82.
 72. Law, "Hong Kong New Wave," 47.
 73. Teo, *Hong Kong Cinema*, 71. Teo is talking here of *The Orphan* and, by extension, the other early films in the cycle. See also Stephen Teo, "The Father-Son Cycle: A Critique of Thematic Continuity in Cantonese Cinema," 42–47.

74. L. Williams, *Playing the Race Card*, 59.
75. Fruit Chan's Hong Kong trilogy: *Made in Hong Kong* (1997), *The Longest Summer* (1998), and *Little Cheung* (1999). See Bryan Chang, "Hollywood Hong Kong: Fruit Chan's Heaven and Hell," 86–88.
76. Ni Zhen, "After *Yellow Earth*" (in Chinese), 196. The film script and full commentary are available in English in Bonnie S. McDougall, *The Yellow Earth: A Film by Chen Kaige, with a Complete Translation of the Filmscript*. English essays solely on the film include Yau, "Yellow Earth: Western Analysis and a Non-Western Text," 62–79, and Chow, "Silent Is the Ancient Plain," 79–107.
77. Yang Ping, "A Director Who Is Trying to Change the Audience," 127.
78. Dai Jinhua, "Severed Bridge: The Art of the Son's Generation," 23–24.
79. For more on the historical project, see Helen Leung, "Yellow Earth: Hesitant Apprenticeship and Bitter Agency," 192.
80. Hallam with Marshment, *Realism and Popular Cinema*, 80.
81. "Yellow Earth: full production script" (in Chinese), 92–93. Gu Qing tells the family why songs are crucial to the revolution: "When our soldiers hear songs about why wives and daughters are beaten, why workers and peasants want revolution, they cross the river to fight the Japanese devils and [Chinese] landlords, unafraid of blood and death. Even Chairman Mao and General Zhu love folksongs.... Our Chairman Mao wants all China's poor to eat millet without the chaff" (142).
82. Ni, "After *Yellow Earth*" (in Chinese), 197.
83. Barmé and Minford, *Seeds of Fire*, 265.
84. David Bordwell, "The Art Cinema as a Mode of Film Practice," 56–64.
85. Mary Farquhar, "The Hidden Gender in *Yellow Earth*," 154–64. For a detailed discussion of the aesthetics of *Yellow Earth* (cinematography, color, and composition), see Chris Berry and Mary Farquhar, "Post-socialist Strategies: An Analysis of *Yellow Earth* and *Black Cannon Incident*," in Ehrlich and Desser, *Cinematic Landscapes*, 84–100.
86. "Yellow Earth: full production script" (in Chinese), 194.
87. *Ibid.*, 148–49.
88. Chen Kaige, "A film of hope" (in Chinese), 2.
89. Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, 4.

5. How Should a Chinese Woman Look? Woman and Nation

1. Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*, 1. See also Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Context*, 353–58.
2. Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*, 45. See also Madhu Dubey, "The True 'Lie' of the Nation: Fanon and Feminism."
3. Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*. See esp. chs. 6 and 7.
4. See, for example, Roland B. Tolentino, "Inangbayan, the Mother-Nation, in Lino Brocka's *Bayan Ko: Kapit Sa Patalim and Orapronobis*," and Rosie Thomas, "Sanctity and Scandal: The Mythologization of Mother India."

5. This is not to suggest that mothers and mothering are not important in Chinese culture. For analyses that pursue this line of inquiry further, see Sally Taylor Lieberman, *The Mother and Narrative Politics in Modern China*. An additional area worthy of further detailed study in its own right is the connection between mother-daughter lineages and diaspora (as opposed to the patriarchal lineage usually associated with the nation-state) in films such as Wayne Wang's 1993 *Joy Luck Club* and Ann Hui's 1990 *Song of the Exile*. These were both made around the same time as *Center Stage*, which we discuss in detail later as another film that also invokes a different lineage from the patriarchal nation-state. There, too, the family link between Ruan Lingyu, her mother, and her daughter is also emphasized.
6. Shuqin Cui, *Women Through the Lens: Gender and Nation in a Century of Chinese Cinema*.
7. Maggie Humm, *Feminism and Film*, 16–17, 25.
8. Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema."
9. Mary Ann Doane, "Film and Masquerade: Theorizing the Female Spectator"; Elizabeth Cowie, "Fantasia"; Kaja Silverman, *The Acoustic Mirror: The Female Voice in Psychoanalysis*.
10. Kaja Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins*.
11. Jacqueline Bobo, *Black Women as Cultural Readers*; Richard Dyer, *Now You See It: Studies on Lesbian and Gay Film*.
12. D. N. Rodowick, *The Difficulty of Difference: Psychoanalysis, Sexual Difference, and Film Theory*.
13. Chris Berry, "Sexual Difference and the Viewing Subject in Li Shuangshuang and *The In-Laws*," in Berry, ed., *Perspectives on Chinese Cinema*, 30–39. For further discussion see also Berry, *Postsocialist Cinema in Postsocialist China*.
14. Ma Junxiang, "Revolutionary womanhood and the problem of the 'Gaze' in *Shanghai Girl*" (in Chinese).
15. Ma, "Revolutionary womanhood" (in Chinese), 18.
16. Sang Hu, "The Ascendancy of China's Women Directors," 9.
17. Dai Jinhua, "Invisible Women: Contemporary Chinese Cinema and Women's Film."
18. Key examples of this work include Judith Stacey, *Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution in China*; Marjory Wolf, *Revolution Postponed: Women in Contemporary China*; and Kay Ann Johnson, *Women, the Family, and Peasant Revolution in China*.
19. Meng Yue, "Female Images and National Myth," 125–29.
20. Lydia H. Liu, "The Female Tradition in Modern Chinese Literature: Negotiating Feminisms across East/West Boundaries," 24.
21. Tani E. Barlow, "Theorizing Woman: *Funü*, *Guojia*, *Jiating*." See also Tani E. Barlow, "Politics and Protocols of *Funü*: (Un)Making National Woman."
22. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, ed., *The Invention of Tradition*.
23. Elisabeth Croll cites an analysis of the *Biographies of Women* (*Lie Nü Zhuan*) that lists nineteen examples of benevolence, nineteen of chastity, eighteen of widow chastity, eighteen of widow virtue, eighteen negative examples, sixteen of maternal excellence, and sixteen of docile constancy in Elisabeth Croll, *Changing Identities of Chinese Women: Rhetoric, Experience, and Self-Perception in Twentieth-Century China*, 14. She also discuss-

- es the cult of domesticity under the New Life Movement, in Elisabeth Croll, *Feminism and Socialism in China*, 160.
24. *Mulan* (1998), directed by Barry Cook and Tony Bancroft, 87 min. See also Chris Berry, "Disney's *Mulan*, Disney's Feminism: Universal Appeal and Mutually Assured Destruction," and Joseph M. Chan, "Disneyfying and Globalizing the Chinese Legend *Mulan*: A Study in Transculturation," on how Disney produces an American version of a Chinese national legend.
 25. Louise Edwards, "Domesticating the Woman Warrior: Comparisons with *Jinghua yuan*," in *Men and Women in Qing China: Gender in "The Red Chamber Dream"*, 87.
 26. Joseph R. Allen, "Dressing and Undressing the Chinese Woman Warrior."
 27. Rey Chow, *Primitive Passions*.
 28. Allen, "Dressing and Undressing," 355.
 29. Hung Chang-Tai notes that portrayals of women warriors like *Mulan* reached unprecedented numbers during the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937–1945) in "Female Symbols of Resistance in Chinese Wartime Spoken Drama," 169–70.
 30. Chris Berry, "China's New 'Women's Cinema,'" E. Ann Kaplan, "Problematising Cross-Cultural Analysis: The Case of Women in the Recent Chinese Cinema"; Hu Ying, "Beyond the Glow of the Red Lantern; Or, What Does It Mean to Talk about Women's Cinema in China?"; and Cui, *Women Through the Lens*, 171–238.
 31. For further details see Xie Fang, *On and off-screen* (in Chinese).
 32. Mao Zedong, "Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art," in Bonnie S. McDougall, *Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art": A Translation of the 1943 Text with Commentary*, 65.
 33. Susan Rubin Suleiman, *Authoritarian Fictions: The Ideological Novel as a Literary Genre*, 64–100.
 34. Translation drawn from the English subtitles. The full Chinese postproduction script of the film by Lin Gu, Xu Jin, and Xie Jin can be found in Meng Tao, ed., *Two Stage Sisters: from treatment to film* (in Chinese), 149–268. An analysis of the film as revolutionary cinema can be found in Marchetti, "Two Stage Sisters."
 35. Both the preproduction script by original novelist Yang Mo and the postproduction script by directors Cui Wei and Chen Huaikai can be found in Yang Mo et al., *Song of Youth: from novel to film* (in Chinese), 1–96, 97–236.
 36. Dai Jinhua, "Song of Youth: a re-reading from a historical perspective" (in Chinese), in *Handbook of film theory and criticism*, 215.
 37. Meng, "Female Images," 125–29.
 38. Antonia Finnane notes this tendency in "What Should Chinese Women Wear? A National Problem," 18–23. It has also been frequently commented upon by Chinese women writing since the end of the Cultural Revolution. For example, see the remarks of woman film director Zhang Nuanxin in Chris Berry's interview with her in *Camera Obscura*, 23. And in the review of a book of interviews with Chinese women by Meng Xiaoyuan, Professor Dai Jinhua of Beijing University compares the difficulties women face in public space to those of Hua *Mulan*: "The dilemma is that women have to play the traditional role of men. They have to stifle their female identity and 'disguise' themselves as men to fulfill their social value." Ou Shuyi, "In the Minds of Women."

39. Glamorization and the class backgrounds of the characters are just two of the elements in these films that would place them at the Shanghai end of the Shanghai-Yan'an spectrum. Paul Clark proposes to describe the range of postrevolutionary films from relatively moderate to hard-line Maoist. These were also reasons that led to many attacks from the left on all of Xie Fang's films. Paul Clark, *Chinese Cinema: Culture and Politics Since 1949*, 25–34.
40. For an earlier discussion of gender and the pedagogical engagement of the spectator in postrevolutionary cinema, see Berry, "Sexual Difference and the Viewing Subject," 30–39.
41. For photos, biographies, articles from the 1930s, tributes and other materials concerning Ruan Lingyu, see Cheng Jihua, ed., *Ruan Lingyu* (in Chinese).
42. Luo Mingyou, "Some respectful suggestions to fellow members of the profession concerning the question of the revival of Chinese cinema" (in Chinese), cited in Li Suyuan and Hu Jubin, *A History of Chinese Silent Film* (in Chinese), 198. On the foundation of Lianhua, see Li and Hu, *A History of Chinese Silent Film*, 198–205; Pang Laikwan, *Building a New China in Cinema: The Chinese Left-Wing Cinema Movement, 1932–1937*, 24–25.
43. Li and Hu, *A History of Chinese Silent Film*, 302–307.
44. Wang Zhimin, *Fundamentals of modern film aesthetics* (in Chinese), 294.
45. Pang Laikwan discusses Ruan Lingyu at length in her chapter, "Women's Stories On-Screen versus Off-Screen" (*Building a New China in Cinema*, 113–32). Although there are overlaps with our analysis, she does devote more attention to Ruan's role on- and off-screen as a mother than we do here.
46. Kristine Harris, "The New Woman Incident: Cinema, Scandal, and Spectacle in 1935 Shanghai," 279.
47. William Rothman, "The Goddess: Reflections on Melodrama East and West," 66–67.
48. Finnane, "What Should Chinese Women Wear?" 18–20.
49. Rey Chow, *Woman and Chinese Modernity: The Politics of Reading Between West and East*, 107–113, 139–56.
50. Harris, "The New Woman Incident," 280.
51. *Ibid.*, 282.
52. On the concept of the star image, see Richard Dyer, *Stars*.
53. For an analysis of Gong Li's appeal and star image, see Bérénice Reynaud, "Gong Li and the Glamour of the Chinese Star."
54. Harris, "The New Woman Incident," 279.
55. Chris Berry, "The Sublimative Text: Sex and Revolution in Big Road."
56. Ma, "Revolutionary motherhood" (in Chinese), 24–25.
57. Wang Yuejin, "Red Sorghum: Mixing Memory and Desire."
58. Esther C. M. Yau, "Cultural and Economic Dislocations: Filmic Phantasies of Chinese Women in the 1980s."
59. Wang Yichuan, *The end of the Zhang Yimou myth: aesthetic and cultural perspectives on Zhang Yimou's cinema* (in Chinese), and Zhang Yiwu, "Zhang Yimou in the context of global postcoloniality" (in Chinese).
60. Hu Ying, "Beyond the Glow of the Red Lantern."
61. Chow, *Primitive Passions*, 166–68, 170; Mary Ann Farquhar, "Oedipality in *Red Sorghum* and *Judou*," 73; Jenny Kwok Wah Lau, "*Judou*: A Hermeneutical Reading of Cross-cultural Cinema," 2–10.

62. Chow, *Primitive Passions*, 167–72.
63. On the intellectual and cultural character of the pre-1989 Tiananmen Democracy movement period, see Wang Jing, *High Culture Fever: Politics, Aesthetics, and Ideology in Deng's China* and Zhang Xudong, *Chinese Modernism in the Era of Reforms*.
64. Audrey Ing-Sun Yue, "Pre-Post 1997: Postcolonial Hong Kong Cinema, 1984–1997," 158–59.
65. Biographical information about Maggie Cheung can be found on any number of Web sites. The number of her films is derived from the listings at the Internet Movie Database (see <http://imdb.com>).
66. The classic text on star and star image remains Richard Dyer's *Stars*.
67. Anne T. Ciecko and Sheldon H. Lu, "The Heroic Trio: Anita Mui, Maggie Cheung, Michelle Yeoh—Self-Reflexivity and the Globalization of the Hong Kong Action Heroine."
68. For example, Zeng Jingchao invokes the long-standing interpretation of Ruan's tragedy as China's tragedy, concluding that despite the intense commercialism of Hong Kong, Stanley Kwan has made "a Chinese film that Chinese people need not be ashamed of." Zeng Jingchao, "Center Stage" (in Chinese), 38.
69. Many of the writings that focus on the film's eye-catching deconstructive techniques fall into this category. Wang Zhimin examines them as formal technique (*Fundamentals in modern film aesthetics* [in Chinese], 290–99). Robert Ru-Shou Chen argues they articulate a tension between a modernist epistemological drive to discover the truth about Ruan and a postmodernist ontological questioning of what the truth about history is ("Interpreting Center Stage" in *Empire of films: another kind of gaze: research on film culture* [in Chinese], 180–87). Cui Shuqin argues the tension is between a feminist promotion of the female autonomous subject and a postmodernist undermining of the very idea of the autonomous subject (*Women Through the Lens*, 30–50). For Brett Farmer, the uncanny redramatizations recall Freud's mystic writing pad and lead to the kind of questions about cinema's relation to modernity and memory we have also considered in chapter 2 ("Mémoire en Abîme: Remembering (through) Center Stage"). The deconstructive elements are more present in the original 167-minute version of *Center Stage*, also known as *The Actress*. However, the producers cut this version and a negative of the original no longer survives (Bérénice Reynaud, "Re: Chinese Cinema-Digest—Number 628"). Nonetheless, it circulates on video, and the discussion here is based on the original version.
70. Leung Ping-Kwan, "Problematizing National Cinema: Hong Kong Cinema in Search of Its Cultural Identity," 39.
71. Yue, "Pre-Post 1997," 162–63.
72. Wang Yiman, "Screening the Past, Re-centering the Stage."
73. The standard history of the People's Republic, *The history of the development of Chinese cinema* (in Chinese), by Cheng Jihua et al., is the key work in which 1930s Shanghai cinema is claimed for the People's Republic. Ironically, this claim was repudiated from the left during the Cultural Revolution and landed Cheng Jihua in trouble. Part of his response after the Cultural Revolution was to edit his 1985 book on Ruan Lingyu.
74. Julian Stringer, "Centre Stage: Reconstructing the Bio-Pic," 30, 39.
75. Stringer, "Centre Stage," 39.
76. Michael G. Chang, "The Good, the Bad, and the Beautiful: Movie Actresses and Public Discourse in Shanghai, 1920s–1930s." In the same volume, Andrew D. Field examines

how singing and dancing hostesses took the place of the courtesan, and the moral panics generated around them ("Selling Souls in Sin City: Shanghai Singing and Dancing Hostesses in Print, Film, and Politics, 1920–1949"). Editor Zhang Yingjin considers representations of female sex workers, citing a range of models including symbolic representations of both backward and modern China ("Prostitution and Urban Imagination: Negotiating the Public and the Private in Chinese Films of the 1930s," in Zhang, ed., *Cinema and Urban Culture in Shanghai, 1922–1943*, 160–80).

77. Abbas, *Hong Kong*.
78. Cui, *Women Through the Lens*, 34–36.
79. Stringer, "Centre Stage," 37–39.
80. *Ibid.*, 38.
81. For an account of this period, including Mui's difficulties, see David Lague, "Triads Hit the Screen."
82. Bérénice Reynaud, "Icon of Modernity."
83. In Teo, *Hong Kong Cinema*, 29–40.
84. *Ibid.*, 29, 38.
85. *Ibid.*, 34.
86. Carlos Rojas, "Specular Failure and Spectral Returns in Two Films with Maggie Cheung (and One Without)."
87. Olivia Khoo, "'Anagrammatical Translations': Latex Performance and Asian Femininity Unbounded in Olivier Assayas's *Irma Vep*," 387.
88. Khoo, "'Anagrammatical Translations,'" 389; Ken Gelder, *Reading the Vampire*, 123.
89. Audrey Yue, "Migration-as-Transition: Pre-Post 1997 Hong Kong Culture in Clara Law's *Autumn Moon*."
90. Olivia Khoo seems to favor the former interpretation, Cui Shuqin the latter.

6. How Should Chinese Men Act?

1. Han Meng, "Leaders Ponder a Return to Society's Roots to Stop the Rot."
2. Chow, *Primitive Passions*, 168.
3. "An Interview with Zhang Yimou," no pagination.
4. Law and film emerged out of the law and literature movement in the 1980s, signaling a shift from elite literature into popular culture. For an overview, chronology, and select bibliography, see Stefan Machura and Peter Robson, "Law and Film: An Introduction," 1–8.
5. Kwai-cheung Lo, "Transnationalization of the Local in Hong Kong Cinema of the 1990s," 263. See also Lo, "Double Negations: Hong Kong Cultural Identity in Hollywood's Transnational Representations," 472–79.
6. Patrick Fuery, *New Developments in Film Theory*, 109–111, 183.
7. Anthony D. Smith calls the historical link between past and present "the myths and memories of nation." In a seminal body of work, Smith argues that modernist approaches to nation and nationalism fail to "accord any weight to the pre-existing cultures and ethnic ties of the nations that emerged in the modern epoch ... myths, memories, traditions, and symbols of ethnic heritage." These traditions are reconstituted as national identities in each generation through potent myths and symbols. Smith calls this

- approach "ethnosymbolism," finding continuities and change in national identities. See Smith, *Myths and Memories of Nation*, 9. Filmmakers' use of the myths and legends surrounding assassination attempts of the ruthless Qin ruler are a case in point. Recent examples are Hero and Chen Kaige's *The Emperor and the Assassin* (1998). They retell the "immemorial past" of empire building just as stories of the Opium War discussed in chapter 2 variously retell of China's humiliating past in modern nation-building.
8. China has a rich legal tradition. Modern Chinese states and territories encompass the gamut of modern legal families: civil law on German-Japanese models in the Republic of China on the mainland before 1949 and in Taiwan, English common law with some customary family law in colonial Hong Kong, and socialist law in the People's Republic of China.
 9. David A. Black, *Law in Film: Resonance and Representation*, 2, 13 (emphasis added).
 10. Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China* 2:544.
 11. John Hoffman, *Gender and Sovereignty: Feminism, the State, and International Relations*, 9.
 12. Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*, 7–8. See also Tim Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture, and Everyday Life*, 9 and 10, for the importance of looking at popular culture, such as film, to account for the dynamic and contested relationship between culture and national identity.
 13. Yvonne Tasker, *Spectacular Bodies: Gender, Genre, and the Action Cinema*, 8.
 14. Kam Louie, *Theorizing Chinese Masculinity: Society and Gender in China*, 2.
 15. *Yang + Yin: Gender in Chinese Cinema* (1997, dir. Stanley Kwan), and Louie, *Theorizing Chinese Masculinity*, 4–5.
 16. This is the male, reformist discourse in early-twentieth-century China, exemplified by the famous writer Lu Xun. For a full discussion of fathers, sons, and the modernization of China in Lu Xun's work, see Farquhar, *Children's Literature in China*, 41–89.
 17. For a discussion of traditional legal terms, see Needham, *Science and Civilization in China* 2:518–83. For a discussion of filial piety, see Bodde and Morris, *Law in Imperial China*, 41–43.
 18. Cheng, *The history of the development of Chinese cinema* (in Chinese), 60–61.
 19. Li Shaobai and Hong Shi, "An introduction and evaluation of China's first group of feature films" (in Chinese), 85–86.
 20. *Yang+Yin: Gender in the Chinese Cinema*. (1997).
 21. Mark Gallagher, "Masculinity in Translation: Jackie Chan's Transcultural Star Text," 25 and 31.
 22. Teo, *Hong Kong Cinema*, 123.
 23. Ng See Yuan, quoted in Logan, *Hong Kong Action Cinema*, 63.
 24. Ng Ho, "Kung-fu Comedies: Tradition, Structure, Character," 42.
 25. For background on the Wong Fei-hung films and their circulation, see Teo, *Hong Kong Cinema*, 169–73, and Rodriguez, "Hong Kong Popular Culture as an Interpretive Arena," 1–24.
 26. Sek Kei, "The Development of Martial Arts in Hong Kong Cinema," 28.
 27. Logan, *Hong Kong Action Cinema*, 60.
 28. Anne Behnke Kinney, ed., *Chinese Views on Childhood*; Farquhar, *Children's Literature in China*; and Ann Barrott-Wicks, ed., *Children in Chinese Art*.
 29. Fore, "Life Imitates Entertainment," 136.

30. Ng, "Kung-fu Comedies," 42.
31. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 6.
32. Chen Long [Jackie Chan], *I am Jackie Chan* (in Chinese), 555–56.
33. Fuery, *New Developments in Film Theory*, 115–23.
34. See Borge Bakken, *The Exemplary Society: Human Improvement, Social Control, and the Dangers of Modernity in China*.
35. Li, "Kung Fu: Negotiating Nationalism and Modernity," 515.
36. For a discussion of Chan's American roles as underdog, see Gina Marchetti, "Jackie Chan and the Black Connection," 137–58.
37. Louie, *Theorizing Chinese Masculinity*, 153.
38. Sheldon Lu comments: "The persona of Jackie Chan, in the role of a Hong Kong cop, is the new quintessential Hong Kong traveler and citizen with a fluid, transnational, cross-cultural identity." Lu, "Hong Kong Diaspora Film and Transnational TV Drama: From Homecoming to Exile to Flexible Citizenship," 142.
39. Christopher Heard, *Ten Thousand Bullets: The Cinematic Journey of John Woo*, 50.
40. Julian Stringer, "Your Tender Smiles Give Me Strength: Paradigms of Masculinity in John Woo's *A Better Tomorrow* and *The Killer*," 34.
41. Ryan, "Blood, Brothers, and Hong Kong Gangster Movies: Pop Culture Commentary on 'One China,'" 65.
42. Woo, quoted in Heard, *Ten Thousand Bullets*, 73.
43. Kenneth Hall, *John Woo: The Films*, 2.
44. See Law Kar, "Comparing John Woo's 'Hero Series' with Ringo Lam's 'Wind and Cloud Series'" (in Chinese), 59–63.
45. Louie, *Theorizing Chinese Masculinity*, 25–41. For a Western take on the laws and practices of amity as exclusively male, see Peter Goodrich, "Laws of Friendship," 23–52.
46. Yang+Yin: *Gender in the Chinese Cinema* (1997).
47. Ibid. Such scenes as the bullet-removing scene are, according to Kwan, typically Chinese and outside mainstream Hollywood.
48. Stringer, "Your Tender Smiles Give Me Strength," 27.
49. Richard Meyers, *Inside Kung-fu Magazine*, quoted in Heard, *Ten Thousand Bullets*, 69.
50. Hall talks of the impossibility of translating these two childhood nicknames, variously rendered as in the text or as "Mickey Mouse" and "Dumbo." Hall, *John Woo*, 215n28.
51. Stringer, "Your Tender Smiles Give Me Strength," 39, 40.
52. Logan, *Hong Kong Action Cinema*, 121.
53. Heard, *Ten Thousand Bullets*, 67–68.
54. Barbara Scharres, quoted in Heard, *Ten Thousand Bullets*, 103.
55. David Ray Papke, "Myth and Meaning: Francis Ford Coppola and the Popular Response to the *Godfather* Trilogy," 1, 6, 8.
56. Farquhar, "Oedipality in *Red Sorghum* and *Judou*," 60–86.
57. Hanna Boje Nielsen, "The Three Father Figures in Tian Zhuangzhuang's Film *The Blue Kite*: The Emasculation of Males by the Communist Party" 83.
58. Zha Jianying, *China Pop*, 74.
59. An earlier version of this argument about *The Story of Qiu Ju* has been published in Mary Farquhar, "Silver Screen," in Jane Orton et al., *Bridges to Chinese: Internet/CD Post-graduate Course*.

60. Jet Li, quoted in Robert Y. Eng, "Is *Hero* a Paean to Authoritarianism?"
61. Xu Haofeng, "Zhang Yimou's *Hero*" (in Chinese), 7.
62. Tasker, *Spectacular Bodies*, 105.
63. Stephen Short and Susan Jakes, "Making of a Hero."
64. Yao Xiaolei, "Classic constructions and reconstructions: *xia*, *tianxia*, and heroism in art—speaking from Zhang Yimou's *Hero*" (in Chinese), 46–48, 49–51.
65. Xu, "Zhang Yimou's *Hero*" (in Chinese), 8.
66. Hoberman, "Review of *Hero*."
67. Zhang Qiu, "Hero: Zhang Yimou's turning point" (in Chinese), 7.
68. Eng, "Is *Hero* a Paean to Authoritarianism?"

7. Where Do You Draw the Line? Ethnicity in Chinese Cinemas

1. The Han constitute the ethnic group commonly referred to as Chinese. However, the People's Republic of China has numerous other "minority nationalities," hence the distinction.
2. Duara, "Transnationalism and the Predicament of Sovereignty," 1032.
3. Stevan Harrell, "Introduction," in Melissa J. Brown, ed., *Negotiating Ethnicities in China and Taiwan*, 2. The term *ethnicity* is a notoriously slippery one, prone to many different definitions and overlapping both race and culture.
4. For an introduction to the topic, see Marcus Banks, *Ethnicity: Anthropological Constructions*.
5. Edward Said, *Orientalism*. Although Said does state on the first page of his book that for the West, the Orient is "one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other," Freud and Lacan get no explicit recognition as a source of his work. Foucault and Gramsci are credited more heavily. Nonetheless, it seems clear that Said's idea of the Orient as a discursive projection of all that the West is not is at least implicitly informed by concepts of subjectivity grounded in the idea of constructing the self by constructing others.
6. For a critique of Said that tries to reanchor the term "orientalism" in these nineteenth-century movements, see John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory, and the Arts*.
7. Said, *Orientalism*, cites the *Iliad* on page 56 and closes with a chapter entitled "The Latest Phase," 284–328.
8. Said, *Orientalism*, 5–6.
9. Bart Moore-Gilbert, "Edward Said: *Orientalism* and Beyond," in *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics*, 35.
10. The finger has been pointed most strongly at Zhang Yimou. For further discussion, see the section on Gong Li in chapter 5. On the career of Said's postcolonialism in the People's Republic, see Tang Xiaobing, "Orientalism and the Question of Universality: The Language of Contemporary Chinese Literary Theory"; Ben Xu, "'From Modernity to Chineseness': The Rise of Nativist Cultural Theory in Post-1989 China"; and Henry Y. H. Zhao, "Post-Isms and Chinese New Conservatism."
11. A synthesis of this work is Colin Mackerras, *China's Minority Cultures: Identities and Integration Since 1912*.

12. A key example would be Dru C. Gladney, "Representing Nationality in China: Refiguring Majority/Minority Identities." The very title of Ralph Litzinger's *Other Chinas: The Yao and the Politics of National Belonging* attests to the importance of the discourse of the "Other" in this field of study. Articles devoted specifically to Chinese films that draw on the theory of orientalism are attended to in the third section of this chapter.
13. See, for example, Chen Xiaomei, *Occidentalism: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China*; Louisa Schein, "The Consumption of Color and the Politics of White Skin in Post-Mao China"; and Geremie R. Barmé, "To Screw Foreigners Is Patriotic," in *In the Red: On Contemporary Chinese Culture*, 255–80.
14. Louisa Schein, *Minority Rules: The Miao and the Feminine in China's Cultural Politics*, 103.
15. Zhou Enlai cited in Barry Sautman, "Anti-Black Racism in Post-Mao China," 436; Zhao Ziyang cited in Barry Sautman, "Racial Nationalism and China's External Behavior," 80. In addition to these official claims, academics in both China and the West have made similar arguments, as Gregory Eliyu Guldin points out in his review of Stevan Harrell's *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers*.
16. Dennis Porter, "Orientalism and Its Problems," 181; Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms*; Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. Numerous other works could be cited.
17. Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race*, 179–81. A second problem often raised by critics is whether Said believes there is a "real" orient knowable only to authentic "Orientals," or whether he believes all knowledge is situated and constructed.
18. Lydia H. Liu, "Translingual Practice: The Discourse of Individualism Between China and the West."
19. Louisa Schein, "Gender and Internal Orientalism in China," 85.
20. Ralph A. Litzinger, "Memory Work: Reconstituting the Ethnic in Post-Mao China."
21. Stevan Harrell, "Introduction: Civilizing Projects and the Reaction to Them," in Harrell, ed., *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers*, 4.
22. Chen Xiaomei, *Occidentalism*.
23. On the responses of "Western" audiences, see Sheng-mei Ma, "Ang Lee's Domestic Tragicomedy: Immigrant Nostalgia, Exotic/Ethnic Tour, Global Market." On the film's challenge to stereotypes of "rice queens" and "potato queens," see Cynthia W. Liu, "'To Love, Honor, and Dismay': Subverting the Feminine in Ang Lee's Trilogy of Resuscitated Patriarchs." On both, see Gina Marchetti, *The Wedding Banquet: Global Chinese Cinema and Asian American Experience*.
24. This dimension of the film is only touched upon in passing. Two reviews mention the Gaos' hope that their son will marry "a nice Chinese girl": Jem Axelron, *The Wedding Banquet*, and Roger Ebert, *The Wedding Banquet*. One Taiwan article focused on gay issues also notes the interracial dimension of the film; Lin Yihua, "Delight and emptiness: feelings after seeing *The Wedding Banquet*" (in Chinese). It is not mentioned at all in any of the other reviews and press articles we have sourced: Geoff Andrew, "East Is Wed"; David Ansen, "Straightening Up the House"; David Armstrong, "Something Old, Something New"; Bai Ning, "Broadminded and fair: Ang Lee discusses *The Wedding Banquet*" (in Chinese); Nancy Blaine, "New York Story: Tale of Taiwan Immigrants Is a Fine Feast"; Georgia Brown, "Three's Company"; Laurence Chua, "Queer Wind

from Asia"; Richard Corliss, "All in the Families"; David Denby, "Family Ties"; Derek Elley, "*Hsi Yen (The Wedding Banquet)*"; Edward Guthmann, "'Datebook': Wedded Mess: Gay Man's Marriage to Pacify Taiwanese Parents Begets Laughs"; Stephen Holden, "*The Wedding Banquet*"; Andrew Horn, "*The Wedding Banquet*"; Ann Hornaday, "A Director's Trip from Salad Days to a 'Banquet'"; Li Youxin, "Two faces of Taiwanese gay cinema: *Rebels of the Neon God* and *The Wedding Banquet*" (in Chinese); Li Youxin, "Ang Lee, Winston Chao, and Mitchell Lichtenstein answer questions: the press conference for *The Wedding Banquet*" (in Chinese); Ling Wen, "The political implications behind the poignant humor" (in Chinese); Lu Deng, "*The Wedding Banquet's* purely commercial flavor" (in Chinese), 112-13; David Noh, "*The Wedding Banquet*"; Patrick Pacheco, "Cultural Provocateur: In 'The Wedding Banquet' Ang Lee Stirs Up Custom"; Tony Rayns, "5000 Years Plus One: *The Wedding Banquet*"; Tony Rayns, "*Xiyan (The Wedding Banquet)*"; Dale Reynolds, "Marry Me a Little"; Michele Shapiro, "Wedding-Bell Blues"; Doris Toumarkine, "Giving Good 'Banquet'"; Kenneth Turan, "Marriage of Convenience Yields a Full 'Banquet'"; Wang Wenhua, "*The Wedding Banquet* in the United States" (in Chinese); and Jeff Yang, "Out of Asia." It is also not noted in the entries describing the film in the catalogs for the 1993 Berlin, Hong Kong, Melbourne, Montreal, Munich, San Sebastian, Sydney, and Warsaw film festivals.

25. Ma, "Ang Lee's Domestic Tragicomedy"; Cynthia W. Liu, "'To Love, Honor, and Dismay'"; and Marchetti, "*The Wedding Banquet*."
26. Cynthia W. Liu, "'To Love, Honor, and Dismay,'" 2.
27. James L. Hevia, *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793*, 9. Hevia refers readers to John Y. Fairbank and S. Y. Teng, "On the Ch'ing Tributary System," for the "original" formulation.
28. Hevia, "A Multitude of Lords," in *Cherishing Men from Afar*, 29-56.
29. Cynthia W. Liu, "'To Love, Honor, and Dismay,'" 27, 40. Bai Ning, "Broadminded and fair" (in Chinese), 42, describes the film as featuring "one husband and two wives." On the differences between wives and concubines, see Rubie S. Watson, "Wives, Concubines, and Maids: Servitude and Kinship in the Hong Kong Region, 1900-1940." In fact, there is room for further analysis of how *Wedding Banquet* plays on established roles like these. For example, the only socially acceptable reason for taking a concubine into the family is the failure of the first wife to produce a son, and so in this regard Wei-wei is more like the concubine. Also, although Simon is feminized within the household metaphor, within the tribute system metaphor he is the representative of the foreign patriarch Mr. Gao must deal with, as is implicitly recognized by their shared secret.
30. For a discussion of this controversy and its reception in Europe and American, see Hevia, *Cherishing Men from Afar*, 232-37.
31. For the script of *Dr. Bethune*, see Zhang Junxiang and Zhao Ta, "*Dr. Bethune*" (in Chinese), 409-508.
32. For the script, see Huang Jianxin et al., *Black Cannon Incident: from novel to film* (in Chinese).
33. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 20-28.
34. Frank Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*, 9. According to Dikötter, at this time there was no meaningful distinction between culture and race in the modern sense (2-3).

35. Thomas Heberer, *China and Its National Minorities: Autonomy or Assimilation?* 30–39.
36. Arianne M. Dwyer, “The Texture of Tongues: Languages and Power in China,” in William Safran, ed., *Nationalism and Ethnoregional Identities in China*, 68–85.
37. The idea of identity as performatively produced rather than given is developed by Judith Butler in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*.
38. Paul Clark, “Ethnic Minorities in Chinese Films: Cinema and the Exotic,” 17.
39. Zhang Wei, “My opinion on minority nationality films” (in Chinese), 51. In the tables printed in Gao Honghu et al., eds., *Chinese minority nationality films* (in Chinese), 193 films are listed for the 1949–1995 period.
40. Li Yiming, “Cultural perspective and themes in the minority nationality films of the ‘Seventeen Years’” in Gao Honghu et al., eds., *Chinese minority nationality films* (in Chinese), 172–73. Paul Clark argues that the initial appeal of minority nationality films lay in their ability to include the exotic, romance, dance, and other generally colorful elements lacking from politically dourer mainstream films; he understands this as a substitution for elements common in the sophisticated and westernized Shanghai milieu of pre-1949 films (Clark, “Ethnic Minorities in Chinese Films,” 20). For further information on the folkloric origins and various transformations of the “Third Sister Liu” story, see Lydia H. Liu, “The Metamorphosis of a Song Immortal: Understanding Official Popular Culture in Twentieth-Century China.”
41. Clark, “Ethnic Minorities in Chinese Films,” 15–21.
42. Harrell, “Introduction,” in Harrell, ed., *Cultural Encounters on China’s Ethnic Frontiers*. On scaling based on mode of production, see 22–23.
43. Li Yiming, “Cultural perspective and themes” (in Chinese), 180.
44. Both the pre- and postproduction scripts of *Serfs* can be found in Huang Zongjiang et al., *Serfs: from script to screen* (in Chinese).
45. Harrell, “Introduction,” in Harrell, ed., *Cultural Encounters on China’s Ethnic Frontiers*, 14.
46. Li Yiming, “Cultural perspective and themes” (in Chinese), 175–78.
47. Gao Honghu et al., eds., *Chinese minority nationality films* (in Chinese), collects the papers given at the conference.
48. For an account which emphasizes different similarities between *Serfs* and the films of the late 1980s, see Ying Xiong, “*Serfs*: narrative tension” (in Chinese). This article emphasizes form, and this rather than the more politically sensitive topic of ethnicity attracted most attention on *Horse Thief’s* release in China; see Xia Hong, “The Debate Over *Horse Thief*.”
49. Zhang Wei, “My opinion on minority nationality films” (in Chinese), 51–52.
50. For further discussion of these terms, see Chris Berry, “A Turn for the Better? Genre and Gender in *Girl from Hunan* and Other Recent Mainland Chinese Films.” On the shifts in the economic structure of the film industry in the 1980s, see Chris Berry, “Market Forces: China’s ‘Fifth Generation’ Faces the Bottom Line,” in Berry, ed., *Perspectives on Chinese Cinema*, 114–40.
51. Li Yiming, “Cultural perspectives and themes” (in Chinese), 174, notes that lack of trained minority nationality filmmakers meant Han filmmakers produced all the early films. However, studios have been established in outlying regions (such as the Tianshan Film Studio in the Chinese central Asian province of Xinjiang), and minority nation-

- alities directors (such as Guang Chunlan, who works at Tianshan), have been trained. Guang's own narrative of her Beijing upbringing and training, along with the question of who approves and funds Tianshan's films and their intended audiences, indicates that ethnic provenance of the films is a complex issue; Guang Chunlan, "Representing the exciting and colorful nationality lifestyles: on the making of fourteen nationality films" (in Chinese), in Gao Honghu et al., eds., *Chinese minority nationality films*, 10–24. This volume includes accounts from numerous other minority nationality filmmakers.
52. In 1984 there were twelve minority nationality films; in 1985, eleven; in 1986, fourteen; and in 1987, nineteen. Zhao Shi, "Turn of the century: in search of a development strategy for minority nationality films," in Gao Honghu et al., eds., *Chinese minority nationality films* (in Chinese), 3.
 53. Dru C. Gladney surveys contemporary "oriental orientalism" as a broad cultural phenomenon in "Representing Nationality in China."
 54. In-person interview by Chris Berry with Wu Xiaojin, deputy director of planning and research, China Film Corporation, February 15, 1988, at China Film Corporation's offices.
 55. On the notorious lack of audience for the film in mainland China and the director's equally notorious response, see Yang Ping, "A Director Who Is Trying to Change the Audience," 127–30.
 56. *Ibid.*, 129.
 57. See, for example, Peggy Hsiung-Ping Chiao, "Tian Zhuangzhuang and *Horse Thief*," in Chiao, ed., *Li Lianying Da Taijian* (in Chinese), 193–98; and Chris Berry, "Race (Minzu): Chinese Film and the Politics of Nationalism."
 58. Dru C. Gladney, "Tian Zhuangzhuang, the Fifth Generation, and Minorities Film in China," 169. This essay is reworked in Gladney's new book, *Dislocating China: Reflections on Muslims, Minorities, and Other Subaltern Subjects*, which we regret appeared too late for us to take into account when writing this chapter.
 59. Gladney, "Tian Zhuangzhuang, the Fifth Generation, and Minorities Film in China," 172.
 60. Readers familiar with psychoanalytic theory will note this structure parallels psychoanalytic understandings of the construction of the coherent subject through a process of repressions, which are then simultaneously mourned as lost and feared as threatening to return.
 61. Hu Ke, "The relationship between the minority nationalities and the Han in the cinema," in Gao Honghu et al., eds., *Chinese minority nationality films* (in Chinese), 210.
 62. Zhang Yingjin, "From 'Minority Film' to 'Minority Discourse': Questions of Nationhood and Ethnicity in Chinese Cinema," in Sheldon Hsiao-peng Lu, ed., *Transnational Chinese Cinemas: Identity, Nationhood, Gender*; Gladney, "Representing Nationality in China"; Esther C. M. Yau, "Is China the End of Hermeneutics? Or, Political and Cultural Usage of Non-Han Women in Mainland Chinese Films"; and Donald, "Women Reading Chinese Films." This critique also applies to *Horse Thief's* treatment of the Tibetans, as some of these authors note.
 63. Chow, *Primitive Passions*, 38.
 64. Simon Long, *Taiwan: China's Last Frontier*, 3–4. Long points out that the origins of these peoples have been disputed according to the needs of different political regimes.

65. On the continuing impact of the Han on the aborigine demographics and their political mobilization, see Chiu Yen Liang (Fred), "From the Politics of Identity to an Alternative Cultural Politics: On Taiwan Primordial Inhabitants' A-systemic Movement."
66. Robert Ru-Shou Chen discusses both the notorious Japanese film *Sayon's Bell* (1943), about the supposedly willing self-sacrifice of Taiwan aborigines for the Japanese Imperial Army, and more recently representations such as *Song of Orchid Island*, in two essays in his book *Empire of Films: "The colonial circumstances of Sayon's Bell"* (in Chinese) and "Cultural studies and aborigines: from *Song of Orchid Island* to the Orchid Island point of view" (in Chinese), 214–21, 222–39.
67. Feii Lu, *Taiwan cinema: politics, economics, aesthetics, 1949–1994* (in Chinese), 23–28.
68. For further Chinese-language discussion of *Sayon's Bell*, the response of Taiwan aborigines to its screenings on the island in 1994, and Taiwanese aboriginal filmmaking, see the special section in *Film appreciation* (*Dianying Xinshang*), 12.3 (1994): 15–64 (in Chinese).
69. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 20–28.
70. For a discussion of the range of definitions of "ethnicity" and the problems of applying them in a Chinese context, see Huang Shu-min, Chen Chung-min, and Chuang Ying-chang, "Introduction: Problems of Ethnicity in the Chinese Cultural Context," in Chen, Chuang, and Huang, eds., *Ethnicity in Taiwan: Social, Historical and Cultural Perspectives*, 3–22. They note that the terms "dialect or speech groups," "ethnic or subethnic groups," and "regional or provincial groups" have all been coined to designate these local groupings in the Chinese context (15).
71. For a study of becoming Han in process, see Jean Berlie, *Sinisation. A history of such a process is traced for the area from which the long-term Chinese on Taiwan migrated in Huang Shu-min, "Customs and Culture," in Y. M. Yeung and David K.Y. Chu, eds., Fujian: A Coastal Province in Transition and Transformation*, 508–527.
72. Patricia Ebrey, "Surnames and Han Chinese Identity," in Melissa J. Brown, ed., *Negotiating Ethnicities in China and Taiwan*, 24.
73. Guldin notes "the similarity of these processes [producing the identities of minority nationalities] with those impinging on Han regional and local identities, such as those of the Cantonese and Hakka" (review, Stevan Harrell, ed., *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers*, 370).
74. Decentralization and geographically uneven development in recent years has produced a literature about the phenomenon, including the question of the strains this might be producing on the fabric of the nation. What is notably missing among the phenomena studied in this literature is the appearance of localized ethnic identities that might provide a foundation for alternative nation-states. See, for example, Hans Hendrichske and Feng Chongyi, eds., *The Political Economy of China's Provinces: Comparative and Competitive Advantage*; Si-ming Li and Wing-shing Tang, eds., *China's Regions, Polity, and Economy: A Study of Spatial Transformation in the Post-Reform Era*; David Shambaugh, ed., *Is China Unstable? Assessing the Factors*; and David S.G. Goodman and Gerald Segal, eds., *China Deconstructs: Politics, Trade, and Regionalism*. Perhaps this lack of alternative ethnic identities is one reason behind the title of John Fitzgerald's essay in the latter volume: "'Reports of My Death Have Been Greatly Exaggerated': The History of the Death of China," 21–58.

75. Chang Mau-kuei makes this argument in "Toward an Understanding of the *Sheng-chi Wen-ti* in Taiwan: Focusing on Changes after Political Liberalization," in Chen Chung-min, Chuang Ying-chang, and Huang Shu-min, eds., *Ethnicity in Taiwan*, pp. 93–150.
76. Long, *Taiwan: China's Last Frontier*, 28–29.
77. Chang Mau-kuei, "Toward an Understanding of the *Sheng-chi Wen-ti* in Taiwan," 99, 103.
78. This film appears to support Ebrey's point about the importance of genealogy rather than culture alone in defining Han identity.
79. Cai Hongsheng, "The master of Taiwan native film—Lee Hsing," in *Taiwan and Hong Kong films and film stars* (in Chinese), 94–6.
80. Feii Lu, *Taiwan cinema* (in Chinese), 117. The film was made when the Taiwanese-language cinema was in its first boom and Lee was trying to get a break, so he probably had less control than with his later films.
81. Another well-known example would be Bai Ke's 1962 film, *Love at Longshan Temple*. In *Both Sides Are Happy*, the heads of the two families are a Tokyo-trained Western medicine doctor and a Chinese-medicine doctor from the mainland. As neighbors they fight for clients, but when the mainland wife consults her husband's rivals about an ailment, the Taiwanese wife says she herself believes in Chinese medicine. In *Love at Longshan Temple* there is also more than romance undermining disputes between the families: it transpires that the local Taiwanese suitor for the lead female character is in fact the long-lost brother of his mainland rival, a situation with obvious metaphorical meanings.
82. Feii Lu, *Taiwan cinema* (in Chinese), 104.
83. Teo, *Hong Kong Cinema*, 12. See also Leung Noong-kong, "The Changing Power Relationship Between China and Hongkong: An Examination of the Concept of 'Home' and Its Function in Hongkong Movies in the 40's and 50's."
84. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 66–79. Anderson quotes Johann von Herder's late-eighteenth-century declaration of language as the cornerstone of national identity: "Denn jedes Volk ist Volk; es hat seine National Bildung wie seine Sprache." He judiciously notes that this declaration was made "in blithe disregard of some obvious extra-European facts" (6).
85. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 78.
86. Wang Hui gives an account of the complex cultural politics of language reform in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in "Local Forms, Vernacular Dialects, and the War of Resistance Against Japan: The 'National Forms' Debates."
87. Xiao Zhiwei, "Constructing a New National Culture: Film Censorship and the Issues of Cantonese Dialect, Superstition, and Sex in the Nanjing Decade," in Zhang Yingjin, ed., *Cinema and Urban Culture in Shanghai*, 184.
88. Teo, *Hong Kong Cinema*, 6.
89. This aspect of Japanese colonialism on Taiwan is represented poignantly in Wu Nien-je's 1994 film, *A Borrowed Life*, about the continuing loyalty to Japan felt by some older islanders. The film's Chinese title, *Duo-sang*, is a Chinese rendering of the lead character's Japanese-style name, "Duo-San." For further discussion, see Darrell William Davis, "Borrowing Postcolonial: *Dou San* and the Memory Mine."
90. Alan M. Wachman, *Taiwan: National Identity and Democratization*, 107–109.
91. Feii Lu, *Taiwan cinema* (in Chinese), 110.

8. The National in the Transnational

1. Ben Moger-Williams and Wu Runmei, "The Art of Compromise: An Interview with Film Director Zhang Yimou."
2. Anna Tsing, "The Global Situation."
3. Sheldon Lu, "Historical Introduction," 8–9.
4. *Ibid.*, 4.
5. There are numerous books and Web sites devoted to Lee. For this essay, we have drawn on John R. Little, *Bruce Lee: A Warrior's Journey*. Written with the cooperation of Lee's widow, it glosses over the rumors that he died in the bed of a Taiwanese actress. Earlier biographies include Bruce Thomas, *Bruce Lee: Fighting Spirit*; Linda Lee, *The Bruce Lee Story*; and Robert Clouse, *Bruce Lee: The Biography*.
6. On the *Kung Fu* television series (as well as Lee's actual appearance in *The Green Hornet* TV series), see Darrell Y. Hamamoto, *Monitored Peril: Asian Americans and the Politics of TV Representation*, 59–63, and Sheng-mei Ma, *The Deathly Embrace: Orientalism and Asian American Identity*, 60–61.
7. Richard Meyers, Amy Harlib, and Karen Palmer, *From Bruce Lee to the Ninjas: Martial Arts Movies*, 221, cited in Meaghan Morris, "Learning from Bruce Lee: Pedagogy and Political Correctness in Martial Arts Cinema," 183.
8. Lee's first three films had different English titles in the United States. *The Big Boss* is better known there as *Fists of Fury*. *Fist of Fury* is known as *The Chinese Connection*. And *The Way of the Dragon* is known as *The Return of the Dragon*.
9. Tony Rayns, "Bruce Lee and Other Stories," 28.
10. Formalist appreciation of the fighting style by First World critics is also common. However, noting Lee's Caucasian opponents in *Fist of Fury* and *Way of the Dragon*, Stephen Teo is rightly suspicious of this approach in "True Way of the Dragon: *The Films of Bruce Lee*," 70.
11. Kwai-cheung Lo, "Muscles and Subjectivity: A Short History of the Masculine Body in Hong Kong Popular Culture."
12. Yingchi Chu, *Hong Kong Cinema: Coloniser, Motherland, and Self*, 38; Stephen Teo, "Bruce Lee: Narcissus and the Little Dragon," in *Hong Kong Cinema: The Extra Dimensions*, 110–114.
13. Vijay Prashad, "Bruce Lee and the Anti-imperialism of Kung Fu: A Polycultural Adventure."
14. Jachinson Chan, *Chinese American Masculinities: From Fu Manchu to Bruce Lee*, 75; Sheng-mei Ma, *The Deathly Embrace*, 54–55. Other writers further complicate the picture by emphasizing class issues: Chiao Hsiung-Ping, "Bruce Lee: His Influence on the Evolution of the Kung Fu Genre"; 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*. Verina Glaessner, "The Dance of Death: Bruce Lee," in *Kung Fu: Cinema of Vengeance*, 83–96; and Stuart M. Kaminsky, "Kung Fu as Ghetto Myth."
15. Louie, *Theorizing Chinese Masculinity*, 1–22 ff.
16. *Ibid.*, 145, 147.
17. Jachinson Chan, *Chinese American Masculinities*, 89.

18. Louie, *Theorizing Chinese Masculinity*, 148, 13, 147–48. No doubt, Lee's Caucasian wife also complicated the conventional picture.
19. An example of the queer appreciation of Lee is Tony Rayns, "Bruce Lee: Narcissism and Nationalism." Teo, "True Way of the Dragon: The Films of Bruce Lee," is an example of the controversy it has provoked.
20. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*.
21. Robin Wood, "Two Films by Martin Scorsese," in *Hollywood from Vietnam to Reagan*, 245–69.
22. Cheng Yu, "Anatomy of a Legend," 25.
23. Rayns, "Bruce Lee: Narcissism and Nationalism," 112.
24. Prime examples include Dai Jinhua, "Postcolonialism and the Chinese Cinema of the Nineties"; Wang Yichuan, *The End of the Zhang Yimou Myth* (in Chinese); Zhang Yingjin, *Screening China*; and Zhang Yiwu, "Zhang Yimou in the context of global post-coloniality" (in Chinese).
25. Mark O'Neill, "Film-makers Jittery as Hollywood Comes Calling."
26. More precise figures can be obtained by consulting the *China Film Yearbook* series (in Chinese).
27. Stanley Rosen, "'The Wolf at the Door?': Hollywood and the Film Market in China from 1994–2000."
28. Wang Zhiqiang, "1995 market summary for film imports" (in Chinese).
29. Wang Shujun, *Framing Piracy: Globalization and Film Distribution in Greater China*, 65.
30. For figures on numbers of Taiwan-produced films submitted for censorship since 1949, see tables 1a and 1b in Feii Lu, *Taiwan cinema: politics, economics, aesthetics* (in Chinese), n.p.
31. Table 22f in Feii Lu, *Taiwan cinema* (in Chinese), n.p.
32. Ti Wei, "Reassessing New Taiwanese Cinema: From Local to Global," 34.
33. For a detailed account, see Wang Shujun, *Framing Piracy*, 106–114.
34. Toby Miller, Nitin Govil, John McMurria, and Richard Maxwell, *Global Hollywood*, 3–10.
35. Liz Shackleton, "Hong Kong—The Sequel Means Business."
36. Mary Kwong, "HK Movie World's Fortunes Take a Tumble."
37. Wang Shujun, *Framing Piracy*, 169. There have, of course, been repeated efforts to counter this. In 2003, Hong Kong and Beijing announced a "Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement," which, among other things, facilitates cooperation between the film industries of Hong Kong and the mainland. Whether this will turn things around for either industry remains to be seen.
38. Wang Shujun, *Framing Piracy*, 44.
39. *Ibid.*, 162.
40. *Ibid.*, 50.
41. *Ibid.*, 139.
42. Tony Bennett, *Culture: A Reformer's Science*, 167, 169.
43. Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, 142.
44. Ni Zhen, "Titanic sums up a century of cinema" (in Chinese).
45. Zhang Baiqing, "Chinese blockbusters need to get it together" (in Chinese), 14.
46. Stanley Rosen, "'The Wolf at the Door?':"

47. Zheng Dongtian, "What's big about the "big film"?—a memo on reading *The Opium War*" (in Chinese).
48. Wang Rui, "Hollywood films and the Hollywood phenomenon" (in Chinese), 79.
49. Zhou Xiangwen, "Discussing Ding Yinnan on the basis of *Dr. Sun Yatsen*" (in Chinese); Ding Yinnan et al., "Film roundtable: on the epic film, *Dr. Sun Yatsen*" (in Chinese); Jin Xiang, "On the music in *Dr. Sun Yatsen*" (in Chinese).
50. Zhang Baiqing, "Chinese blockbusters need to get it together" (in Chinese), 14.
51. "Hero Becomes China's Top-Grossing Film, to Open in the U.S. Later this Year."
52. Jonathan Noble, "Titanic in China: Transnational Capitalism as Official Ideology?" 170 (emphasis in the original).
53. Michael Patrick and Zhang Yilei, "Beijing."
54. Leonard Klady, "Alien: The Unkindest Cuts."
55. Michael Bodey, "Holding Out for a Hero."
56. "New Start for Film Industry."
57. Steve Neale, "Hollywood Blockbusters: Historical Dimensions," in Julian Stringer, ed., *Movie Blockbusters*, 47–60.
58. "Hero: Box Office Savior." There are variations in the dollar figures quoted by different sources.
59. Zhang Yimou, quoted in "New Start for Film Industry."
60. "Hero: Box Office Savior."
61. Ibid.
62. Jan Uhde and Yvonne Ng Uhde, *Latent Images: Film in Singapore*.
63. For example, Uhde and Ng Uhde detail the dispute over whether Malaysia or Singapore could claim early filmmaker P. Ramlee that followed a Ramlee retrospective at the 1999 Singapore International Film Festival (*Latent Images*, 12).
64. Given the absence of a local industry at the time of writing, David Birch devotes much of his 1996 essay on film policy in Singapore to detailing its notorious censorship regime: "Film and Cinema in Singapore: Cultural Policy as Control," in Albert Moran, ed., *Film Policy: International, National, and Regional Perspectives*, 185–211.
65. Gary Rodan, "Class Transformations and Political Tensions in Singapore's Development," in Richard Robison and David S. G. Goodman, eds., *The New Rich in Asia: Mobile Phones, McDonalds, and Middle-Class Revolution*, 19–45.
66. Cited in Uhde and Ng Uhde, *Latent Images*, 61.
67. For details, see Uhde and Ng Uhde, *Latent Images*, 59–80, and Birch, "Film and Cinema in Singapore," 187–89. For government policy and funding initiatives, see the Web site of the Singapore Film Commission: see www.sfc.org.sg.
68. Birch, "Film and Cinema in Singapore," 191.
69. Chua Beng Huat with Yeo Wei Wei, "Cinematic Critique from the Margins and the Mainstream," in Chua Beng Huat, *Life Is Not Complete Without Shopping: Consumption Culture in Singapore*, 177–89.
70. Although not directed by Neo, a successful 1999 movie was built around the character. Uhde and Ng Uhde, *Latent Images*, 135–38.
71. See www.sfc.org.sg/statistics/statistic_top5.shtml (accessed June 20, 2004).
72. Uhde and Ng Uhde interview Khoo (*Latent Images*, 121–25).
73. Chua, "Cinematic Critique," 184, 188.

74. Ibid., 188.
75. Chua Beng Huat, "Taiwan's Future/Singapore's Past: Hokkien Films in Between," in Chua, *Life Is Not Complete Without Shopping*, 160–62.
76. Bill Nichols, "Discovering Form, Inferring Meaning: New Cinemas and the Film Festival Circuit," 16–26.
77. For further discussion of the film and its poor critical reception in Singapore compared to *Mee Pok Man*, see Chris Berry, "The Scenic Route versus the Information Superhighway."
78. Uhde and Ng Uhde, *Latent Images*, 111.
79. Ibid., 127–30.
80. Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *The Location of Culture*, 85–92.

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