

HONG KONG CULTURE

WORD AND IMAGE

Edited by Kam Louie



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Introduction

Hong Kong on the Move: Creating Global Cultures

Kam Louie

It is now over ten years since Hong Kong's return to Chinese sovereignty in 1997. In the scale of Chinese history, mere decades seem relatively short. In many respects, the physical and cultural landscape of the former colony seems to have remained the same, yet we all know that there have been a great number of changes in that time. Some of the continuities and discontinuities — such as the ubiquitous taxis and the replacement of the British flag with the Chinese at government buildings — are superficial. Others are more subtle but more profound, and these constants and changes are not so easily identifiable because even when they are visible, they often need to be de-coded or contextualized before the lay person will recognize them. The problem becomes very complex when we try to consider culture in Hong Kong.

What is Hong Kong culture? Anyone who has been to Hong Kong before and after 1997 would know that when it belonged to Britain, Hong Kong culture was not really British, and now that the former colony is part of China, its culture is not exactly Chinese either. It is a cliché to say that Hong Kong today benefits from the economic growth in China, without the political restrictions the rest of China has to operate under. In order to explore the development of Hong Kong's cultural scene under the "one country, two systems" framework, I have gathered together a group of world experts on Hong Kong cultural matters to contribute essays related to their expertise on Hong Kong culture. To focus the minds of the contributors, and to encourage them to critically explore Hong Kong as a polyphonic, diverse source of cultural "texts", I proposed the topic "Post-1997 Hong Kong Culture: Word and Image" to them as a working theme on which they could write. The chapters in this volume are the results.

The majority of the authors wrote on literature and film. As well as these two genres, we sought to explore new types of texts that would illustrate the dynamism of Hong Kong culture. So our conception of “word” and “image” also includes visual culture, such as protest art, and urban architecture. In so doing we recognize that “words” and “images” are products of particular localities and spatial contexts as well as the intellect and emotions. And Hong Kong’s space is certainly unique in the world today — whether measured in demographic, political, economic or cultural terms. There is, quite simply, nowhere else like Hong Kong; so it is no surprise that the cultural products of this unique locality are imbued with a uniquely Hong Kong flavour.

Hong Kong has been a cultural fault-line for centuries — first, as a colonial space wrested from the Qing empire by the British and second, as a prize won back by the government of the People’s Republic of China (PRC). In this shaky geopolitical terrain, Hong Kong found its firm cultural ground and became a translation space where Chinese-ness was interpreted for “Westerners” and Western-ness was translated for Chinese. As a cultural hub Cantonese culture also flourished along new cosmopolitan lines to build a modern, outward-looking character. In combination, each of these interactions worked together to produce Hong Kong’s unique culture.

Global attention to the Hong Kong culture phenomenon is evident from the diverse nature of the contributors to this volume. Researchers from the United Kingdom, the United States, Singapore and Australia joined the Hong Kong-based researchers. Moreover, the Hong Kong-based contributors are Hong Kong-born Chinese as well as long-term residents of Hong Kong from Scotland, England, the United States, Italy and Australia. This diverse group held a wide variety of opinions about Hong Kong’s culture but it became clear that they all regarded it as a multifaceted, polyphonic culture that resists easy homogenization. Many of the essays also show that while “the decade after 1997” was a convenient point of departure, it was an artificial marker. A solid study of current Hong Kong culture required a longer-range view to draw out its full significance and impact. The chapters in this book reflect this expanded perspective.

As the following chapters will demonstrate, Hong Kong culture, while unique, has many facets that can be traced to Chinese roots and global influences. Like some other rapidly changing urban centres such as Shanghai, the Hong Kong skyline is pierced by skyscrapers and residential high rises even before traces of the old tenement houses that they displace have disappeared or the reclaimed land on which they stand has solidified. Indeed, as Esther M. K. Cheung demonstrates, the city is haunted not just by the spectacular and more subtle changes that have occurred in recent times (Chapter 10), it is also haunted by the urgency with which it feels it needs to re-define itself with reference

to other cities such as Sydney, a point clearly made in David Clarke's essay (Chapter 3).

Hong Kong residents may even feel a sense of alienation and rootlessness as they are confronted daily by the fast-paced and never-ceasing transformations in their surroundings. Successfully managing this sense of the unstable is precisely what makes Hong Kong such a modern city, and its citizens such good survivors in the modern world. Indeed, John M. Carroll shows (Chapter 1) quite clearly in his historical sketch of Hong Kong in the last dozen odd years that despite some uncertainties that led up to the handover in 1997 and the implications of the "one-country, two-systems" policy, the city that emerged is cosmopolitan, prosperous and stable. Moreover its civil service kept the city's operational bureaucracy intact while local artists have become more concerned with expressing local identity issues.

Ironically, the return to the motherland has prompted local artists to seek and assert their own uniquely Hong Kong identity. As Carolyn Cartier shows (Chapter 2), contemporary art in Hong Kong has increasingly become political. Artists have embraced causes such as heritage conservation and humanistic concerns: promoting the value of human qualities in economic spaces amidst the rampant commercial development of the territory. This is most noticeable in the performance art that Cartier brings to our attention, not only because the artists deliberately show their creations in public spaces, but also because they champion the conservation of Hong Kong iconic sites such as the Star Ferry Pier and Queen's Pier. These icons are already indelibly etched in people's consciousness, and the possibility of losing them is equated with the loss of one's own individual memories and experiences. In the many pictorial exhibitions and personal reminiscences, Hong Kong's past is thus remembered through nostalgia and fondness for public places of personal and community experience rather than colonial history.

Against the expectations of many, Hong Kong's decolonization and return to Chinese rule did not bring economic ruin or political instability, but it did not bring outpourings of patriotic sentiment or self-governance either. People who live in Hong Kong continue their lives in multidirectional and hybridized ways. Leung Ping-kwan's poem "An Old Colonial Building" (about the University of Hong Kong's Main Building) captures well the notion that political movements and power mostly change the superstructures: their impact on ordinary lives are limited. While old monuments such as the Main Building are continually renovated, and their colonial origins and reconstructions no doubt remarkable, those that live and work within them are more concerned with the occasional glance here and there and the inconsequential words that are exchanged between its inhabitants.

This poem and its English translation are analyzed in Elaine Yee Lin Ho's article (Chapter 4). In this chapter, Ho also examines both the Chinese and English texts of Wong Man's "Indulgence" and Tammy Ho's "Going to My Parents' Place on a Crowded Bus" and "My Home". Elaine Ho's chapter is more than a literary appreciation of the poems. She uses these poems to illustrate her concerns about biliteracy and translation in the two major languages in use in Hong Kong: Chinese and English. This concern is prompted by the intense debates on the issue of the medium of instruction in schools that took place around 1997. In fact, the controversy around the medium of instruction in schools, with its emphasis on formal education, has oversimplified Hong Kong's complex linguistic situation into one of Chinese versus English.

This oversimplification overshadows the fact that neither Mandarin Chinese (as in the spoken *Putonghua* or written *baihua*) nor English is the native language of Hong Kong locals. The majority of Hong Kong residents speak Cantonese, yet few among them write Cantonese unless they want to signal that the text is meant to be vernacular and not weighty in significance. It is most commonly used as chatter in media such as comics or on blogs and social networking sites. Cantonese holds an ambiguous position as both the authentic indigenous tongue and yet "less useful" than *Putonghua*, the "national language". English is closely associated with a colonial past, yet it is also undeniably the key to an international future. It is also a good instrument for inscribing cross-cultural encounters between Hong Kong and other lands not necessarily England, the original home of English. As Douglas Kerr shows in his discussion of the poet Louise Ho (Chapter 5), for example, English links the divided states of mind between Australians and Chinese. Hong Kong provides the point of contact, a place where cultures meet and a cosmopolitan traveller can regard as home or another place where she can leave a mark and continue her journeys.

The Hong Kong-born Chinese Indonesian writer Xu Xi is another example of such a cosmopolitan traveller. She too adopts an English-speaking country as home — the United States — and her essays on Hong Kong that Michael Ingham examines in Chapter 6 are also written in English. As well as highlighting Xu Xi's critical insights on Hong Kong, Ingham explores another type of essay in his chapter: the film essay in the form of a drama-style documentary. The film under consideration, Herman Yau's *From the Queen to the Chief Executive*, puts the judicial system of Hong Kong in the aftermath of the handover "on trial". This is done through an examination of both its subject matter — the legal case of a controversial murder committed in 1985 involving juveniles — and in the discussion of the way the film was condemned in the Legislative Council at the instigation of the Home Affairs Bureau. This film clearly shows the powerful impact of the film essay as a tool for social critique.

Chris Berry's chapter provides further evidence of the importance of documentary film to contemporary Hong Kong culture (Chapter 12). In his discussion of the independent filmmaker Tammy Cheung, Berry argues cogently and convincingly that while Hong Kong cinema has seen a decline in box-office figures over the last fifteen years or so, the rise of documentaries such as Cheung's has provided an alternative to mainstream Hong Kong cinema. Previously associated with action and comedy, the recent upsurge in documentary film production in Hong Kong reveals the industry's capacity to generate a diverse critical and socially engaged product as well. Filmmakers such as Cheung are also increasingly commenting on mainland China and not just on Hong Kong. Border crossings between Hong Kong and China number in the millions every year and significantly the border itself is becoming increasingly more permeable. Hong Kong's unique creative arts context occupies a global space in which the Hong Kong perspective on China has often been regarded by audiences and the film industry as being "modern", "advanced" and "cosmopolitan". Hong Kong views on China now carry a special validity within global cinematic audiences newly hungry for insights into China. Hong Kong's capacity to create such transborder projects — documentaries in particular, but also in cinema more generally — is rapidly gaining global and local recognition.

Tammy Cheung, Louise Ho and Xu Xi also draw our attention to another important feature of Hong Kong culture — the importance of "overseas Chinese" to the vibrancy of the arts sector. Hong Kong has long been a zone of cultural transition. For decades after 1949, people leaving the PRC either passed through Hong Kong on their way to third countries or remained to contribute to its polyglot community. Fujianese lived alongside Shanghainese and Sichuanese within a Cantonese city. This mobility reached another peak in the last decades of the twentieth century when long-term Hong Kong residents began leaving the colony in advance of the departure of the British. In the lead-up to the 1997 handover, large numbers of Hongkongers emigrated to live either permanently or temporarily in third countries in order to secure a non-PRC passport. In recent years, large numbers of these emigrants have returned to Hong Kong, and increasing numbers have moved to Macau and the PRC. The mobility of Hong Kong people over many decades ensures its role as a transmission zone and a transnational city where the processes of leaving and returning energize artists and audiences alike. Hong Kong is a haven — a place to find refuge from the vicissitudes of radical politics in the PRC for some, and for others relief from the isolation and alienation of "the West". As a result of this constant sense of coming-and-going filmmakers and writers like Tammy Cheung and Louise Ho are able to simultaneously stand apart from Hong Kong and be embedded

within it. This dual perspective is at once unsettling and reassuring in its instantly recognizable Hong Kong-style self-reflexivity.

In fact, many of the film chapters in this volume directly discuss the China problem or allude to it in some way. In contrast to the optimistic appraisal of the transborder venture with the Mainland proposed by Chris Berry, Chu Yiu-wai cites James Wong, known as the godfather of Cantopop, who saw the 1997 handover as the demise of Cantopop. By tracing Mainland-Hong Kong co-productions in the film industry since the 1960s, Chu Yiu-wai shows that in fact Hong Kong films had a chance to flower during the Cultural Revolution period when cooperation was cut off and Hong Kong films were able to develop a distinctive identity. Chu is concerned that the “one country, two systems” formula may not guarantee a “one country, two cultures” result (Chapter 8). This concern is justified when we consider regulations governing co-productions stipulate that more than half the main actors must be Mainlanders. This and other factors such as local talents including John Woo shifting to Hollywood have resulted in the Hong Kong film industry losing its “Hong Kong brand” identity. More subtle but fundamental changes also followed these shifts. Whereas previously Hong Kong films were spoken mainly in Cantonese, with the *Putonghua* dubbing process of secondary interest, many are now filmed in *Putonghua* in the original. Thus, a crucial foundational feature of Hong Kong culture — its spoken language — is being slowly made less pronounced and more marginalized.

Nevertheless, even though Cantonese is spoken less frequently on the big screen and heard less often, it clearly cannot be silenced. Even as Cantopop, it still plays a significant role in the sounds and images of popular culture. In Giorgio Biancorosso’s discussion of Wong Kar-wai’s use of pre-existing songs to fashion his movie *Fallen Angels* (1995), for example, James Wong’s most widely known Cantopop song “Forget Him” is very successfully used to set an unmistakably Hong Kong mood in the film (Chapter 13). However, Biancorosso’s thesis is more than just that Wong Kar-wai’s films are very Cantonese, but quite the reverse. By analyzing one of Wong’s later movies, *My Blueberry Nights* (2007), Biancorosso shows that song compilations in movies do not necessarily reflect moods of locality merely by where they originate. As well as “Forget Him”, for example, *Fallen Angels* features British group Massive Attack’s “Karmacoma” and American singer Laurie Anderson’s “Speak My Language”. But the soundtrack structures the environment into an integrated whole. By contrast, sound and image fail to coalesce as a coherent whole in *My Blueberry Nights*. The globalized circulation of sounds and images can therefore sometimes produce the desired effects, but not all the time — sometimes dissonance can result.

And at times, the desire for the global can lead to monstrosity, a point insightfully demonstrated in Pheng Cheah's examination of Fruit Chan's *Hollywood, Hong Kong* (Chapter 11). The central character in this movie is a beautiful young Shanghainese woman working as a prostitute in Hong Kong where she unleashes tragedy and havoc on the male residents of the village near where she lives in her drive to get to America. Hong Kong aims to be a global city, but it is also the stepping-stone connecting the Chinese mainland and the rest of the (Western) world. Although movies such as *Hollywood, Hong Kong* may suggest a one-way human and cultural traffic, the cultural flow is of course much more complex. By looking at the connections between Andrew Lau and Alan Mak's *Infernal Affairs* and Martin Scorsese's *The Departed*, Gina Marchetti points to an obvious but nevertheless intriguing and interesting truth: that cultural passages and influences between China, Hong Kong and America have for a long time been constantly flowing both ways, and by imitating the other, often one unknowingly imitates oneself (Chapter 9).

Taken together, these essays consistently alert us to one key phenomenon: that present-day Hong Kong culture is fascinating because it is a confluence of various cultures from around the world. Most point to the mutual influences between the indigenous (Chinese) and the West, but Hong Kong is more than that. It also occupies a focal point for other parts of the globe and in particular from around the Asian region. C. J. W.-L. Wee's essay on Hong Kong cinema shows how the increasing circulation of "culture" in the East Asian region has helped create an intra-Asian mass culture and a new Asian regional identity (Chapter 7). Wee's essay is an indication that today's Hong Kong culture is extremely diverse and complex. Its vibrancy stems from local practices enriched by Chinese, Asian and international influences.

By focusing on words and images, we have in this book only been able to deal with some aspects of it that are readily accessible (such as books and films). The cosmopolitan nature of Hong Kong culture is also evident in all other aspects of the cultural scene. We have concentrated on Hong Kong as a place that receives and transforms cultural forms that come into the territory. However, cultural flows in the opposite direction can also be detected. Some of the contributors to this book such as Gina Marchetti have indicated that Hong Kong film in particular can be seen to have impacted on the industry in both China and America. Less visible but equally important influences emanating from Hong Kong to the rest of the world are also significant. For example, Cantonese cooking and eating habits such as dim sum or *yum cha* are spreading all over the world mainly due to Hong Kong restaurants. Perhaps in some future work, we can look at the influences Hong Kong exerts on China and the rest of the world.

Notes

Chapter 1

1. Somewhat oddly, Hong Kong is either almost entirely absent from many studies of British imperialism, or referred to only fleetingly as the endpoint of empire.
2. These figures are even more significant in that they represent only the people who were actually able to find host countries willing to accept them rather than those who wanted or tried to emigrate.

Chapter 3

1. On the complex relationship between expectation and experience in travel, see Duro, 2007.
2. A “haunting” of Macau by Las Vegas is discussed in Clarke, 2007a. Like Hong Kong, Macau underwent a late decolonization that did not result in independence, and was thus in particular need of resources for a postcolonial civic identity. The unavailability of the normal discursive resources for constructing national identity in a postcolonial era is part of what distinguishes the cases of Hong Kong and Macau from that of Singapore, a city that is also an independent state.
3. I discuss the Cultural Centre and the Extension to the Convention and Exhibition Centre in Chapter 4 of Clarke, 2002, which also treats many other aspects of Hong Kong art and visual culture in the late colonial and early postcolonial period. Hong Kong architecture and urban planning since 1997 is further discussed in Clarke, 2007b, and I deal with issues of Hong Kong cultural identity during the same period in Clarke, 2007c.
4. As the then chief secretary for administration Anson Chan put it in an 11 June 1998 speech at the Asia Society Washington Center annual dinner, “the real transition is about identity and not sovereignty. [...] Late on the evening of June 30, 1997, between the lowering of one flag and the raising of another — in that instant when Hong Kong seemed truly without identity — identity became the issue. That was one of the handover’s defining moments and is the challenge Hong Kong faces today” (Asia Society website).
5. On the visit of Donald Tsang (then financial secretary) to Las Vegas, see Torode, 1999, Review, p. 1.
6. Foster’s canopy design had been the winner of an architectural competition for the West Kowloon Cultural District site, which took place prior to serious detailed

consideration (even within the Hong Kong government itself, it seems) of what would actually happen on the site. Public opposition to the notion of private sector control over such a major cultural site (in particular to the proposed idea of a single for-profit entity being given sole possession, and to the high density of development the three short-listed bidders proposed in their plans) eventually led the Hong Kong government in 2006 to abandon the process of bidding between property developer-led consortiums it had initiated in 2003. When the project was revived in a new form, the idea of using Foster's canopy (which had never received widespread public endorsement) was abandoned. A summary of the history of the project and details of the new proposals announced in 2007 (which envisaged a non-profit-making statutory authority taking charge of the site) can be found on the Hong Kong Government website at: http://www.hab.gov.hk/wkcd/pe/eng/doc/CC_Report_eng/3_executivesummary.pdf (accessed 22 January 2008). The West Kowloon Cultural District Authority Ordinance was enacted by the Legislative Council on 11 July 2008, and an upfront endowment of HK\$21.6 billion was approved. Although an independent statutory body, the authority is chaired by the chief secretary for administration, enabling the Hong Kong government to exercise a high degree of control over it. For details see the West Kowloon Cultural District Authority website, <http://www.wkcdauthority.hk/en/bkgd/wcda.htm> (accessed 13 May 2009).

7. Wen Jiabao's comment was made shortly after returning from a visit to Singapore. Wen stated that during his visit to Singapore he "kept thinking of Hong Kong", adding that "It is facing very strong competition — the situation is pressing". Tsang replied that he visited Singapore every couple of years to observe its development, and had also learned from the experiences of Shanghai and Beijing (see Fung and Wu, 2007, p. A1). Tsang had already referred to Hong Kong and Singapore on 15 July 2006 as "the closest twin cities on earth" in terms of development and their people's ambition, adding that Hong Kong had much to learn from the other city (see Leung, 2006, p. 1). Tsang's views were challenged by former chief secretary Anson Chan, who stated in an interview on 22 July 2006 that she did not believe the Singapore model of democracy was the one Hong Kong should follow, and that there was not much Hong Kong could learn from that city about how to develop political talents (Sinn, 2006, p. 2). A *South China Morning Post* leader on 18 July (2006a) also took issue with Tsang.
8. For further information on "Brand Hong Kong" (note the terminology, which treats the city as if it were a commercial product needing to find a place in a crowded marketplace), see the official website: <http://www.brandhk.gov.hk/brandhk/eindex.htm> (accessed 17 January 2008).
9. This irony was pointed out at the time by commentator Jake van der Kamp ("So Easy to Imitate, So Difficult to Create, So Easy to Borrow Brands", *South China Morning Post*, 15 November 2005, p. B16).
10. Xu Kuangdi's comments were made on 10 March 2001 (see "Xu Kuangdi: Shanghai Not to Replace HK", People's Daily Online, 12 March 2001, http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/english/200103/12/eng20010312_64780.html, accessed 17 January 2008). On Zhu's and Tsang's comments concerning Hong Kong and Shanghai, see Yeung,

2001, p. A1. Tsang's comparison between Hong Kong and New York, and Shanghai and Chicago apparently coincides with the view of the expert on globalization and world cities, Saskia Sassen: see Schifferes, BBC News website (international version), 27 June 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/6240994.stm> (accessed 29 August 2007). Wang Zhan, director of the Development Research Center of the Shanghai Municipal People's Government, apparently suggested that "Hong Kong should become the Switzerland of Asia" (see Lo, 2005, p. 1), while author Simon Winchester claims to have angered Hong Kong's last colonial governor, Chris Patten, by suggesting to him that in fifty years Beijing would be China's Washington D.C., Shanghai its New York ... and Hong Kong its New Orleans (Winchester, 2006, p. 54). More recently politician and former government official Regina Ip has explored the parallels between Hong Kong and Tianjin (see Ip, 2008, p. A11), and a departing speech by British Consul-General Stephen Bradley to the Foreign Correspondents' Club on 13 March 2008 claimed that Hong Kong was still a very small town when compared to London and New York, at least with respect to cultural provision. One response to Bradley's speech was Gordon, 2008. An alternative view that Hong Kong could indeed be reasonably compared to London and New York was expressed in an article in *Time* (Elliott, 2008). Newspapers have been a major site in which the discourse of a supposed rivalry between Hong Kong and Shanghai has been propagated since 1997. Not all such accounts have simply voiced fears of Hong Kong being overtaken by Shanghai, however, and in the period since the retirement of China's Shanghai-associated leaders Jiang Zemin and Zhu Rongji there has sometimes been a picture of that city as also faltering in its direction (see, for instance, *South China Morning Post*, 2006b). A 2009 decision of China's State Council to turn Shanghai into an international financial hub by 2020 has however again raised the stakes (see Yeung, 2009, p. 8, on how this has contributed to the pressure on Chief Executive Donald Tsang, who was already facing low popularity ratings).

11. The inverted footage of Hong Kong comes just after the Tony Leung Chiu-wai character, Lai Yiu-fai, states in a voiceover his recognition that Hong Kong is on the opposite side of the world from Argentina. Shortly before this point in the film he has taken a job in an abattoir, working nights, and his voiceover has indicated that such a work schedule suits him since it puts him on Hong Kong time. Hong Kong is mentioned at various points during the film, but becomes more a focus of attention in the latter part (to which the previously mentioned episodes belong), for example with Lai making a phone call to his father there in a failed attempt at reconciliation. This culminates in Lai's final break with Ho Po-wing (the Leslie Cheung character) and his return to Asia. At the end of the film he is seen in Taipei, on a brief stopover on his way back to Hong Kong, but not in Hong Kong itself. Although with Lai's return to Hong Kong Lai and Ho are now on "the other side of the world from each other" (as Wong Kar-wai pointed out in a 1997 interview on the film), the return home comes across as a reconciliation — but with Hong Kong this time, rather than his former partner. As Wong states: "they start as exiles, and I think in the end it's a kind of return. He's going back to his daily life, his own cities, and going to face his own people" ("Wong Kar-wai Exclusive Interview", WBAI, 99.5, New York, <http://www.asiastudios.com/interviews/members/wongkarwai.html>, accessed 10

January 2008). For this reason the soundtrack music, “Happy Together”, which gives the film its title and which plays in its last moments as Lai is leaving Taiwan for Hong Kong, can be read as having affirmative connotations and not simply ironic ones. This more positive connotation of the track is accentuated since — very unusually for such non-diegetic film music — Wong has chosen to use a live recording in which sounds of audience appreciation serve to guide our own interpretive approach by offering a pre-existing frame.

12. Since Hollywood is so strongly associated with filmmaking, Chan’s invocation of it in his film title might also be said to remind us of the rush towards that location, which was a feature of Hong Kong cinema during this post-1997 era (leading to such products as John Woo’s *Face/Off* of 1997). Tong Tong, a Mainland Chinese prostitute and the main female character in *Hollywood, Hong Kong*, dreams of going to America, and eventually succeeds in doing so, offering another sense in which the film links the two locations mentioned in its title. This departure for America echoes that of the Faye Wong character at the end of Wong Kar-wai’s *Chungking Express* (1994), which makes a play between a Hong Kong restaurant named “California” and the American state of the same name (referenced also in the soundtrack via the song “California Dreaming”).
13. At a later date Patrick Ho seems himself to have developed doubts about the world city rhetoric, perhaps because such rhetoric is hard to easily reconcile with the quite different post-handover imperative of propagating Chinese national ideology in Hong Kong. At an Asian cultural cooperation meeting held in Hong Kong in 2005 he gave a speech in which he decried the way in which Asian cities “are tagged with nicknames such as the Venice of Asia, the Las Vegas of the East, or Paris in China. Soho here, West End there and Manhattan everywhere. Heaven knows we are liable to forget that we are in Asia” (quoted in van der Kamp, 2005, note 9).
14. Wong’s teahouse was constructed using a kind of red/white/blue plastic fabric that is widely used in everyday contexts in Hong Kong, and which has come to signify local Hong Kong identity for many. Wong has employed this material in other art and design works as well.
15. Hong Kong and Beijing are also linked in Tozer Pak’s performance work *A Present to the Central Government* (2005). The first part of this work took place in Hong Kong on 1 July 2005, when Pak placed a strip of yellow cloth across the path of a democracy march; the second part took place in Beijing on 17 July 2005 when he tied fragments of that cloth around the periphery of Tiananmen Square (a friend documented the process and removed the cloth strips not long after they had been placed).

Chapter 4

1. The recent policy paper on “fine-tuning” the medium of instruction defines its objectives as follows: “Hong Kong needs to enhance its position as a modern international city and a global financial centre for sustained economic growth. Hong Kong also has a key role to play in contributing to the prosperity and development of our country. For these, we must equip our students with the requisite proficiency in both Chinese and English. Further, we are entering a new era as globalization has taken hold, and our younger generation will meet unprecedented challenges of the

ever-changing environment. Our education system, including the curriculum and pedagogies, has to progress in tandem. The New Senior Secondary academic structure to be implemented this September will provide a wide and broad curriculum so as to enable our students to achieve all-round development and to lay the foundation for life-long learning. To learn how to learn, our students must master the skills to collate information, identify and analyze the issues involved, and articulate their opinions. All these require a good command of both Chinese and English.” From discussion paper of the Legislative Council Panel on Education: Fine-tuning the Medium of Instruction for Secondary Schools, 15 January 2009, <http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr11-12/english/panels/ed/papers> (accessed June 1, 2009).

2. For a summary account of biliteracy and trilingualism and the medium of instruction, see Adamson, forthcoming.
3. See Bhatia and Ritchie for the areas of interest in bilingualism, and within this framework, a discussion of the Hong Kong situation by Li and Lee, 2005.
4. These earlier studies need to be supplemented by the work of Katherine Chen on code mixing and code switching differentiations between Hong Kong Cantonese speakers and returnees who have studied or lived in anglophone countries for an extended period of time. Chen’s study takes into account the changing demographics of the local population where older triangulations between mainland China, Hong Kong, Britain/United States, are complicated by mobile and diasporic ethnic Chinese subjects from different global locations. Some studies of code switching, however, disagree about whether the practice is sociolinguistically motivated. See the literature cited in Li and Lee, 2005, 3.1.
5. For a systematic discussion of literary translation and postcolonial writing as analogues of “intercultural writing”, see Tymoczko, 1999a.
6. For insightful discussions of Leung’s work situated vis-à-vis 1997, see Chow, 1998 and 2002. Martha Cheung’s introduction offers an excellent overview of Leung’s work (Leung, 2002, pp. 19–35).
7. The exterior of the Main Building, most frequently identified with the university in the public recognition, is one of eighty-four “Declared Monuments” in Hong Kong. Any alteration or renovation is subject to official approval.
8. See Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, “The Language of African Literature” (1985), rpt., and other essays in Ngũgĩ, 1986. For one of the best-informed and insightful studies of Ngũgĩ and his work, see Gikandi, 2002.
9. In one conception of “world literature” by David Damrosch, 2003, it is a “mode of circulation and of reading” (p. 5) in which literary works move beyond their “culture of origin, either in translation or in their original language” (p. 4). This conception is not directed towards canon formation though the actual choice of texts in Damrosch’s study can be seen to posit the criteria of selecting works that enter into global circulation.
10. Franco Moretti’s conception of “world literature” is much more systemically oriented than Damrosch’s. It presupposes quasi-organic links between national literatures as resources from which texts for collections and anthologies of “world literature” can be derived. In its actual institutional organization, “world literature” appears to reinvent a hierarchy between national literature specialists as peripheral

- and theorists of “world literature” at the centre. In Moretti’s schema, Leung’s poem would be positioned as “national” literature, and Leung himself as Chinese literature specialist — with all the irony they imply.
11. I am adapting the well-known use of cultural “worlding” by Gayatri Spivak (Spivak, 1985, p. 262) as the incorporation of a “native” project into imperial cultural governance.
 12. Wong Man was from a rich comprador family in Hong Kong. After qualifying as a medical doctor in England, he practised in a London public hospital before returning to Hong Kong. In the 1930s, he went on to Shanghai to look after Chinese soldiers injured in the war against Japan. There, he befriended leftist intellectuals and public figures including Soong Qingling (Madame Sun Yat-sen). From Shanghai, he travelled to Guangzhou (Canton) where he helped set up the Chinese branch of the International Red Cross. After 1949, he returned to Hong Kong where he continued to practise as a doctor, and also translated and wrote poems. As a writer and historical figure, Wong Man has long been consigned to collective oblivion. His name, as far as I know, is not mentioned in any of the anthologies or narratives of Hong Kong literature. I have written elsewhere of what little is known of Wong, his significance, and that of his writing in poetic and other genres in the cultural-historical contexts of 1950s Hong Kong and the Cold War (Ho, 2009b).
 13. Eileen Chang Ailing was possibly the only other and more famous writer who wrote and published in both languages.
 14. This issue is discussed in another essay (Ho, 2009b), but situated in Hong Kong literary culture during the Cold War and Wong Man’s other writing and cultural activities.
 15. There are two main sources of biographical information on Wong: his series of essays, “Bygone Travel Notes” about his early childhood, in the English-language magazine, *Eastern Horizon* II (1962–63), published in Hong Kong, and the obituary, “In Memory of Dr Wong Man,” by J. M. and Rose W. Y. Tan, *Eastern Horizon* III:1 (January 1964), pp. 62–63. A copy of *Between Two Worlds* signed by Wong himself and dedicated to Chan Kwan Po, former librarian of the Fung Ping-shan Chinese library, is in the Hong Kong Collection, University of Hong Kong Library.
 16. At a meeting of education groups, the chairman of the Association of Heads of Secondary Schools is reported to have said: “The changes [in the ‘fine-tuning’ policy] are obviously in response to some complaints about students’ poor English under mother-tongue education. We are not saying students need not brush up on their English, but the new policy cannot serve the purpose. It will worsen the labelling effect on students who remain in Chinese classes” (Ng, 2009). In their response to the government’s discussion paper on fine-tuning, the Association of English Medium Secondary Schools writes: “We agree that mixed-code teaching, e.g. the use of English textbooks with classroom instruction in Chinese, should not be allowed, as this will seriously compromise the students’ ability to speak and write well in English. While some Chinese terms may be used in an initial bridging programme in Secondary I, this should not last for more than three months” (http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr11-12/english/panels/ed/papers/ed_m1.htm, accessed June 7, 2009). Here, the example of “mixed-code teaching” is another of the variants on what mixed

code in the classroom can entail. It implicitly maintains the separation between Chinese speech and English writing even as it posits the co-presence of the two in the classroom as “mixed-code”. The responses of the two groups suggest they perceive the “fine-tuning” policy and its aims quite differently.

17. According to Tammy Ho, “The poem was written in 2008, shortly before Lunar New Year. I was struck by how much media attention Tin Shui Wai (where my parents and sisters live) received then and wondered how much of that excessive attention was genuine. I disliked the label that the town had ‘earned’: Town of Sadness 悲傷之城. It’s not only an untrue description of the place, it’s also an unfair comment affecting all the citizens living in Tin Shui Wai. At the end of the day, I thought there are many humble and decent families leading a normal life, and it is *their* stories that build the town, and Hong Kong as a whole” (Ho, 2008).
18. For an article, “Tin Shui Wai: City of Sadness”, written in December 2007 at around the same time as Tammy Ho’s two poems, see http://www.asiasentinel.com/index.php?Itemid=149&id=934&option=com_content&task=view. See also the Hong Kong filmmaker, Ann Hui On-wah’s diptych on Tin Shui Wai, *The Way We Are* (2008) and *Night and Fog* (2009). The Chinese language website, <http://www.tinshuiwai.com.hk/>, posts community information and activities.
19. For the purpose of this chapter, my translations are literal, which means including the alternative meanings of the Chinese characters within parentheses and after a slash. The pronouns in brackets are not in the Chinese original but are implied in the grammar.

Chapter 5

1. All quotations from Louise Ho’s poetry are taken from Ho, 2009.
2. In William Empson’s taxonomy, this is an ambiguity of the third type.
3. For recent Hong Kong literature in English, see Xu and Ingham, 2003, which has a foreword by Louise Ho.
4. These modalities are understood by Casanova to stand in oppugnancy, rather than, for example, in dialogue; the model seems to be one of economic rivalry or even military hostility. If letters is a republic, it is in a state of civil war.
5. “Every work from a dispossessed national space that aspires to the status of literature exists solely in relation to the consecrating authorities of the most autonomous places” (Casanova, 2004, p. 109).
6. Also of relevance to this question of internationalization is the anthology of translations edited by Louise Ho and Klaus Stierstorfer, 2006.
7. The essay by Durant, a London professor of English, appended to this collection of Wong’s poems is, it could be argued, a further instance of Casanova’s “international” writing’s bid for consecration by metropolitan authorities.
8. “Geeleegulu” is glossed in a note as “Double Dutch”; it is the kind of burbling with which infants are sometimes addressed by besotted adults. Varieties of English also jostle in the poems. In “The Australian O”, a favourite word is reborn as “heaoaium”.
9. The Leung-Using collaboration is in Leung, 1992.
10. The policy is set out in the written reply of the then secretary of the civil service to a question put in the Hong Kong Legislative Council, 5 July 2006 (<http://www.legco.gov.hk>).

- csb.gov.hk/english/info/326.html, accessed 23 June 2009). Biliteracy in Chinese and English, and trilingualism in Cantonese, Putonghua and English is the aim.
11. Indeed, teachers of literature in English are very aware that the primary motivation of most of their students, and the families who support them, is the enhanced career prospects enjoyed by those who have majored in English studies at university. Not surprisingly, it is not only in Hong Kong and mainland China that this is the case. See Lukmani, 1993. Several of the essays in this volume — whose main title, *The Lie of the Land*, is without deliberate ambiguity as far as I can see — are pertinent to the question of English and education in Hong Kong.
 12. Marvell attracted Empson's admiring attention in three of the chapters of *Seven Types of Ambiguity*; see especially pp. 196–204. For a recent episode in the debate about the Ode, see Moore, 2003.
 13. This leads me to dissent, obviously, from Ackbar Abbas's strange view that "English literature figures in Louise Ho's work, we might say, somewhat like the *Don Quixote* figures in Pierre Menard's" (Abbas, 1998, p. 125). If we think of the mobilization of the language of canonical English poetry as switching on or giving access to a kind of knowledge that then operates as another code within the new poem, we might return to "Home to Hong Kong", for example, and note the spooky resonance of the Spanish Steps as not just a tourist destination but a signifying *English* site, that of the death of Keats in 1821 in a house overlooking the Steps; so that the comedy of the globetrotting Chinese poet takes place in the shadow of the tragedy of the exiled English poet, whose name was "writ in water" and who never went home.
 14. It takes its place in an interesting little genre of English poems that begin with the word "Yes".
 15. Steve Tsang gives a figure of over half a million for the demonstrations in Hong Kong on 21 May and on 5 June 1989 (Tsang, 2004, pp. 246, 247). These marches were notable, like the Tiananmen demonstrations themselves, for patriotic slogans and songs.
 16. The poem "Bronze Horse" in Ho, 1997 is accompanied by Louise Ho's sketch of the sculpture (p. 74). Photographs of "Man, Horse" and other work by Antonio Mak can be accessed via the Hong Kong Art Archive, <http://web.hku.hk:8400/~hkaa/hkaa>.

Chapter 6

1. Virilio observes: "Cinema is the end in which the dominant philosophies and arts have come to confuse and lose themselves, a sort of primordial mixing of the human soul and the languages of the motor-soul" but the same could also be said of Xu Xi's invention of the high-compression, high-speed, quasi-cinematic essay (Virilio, 1991, p. 31).

Chapter 7

1. Tokyo of course is a premier world city, and, in Taylor et al.'s account, Singapore and Hong Kong are part of an "alpha world city" band, though at a level just below that occupied by London, Paris, Tokyo and New York (Taylor, Walker and Beaverstock, 2002, p. 102). It remains to be seen how, in the longer term, Shanghai's financial development may change the present ranking of regional world cities.

2. Fredric Jameson has observed that despite buying Columbia Pictures and MCA in the 1980s, and possessing financial and technological prowess, the “Japanese were unable to master the essentially cultural productivity required to secure the globalization process for any given competitor” (Jameson, 1998, p. 67). The general point still holds, but Jameson’s position does not take into account the extraordinary outburst and significance of regional mass-cultural production and circulation in the 1990s.
3. The expression is media critic Koichi Iwabuchi’s (Iwabuchi, 2003). His point is that *how exactly* subtitling of dramas or pop songs incorporating more than one language and “cultural translation” — that which comes about when the viewer feels that there is “cultural proximity” between the TV programme he/she is watching and his/her own urban context — lead to the creation of regional cultural “resonance” is not apparent. My attempt is to think through this question of “resonance”.
4. For a critique of “alternative modernity” as an emancipated zone free from Euro-American economic hegemony, see Wee, 2007.
5. Cf. Ching, 2001. Ching argues that “first of all, regionalism represents a mediatory attempt to come to terms with the imminent transnationalization of capital and the historical reterritorialization of national economies. Rather than being a corrective to global capitalism, regionalist reterritorializations underscore an invariable contradiction within capitalism itself. Second, ... mass cultural Asianism is a symptom of deeper structural and historical changes in the ways Asia is being perceived as both a mode of production and a regime of discursive practice in the Japanese imaginary. If the earlier Asianism was conditioned on the unequivocal difference between Asia and the West ... in today’s Asianism that difference itself exists only as a commodity, a spectacle to be consumed in a globalized capitalist system precisely at the moment when exteriority [to the West] is no longer possible” (Ching, 2001, p. 282). It is now clearer that “mass-cultural Asianism” is part and parcel of changes in the ways in which Asia is perceived in the larger regional and not only Japanese imaginary. The claim though that today’s East Asian difference is a spectacle to be consumed in the larger globalized capitalist system seems overstated. Many of the cultural products are primarily for regional consumption. The discussion, unfortunately, is not matched or substantiated by a corresponding analysis of enough mass-cultural examples. Ching considers, only cursorily, the old Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai (NHK, or Japan Broadcasting Company) drama *Oshin* (1983), directed by Hashida Sugako, about a long-suffering heroine and the deceptiveness of modern values, which found a wide regional audience, though escaping the interest of major English-speaking territories; and the TV anime, *Doraemon*, about a cat-like robot who makes children’s wishes come true. The latter is even older than *Oshin*; *Doraemon* was created in 1969–70 by Fujimoto Hiroshi and Motoo Abiko.
6. The formulation was in “Datsu-A Ron”, an editorial published in the newspaper *Jiji Shimpō* on 16 March 1885.
7. Lo, 2005, is an example of a study so committed to denouncing any hint of an essentialized East Asia that the critic cannot see that it is actually difference that structures the films he examines. Lo analyzes cultural difference entrenched at the centre of films such as To’s *Fulltime Killer* / 《全職殺手》 and Lee Chi-ngai’s *Sleepless*

Town (1998; *Fuyajo* in Japanese, *Bu ye cheng* in Chinese 《不夜城》), only to return to the question, “If Asia’s heterogeneity is primordial and irreducible and if it designates a unity that can never be contained by any cinematic representation, should we understand those ‘Asian’ films of Japan and Hong Kong as tokens of presence for that which is absent?” (Lo, 2005, p. 143).

8. The countries that are particularly important are Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines and Vietnam, where there is the presence of ethnic Chinese citizens. See Teo, 2000.
9. Other films in the same “cosmopolitan fantasy” action mode include *Purple Storm* / 《紫雨風暴》 (1999) and *2000AD* / 《公元2000》 (2000). The latter was co-produced by Hong Kong’s Media Asia Films and People’s Production Limited and Singapore’s MediaCorp Raintree Pictures, and is an indicative instance of a transnational/regional co-production strategy of film production.
10. The multilingual strategy for overcoming difference also applies to pop music. A major indicative example is Lee Soo Man’s successful S. M. Entertainment Group, South Korea’s leading production house. BoA (real name Gwon Bo-A), who learnt Japanese and English and was groomed for the Japanese market, was S. M.’s first major overseas success. Her debut Japanese-language album in 2002 was the first non-Japanese Asian album to reach number one in *Oricon* magazine’s album charts. Lee’s sights also turned to China, and in an interview he predicted that the China market will exceed Japan’s by 2010; when asked why he was not thinking of the U.S. market, Lee’s response was revealing: “China will soon become the U.S.; why waste energy by entering the U.S. market? It’s Asians after Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics. Even if I go there, it would be difficult to get out of minor market” (“Interview with Lee Soo Man”, 2005). This has meant, for example, that the S. M. boy band TVXQ (debuted 2004) had their first album, *Tri-Angle* (Avex Trax AVKCD80152A), released in China under the title *Dongfang Shenqi* (China Record Corporation, CCD 1994), the group’s Chinese name. This version includes three songs that appear twice, first in Korean and then in Mandarin. In Korean, TVXQ are known as *Dong Bang Shin Ki*, and in Mandarin as *Dongfang Shenqi*, both meaning “Gods Rising in the East”. They have since done well in Japan, with Japanese-language versions of their songs, under the name *Tōhōshinki*, which has the same meaning as the Korean and Chinese names.
11. Sociologist Chua Beng Huat argues that interest in the region should move on from Confucianism and its supposed links with capitalism to the “urban and the modern” and “the construction of a pan-East Asian identity [as] a conscious ideological project for the producers of East Asian cultural products, based on the commercial desire of capturing a larger audience and market” (Chua, 2004, pp. 216, 217). An emphasis on the seeming commonality of regional urban lifestyles allows at least temporary suppression of national/ethnic differences in order to construct televisual products.
12. The obvious mistake in the film’s main urban location — Wan Chai, where Suzie is to be found, is actually Hollywood Road and Ladder Street in the Central district — does not in itself detract from the film’s overall representation of the then-colony’s urbanscape.

13. Cf. Ko: “Research on Japanese idol dramas in Taiwan point out that Taiwanese youths consider the urban Tokyo setting as the major reason for their popularity” (Ko, 2004, p. 118).
14. Kaneshiro himself, as a leading man in film and television productions in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan and China, embodies trans-regional elements: of Taiwanese-Japanese parentage, he speaks English, Mandarin Chinese, Cantonese, Taiwanese and Japanese; see Tsai, 2004.
15. It grossed HK\$28 million, then US\$3.5 million (Elley, 2000).
16. This scene was actually shot at a railway station in Singapore.
17. In these earlier films, the male characters are often insecure and fearful — with tentative relationships between the men, who also lack the confidence to relate successfully to the opposite sex.
18. In 1988, Toei Animation adapted the *manga* series for an anime “original video animation” (OVA), meaning that it was a direct-to-video product.

Chapter 8

1. The Hong Kong International Film Festival has featured special discussion topics on the early relationship between China and Hong Kong cinema; see for instance the special issues of the 14th Hong Kong International Film Festival (1990) and the 19th Hong Kong International Film Festival (1995) programmes: *The China Factor in Hong Kong Cinema* and *Early Images of Hong Kong & China*. See Ain-ling Wong, 2005, for a study of the early Hong Kong–Guangdong film connection.
2. Peter Chan’s new war epic *Warlords* was released simultaneously in Hong Kong and mainland China in December 2007. Peter Chan was still not sure whether it was love or not (*Perhaps Love*) in 2005. But in 2007 it is surely love. The Chinese title of *Warlords* — 《投名狀》, *Touming Zhuang* — means taking a “blood oath” of brotherhood. In the light of the rise of Mainland–Hong Kong co-productions, there seems to be a cryptic message in the Chinese title.

Chapter 9

1. For more on the state of Hong Kong cinema, see Yau, 2001; Cheung and Chu, 2004; and Stokes and Hoover, 1999.
2. Brian De Palma was also in the wings.
3. For more from me on this film, see Marchetti, 2004.
4. Quoted by Levy, 2004–08.
5. Discussed by a blogger on a site devoted to the DVD release of *The Killer*. See Kuby.
6. Quoted on the Internet Movie Database (IMDB), <http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0000217/bio> (accessed 7 June 2008).
7. For an analysis of Scorsese’s interest in the gaze and the evocation of the Panopticon, see Kolker, 2000, pp. 205–6.
8. For more on this see Marchetti, 2007.
9. Some of this common ground relating to masculinity may explain the cross-cultural appeal of stars such as Jackie Chan and Jet Li in Hollywood. For more on the masculinity embodied by these stars in relation to Chinese culture, see Louie, 2002.
10. For an insightful discussion of Scorsese in relation to the notion of the “remake”, see Kolker, 1998.

Chapter 10

1. This famous line from Shakespeare's *Hamlet* has been used as an epigraph in Derrida, 1994, p. 1. For more recent discussions on hauntology, see Sprinker, 1999.
2. This spectral approach was first conceptualized in my earlier publications in connection with Fruit Chan's first film *Made in Hong Kong*, see Cheung, 2004, pp. 352–68 and Cheung, 2009, Chapters 5 and 6.
3. See Castoriadis, 1998, in which he develops the idea of *kairos* in relation to crisis. For the discussion of *kairos* in rhetoric, see Miller, 1992.
4. As Sigmund Freud suggests, the complexity of the uncanny derives from the double semantic of the term "uncanny" in German. He argues that the term *heimlich* is an ambiguous term because on the one hand "it means what is familiar and agreeable, and on the other, what is concealed and kept out of sight". So the German "*unheimlich*" involves what is unfamiliar and hidden at the same time. See Freud, 1964, pp. 224–25.
5. For the former, see Carroll, 2007, p. 237; for Hong Kong's aspiration to be a world city, see Government Information Center, 1999.
6. See <http://www.inmediahk.net/node/295539> and <http://www.inmediahk.net/node/275144> for the NGO known as the "World City Committee", which aims to intervene in the government's redevelopment of Old Bailey Street and Graham Street.
7. The original poetic lines come from Liu Yong.
8. The original poetic lines come from Xin Qizhi.

Chapter 11

1. See, for instance, PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2007. For a comparison of Singapore and Hong Kong, see Sanyal, 2006; the author is director of global markets research for Deutsche Bank. For an account of how Hong Kong ranks in academic studies of global cities, see Forrest and Yip, 2004, pp. 209–11.
2. See, for instance, Forrest and Yip, 2004, for the point that global cities "are typically the primary economic and cultural centers within their respective national economies" and "are distinguished by their social-cultural milieux and landmark buildings. They are also associated with major airports which connect them to other concentrations of economic and cultural power where the cosmopolitan elite can enjoy the highest standards of cuisine, accommodation and entertainment" (p. 208).
3. For instance, Saskia Sassen limits the cultural consequences of these global flows to the sphere of consumption and regards them as ancillary. See Sassen, 2002, Introduction. The infiltration of these global market processes, Sassen argues, leads to different forms of valorization of economic activities, as exemplified by inflation in the area of luxury consumption, which displaces and even destroys prior urban forms of economic activity. "High prices and profit levels in the internationalized sector *and its ancillary activities*, such as top-of-the-line restaurants and hotels, have made it increasingly difficult for other sectors to compete for space and investments. Many of these other sectors have experienced considerable downgrading and/or displacement, as, for example, neighborhood shops tailored to local needs are replaced by upscale boutiques and restaurants catering to new high-income urban elites" (p. 17). At the same time, Sassen repeatedly uses the metaphor of feeding to

describe how flows of capital and expenditure fuel or “feed” new forms of economic activity and urban growth.

4. Various TDC documents highlight the importance of culture as education in sustaining knowledge-based services (the financial sector) as something that Hong Kong can contribute to the Mainland — that is, the development of financial markets, services in private banking and wealth management. It is noted that the government should adopt a policy that expands its commitment to research and development and improves Hong Kong’s capacity for innovation and for being a “technological incubator”. See Hong Kong Trade Development Council, 2006. The importance of education in creating higher quality human capital that is adequate to the challenge of upgrading Hong Kong’s position within the hierarchy of world cities is also noted. “To solve these problems, an education system that helps to enhance labour flexibility and skill levels is essential. Moreover, homegrown professionals and intellectuals, not the imported ones, provide long-term support to the development of a world city. Hence, our education system will play a central role in reducing the mismatch in the labour market.” See Hong Kong Trade Development Council, 2000.
5. Cf. Pun and Wu, 2006, pp. 139–54, on the imaginary division of the global city of Hong Kong into two blocs — the global side, which includes entrepreneurs, managers and professionals, and the local side, which includes new immigrants, the working class and underclass who are only afforded a deformed citizenship.
6. For a reading of the “Handover Trilogy” and *Durian Durian* in terms of the cultural politics and social anxieties of 1997 and its aftermath, see Lok Fung 洛楓, 2002, pp. 129–55.
7. For a discussion of the stigmatization of social identity based on inner-city territorial locations that are inhabited by new immigrants and the poor, such as Sham Shui Po, Kwun Tong, Yuen Long and Tuen Mun, see Law and Lee, 2006, pp. 236–37.
8. For a discussion of the social realism of Chan’s *Durian Durian* that links Chan to the Mainland’s Sixth Generation filmmakers such as Jia Zhangke, see Gan, 2005, pp. 35–41. Cheung (forthcoming) suggests, however, that Chan’s use of long shots and takes in the same film are part of a more complex “quasi-realist” aesthetics instead of a more conventional documentary realism or *cinéma vérité*. *Hollywood, Hong Kong* clearly marks a shift away from the documentary aesthetic of his earlier films, which had amateur casts. The Mainland star, Zhou Xun, plays the lead role of Tung-tung.
9. When we first see Tung-tung with Peter Chau, she gives him oral sex but refuses to take money from him and tells him she wants him to be her friend. He is also the bureaucratic instrument for the dispossession of the village’s inhabitants. He sends out letters of notification that their houses are illegal structures slated for demolition.
10. It would be interesting to consider where exactly Tung-tung is in social-scientific descriptions of the labour market and social polarization in Hong Kong as a global city, given the sophisticated nature of her deployment of sex work. See Lee, Wong and Law, 2007.

Chapter 12

1. Interview with Chris Berry and Laikwan Pang, 26 March 2007, Hong Kong.

2. The ADC was established in 1995. Its support programmes have been crucial to the sustenance of independent cinema in Hong Kong in recent years.
3. For more detailed discussion of this period of Cheung's filmmaking, see Berry, 2004.
4. A full history of these early "independent activities" remains to be written. Thank you to Stephen Teo and others for pointing me in the right direction.
5. Interview with Jimmy Choi, Hong Kong, 30 March 2008.
6. Thank you to Mickey Choi of Hong Kong Arts Centre for supplying these figures by email on 26 November 2008.
7. Interview with Teresa Kwong, director of the IFVA awards, 10 April 2007. Kevin Lee, "Jia Zhangke", *Senses of Cinema*, <http://www.sensesofcinema.com/contents/directors/03/jia.html>, accessed 20 November 2007.
8. <http://www.yec.com/>, accessed 20 November 2007.
9. <http://www.yec.com/vm.htm>, accessed 20 November 2007.
10. Interview with Esther Yeung by Chris Berry and Laikwan Pang, 26 March 2007, Hong Kong.
11. http://www.yec.com/en/film_catalogue.php#end, accessed 9 May 2009.
12. Interview, 3 April 2007, Hong Kong.
13. Interview with Simon Chung by Chris Berry and Laikwan Pang, 10 April 2007, Chinese University of Hong Kong.
14. Interview with Tammy Cheung, 24 March 2008.
15. <http://www.xschina.org/show.php?id=3499>, accessed 15 March 2008. In 2007, another group called V-Artivist (影行者) split off from Videopower. Interview with Ms Lee Wai Yi, executive manager of Videopower from 2002 to 2007, by Yang Yeung, 13 December 2007.
16. Interview with Sylvia Feng by Chris Berry and Laikwan Pang, 29 June 2007, Taipei. For more information about documentaries broadcast on the programme, see http://www.pts.org.tw/php/_utility/ehomepage/detail.php?PAGE=CAT&CAT=docu, accessed 15 March 2007.
17. Curtin discusses the consequences of this in Chapter 6 of his book (Curtin, 2007, pp. 133–50).
18. Interview with Sylvia Feng.
19. Interview with Yang Li-chou by Chris Berry and Laikwan Pang, Taipei, 28 June 2007 (my translation).
20. Chris Berry and Laikwan Pang, conversation with Professor Ti Wei and Lu Fei-I, Taipei, 25 June 2007.
21. Interview with Yang Li-chou.
22. For further details of programmes, see pp. 14–21. Available online at http://www.rthk.org.hk/about/brochure/RTHKbrochure2006_txt.pdf, accessed 2 January 2008.
23. For commissioning details for 2008/09, including for documentary, see <http://www.rthk.org.hk/tvcommissioning/tvce.htm>, accessed 2 January 2008.
24. Interview, Hong Kong, 24 March 2008.
25. Interview, 24 March 2008.
26. Interview with Chris Berry and Laikwan Pang, 26 March 2007.
27. The best introduction to these movements, especially American Direct Cinema, remains Mamber, 1976.

28. For a detailed discussion of censorship in Hong Kong, see Ng, forthcoming.
29. For example, Pheng Cheah discusses how some forms of Chinese diasporic cosmopolitanism work hand in hand with global capitalism in Cheah, 2006.

Chapter 13

1. In his essay on *In the Mood for Love*, Thomas Y. T. Luk talks about “mutation” of the literary source. See Luk, 2005, pp. 210–19.
2. So J. Hoberman, for instance, commenting on the recent presentation of *Fallen Angels* at the BAMcinémathèque in New York, not only praised the film by way of contrast to *My Blueberry Nights*, but also described it as “the last installment of his long goodbye to the lost paradise of colonial Hong Kong” (Hoberman, 2007). On the impulse to read Hong Kong films as allegories of Hong Kong, and the need to resist it, see Tambling, 2003, pp. 9–21, and Chow, 2004, p. 129.
3. For an interpretation of the changes in capital flows in relation to the Hong Kong government’s interest in city branding, see Pang, 2006, pp. 7–36. It may be added that Hong Kong can now rely on more than just local films to advertise its image, as international production companies are increasingly making use of it as a set for their own films (consider, for instance, the most recent instalment in the “Batman” series, *The Dark Knight*).
4. On the unspoken “no song–no movie” rule in Chinese cinema from 1930s Shanghai onwards, and its reincarnations in contemporary Hong Kong cinema, see Hu, 2006, p. 410.
5. This way of working with pre-existing songs appears to be as old as the medium itself. Rick Altman has shown that titles and lyrics of a song were used to connect music to the image from as early as the nickelodeon business in the 1910s. See Altman, 2001, p. 22.
6. The original version of the text is written as a dialogue between two lost lovers — a distant relation to the relationship between the two partners in the film.
7. The one exception to this confirms my interpretation. Once the hit man has entered the restaurant, we see a close-up of his shoes and calves, shot from floor level, as he makes his way toward his victims. Then, for a fleeting moment, the sounds of the restaurant become present — the suggestion, before the fateful shootings begin, of a faint, temporary awareness on his part of the surrounding environment.
8. Yeh Yueh-Yu notes a similar suppression of sounds in *Chungking Express*, when “California Dreamin’” marks “the space of Faye’s daydreaming” (ostensibly Agent 663’s flat, which she trespasses in and cleans while playing the song). See Yeh, 1999, p. 126.
9. On the character of the hitman and his affinities with the contract killer in Suzuki’s *Branded to Kill*, see Teo, 2005, pp. 90 and 96.
10. The best précis I know of the significance of Teng and her music happens to be a reading of a film in which her music looms as a powerful reminder of both sameness and difference. See Cheung, 2007, p. 234 ff.
11. For an interpretation of Chyi Chin’s “Missing You” (Si-mu t’e jen), used by He Zhiwu as a “soundtrack” to images of his dying father captured on video, see Yeh, 1999, pp. 131–32. A complete list of the music used for this film is not yet available. The movie’s

soundtrack album, released in 1995, does not contain every piece of music employed in the film. An online list only includes the music composed or arranged by the Chan-Garcia team (see <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0112913/board/nest/36715837>, accessed 24 June 2008).

12. Part of my discussion of *My Blueberry Nights* draws on an essay originally published for *MUSE* 13, February 2008, pp. 102–5 (permission granted by Eastslope Publishing Limited).
13. Brian Hu correctly stresses how in Hong Kong the fluidity of personnel between several media has taken on an unquestionably local character due to the extent to which the crossing between so many media is tolerated. See Hu, 2006, p. 411 ff.

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