HONG KONG
Culture and Society

Desiring Hong Kong, Consuming South China

Transborder Cultural Politics, 1970–2010

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Contents

Illustrations

Chapter 6

Chapter 7

Introduction

Culturally and geographically, Hong Kong was an integral part of South China before being taken over by the British in 1842. In the early colonial years, Chinese travelled back and forth across the Shenzhen–Lo Wu border without a discernible sense of cultural difference. Here, I use the terms 'border' and 'boundary' to refer respectively to the geographical division between communities and the imaginary line between cultures. It was in the post-war decades that a stiff cultural boundary was formed, differentiating mainland China and colonial Hong Kong. The boundary dramatized the differences of Hong Kong marked by advanced colonial modernity and the mainland by socialist authoritarianism. This book begins with the Hong Kong story in the 1970s when the mainland–Hong Kong boundary was most conspicuous and ends when this boundary gradually fades away after the handover in 1997. Complex transborder dynamics have emerged with the disappearance of this cultural boundary, triggering colourful cultural imaginations, as well as structuring social life for those crossing the border that separates Hong Kong and the rest of South China. The time span of this socio-historical study ends in 2010, but the cases discussed illustrate the general cultural patterns of images and people moving across territories in different stages of modernity.

This book comprises two parts. The first part, entitled 'Desiring Hong Kong', aims at charting the history of mainland–Hong Kong transborder cultural politics since the 1970s. The chapters are framed by the historical context in which Hong Kong emerged as a satellite city of colonial modernity and became the object of desire for those mainland Chinese who fancied a better life and actually took the trouble of migrating to Hong Kong by legal and illegal means. There are two major conceptual components in Part I. Firstly, I describe the features

of transborder cultural imaginations and how these imaginations are produced; secondly, I examine their implications in social practices, focusing on how new migrants learn to become a competent modern urbanite in Hong Kong.

The second part, entitled 'Consuming South China', aims at examining the new developments in transborder cultural politics of Hong Kong and South China at the turn of the century when the role of Hong Kong as a satellite modern city for mainlanders has greatly diminished, and when China has emerged as an aspiring giant in global capitalism. The Greater Pearl River Delta, in which Hong Kong is a small but influential city, has become increasingly interconnected socially, culturally and infrastructurally. Intercity highways are built. Officials and entrepreneurs meet up and collaborate, while ordinary people travel back and forth for business and pleasure. Since Hong Kong's return to China in 1997, there has been subtle cultural politics structuring social practices on both sides of the disappearing border. Hong Kong and other parts of South China have yet to be integrated into an interconnected mega-city; in-between boundaries still abound, imagined and real. While on the south side of the border, Hong Kong people, once de-nationalized, are encountering the 'nation' when they interact with mainland China. On the other side of the border, some rising middle class and the new rich of China may acquire Hong Kong identity cards by buying flats in luxurious residential areas. They no longer need to migrate to Hong Kong and are now going to the city only for shopping and sight-seeing on weekends. However, 'Hong Kong connections' for mainland Chinese, and reciprocally 'China connections' for Hong Kong people, in one way or the other, are regarded as good social and cultural resources. In the early 2000s, Hong Kong ceased to be a role model for mainland cites, but has since remained a resourceful node in the transborder networks of global capitalism.

This book is therefore about the changing patterns of transborder cultural politics that go with the fading of a once very influential mainland–Hong Kong boundary. Some chapters have been published elsewhere. They have been revised and are integrated here into a coherent thesis, theorizing the changes of transborder cultural politics over a period of four decades. In the four chapters of Part I, I trace

the powerful implications of the cultural boundaries at a time when there was a big difference in the standard of living between Hong Kong and the mainland. Chapter 1, 'Consuming satellite modernities', examines the role of Hong Kong in the global network of transborder exchanges. Mainland migrants who came to Hong Kong in different periods of time were interviewed and their stories are analysed to tell us how imaginations of modernity motivated them to come to Hong Kong. I propose to use the concept of 'satellite modernities' to refer to the magnetic sites between highly developed cities and developing cities in the world. In developing countries, newly modernized cities are reproducing, hybridizing and domesticating a simplified Western modernity, which is in turn consumed by less developed cities and territories within the same region. Throughout Asia, these satellite sites draw migrants from all over the region to realize the dreams of the global West in relative secure and comfortable regional localities. This chapter is thus a mid-range theoretical exercise that attempts to ground such concepts as modernity, consumption and identity formation in concrete boundary-crossing experiences of Chinese immigrants.

Chapter 2, 'Imagining Hong Kong', focuses on the configurations of transborder imaginations, featuring their general characteristics and the social circumstances from which they are formed in the minds of the people in South China. It illustrates how transborder flows of cultural imagination are rooted in differentiating materiality and ideologies on both sides of the border. The higher the differentials, the stronger the imaginations will be. I move away from the general theoretical claims of cultural homogenization and hybridization and describe the patterns and configurations of cultural imaginations in more analytic terms. Transborder cultural imaginations can be deterrestrialized, inflated, collapsed and reterrestrialized into the internal social networks and circuits of meaning construction.

Chapter 3, 'Transborder desires', is a case study of two theoretically sampled television dramas. The two dramas illustrate in detail how transborder desires are expressed televisually. Exploiting the historical moment when China was at the early stage of catching up with global capitalism and when Hong Kong was still serving as an object of desire, the case study dramatizes our understanding of transborder imaginations when two modes of capitalistic modernity

collide with each other. The two Chinese television dramas, produced for audiences in mainland China, dramatize cultural fantasy, produce popular knowledge, and project the apprehension of a yet-to-be-realized capitalistic market in post-socialist China. Recent television studies privilege the audience. This chapter argues that discursive agents (the scriptwriters and producers) remain as a critical factor in meaning distribution, especially in cases of transborder imagination.

Chapter 4, 'Transborder visuality', summarizes the history of transborder imaginations of South China and Hong Kong by examining the production processes of media representations in which the role of Hong Kong visual producers has changed from being a 'teacher' in the 1970s to being a 'co-producer' in the 2000s. I conceptualize this interplay as a form of 'transborder visuality', which refers to the transfer of visual culture from one geographic location to another. It can be seen as a crucial nexus of cultural globalization at a time when China is catching up with the developed world. By examining the changing patterns of transborder visuality in South China, I propose to make advances in theories of cultural globalization by applying the concept of 'image apparatus' to better understand the complicated nerves, nodes and social networks that facilitate the production of modern, flexible and sophisticated visual images in the global visual economy.

While Part I is about the implications of a rather rigid mainland–Hong Kong boundary, the four chapters in Part II describe the gradual dissolution of this cultural boundary in the 2000s. Chapter 5, 'Cultural brokers and transnational connections', examines the role of cultural brokers in the transnational consumer culture of young urban professionals in the mainland. My informants are connected to Hong Kong in one way or the other, but Hong Kong is no longer their dream home when they can realize a rewarding life in the mainland. They construct their identities by manoeuvring between the state and the market, appropriating transnational professionalism, and living out a mediated middle-class lifestyle in their everyday life, which is more transnational than national. This chapter describes the newly developed collective identity of white-collar workers, not by analysing macro-structural processes, but by describing the everyday practices of cultural brokers who are significant followers, gatekeepers and advocates of middle-class lifestyles in South China.

Chapter 6, 'Realizing wedding imaginations', is a comparative case study which examines visuality in weddings held in Hong Kong and the mainland. The analysis also attempts to illustrate how wedding ceremonies help the couples exhibit and stabilize their social identity. By studying four weddings, I want to spell out the logics of visualization of wedding imaginations along three overlapping vectors, namely, visual competency, urban experience and economic capitals. The cases indicate that those with low visual competency, limited urban experience and low economic capital tend to have a strong, hierarchical, or what I call 'high grid', wedding imagination. Those with high visual competency, sophisticated urban experience and high economic capital tend to have a more flexible and situational display of wedding visuality. Hong Kong connections, as identity resources, add flexibility to their realization of wedding imaginations. Placing against these three vectors, it can be argued that there is a better chance for informants with strong Hong Kong connections to have richer urban experiences and higher visual competency and economic capital, since Hong Kong is one of the leading cities in Asia. However, as will be demonstrated by these four cases, somehow in recent years, as the transborder cultural politics in South China have been less Hong Kong-centric, class boundaries are sometimes more influential than mainland–Hong Kong boundaries in structuring the cultural imaginations of modern life.

In Chapter 7, 'Modern bodies in the making', the sites of analysis switch to a disco bar and a toy factory in South China. The chapter examines how rural migrant workers in the city respond to modernity. The making of modern bodies is both de-traditionalizing and de-territorializing. It de-skills and re-skills rural migrants, and gives them the bodily experiences of modernity, which involve the forced, calculative, flexible and reflexive shuffling of time and space. It involves the manipulation of bodies, gestures, identities and relations previously held together mainly by traditional ties. It also triggers the desire to consume different lifestyles and develop new life projects. Their bodily adjustments to 'live a modern life' are heavily guided by Western imagination, in which the vision of 'cultural modernization as Westernization' is compressed, hybridized and domesticated, producing a Chinese version of non-West modernity

that is conspicuously Western and capitalistic. Unlike the situation in the 1980s, as one of the many forces behind the 'making of 'modern bodies', Hong Kong has recently faded into the background. Moving along this track of social formation are the rural-turn-modern bodies of migrant workers, who acquire multiple and hybridized layers of urbanity and rurality in their fragmented life trajectories.

Chapter 8, 'Re-discovering national spatiality and diversity in South China', examines the political effects of the rising Chinese nation on Hong Kong people travelling and working in South China. While Chapter 1 is an account of transborder cultural politics built on differences, with mainland migrants attracted to a more affluent Hong Kong, Chapter 8 focuses on the cultural politics of re-nationalization that are built on assimilation. In the colonial years, a de-nationalized Hong Kong identity was constructed through the cultural differentiation between modern Hong Kong and less modern China. After 1997, state-initiated 'national identity' programmes in Hong Kong and the high-speed marketization of South China have altered the boundary of Hong Kong-versus-China in the Hong Kong popular imagination. Based on ethnographic studies in bars, factories and residential estates, this chapter explores the increasing integration of Hong Kong and mainland China. The people of Hong Kong and South China are producing a regional hybridized culture that gradually overcomes the sharp boundaries once drawn by many Hong Kong people and their Chinese neighbours. The division between Hong Kong and China is being replaced by pluralized points of reference (north, south, urban, rural China) under the catch-all discourse of a great nation, one that is market-driven and post-socialist.

In summary, this book documents the dramatic story of border crossing and exchanges in South China. In the 1990s, Hong Kong was an object of desire for people in South China while Hong Kong people saw South China as a place for escape and sensual enjoyment. Since the 2000s, Hong Kong has become more of a regional node in South China, while China emerges as a rising nation for Hong Kong people to learn to identify with. Empirically, this is already an interesting case in which a strong socio-psychological boundary of desire has been replaced by dense networks of fear and excitement. The cases examined in this book include life histories of migrants, young professionals,

newly married couples, visual producers, home buyers, travellers and rural migrant workers. They travel back and forth across the Shenzhen border, bringing with them their imaginations and apprehensions of the 'other side', and the difficulties they encounter in their everyday lives. Theoretically, the connection between Hong Kong and South China is more intriguing because it does not only illustrate the dialectics of cultural struggles and exchanges of lifestyles and cultural values between the two regions; moving people and images in South China can also shed light on the general patterns of transborder cultural politics in the age of globalization, in which boundaries collapse and are re-imagined in almost every part of our networked world.

Epilogue

This book describes the Hong Kong/mainland connections and examines the cultural politics that these connections bring to the people. My major argument is that transborder cultural imaginations are much inflated when the socio-cultural differentials between the two regions are high, drawing mainland migrants to the dream life of Hong Kong's satellite modernity. As the differentials have become less obvious in recent years, the once-colourful modern imaginations are tarnished. The general categorizations of these imaginations and those of Hong Kong people are replaced by more complicated transborder collaborations that are infused with excitements and apprehensions.

The majority of Hong Kong people are ethnic Chinese with close connections to the mainland, especially the Pearl River Delta. During the 1970s and 1980s, when the socio-cultural differentials were high, these intimate ethnic ties were suppressed. Relatives from South China were seen as outsiders. The politics of 'them and us' and that of 'inclusion and exclusion' received more attention than blood ties did. As cultural boundaries have become blurred, and as people are moving around both regions, stereotypical imaginations have been revised. The idea of an integrated nation, which is abstract, top-down and ideological, is being experienced first-hand through real-life social interactions. The political and cultural boundary that was once conspicuous has become psychological and it is running deep in the daily life of the people of Hong Kong.

Let me update the story on the China–Hong Kong border by briefly recounting the media events of SARS (2003), the Beijing Olympics (2008), the Sichuan earthquake (2008), the tainted-milk incident (2008), and the Nobel Peace Prize controversy (2010). Katz and Dayan (1994) coin the term 'media events' to describe the effects of major mediated

social happenings. They define 'media events' as events that disrupt the daily routine of the concerned public, whether they are local, national, regional, or international. These media events negotiate with popular values, reinforce or challenge existing social order, and often command attention from the general public for an extended period of time. Re-considering media events in a global age, Hepp and Couldry (2010) propose a new definition: 'media events are certain situated, thickened, centering performances of mediated communication that are focused on a specific thematic core, cross different media products and reach a wide and diverse multiplicity of audiences and participants' (12). The media events listed above can be seen as focused 'performances' of thematic expressions that tell a lot about the changing cultural politics of Hong Kong and China.

In the spring of 2003, the SARS epidemic broke out in Hong Kong and spread all over the world within a few months. For many, it was Hong Kong's lowest point in the post-1997 decade. Television viewers felt helpless when they watched news about infection and deaths related to the mysterious disease day after day. The people of Hong Kong blamed a mainland professor, who was a carrier of the SARS virus and widely believed to have triggered the outbreak while staying in a hotel in downtown Kowloon. Integration and differentiation were working at the same time. Hong Kong people might still think that the mainland was the infectious 'Other', but they just could not ignore the fact that Hong Kong had to work hand in hand with their mainland counterparts to fight the disease (Ma and Chan, 2008). The SARS outbreak was related to the mass rally on 1 July 2003, six years after Hong Kong's return to Chinese sovereignty. Hundreds of thousands of Hong Kong people took to the streets and protested against the Hong Kong government in general and more specifically the proposed imposition of a national security law. I have discussed the political significance of this event in Chapter 8. Suffice it to say, it was also an event that focused on the thematic core of post-1997 cultural dialectic of nationalization and differentiation.

The grand opening ceremony of the 2008 Beijing Olympics was a spectacular event for many mainlanders and Hong Kong people. China was, as they saw it, a strong nation among nations. The media event had this nationalizing effect on Hong Kong people, but there

were also other complications, such as the scandal of the young singer who lip-synched at the ceremony, the collectivism expressed in the performances, and the continued protests and conflicts before the event. The Olympic Torch Relay had attracted protesters and critics in almost every developed country. There was a dominant narrative of a rising China, but there were counter-narratives focusing on pollution, labour abuse, the suppression of Tibetan unrest and other human rights violations (Price, 2008). Protests over China's Tibet policy greeted the Olympic Torch Relay in many parts of the world, including Hong Kong. For Hong Kong people, pride and reservations were working at the same time in the run-up to the 2008 Beijing Olympics.

Before and after the Beijing Olympics, there were two major media events that captured the attention of the national audience. The 2008 Sichuan earthquake came as a big shock. Premier Wen Jiabao displayed his charisma when he arrived at Sichuan almost immediately after the disaster. His caring words to the survivors were moving and rescue efforts, as seen by Hong Kong viewers before the TV screen, were quick and effective. Hong Kong people were deeply involved. They donated money and sent medical professionals. Hong Kong at the time was experiencing a strong sense of belonging to China. However, as the event unfolded, the complications of nationalization and alienation were ironically reinforcing each other. In some places, only schools collapsed and many believed that this was because the schools buildings had been shoddily built. Activist Huang Qi, who investigated into these cases, was sentenced to three years in prison for 'illegally holding state secrets' in 2009. As mainland activists who had helped earthquake victims were being arrested and sentenced, a psychological boundary between an authoritarian mainland and a liberal Hong Kong has returned in a more paradoxical manner. For many Hong Kong people, China is, beyond doubt, a large rising nation. However, the Chinese government is not living up to the expectations of its people.

Another media event in 2008 was the tainted-milk scandal. Thousands of mainland babies developed kidney stones because they had been drinking the formula milk produced and distributed by a company called Sanlu. Again, a psychological boundary between Hong Kong and mainland China was strengthened. Hong Kong

people saw the mainland as a place in which greed came before basic civility. In 2010, Zhao Lianhai, an activist representing parents of the children who were made ill by the contaminated milk, was arrested and imprisoned for 'provoking quarrels and making trouble'. It seems that the authorities were trying to prevent activism from permeating to other networks of interests. Zhao himself is also a victim because his child was harmed by Sanlu's formula milk. The case was so ridiculous (a victim became a prisoner) and irrational (a mild and calm citizen was imprisoned) that it was incomprehensible to many Hong Kong people. Even some pro-China politicians in Hong Kong were agitated and blamed the Chinese officials and judges involved. An interesting twist is that consumers have lost confidence in dairy products made in China. This has encouraged residents from South China to come to Hong Kong to buy formula milk on a regular basis. Another related controversy is the influx of mainland pregnant women who give birth to their babies in Hong Kong hospitals. Their coming to Hong Kong is regarded by many as an exploitation of the city's reliable medical services. The mothers are also considered to be attempting to obtain Hong Kong residency for their newborn babies. The shortage in milk supply and beds in the maternity wards for local families has subsequently led to antagonism between local people and the mainlanders, and re-shaped a socio-psychological Hong Kong/mainland boundary into the fine grains of everyday life in the territory.

On 8 October 2010, Liu Xiaobo was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his long and non-violent struggle for human rights in China. Hong Kong people think that Liu is a mild critic. Before his imprisonment, Liu wrote essays, signed Charter 08 and called for moderate political reforms. He did not threaten the Chinese government by mobilizing demonstration. His speeches and articles, as understood by the international community, are reasonable. He was exercising his right to speak his mind. For many people outside China, the imprisonment of Liu is an obvious violation of human rights. In mainland China, news about Liu's winning the Nobel Peace Prize has been kept away from the public. In contrast, the people of Hong Kong, because of the region's free media environment, know all the details about Liu award, including the unlawful restrictions that had been imposed onto Liu's wife and his friends. The 2010 Nobel Peace Prize controversy has made

clear to the general public the huge differences between Hong Kong and the mainland in issues concerning human rights, free speech and the rule of law.

Hong Kong has become increasingly involved in the discourse of a great Chinese nation. However, whenever a controversy arises (whether it is connected to human rights violation or a political scandal), the image of an authoritarian and ruthless China—Hong Kong's ultimate 'Other'—returns. The dialectics of affinity and antagonism, integration and differentiation, and nationality and locality have transformed China–Hong Kong's cultural politics into dense networks of fear and desire. The physical border between Hong Kong and South China has become less political and more administrative. People can now cross the border easily with their identity cards. However, the psychological boundary remains while nationality and locality strengthen each other. It means that the people of Hong Kong are assimilating and differentiating with the mainland simultaneously. The mainland-Hong Kong boundary, in terms of market economy, is disappearing; but in terms of civic values such as free speech and law and order, Hong Kong people are still having a strong sense of difference. It is not a "politics of disappearance" of the 1990s (Abbas, 1997), but a politics of re-appearance in which the generalized "Other" is transformed into the psychological boundaries of them and us in the everyday lives of Hong Kong people.

Notes

Chapter 1

1. This chapter has been rewritten from a journal article published in *Cultural Studies* (Ma, 2001a), which was based on a paper presented at the conference 'In Search of Boundaries: Communication, Nation-States and Cultural Identities', The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, 1999.
2. High modernity, as described by Giddens (1991), refers to the current phase of development of modern institutions, marked by the radicalizing and globalizing of basic traits of modernity.
3. My research assistant and I interviewed close to 100 informants from 1998 to 1999. About half of them had emigrated from mainland China in recent decades. Each interview lasted for one to two hours. I used a notebook computer to screen the commercials so that we could discuss them when we touched on relevant subjects. This chapter is a small part of the project.
4. Denis Diderot (1713–84) was a philosopher and writer in eighteenth-century France. In his essay 'Regrets on parting with my old dressing gown' (quoted in McCraken, 1988: 119), he talked about how the arrival of a new dressing gown had led him to replace his chairs, engravings, bookshelf and clock. All of these, Diderot concluded, were the work of an imperious scarlet robe that forced everything else to conform to its elegant tone. McCracken uses the term 'Diderot effect' to refer to a similar kind of chain reaction in material consumption.
5. There are different versions of this Nike 'dream' commercial, one of which was tailor-made for the Chinese market.
6. 'Not-white, not-quite, yet alike ideologies' is an expression used by Leo Ching (1998) when he refers to the discursive position of Japan.
7. Nike is now being directly promoted in China. However, informants told me that they learned about Nike in the early 1990s by watching its commercials on Hong Kong television broadcasts that could be received in China.

8.   Although we did not ask whether the commercials had 'effects', most of our informants said, unprompted, that they were not influenced by advertisements. In general terms, advertising has been recognized as playing an important role in meaning transfer (Williamson, 1978; Goldman, 1992; Schudson, 1993; Goldman and Papson, 1996). In our case, this is particularly important as we examine the transfer of alien values from Western sites of high modernity.
9.   See Choi (1998) for stories of female factory workers in Hong Kong.
10.   See Li (1998) for a description of fashion in China.
11.   As in other cases, Mr. Yeung's migration was motivated by political as well as economic reasons.
12.   Yet, as Touraine (1995) argues, despite the fact that many thinkers are critical of modernity, most actors are completely immersed in modernity.

Chapter 2

1.   For a theorization of border and boundary, see Michaelsen and Johnson (1997) and Welchman (1996). For a poetic treatment, see Chambers (1994).
2.   See Giddens (1991) for a discussion on the psychological process of identity formation in modernity.
3.   See Cheng (2000) for a study of the Hong Kong property market.
4.   For theories on the media and modernity and the effect of de-terrestrialization, see Thompson (1995).
5.   She provided me with some of the letters and essays written by Beijing students about the Hong Kong movie, *A Chinese Odyssey*.
6.   For an account of the fashion in post-Mao China, see Li (1998).
7.   In this context, Benedict's imagined community (1983) can be extended to include dislocated imagination of a faraway 'satellite community' of modernity.

Chapter 3

1.   This is part of a long-term project on transborder cultural exchanges between Hong Kong and China. The project is funded by the Hong Kong University Research Grant Committee.
2.   See note 1.
3.   The Chinese University of Hong Kong did not have a law school when the drama series was being written.

Chapter 4

1. This chapter has been rewritten from Chapter 3 of *Hong Kong Mobile* (Siu and Ku, 2008). The project is funded by the Hong Kong University Research Grant Committee and the 2022 Foundation.
2. For commentaries on *Xianggang Feng Qing*, see *Ming Pao*, p. 37, 12 July 1985, and *Tai Kung Pao*, p. 18, 19 July 1985.
3. Letters collected by the editor-in-chief, Mr. Yuan Huacan.
4. *Packaging and Design* (包裝與設計), 1987, (41) 2.
5. 4As is the Association of Accredited Advertising Agents.
6. Some viewed *China Life Magazine* as a mainland version of *City Magazine*.
7. *International Advertising* (國際廣告), January 2003.

Chapter 5

1. The book was translated into Chinese in 2001 and was very popular for a few years.
2. This line of argument has been taken by most recent studies in transnational connectivity of global cities; see Abrahamson (2004) and Smith (2001).
3. See Gough-Yates (2003) for a discussion on how magazine editors serve as cultural brokers.
4. Hong Kong has a much more developed legal system than mainland China does. Lawyers do not only appear in news stories, but are also represented in popular television dramas.
5. Ong (1999) discusses how people exploit the advantage of what she calls 'flexible citizenship'. Shen and Chen are indeed flexible citizens with extensive transnational connections.

Chapter 6

1. This chapter has been rewritten from a journal article titled 'Realizing wedding imaginations' (Ma, 2006).
2. See Westermarck (1971) and Stone (1977).
3. Hall (1996) proposes Marxism without guarantee to describe the 'no necessary non-correspondence' relation between the 'economic = material base and the cultural = ideological' superstructure. See Slack (1996).
4. This comparative case study is an extract from a two-year ethnographic research project, in which I observed individuals in factories, discos and other social gatherings, and interviewed people about the growth of the work-and-spend culture in South China.

Chapter 7

1.   All names used in this chapter are pseudonyms.
2.   China is still in what Lash (1999) terms the 'first modernity', but there is an increase in the number of 'second (or high and reflexive) modernity' features which are described as 'liquid modernity' by Bauman (2000).
3.   There have been many articles written on the issues of social reconstruction and inequality in China. See, for example, Chen et al. (2001), Davis and Wang (2009), Zhang (2001), and Zhen (2000).
4.   The three decades refer to the period between 1949, when the Communist Party gained power, and 1979, when the 'open door' policy was officially installed.
5.   All photos were taken by Ducky Tse.
6.   One of these researchers was Tan Shen, who analysed more than 100 personal letters written by the female workers before they died in the fire. See Tan (1998).
7.   See Ma and Cheng (2005) for further discussion on the intimate relationships among migrant workers.
8.   See Chapter 1 for similar comments on wearing jeans.
9.   My research assistant served as a waiter. I spent time with the boss and the managers. I was also involved in arranging live music performance for the bar. One band that performed at the TC had been handpicked by a Hong Kong agent. I worked with the band, the Hong Kong music company and the manager during the band's various trips to Hong Kong.
10.   This is what Zhen (2000) calls the 'rice bowl of youth', which refers to the trading of youthfulness.

Chapter 8

1.   This chapter has been rewritten from 'Grassroots nationalism: Changing identity in a changing context' (Ma, 2007).
2.   Of course, these researchers do allow the respondents to choose the option of 'both local and Chinese' or 'neither local nor Chinese'. But the availability of such options has not changed the basic assumption underlying the survey questionnaire approach: being Chinese and being local are separate and discrete. Furthermore, the meanings of being Chinese and being local, which may change quite drastically in the course of socio-economic and political development, remain unchanged in different phases of the survey.
3.   See Lau and Kuan (1988), Lau (1997), Wong (1996).

4. See the Hong Kong University public opinion website, http://hkupop.hku.hk/.
5. See http://hkupop.hku.hk/.
6. See Paulantzas (2003) for a discussion on state, space, and nation.
7. See the Hong Kong Tourism Board website at http://partnerNet.hktb.com, and the annual report, *A Statistical Review of Hong Kong Tourism*, of the respective year.
8. Nearly 300,000 children fell ill after drinking the contaminated formula milk. An industrial chemical, melamine, was added into the milk powder to boost its nitrogen content and its apparent protein content.
9. Implemented in July 2003, the mainland 'Individual Visit Scheme' allows residents of major mainland cities to visit Hong Kong on an individual basis. Starting from 1 April 2009, Shenzhen residents can apply for multiple-visit passes to Hong Kong.
10. See Ma and Cheng (2005) for more findings of this project.
11. As of writing, most Hong Kong citizens need to go through immigration formalities when they leave Hong Kong for China or return to the territory. Only a very limited number of ordinary people can drive across the border.
12. Hong Kong-style tea-houses have long been a symbol of local Hong Kong culture (Leung 2003).
13. This verbal assault took place in Cantonese. Throughout South China, Cantonese and English are considered superior languages to Mandarin, the common language of the mainland. However, things have been changing. Mandarin, for Hong Kong people, has become an asset for social networking and career development.
14. This is the Mainland Hong Kong Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement, abbreviated as CEPA; see the Hong Kong Trade and Industry Department website at http://www.tid.gov.hk/.

Index