John Nguyet Erni   *Editor*

Visuality, Emotions and Minority Culture

Feeling Ethnic

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About the Editor

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Daren Shi-chi Leung has completed his M.Phil. thesis entitled *Feelings and the Racial Other: Race, Affect and Representation on Hong Kong Television* at Hong Kong Baptist University in 2015, and will undertake his Ph.D. study in the Department of Gender and Cultural Studies at University of Sydney in 2017. His other published works include: "Understanding of Ethnic Migration/Mobility and the struggle of visibility in Hong Kong" (forthcoming), and "Role Portrayals: Lead,

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Kwai-Cheung Lo Professor in the Department of Humanities and Creative Writing, and Director of Creative and Professional Writing Program at Hong Kong Baptist University, is the author of *Excess and Masculinity in Asian Cultural Productions* (State University of New York Press, 2010), and *Chinese Face/Off: The Transnational Popular Culture of Hong Kong* (University of Illinois Press, 2005), and the editor of a Chinese-language anthology entitled *Re-Sighting Asia: Deconstruction and Reinvention in the Global Era* (Chinese University Press, 2014). Also a creative writer in Chinese language, currently he is working on a book manuscript of ethnic minority cinema in China, and a research project on Asianism.

Paul O'Connor is a Visiting Senior Lecturer in Sociology and Social Policy at Lingnan University. There he has taught courses on Urban Sociology, Methods, Media, and Risk. He is a qualitative sociologist interested in ethnicity, religion, embodiment, and subculture. He is also the author of the book 'Islam in Hong Kong: Muslims and Everyday Life in China's World City' and of various publications on religious and ethnic minorities in Hong Kong. Paul also researches skateboard culture, and is engaged in projects on middle-aged skateboarders, the tie between skateboarding and religion, and skateboard philanthropy. Beyond this ethnographic work Paul has firm interests in social theory and continues to research issues related to cultural hybridity and Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis.

Elspeth Probyn is Professor of Gender and Cultural Studies at the University of Sydney. She is the author of several monographs: on subjectivity and gender in cultural studies (*Sexing the Self: Gendered Positions in Cultural Studies*), on queer desire and belonging (*Outside Belonging*), on eating and identity (*FoodSexIdentity*), on affect and emotion (*Blush: Faces on Shame*). Her current research, Sustainable Fish: a material analysis of cultures of consumption and production (funded by an Australian Research Council Discovery Project) analyses the sustainability of the production and consumption of fish is published in a new book, *Eating the Ocean* (Duke University Press, 2016).

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Chapter 1
Introduction: Affect and Critical Multiculturalism in Asia

John Nguyet Erni

This book attempts to explore the "private sphere" of minority cultures through exploring their affective energies and expressions, in conjunction to analyzing the broad ideological conditions of inter-ethnic relations in various Asian cities. It originates from a research grant received from the Hong Kong government. Taking the important cue of the "affective turn" in cultural theory over the past twenty years or so, the various contributors of this book raise broadly an overarching question: what are the representations of affective/emotional energies and intensities surrounding the ethnic figures/strangers in cultural production, urban spaces, and social discourses? In Asia, there is little attention paid to the minorities' own sense of subjecthood, such as their construction and articulation of self-understanding formed through lived experiences, sensibilities, emotions, sentiments, empathy, and even tempers and moods. Social misunderstanding, not to mention stereotyping, mystification, and discrimination, often stems from a neglect of the surprising and enlivening texture of minorities' emotional world.

Affect concerns the lived experience of intensity that engages—and creates—an individual's corporeal responses (e.g. facial expression, gestures, tone of voice, posture, bodily motion) and shapes social action. It constitutes a power relation underpinned less by the domination/confrontation model than by the negotiation of recognition and dignity through (subtle and surprising) social passion. The significance of studying affect is that it offers a new and innovative template with which to trace and re-draw the contours and texture of identity and difference in relation to power. In departing from the cognitive neuropsychological framework for understanding affects/emotions, the various contributors employ cultural methodologies that examine the *structures* of feelings and responses via visual narratives and urban embodiment, often routing through the minorities' self-representation of their own

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emotional world. An advantage of using a cultural approach to psychology is that affect theories offer a hopeful alternative to social determinism and structural prohibition, by positioning the individual as possessing a degree of control over their future, rather than as passive recipient of cognitive or learned phenomena.

Over the past twenty years or so, the "affective turn" in cultural theory, which draws on innovative theories of subjectivity and subjection, of the body and embodiment, and of gender, race, and sexuality, has built critical scholarship in the humanities to reconfigure the complex relations among subjectivity, private sentiments, and power. Together, the various contributions to this book represent a response to this special attention given nowadays to the cultural politics of affect. For instance, the chapters by Probyn and O'Connor lay out the ground and contextualize "feeling ethnic" based on embodied experience. The chapters by Kim and Velayutham focus on migration as the most salient context for feeling one's ethnicity and finding one's own voice. Their work serve to help us understand the transition from embodied experience to feelings. There are also chapters that turn to the questions of visual media and visual culture as they intersect with ethnicity and identity quest, such as those by Leung, Lo, and Erni and Ho. Comparison between Hong Kong, Japan and China can be gleaned from the set of chapters on visual media and the chapters by Kawai and Evers, who put ethnic feeling in an interaction and/or relational context. Overall, the book wants to address the affective as a condition of possibility for recognizing ethnic minorities as a particular kind of cultural citizens in inter-ethnic and global contexts.

Broadly speaking, how is affect theorized in cultural terms? "Without affect feelings do not 'feel' because they have no intensity, and without feelings rational decision-making becomes problematic." In this statement, Shouse (2005) not only delineates the conceptual difference between affect and feeling/emotion, he also manages to crystallize a key theoretical contribution in the "affective turn" in cultural theories: namely that affect introduces the question of intensity or passion as a particular kind of social force. Theorists of affect come from diverse disciplines in the humanities, including literary and film studies (e.g. Sedgwick 2003; Miller 1988), music (e.g. Baumgartner et al. 2006; Ibrahim 2004; Wallbott 1989), anthropology (e.g. Navaro-Yashin 2009; Reddy 1999), performance theory (e.g. Mavor 2007; Pollack 1998), feminism (e.g. Berlant 2000, 2004; Braidotti 2000; Jaggar 1989), critical race theory (e.g. Ahmed 2000, 2004; Mabry and Kiecolt 2005; Munoz 2000), queer theory (e.g. Butler 1990; Munt 2000; Probyn 2005a), and cultural studies (e.g. Athanaious et al. 2008; Gregg and Seigworth 2010; Grossberg 1984, 1988, 1997; Harding and Pribram 2004; Hemmings 2005; Massumi 1996; Ngai 2005). Drawing on the philosophical work of Spinoza, Bergson, and Deleuze, cultural theorists conceptualize affect as a lived experience of intensity that engages—and creates—an individual's corporeal responses (e.g. facial expression, gestures, perspiration, tone of voice, posture, bodily motion), shapes their social actions, and constitutes a different kind of power relation underpinned by (subtle and surprising) social passion. A contextual understanding of affect presents a cultural reality beyond the individual psychological state, and can reframe minority studies through what Raymond Williams calls the "structure

of feeling" (see Matthew 2001), or what Probyn (2005b) identifies as "the ineffable, the awesome materiality of discourse and life as we know it," or yet what Deleuze (1994) refers to as the "map of intensity." All of these concepts re-focus the questions of identity and community as lived, unpredictable states of being. In this way, the various forms of affect (e.g. shame, guilt, anxiety, excitement, delight, enchantment, etc.) intersect with, absorb, and reproduce social contexts and relations, and have the potential power to transform them.

What do affects do, according to the cultural theorists? Besides complicating human rationality, affects have the capacity to transform as well as exceed states of social subjection (Sedgwick 2003), to provide "affective alliances" to challenge dominant social relations (Grossberg 1997; Erni 2007), and to create community through empathy and shared experience (Pollack 1998). In short, the "affective turn" in cultural theory promotes a different worldview than the rather narrow one governed by the repressive/subversive dichotomy, because the intensity and contagiousness of passions and the flexible affective attachments to people, events, and images can lead to new *actions* that are open, surprising, and renewable. It is upon this theoretical basis that we believe research of *minority affects* is an urgent task for thinking a different multicultural social trajectory regarding matters of ethnic difference, racism, belonging, and transformation of community life.

Empirical work in this area is relatively rare compared to the volumes of theoretical writings on affect. Hardt's (1999) study of "affective labor" directs research toward sectors of our economy that rely on "emotional labor" (e.g. the care industry, maternal work, immaterial labor of advertising and marketing). Patricia Plough's groundbreaking collection of essays in *The Affective Turn* (2007) showcases several emerging lines of fieldwork-based research, including Ducey's (2007) study of "affective training" of health care workers, Wissinger's (2007) fieldwork in the modeling industry, Staples' (2007) study of women's reproductive and maternal work, and Ditmore's (2007) ethnographic work on the affective struggles of sex workers. What is generally lacking in these useful studies, however, is an innovative methodology that can uncover the self-production and self-reflection of affects by people and communities. One of the objectives of this book is to turn people's emotional world and affective communities from being objects of research into *empirical subjects* of (self-)observation, creation, remembrance, and transformation.

In this book, I assemble contributions from anthropologists, cultural critics, and media studies scholars, most of them working from an Asian perspective. Their studies cover Japan, Singapore, South Korea, Australia, the PRC, and Hong Kong.

The two chapters by O'Connor and Probyn set the overall tone for the book, for they bring our attention to the notion of "feeling ethnic" based on embodied experience. In Paul O'Connor's chapter, he explores the idea of feeling ethnic by engaging with theories of ethnicity and embodiment. He asks plainly: how does one feel ethnic? What circumstances evoke a feeling of ethnicity? Drawing on sensual scholarship, habitus, and space, he brings the question of ethnicity to the street level of Hong Kong. He engages with ethnographic work amongst a variety of ethnically different Hong Kong people and considers how the city space evokes feelings of

ethnicity. Drawing on fieldwork with Pakistani youth, local Hong Kong Chinese, white expatriates, and African asylum seekers, he pursues the significance of feeling a part of Hong Kong. This discussion considers the importance of feeling ethnic in the post-colonial identity politics of Hong Kong. In the end, O'Connor muses on how feeling ethnic manifests in everyday activities and the importance of dialogue and play. In "Queer fish: Eating ethnic affect," Elspeth Probyn suggests that the very term "ethnic" has deep culinary resonances. It also vibrates with different affects. While O'Connor focuses more on the vibrations in the street as a basis for feeling ethnic, Probyn turns to the embodied experience of consuming ethnic food. She suggests, for instance, that Charles Darwin's discussion of disgust was, after all, triggered by his mediated contact with a "native" via a morsel of meat. In the everyday of multicultural cities, food cultures speak of colonial violence, consumed now with pleasure. Probyn tells us about how in Sydney Australia, people eat the food of waves of migrants—from the rice paper rolls of Vietnamese "boat people" to Sudanese goat stews. While the tendency for mainstream white culture has been to celebrate and reify "authentic ethnic food" as a self-congratulatory indicator of tolerance, Probyn insists that there is of course a darker side. Using several different examples of what are deemed "Asian" foodstuff, in the chapter Probyn examines the nexus of ethnicity and affect. Departing from the usual mode of analyzing the cultural semiotics of cuisines, she focuses on the materiality of the thing that is eaten. In other words, she shifts attention to how ethnicity is transferred from a socially defined category of human to the objects eaten: from "exotic" fish, stag penises, to cheese described by some Chinese as "the mucous discharge of some old cow's guts, allowed to putrefy." Across several ethnographic vignettes, she examines closely the food objects that are differentially considered as delicious or disgusting. Analyzing different scenes of eating—of sharing what is deemed edible by whom—Probyn sees commensality and conviviality as practices in progress that are fueled by hope, the hope of being together that will change a collective and individual present and future.

If migration is an implicit theme in O'Connor and Probyn, the chapters by Kim and Velayutham focus on migration as the most salient context for feeling one's ethnicity and finding one's own voice. Their work serve to help us understand the transition from embodied experience to feelings. In Hyun Mee Kim's chapter that explores the question of "affective personhood" through films among migrants in South Korea, she suggests that migrants tend to pay close attention to the affect and emotions of others while they learn and re-learn the "racial etiquette" of local residents in receiving countries, and hence straddle across multiple translocal racial formations. This behavior is also observed in South Korea, where migrants have documented aspects of their lives in short or narrative films that they have made and circulated. Kim's chapter interprets these films as self-portraits to negotiate with Koreans, and as a means of addressing how the official categorization of migrants in different roles and legal constraints has led to the emergence of specific forms of affect and affective practices among migrants. At the same time, and in contrast to the construction of migrants as suitable, proper or commodifiable beings in a South Korea's neoliberal environment, these films also serve as a platform for migrants

to express themselves as autonomous or culturally cosmopolitan beings in resistance to the restrictive and discriminating conditions. As such, these films can be viewed as a contested domain for migrants and diverse audiences in Korean society to interpret and re-interpret forms of affective personhoods for migrants. In Selvaraj Velayutham's chapter, he turns to examine the kinds of affective negotiations for difference and recognition among Chinese migrant workers in Singapore's Little India. In it, he examines cases of what he calls "incongruous encounters" where, because of Singapore's radicalized visa system, Chinese migrant workers from China (PRC) find themselves working in South Asian owned and staffed restaurants in Singapore's Little India. In a city-state where over 74% of the population are Chinese and are the ethnic majority, PRC migrant workers because of their ethno-national identity; migrant status (low-waged/skilled visa category); and place of employment, are turned into minorities. Velayutham considers the question of cultural mobility and intercultural encounter in relation to the variegated citizenships of temporary migrant labor. He asks, under what labor conditions are a cosmopolitan sensibility and openness to otherness likely to emerge, as against a set of survival-based intercultural capacities? The case highlights how in a place like Singapore, the "encounter" needs to be understood within a regime of mobile labor, racial hierarchies and a highly stratified system of work visas and that learnt capacities to function and interact across difference should not necessarily be romanticized as a cosmopolitan sensibility.

In this book, there is a subset of chapters that turn to the questions of visual media and visual culture as they intersect with ethnicity and identity quest. These chapters focus our attention on Hong Kong, although the methodological orientations vary among the contributors. In his chapter on the managing of racialized anxieties in Hong Kong television drama, Daren Shi-chi Leung explores the relation between racial representation and emotions/affect as part of the struggle for racial minorities' visibility, through an affective reading of the TV sitcom, *No Good Either Way*) (2012) broadcast on local television. Instead of relegating the ethnic minority as invisible neighbors, the text strives to redefine racial relations on a basis of the close racial dynamic of friendship between Chinese and their ethnic friends and neighbor. The text shows how when an ethnic character strains to survive the working place full of anxiety and hardship in the city, the problem of racial othering ends up involving an affective configuration of "sweetened trouble" (as a structure of feeling) and its emotional narrative implication, instead of a mobilization of stereotypes. However, Leung argues that behind this "soft" approach pf promoting racial harmony is the question of what calls "sugarcoated racism": a form of racial othering that is not taken in the reproduction of stereotype, but in a racial framing that positions the racial other in the position of a troublemaker and a fool with lightened anxieties. The main argument in Leung's chapter is that televisual emotions serve as a valuable endeavor to understanding a particular form of popular racialization that sugarcoats different racisms in the cover of sympathy of audience toward minorities' anxieties.

In the chapter by John Erni and Louis Ho, they introduce and review a flagship programme of the ifva (Incubator for Film & Visual Media in Asia) of the Hong

Kong Arts Centre, entitled "All About Us" (AAU), which according to their research, is the sole community-based programme in Hong Kong to date that is dedicated to creative visual expression of minority ethnic feelings. Their goals are to situate AAU in the larger global awareness for the elevation of ethnic minority's cultural participation, and to showcase some of the works of the participants of AAU through textual readings of selected video pieces in order to better illuminate the connection between minority identity and affects. They point out that research prompted by international standards coalesces around a broad argument that "the right to culture" goes well beyond the mere availability of culture to encompass the vital concerns about education, language, social service provision, geography and territory, and arts and cultural participation. This is why programmes like AAU carry unique and significant cultural meanings of helping to render minorities more visible, and specifically emotionally visible. Through textual readings of selected video works made in AAU by teenage ethnic participants, Erni and Ho show how affect circulate in various genres of work, most notably comedy, ghost stories, and thrillers, and illuminate the "private sphere" of ethnic life rarely known by the outside world.

In Kwai-Cheung Lo's chapter, he examines the ethnic relations and the growing formation of ethnic nationalism in the twenty-first century Hong Kong by focusing on their implications of love. In it, he looks at three specific cases in the media, in a local protest, and a university incident, and suggests that one way or another, these cases manifest love for a nation, a city, and a religion, but love can be aggressive and violent. Love is a fantasy of oneness, and of imaginary unity. One loves the other only insofar as one wants to be in other's place aggressively. Hence, Lo emphasizes that aggression is just as present as in loving acts as in violent ones. There is always some ambivalence and interdependence of love and hate. In connection to the examined cases, Lo argues about how the passionate love of community, lifestyle and identity in Hong Kong recently gives rise to the increasingly strengthened nationalist feelings and remarkable signs of xenophobia.

Finally, comparison between Hong Kong, Japan and China can be gleaned from the set of chapters by Leung, Erni and Ho, and Lo, and those by Kawai and Evers, the final two chapter that put ethnic feeling in an interaction and/or relational context. In Yuko Kawai's chapter, she turns to the affect of empathy. In her chapter, Kawai revisits the concept of empathy to explore ways in which people in the majority group use ethnic minority's media self-representation to "listen" to their voices. With the persistent influence of the myth of Japan being a mono-ethnic/racial nation-state (*tan'itsu minzoku kokka*), ethnic minority identities and cultural practices tend to be made invisible in Japanese society. Under these circumstances, films of ethnic minorities created by ethnic minorities themselves are an important resource for Japanese students in understanding them. Generally known as "putting yourself in someone else's shoes," mainly philosophers and psychologists have engaged in discussing and defining the concept of empathy in various ways. Empathy has received positive attention from scholars in multicultural education and critical pedagogy as a way of building a more just and equitable multicultural relationship as well as negative attention as being limited for that

purpose. In the chapter, Kawai attends to the independent documentary film *Permanência* about young Japanese Brazilian return migrants in Japan and Japanese college students' responses to the film. This 2006 film was directed by a Japanese Brazilian, once a return migrant himself. Seeking better economic opportunities, a substantial number of Japanese Brazilians began to return to Japan in the 1990s. In Brazil, they were known as Japanese and "a model minority" with relatively higher educational and income levels. However, back in Japan, primarily engaging in manual labor, they have been marginalized as foreigners with lower socio-economic status.

For Clifton Evers, inter-ethnic encounters are often imbued with feelings derived from gender differences. In his chapter, he argues that research about hegemonic Australian masculinity and migration experiences tends to focus on how various ethnicities traveling to Australia and how the new arrivals must adapt, modify, reaffirm, and reconfigure their own identities in relation to it. When it comes to feeling ethnic, Anglo white Australian men who ascribe to these signifiers take their own ethnicity for granted. However, Evers presses: what happens when these men are caught up in globalisation as they take up lives around the world? How does this hegemonic Australian masculinity travel (if indeed it does) and what is the relationship to feeling ethnic in a different social and cultural context? Drawing on Raymond Hibbins and Bob Pease, who argue that "during the settlement process and beyond men need to adapt gender, national, sexual, ethnic, and class dimensions of identity" (Hibbins and Pease 2009, p. 3), Evers suggests that while some men try to assimilate by learning new codes and symbols from among the new conditions of possibility, others work to reaffirm or even exaggerate their "Aussie male" identity. Both positions, Evers reminds us, are privileged in that the former uses the identities of those where they currently are to "service a white, masculine story of (self)-discovery" whereby they attempt to absorb the other (Ahmed 2000, 123), while the latter means they have the economic, social, and cultural capital to map, set up, and legitimize their own zones of belonging so they can seek out what is familiar and mitigate feeling ethnic. Evers's chapter is an auto-ethnographic and ethnographic portrait of work, domestic, and leisure experiences of a cohort of Anglo-white Australian men in Shanghai, China. This means interrogating experiences that provoke anger, shame, disgust, pride, and more. It includes discussion of the use of social media (e.g. WeChat) and mobile phones that helps to facilitate and manage the practice of feeling ethnic.

I hope this book will provide intellectual bearings for understanding ethnic minorities' feelings and need of social recognition, expression, and freedom, so as to promote, in the long run, understanding of the critical role played by a keenly felt sense of "affective citizenship" in the development of critical multiculturalism across Asia.

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Chapter 2
How Does One Feel Ethnic? Embodiment and Urban Space

Paul O'Connor

2.1 Introduction

I have been asking people how they feel ethnic for several years now. As an ethnographer it is endlessly intriguing to listen and observe how people make sense of their identities and how they position themselves. What I refer to below ambitiously tries to provide an answer to how people feel ethnic by drawing on the established literature, my own ethnographic research, and notions of embodiment. Ethnicity can be conceived in manifold ways, as a polite and inclusive way to talk about race (Banton 1967), as a cultural and linguistic group with a putative heritage (Hutchinson and Smith 1996), or as a signifier of minority and migrant communities within a nation state (Eriksen 2010, p. 18). One of the key features of ethnicity is that it represents a relationship between those of one group and those of another. Ethnicity cannot exist in isolation, it is at the most basic level binary, at a more complex level ethnic identity is ambivalent, fluid, and multiple.

So, how does one feel ethnic? It is an intriguing question to pose as even a socially constructed understanding of ethnicity recognises that people *feel* strongly about their identities and the communities in which they are connected. One thing that resonates throughout the various chapters of this book is the power with which people feel and embody their ethnicity. In Clifton Evers' piece we learn how an everyday object, the smart phone, comes to be a mediator in the negotiation of a white male masculinity in China. In contrast Selvaraj Velayutham talks of new forms of multicultural encounter for Chinese migrant workers in Singapore's Little India and the hybrid identities that emerge from such encounters. So what can we fashion from these discussions and others within this volume about how people feel ethnic? Part of what I want to explore in answering the question is how ethnicity is embodied, what gives it resonance and feeling?

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Whilst the topic of feeling ethnic is quite broad, the material I draw from is actually imbedded in a very specific context. Firstly the research I draw upon here extends from discussions with undergraduate and postgraduate students in Hong Kong, many of whom were students in my class on ethnicity. They are in the majority Hong Kong Chinese but not exclusively. Beyond this cohort I draw on ethnographic research performed with ethnic minorities in Hong Kong, the majority being South Asian Muslims, but also including African asylum seekers, Indonesian foreign domestic workers, and white residents of European ancestry. Collectively the research draws on discussions and interactions with over 60 individuals, of these formal semi-structured interviews were conducted with 40 informants. In all cases names have been changed to protect the anonymity of informants. Secondly the writing up of this research must be placed in the context of a turbulent political moment in Hong Kong where issues of identity, ethnicity, and belonging have come to the fore. When I first presented this paper in October of 2014 at the "Feeling Ethnic" symposium at Hong Kong's Baptist University, the student led protests of the Umbrella Movement occupied major parts of the city. The growing Hong Kong nationalism that is attached to this movement is framed well by Kwai-Cheung Lo's chapter in this volume. So whilst I try to address how does one feel ethnic, it would be wrong to remove this chapter from the context in which it took form. This is perhaps the first answer to our question that one feels ethnic in connection to the context that they are in.

I have previously been interested in notions of hybrid culture and identity (O'Connor 2011). Whilst I continue to be an advocate for recognising the importance of hybridity, I do not engage with this discussion here. Rather I am seeking to look at a series of reflections that engage with feeling and embodiment. It is not to say that hybridity is not important here, it is simply not the major focus. In pursuing our question I want to introduce three interrelated ways, proposed by Dion et al. (2011), in which ethnicity can be understood as embodied.

- *Experience*
- *Imagination*
- *Interaction*.

Exploring the ways people discuss their ethnicity, these three elements recur throughout this chapter, and throughout this book. They are discussed more fully below. My main argument extends from Dion, Sitz and Remy's schema and is perhaps prosaic, but this may well be the reason for reaffirming it. Too often the mundane is overlooked. So another simple answer to the question of how does one feel ethnic is that one feels ethnic in everyday life, by simply living. This includes the most exceptional of activities, joy, love, exploration, celebration and also the most routine and quotidian, of waking, eating, and striving in daily affairs. Our e*xperiences*, and the context of them, contribute to the way we feel ethnic. This is combined with the way we understand or *imagine* and the world we inhabit. These feelings are combined with the *interactions* and affinities we feel with a group of others who need not share our ethnicity but in one measure or another reflect it.

I begin by conceptually framing the idea of ethnicity and then look at discussions of embodiment to tease out an understanding of ethnicity that is both lived and felt. As the discussion proceeds I draw on reflections and observations from my informants. I have included material from interviews that I have performed with students who are already familiar and conversant with theories and discourse on ethnicity. In doing so I am seeking to extend a critical discussion and challenge notions of how ethnicity is imposed on some people and seen as irrelevant to others. As I seek to engage with an embodied understanding of ethnicity it would be disingenuous for me to omit my own positions as a white male researcher in the Hong Kong context. I have been mindful of this dynamic and address and include my own position in various places in the text. Ultimately this chapter seeks to provide a dialogue that builds on theory and incorporates reflections of how people embody, understand, and make sense of their ethnicity.

2.2   Ethnicity

For many years I have taught courses on ethnicity, culture, and religion in Hong Kong. My classes are often made up of students from roughly three different backgrounds. Local Hong Kong students, students from mainland China, and international students from Europe and North America. What I encourage all my students to do is to think about what they associate with the word "ethnicity." They tend to think of race, ethnic conflict, migration, and remote tribes. Beyond all of this, the general assumption is that ethnicity relates to others, and that within Hong Kong, it relates to minorities. What my students tend to think less about, and in fact it is something we generally all think less about, is that we are all ethnic. Too frequently the notion of ethnicity is ascribed to those in minority positions. Classically the "ethnic" is the "other" and even more contemporary understandings of everyone being ethnic rest on the assumption that this is only evident because of ethnic others. Yet the notion that everyone is ethnic, a powerful idea, is still frequently explored in a discursive manner. It is explored through labels such as nation, language, and religion. In order to provide an example of this, let us address what ethnicity is commonly regarded as encapsulating. Hutchinson and Smith (1996, pp. 6–7) present six criteria as being central in the identification of an ethnic group. They include the need for a *name*, a belief in a common *ancestry*, which in turn forms part of a necessary historical *narrative*, a common *culture*, *territorial* tie, and a sense of *solidarity*. Yet when someone expresses an ethnic identification, it is something that is felt before it is intellectually dissected.

One debate that draws on ideas of feeling ethnic is the case of primordialism that posits that individuals have, as Geertz (1996, p. 42) describes, "*ineffable*" ties that make ethnicity enduring and powerfully coercive in our daily lives. The primordialist assumption that blood ties, shared physiognomy, and connection to place extend to an unknown past, are ideas that were apparent in my interviews. One of my informants, Jessica a 33 year old Hong Kong born English woman who

identifies her own ethnicity in feeling Jewish, stated that she feels ethnic with "every cell of her body", it is a permanent and physical practice. These types of identification have lead primordialism to be met with suspicion by many scholars as it presents what could be understood as a rigid and racist ethic of separatism and division. However, the primordialist approach, and particularly that which is presented by Geertz, engages with what it feels like to be ethnic. Primordial feelings are those that are exploited in nationalist rhetoric that call on individuals to die for their country (Anderson 2006). Similarly it is primordial sentiments that manifest in ethnic conflict where insurmountable difference is believed to have an ancient history perpetuated by birth and blood. It is primordialism that ties Fanon (1967, p. 112) to the gravity of his racial classification, forever a black man "battered down by tom-toms, cannibalism, intellectual deficiency, fetishism, racial defects, slave-ships" all regardless of his achievements and conquests. In an article that reconsiders primordialism, Bayar (2009, p. 1640) demonstrates how ethnic distance, the degree to which ethnic identities are "solidified as opposed to each other", draws on associations of physiognomy and place as ways in which identities can be tied.

In opposition to such notions, a culturally constructed idea of identity has found favour in the social sciences and not without good reason. Scientific race has been discredited though race endures as a powerful social and political referent. In addition, colonialism, modern migrations, and multicultural cities, have brought with them hybrid identities and the end of the essential racial subject (Hall 1992). A flexible ethnicity also brings into question the facility and purpose of ethnicity, for some this purpose is instrumental i.e. a tool to be rationally used. Instrumentalists see ethnicity as a way to acquire and maintain resources, power, and allies. Barth (1967) in his influential argument asserts that boundaries are the most important element of ethnic groups and illustrates how individuals are able to change and transform their ethnic identity by moving across boundaries. His work indicates that in contrast to primordialism ethnicity is rational and self interested. If ethnicity no longer functions or is no longer meaningful for an individual, that individual can, if circumstances are favourable, adapt and change their ethnicity. However this is understood always as a change and transformation to a neighbouring and culturally similar group. That is to say although ethnic movement is possible it is still unusual and mostly aligned with movement between groups with little ethnic distance (van Evra in Bayar 2009, p. 1642). This understanding of ethnicity sees culture as less important to ethnic identity than the construction and maintenance of boundaries. Thus an ethnic group's culture and practices may change over time, but the ethnic group continues by preserving boundaries that make them distinct to other groups with which they come into contact. This clearly deviates from a primordial understanding of ethnicity that comes from birth and is enduring.

This brings us to another important point highlighted by Michael Moerman (Eriksen 2010) in his research with the Lue people. He found that there was no clear way to distinguish who was Lue. In certain contexts people shared language, beliefs, territorial ties, but in no one place did all these elements converge. In the

end he decided that someone is of the Lue ethnicity by virtue of them believing that they are Lue. In Anthropological terms, ethnicity is therefore an "emic category of ascription" (Eriksen 2010, p. 17), meaning we have ethnicities that we assign and adopt ourselves. However, in order for them to be valid or authentic (a deeply ambiguous notion) they have to also be believable to others. Therefore ethnicity is made up of converging and often fluid identifications. How we understand ourselves and how others reflect that understanding is often connected to primordial identifications and feelings. Context is often a key component in identity and those with the most ambiguous ethnicities are commonly, in some way, de-territorialised from a supposed place of origin.

This short foray into anthropological approaches must be brought to the present moment and chiefly to environs that we all inhabit. More than 50% of the world's population now live in cities and these cities are in varying ways increasingly multicultural. Ethnicity has become a key interest and concern even in countries previously regarded as ethnically uniform such as Japan and Korea. In Hong Kong the growth in interest surrounding ethnic minorities is firmly connected to a broader searching for a Hong Kong ethnicity. This is something that I shall expand upon in further below. What is important to note however, is that a variety of research on urban and youth ethnicity highlights the development of new flexible and hybrid ethnic identities (Song 2003) that are representative not only of individual choice (Schneider 2005) but also of the world as a cultural supermarket of consumable identities. In the research of Yon (2000, pp. 145–148), Marta, a Serbian teenage girl who migrated with her family to Canada, asserts an identity as Latino. For her it is friends, music and dancing that informs the most salient aspects of her ethnicity. Returning to the idea of context I ask would Marta feel Latino if she returned to Serbia, if she was displaced from her Latino friends, and if so for how long could that feeling be sustained?

In my research with young Muslims, 15 year old Aseelah, a Pakistani girl born in Hong Kong, speaks fluent Cantonese and spends most of her time with Chinese friends. However, during the course of my research she left Hong Kong and migrated to the UK to live in Birmingham, a city with a large South Asian population. In our subsequent communications Aseelah highlighted that she missed speaking Cantonese as she didn't have anyone in Birmingham to speak the language with, and the Hong Kong part of her identity was not apparent to her new friends and peers. This however was compounded by the more immediate problem of her Pakistani peers who all chose to speak in English rather than in Urdu. Whilst Aseelah was prepared to not speak much Cantonese in the UK, she was alarmed by also not speaking Urdu.

So in asking how does one feel ethnic, I am also asking how a person can feel a tie to an ethnicity which is not readily apparent to others? How does Marta feel ethnic in Canada, how does Aseelah feel ethnic in Birmingham, how does Jessica feel Jewish and how do my other respondents feel ethnic in Hong Kong, a territory itself with a contested identity? To answer these questions I look to the human body, and to the embodiment of ethnicity in everyday life.

2.3   Embodiment and Ethnicity

Addressing embodiment in the work of Merleau-Ponty (1962) provides a starting point with the phenomenological exploration of how we encounter the world. For Merleau Ponty the world is only known through the body, its senses are a building block for experience and cognition. He presents our experiences, through an organic nexus, as part of the world's perception of itself (Ingold 2011, p. 12). The acquired techniques of the body as discussed by Mauss (2007) have been influential in highlighting the intersections of the body, culture, and our positions in society. Not only one's culture, but one's age, gender, class, and occupation can become inscribed in one's comportment, posture, and action. It is here we can see that ethnicity through habitus, is entwined with the body. Influenced by Mauss and Merleau Ponty, Bourdieu (1977, p. 90) makes the case that when children learn their vision of the world they learn with their body, even if the knowledge they acquire comes from a book. The book itself is held with the hands, rested on the lap, whilst the eyes scan the words. At a very fundamental level, all human knowledge is embodied knowledge.

If we take the body seriously, as a ground for understanding culture, we can adopt embodiment as a paradigm for understanding ethnicity. Here I am referring to embodiment as the feelings and experiences brought forth and experienced through the body and senses. So in feeling ethnic, embodiment encourages us to resist a rational and intellectual tour of our ethnicity, it looks at the visceral, the gut, the sensations and how these are inscribed with meaning. After moving to the UK Aseelah communicated to me that Birmingham felt very different to Hong Kong. Simply walking down the street was different with all the houses being low rather than high-rise. Her very first experiences of being in Birmingham were ones in which she drew on how things felt different in an experiential and embodied sense. For her the UK seemed much more dirty than Hong Kong. She was alarmed by how seldom the streets were cleaned and how leaves were left to litter the pavements. Her reflections included reference to weather, smells, and navigating the city.

However, embodied ethnicity also relates to how a person views and under-stands the body. Fanon's (1967) account of the "fact of blackness" highlights this at an epidermal level. My informant Jessica provided a further example, she felt her Jewish identity was confirmed and communicated by the shape of her body. She imagined herself as having the physiognomy and somatotype of an Ashkenzai Jewish woman. It was a body type that she could trace through other female members of her family. While others might not readily identify her as Jewish, and certainly not in the way Fanon is seen as black, nevertheless Jessica's gendered physicality contributes to how she feels ethnic. Embodiment and body knowledge is clearly an important component of identity (Millsted and Frith 2003).

Research on embodied ethnicity has come from the development of a cultural phenomenology of Csordas (1990, 2011). In the work of Dion et al. (2011) a case is made for embodied ethnicity with reference to the identifications of their partici-pants in France. They highlight the many and varied examples of embodied ethnic

identification that are spontaneously offered as participants discuss notions of home, culture, and belonging. They set forth a model in which embodied ethnicity can be identified along three lines, these being *experience*, *imagination*, and *interactions* (2011, p. 16). Each node is connected to the other. *Experience* comes from everyday encounters, from eating food, to waking up in the morning, all actions create sensual experiences. The *imagination* provides a metaphoric understanding of identification with a sensual narrative. One respondent remembers her home country and calls forth the landscape but also the breeze, smells and flavours of that territory. She imagines herself in the landscape walking in the wind. *Interactions* correspond with how our techniques of the body place us amongst others, how we become 'melted' with others or conversely placed aside as different, and as other.

This guiding conceptual triptych of embodied ethnicity (*experience*, *imagination*, *interaction*) provides a context for us to explore how one feels ethnic. Whilst I recognise that this schema is helpful it is important to see that each of these three components is entwined with the others. In many cases the ways in which people address issues of feeling ethnic touch upon a layered and rich understanding of embodied experiences. What I attempt to do below is to isolate some examples to highlight their recurring significance. I address the experience of the weather and also encounters with food.

2.4 Weather

One 25 year old Somali man, Hani, commented to me on a particularly dull day, how the weather made him happy as he recalled feeling relief each year when the skies clouded over for monsoons. The dull weather made him pleased for the respite of heat he seasonally felt in Somalia. I asked surely he must also be happy for the duller and cooler weather in Hong Kong, but he explained that with air conditioning and shelter the heat was more manageable. In another instance Hani talked about home and sanitation, highlighting that he and others whilst travelling would locate a watering hole and make the water clean by straining it through their shirts before drinking. This would provide a rudimentary way of filtering out any foreign objects. He was making the point that people in Hong Kong are too concerned with cleanliness, making everything as sterile as possible, his simple filtering process was something he fondly recalled as a practical sanitary activity. It was clear to me that there was a lament for this way of life in his passing comment. Another individual present, a Ghanaian asylum seeker, Franky, verified this action saying that he also did this. Hani then proceeded to elaborate pulling his t-shirt forward and showing how he would hold it to poor water through.

Jessica said her Jewish identity was most strongly connected to her experiences with her grandmother on visits to London. Despite visiting Israel and coming from the tropical climate of Hong Kong, Jessica associated her Jewish identity with the weather of her grandmother's home. In this example it is *experience*, *interaction* and *imagination* that come to be significant.

A further example of the prominence of the weather in how one feels ethnic was provided by Mari a 20 year old student. She describes her nationality as Mexican-Canadian, and her ethnicity as Chinese Mexican. She was born in Mexico to a Mexican father and a Chinese mother. Despite spending much of her life in Canada I struggled to find any scenario in which Mari would express what it felt like to be Canadian. It was only in terms of weather that we discovered something in which she could connect and identify with an embodied sense of ethnicity and feel Canadian. I mentioned to Mari that in Hong Kong it was often the case that Canadians felt quite proud about their ability to cope with cold weather. In one conversation Mari was sat wearing just jeans and a t-shirt. I in contrast, had additional layers, a long sleeve shirt, and a hooded sweater. Whilst dressing up warm in Hong Kong's cooler weather, not cold by English standards where I originate, makes me feel more of a Hong Konger, being comfortable in the cold in just a t-shirt was one way in which Mari felt Canadian. The ability to cope with the cold was validated by her Canadian friends who recognise that she is tough by Canadian standards as she has lived for some time in a northern region where temperatures drop to −15 °C. Part of feeling Canadian for Mari is also 'not' feeling cold.

The weather is something that also resonates with my own ethnic identification. I have lived in Hong Kong for 15 years but originally come from England. Some of my students are often surprised to hear of my aloof and disconnected identification with the UK. In short I feel English through my love of tea, my manners, and my idioms. But my strongest feelings of being English resonate with place, the open spaces of the Devon countryside in particular. Annually during the summer I experience a lament for the long summer evenings that Hong Kong is denied by its close proximity to the equator. The absence of evenings where the sun sets as late as 10 pm is an absence that reminds me, perhaps, of some of the most formative experiences, imaginings, and interactions that contribute to who I am.

2.5   Food

Many of my Hong Kong Chinese students felt a strong Hong Kong attachment, but a more ambiguous Chinese ethnic identification that needed maintenance and qualification. One 21 year old student, Rich, explained that he understood himself as Hong Kong Chinese but that he had some historic ties to the mainland, particularly Chiu Chow where his grandparents came from. In trying to express what these ties were he found that he had little to identify with his heritage in mainland China. His family never visited their ancestral village and they had no enduring connections with the mainland. However, one activity that reinforced the family's ethnic identification was a monthly visit to a Chiu Chow restaurant where they would share a meal together. In such an example food becomes an embodied experience.

Undoubtedly food is a powerful source of identification, however sharing a celebration of different ethnic foods has also been critiqued as superficial culture and cultural appropriation (Nederveen Pieterse 2004; Kalra et al. 2005). What we see in exploring embodied ethnicity is a very powerful identification with taste and smell. There are techniques of the body shared in the interaction of eating, along with the sensual experiences of tasting and ingesting food. Food effects and has affect on the body. Spicy food, bitter food, sweet food all change the way in which we feel, our facial expressions, and our experiences after consumption. This theme is one that is beautifully addressed in the present volume by Elspeth Probyn. The everyday character of food, and indeed the enduring fact that different food cultures are evocative of very different types of embodied ethnicity is powerful. De Certeau et al. (1998, p. 168) highlight "that nothing is more variable from one human group to another than the notion of what is edible." In the process of eating different types of food, one makes connections and identifications. The meaning of eating Chiu Chow food for me, or my Ghanian respondent Franky, may hold some ethnic identification, but it is distinctly different from that experienced by Rich and his family.

In research performed by Chan (2010) the significance of Punchoi is explored in the Hong Kong identity. Chan shows how the imagining of Punchoi as part of the New Territories' cuisine has been adapted into an element of Hong Kong cultural, even national, identity. I was present on one occasion when Chan presented her research at a public talk by the Hong Kong Anthropological Association. What was remarkable was how strongly audience members spoke of their experiences with punchoi, how it was fondly regarded but not celebrated for its taste. Food need not be pleasant of tasty for it to be regarded fondly. Jessica provides another example of this as she associates the fatty, meaty food of her grandmother with her Jewish identity. It is not a type of food that she likes to eat, but the association is emotional and strong nevertheless.

In my research with young Muslims in Hong Kong, food becomes a favourite theme of discussion that spans identification with a Pakistani heritage in reference to the home cooked food provided by mothers, or the learning of family recipes and special culinary techniques, to the festive foods served in early morning during Ramadan and taken to the Wanchai mosque during Eid. These are contrasted and entwined with more local repertoires of food knowledge, the love of McDonald's as simply tasty food and also as a food that can be safely considered halal. Sahira, a 13 year old Pakistani girl spoke of how her father sometimes cooks Cantonese style fish, this is one of the few Chinese foods she eats. The significance of this dish runs deep, it is not only a meal that her father rather than her mother prepares, it is also a meal that he has learnt from his Chinese colleagues. Born in Karachi, Sahira identifies herself as Pakistani, but also recognises the importance of Hong Kong through her father who has lived in Hong Kong for over 20 years.

For 19 year old Sonny, a locally born Pakistani who is fluent in Cantonese and studying for his undergraduate degree, halal food is the major obstacle in his life. He complains that religion is a barrier in Hong Kong society, but when asked to elaborate he explains that it is because of religion that he can't eat comfortably with

friends and peers. The avoidance of pork is always problematic, despite being taught throughout his childhood at a Chinese school and having predominantly Chinese friends. Amongst Pakistani friends and relatives he confessed to feeling out of place, he identified readily and without hesitation as a Hong Konger. On challenging him about this he explained that even in the USA he would still identify as a Hong Konger.

Hadaf, a 20 year-old Pakistani Muslim highlighted a similar issue. It was clear in conversation that Hadaf loves Hong Kong and Chinese culture, but at the same time he entirely rejects Chinese food as he consider none of it to be *halal*. Despite being a fluent Cantonese speaker he rejects a major part of what is seen to be important in Chinese culture.

Mari's family food is Mexican, yet she states the Chinese influence is always there as they eat "exceedingly more rice" than the average Mexican family. However when I asked about her favourite food she replied that she really enjoyed Korean food. She went on to explain that she had worked for some time in a Korean restaurant and became a big fan of the food. She stated that she probably got the job because she "looked Asian", and that despite the fact she wasn't Korean she was very comfy with that. The nature of the North American register of Asian ethnicity was also critiqued by Mari, that someone who is Japanese can play a Korean or Chinese character in a Hollywood movie. Yet her employment in a Korean restaurant seemed to validate blindness to such ethnic differences whilst at the same time validating a way Mari felt Asian.

2.6   Context

One of the key ways in which people understand their ethnicity is in the experience of place. This more generally can be regarded as context, but also relates to embodying an environment, a landscape, and interacting with architecture. Through context, we can see the importance of *imagination*, *interaction* and *experience* in the process of feeling ethnic. Milly, a 21 year old Hong Kong Chinese student found herself surprised by her own identification when travelling in Mainland China. Milly kept on identifying herself as Southern Chinese, an identity that indeed she did fit with in simple descriptive terms, but not one she would ever express in Hong Kong. She rationalised her reasons as being based on both an anxiety about relationships between Hong Kongers and mainland Chinese, but also about the perception of Hong Kong as a wealthy place which she did not recognise (imagine) as relevant to her own identity. A 22 year old American student Annie, who has been studying in Hong Kong for over three years, spoke of her infatuation with Hong Kong and how she longs to be in the city when she is travelling elsewhere. In particular she evoked the feeling of speed, claiming that no place is faster moving than Hong Kong and that after a while you get accustomed to the speed of the place. You end up living too fast. In highlighting the point she spoke of the incredible frustration she felt in returning to small town USA where the pace of

life dragged to an aching crawl. She confessed that she felt she had to "wean" herself off Hong Kong and said that she was thinking of living in New York for some time as a way to "gradually slow down."

As mentioned previously, Sonny highlighted that context was irrelevant to him. Wherever he goes, be it the UK, USA, or to Pakistan the country of his parents birth, he would always identify as a Hong Konger first and foremost. Of further relevance is the evocative response one 20 year old Hong Kong Chinese student, Leon, gave me when I asked him to reflect on how he felt ethnic. In leaving the question as open as possible, Leon stated that he felt ethnic by being physically alienated in Hong Kong. In walking through the commercial district of Causeway Bay, an area full of opulent shops and densely packed streets, Leon said he felt like he was encountering a mass of alien and anonymous bodies. To elaborate his point, he is referring to the fact that the shoppers that now occupy Causeway Bay are largely visitors from the mainland. He stressed the point that he feels ethnic in relation to alienation, no longer being able to recognise parts of his own home city. No longer being able to have an affinity, to be melted in with the dominant mass. Another male student made a similar point that made some non-local students in the class gasp in shock. When I asked him, as a Hong Kong Chinese, who he felt the strongest affinity to, either South Asian ethnic minorities or mainland Chinese, he chose ethnic minorities. This ethnic identification with ethnic minorities in Hong Kong is arguably self serving for young people in the territory. That is, it aids the Hong Kong Chinese more than it does non-Chinese ethnic minorities.

2.7 Feeling Ethnic in Hong Kong

One feels ethnic by being in the world by living with others, encountering and engaging with places and persons. This keeps with the classic understanding that ethnicity relates to being in contact with others, there is no ethnicity in isolation and on one's own. At the same time it serves to broaden our notion of what is significant about ethnicity and to open up real space not for dialogue and understanding, but for participation and engagement.

One of the catalysts for the 2014 demonstrations in Hong Kong was January of 2012 when Hong Kongers surrounded the Dolce and Gabbana store in Canton Road Tsim Sha Tsui. This was triggered by an incident in which a security guard at the store had prevented a local Hong Kong Chinese woman from having her picture taken in front of the shop. News spread quickly that the luxury stores on Canton Road were for mainland tourists only. Prior to this and directly following the handover of 1997, local attitudes to mainland Chinese were often patronising, perceiving them as un-cultured and not wealthy. With the growing presence of a new wealthy mainland Chinese elite in Hong Kong, consuming many of the same Western fashion brands that Hong Konger's themselves valued and admired, there seemed to be a moment when the identification of what it meant to be a Hong Konger had become unclear. There, in short, needed to be an expanded idea of who

a Hong Konger was. At this time I noted an increased interest in ethnic minorities in Hong Kong, Mathews (2011, p. 198) who has performed research at Chungking Mansions, a building associated with cheap lodgings, Pakistani and African traders, also comments on the increasing curiosity people have with ethnic others in the building. Feeling ethnic in Hong Kong has emerges as a new issue of discussion. What does it mean to the various types of people who call Hong Kong their home?

In September of 2014 students across Hong Kong's Universities began a one-week class boycott in a call for universal suffrage. This protest came to become the Umbrella Movement that subsequently caught the world's attention as thousands of protesters brought key areas of the territory to a standstill. What was undeniable about the protests was the way in which people engaged with their city and the other people within it. I repeatedly heard talk of pride, belonging, of sadness and happiness and collaborations between students and the general public. Beyond the bigger political issues the impact of people being able to walk freely through the city streets, to be free from the confines of vehicular traffic was palpable. In the Causeway Bay district of the city where protesters brought traffic to a standstill, the air smelled fresh, a friend on Facebook posted that he could smell Jasmine flowers in Admiralty, whilst another posted a video of her son running barefoot through a traffic tunnel in Connaught Road. A colleague who attended the first evening of protests where police fired tear gas into crowds multiple times, spoke of how cross cultural the whole experience had been and how deeply it had strengthened his already strong identification with Hong Kong. Speaking to another protester from the UK whilst a Cantonese rendition of the *Internationale* rang out over loud speakers, the protests came at a time of increasing Hong Kong belonging. Referring to his growing proficiency in Cantonese and the political convictions of his wife, he declared I am feeling more and more *tied* to this place. In this account feeling ethnic is present as a physical constraint, and one that is palpable as the British man declared he had little interest in UK politics, but was invested in the future of Hong Kong. Social media highlighted that what had become the umbrella movement was a movement for all Hong Kong people, regardless of Chinese, European, or South Asian heritage.

In speaking with people at the demonstrations the importance attached to physically embodying parts of the city, normally only encountered in car or public transport, was powerful. The act of sitting in the street became a participatory act of democracy that had been denied. It has also contributed to feeling ethnic, to specifically feeling as a Hong Konger.

I argue that increased interest in Hong Kong's ethnic minorities has occurred because of everyday *experiences* that have caused Hong Kongers to reflect on their identity. In this manner growing recognition of ethnic minorities, that has been tangible in media and policy since the introduction of the Racial Discrimination Ordinance in 2008 (Baig 2012), is actually a self-interested affair. Frequently the discourse of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong is one that highlights, repeats, and reinforces the marginal positions that ethnic minorities find themselves within. While it would insincere to suggest that ethnic minorities do not face discrimination and marginalisation, it is also errant to only imagine them through these identities.

More importantly by discussing and imagining them in marginal terms they become continually bound to them. In my conversations with ethnic minority youth, experiences of racism are easy to uncover, yet repeatedly I encounter young people who are passionate about feminism, cookery, skateboarding, becoming a youtube celebrity, or a singer. They are not defined by their ethnicity. More importantly feeling ethnic is not simply about feeling marginalised, discriminated, and excluded. These elements are important, but the humanism of ethnic difference is lost in a discourse that privileges these issues alone.

2.8 Conclusion

In bringing this Chapter to a close I shall return to the ideas that I set out in introduction. There I listed the importance of Dion et al. (2011) schema of *experience*, *imagination*, and *interaction*, combined in everyday interaction. These issues are relevant throughout the accounts that have been visited above. The experience of context is important when Aseelah notes the differences between Birmingham and Hong Kong, when Mari talks about the cold weather of Canada, and when Rich eats out with his family. The imagination is important in how people are understood as being ethnic, how they are read racially, and how they understand their bodies. Jessica's example of the Jewish female body type, but also Mari's experiences of not being recognised as Mexican but fitting with the look of a Korean restaurant, Leon's alienation or the questioning of Sonny's Hong Kong identity through by his Pakistani appearance are all relevant here. Interactions that create an affinity with an ethnic identity that come from a connection to the range of factors that make us feel ethnic are also key. Jessica spoke of an Italian friend who she felt an affinity to because in their interactions she understood her as strong willed, expressive, and constantly gesticulating. Qualities she recognised in herself and her Jewish family. One feels ethnic in everyday life, through mundane encounters, through spectacular change. One feels ethnic through living. Ethnicity is therefore an embodied experience in which our emotional repertoires are engaged alongside our experiential body knowledge.

In performing this research I have moved in a variety of different spheres. As an academic, as a researcher, as a teacher, as a man, as a white native English speaker, I must recognise that there is a specific context to my research. When I am exploring ideas with the various informants I have been fortunate to work with, I recognise that the responses and answers I get to my questions could vary if someone else were asking them. This is why I have striven for a dialogue in these discussions, I have not shied away from being engaged in the dialogue and I have also frequently spoken to students who are also familiar with theories and concepts of ethnicity. What I have come to appreciate is that whilst the researcher might be very interested in pursuing themes of ethnicity, it is important to recognise that with the exception of a handful of my informants, ethnicity was not the most salient part of their identities. That is not to say that they didn't feel ethnic, but that it was no

guiding motif in their daily lives. Feeling ethnic is powerful, but there are other identities and experiences that have even greater resonance in the lives of many of the people I have spoken to. It is here that feeling ethnic must be considered as part of a hybrid identity.

This is significant to debate because of the controversies surrounding policies of, and discussion on, multiculturalism. Law and Lee (2012) highlight that there is a myth of multiculturalism in Hong Kong, that policy has failed to include and protect minorities. This dovetails with Gilroy's (2012, p. 384) "Zombie Multiculturalism" that recognises the retrenchment of multicultural policy co-existing alongside "Britain's stubbornly undead diversity." Even without policy and recognition, ethnic diversity is an everyday reality, part of everyday life, one that seems to be poorly addressed in policy and practice. The pitfalls of multiculturalism are too often to reinforce division, to encase ethnic identity in essentialist categories and to call for understanding rather than participation. Recent work by Wise and Velayutham (2009) has pursued the need to look at how multiculturalism is played out in everyday life, not the policies and the theory but the prosaic and meaningful interactions of people living amidst an array of ethnic convergences. This field of research draws on a sensual scholarship (Stoller 1997) to deliver an engaged understanding of what multiculturalism means when it is lived.

Recognising how people feel ethnic contributes to a richer understanding of the bonds that are shared between people of difference. What it negates is those feelings that transcend difference, be they shared language, mutual hobbies, physical attraction. Feeling ethnic is an aspect of identity, but it is not the only aspect. An affinity between people of difference can be achieved in understanding these similar registers of experience and embodiment. But I am not striving for an idealist solution to conflict and misrecognition. I have come to see that conflict and disagreement is also an important part of feeling ethnic. Whilst not wanting to be cynical about multiculturalism, and race relations, I argue that it is still important for people to be able to critique the discourse on ethnicity, to challenge it with their own experiences, highlighting their own choice and the contexts in which they are meaningful.

More earnestly I assert that recognition of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong, and elsewhere, is not in itself a step to parity. I am concerned that with greater focus on ethnicity, people may well start to feel an imposed ethnicity, one that anchors them and provides them with a type of social fatalism. The position of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong schools, so frequently decried as precarious because of a lack of Chinese language education (Carmichael 2009), is contradicted by the fact that students are also failing in science and maths. Inclusion is no simple panacea for the structural and economic disparities increasingly dominant in all societies. Recognising ethnicity, is perhaps not as urgent as recognising a shared humanity and social justice. One token that this discussion provides is that despite the very many differences that ethnicity includes, the ways in which we feel ethnic tend to come from everyday experiences that are familiar to us all.

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Chapter 3
Queer Fish: Eating Ethnic Affect

Elspeth Probyn

In her book on 'alimentary tracts', Roy (2010) explores what she calls: 'appetites, aversions and the postcolonial'. She asks: 'how do appetites, hungers, compulsions, excesses, intoxications, aversions and addictions help to institute, enact, or unsettle one's sense of identities and histories in the colonial and the postcolonial aftermath?' (2010, p. 24). In thinking about the connections between ethnicity and affect, I have again been drawn to the site of food and eating as everyday manifestations of ethnic affects. Food and eating—tastes, smells, textures, and histories—are imbued with forms of ethnic identifications. Sometimes affects are thrust upon the eater by an outside dominant cultural force. Sometimes feelings of belonging as a minority and to minority groups are pleasurably materialised through food, as traditions are maintained and reproduced through eating. In this chapter, I use different cases to build towards what I hope is a more satisfying discussion of eating, ethnicity and affect than the either/or framing that is still dominant in public and academic debates. Vis: that on the one hand, you can eat 'ethnic' food and still be a racist, which Hage (1998) reworks as white cosmo-multiculturalist tolerance, which includes cultivated modes of appreciation of 'ethnic food', and on the other the celebration of multicultural cuisine that does nothing to disrupt the material effects of race and ethnic minoritisation and vilification. The path I take meanders through theories and examples.

Let's start off in a fish market (Fig. 3.1).

It's just past 6 in the morning as I fumble my way out of a taxi. It's been a long day already. The so-called kangaroo route has taken me from Sydney via Hong Kong to arrive at Heathrow at the disgusting time of 5 am. The idea of going straight to the Billingsgate Fish market had seemed like a smart one at the time. I am not an early riser and given the hours of fish markets it seemed like a good idea to conduct this important piece of research before falling into a jet-lagged heap.

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Fig. 3.1 'Exotic fish', Billingsgate Fish Market, London. Photo by author

But I felt like a heap already. Dragging my cabin bag I made my way into the gray, very instrumentalist—what I think is called brutal architecture—building. Two beefy policemen, who turned out to be special market constabulary officers, immediately stopped me. 'Sorry love, you can't take no bags in there.' I feel like crying. 'But I've come all the way from Sydney to see the market'. They take pity on me—strange colonial that I am—and carry my bag away into the bowels of Billingsgate. I hope to see it again.

The new Billingsgate Fish Market has been at the Isle of Dogs in the east End of London since 1982. Before that it was at Billingsgate Wharf on the bank of Thames where it has been controlled by the City of London since 1377. The present building was only built in 1877 but an Act of Parliament established the fish market in 1699 and in one form or another there has been a fish markets there for a long time—fishmongers talk about it being there since the Romans. While it must have been a cold and damp place to work the building itself stands like a fishy Pantheon overlooking the Thames. The new Billingsgate can't compete with the golden fish gargoyles and statues of Triton and Britannia.

A lot of things have changed at Billingsgate. The old system of licenced porters has gone. Like many strange systems within the City of London Corporation, the job of being a porter was handed down from generation to generation. They moved the boxes of fish while the merchant did the selling—and they were paid nicely for the 3 h of work a day. Then there were 'the "cart minders", often retired porters,

who determined where customers' vans are parked, for an undisclosed weekly consideration.' However as a fish merchant told me, 'they kept the place in order.' But now they've gone to be replaced by Turks, according to the merchant, 'people just hired in without the union.'

The fish themselves have also changed over time. Roger Barton, one of the most well known of the merchants describes his fish: 'That's a pollock,' he says, holding one up. 'Lovely piece of fish, lovely bright colours, that sort of thing. Tastes like shit. Then you get cod [holds up a cod]. That's a fish that's been swimming in the North Atlantic, feeding on the right products, since the day it was born. If that's a human being, that goes to the gym every day, yeah? It eats all the right foods. It probably drives a Porsche, right? [Goes back to the pollock] This—pollock—is sitting at home on the settee, in a tracksuit, watching Jeremy Kyle, eating a burger.'

I'd never thought of describing fish in terms of what they might drive or watch, but here Roger pegs the Pollack as a bogan addicted to the inanities of British tabloid TV whereas the cod obviously deserves the Porch because of her healthy middleclass lifestyle. In addition to the packaging of fish in class based terms, the merchants' signs tell of a noticeable change in the ethnicity of fish. In between Mick's Eel Supply, where the young man tells me that the live Irish eels are the 'Rolls Royce of eels' (more vehicular framing), and Roger Barton's stall with its Scottish scallops and wild halibut, are the stalls selling 'exotic fish', most often frozen. Names like Afikala AfrikanaI Int. Food, Asian Fresh, British Exotics, J.P & L Exotics, and Zed Exotics display parrot fish, yellow tails and from the Indian Ocean come grouper, emperor bream and kingfish. Tilapia, once only seen in African rivers, is now sold around the world as a sustainable vegetarian fish that can be easily farmed. And while decades ago very few people would have been at the market—retail was frowned upon—now on a Saturday there's a crowd of migrant buyers coming from places as faraway as the fish—Chinese, Korean, West Indian and Eastern Europe. As Roger Barton puts it, 'there's 700 languages spoken in London. They come from all over. And they want to buy their own kind of fish.'

It's all a bit weird listening to the merchants talk—in their broad East End accents—about 'loverly exotic fish' and their ethnic eaters. Or at least it is for an over-educated white girl like me supposedly well versed in the politics of race and ethnicity.

Let's quickly go to another fish market. This one is in Aberdeen Hong Kong. Coincidentally I have just arrived from Aberdeen in Scotland. That Aberdeen was one of the most important fishing centres in the UK and Europe, a hub for the herring trade that in the 18th and 19th centuries provided food and work for the poor. Herring as a cheap and easily preserved fish was also the food for the slave ships that were so central in reproducing what Paul Gilroy calls 'the Black Atlantic'. I've written at length about Scottish fish trade (Probyn 2014, 2016) (Fig. 3.2).

Hong Kong's Aberdeen was named in memory of George Hamilton-Gordon, 4th Earl of Aberdeen, former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (1852–1855) and former Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1841–1846). The Earl of Aberdeen

Fig. 3.2 Fishing boats, Aberdeen Fish Market, (Fish Marketing Organization) Hong Kong. Photo by author

was a pollie through and through. A Conservative, he took the British Empire into the Crimean war.

As the little red topped public bus rattled through Hong Kong, we went around the Occupation in Mong Kok, and then around the Occupation in Central before climbing the hill and past the University of Hong Kong. Then down we went past a stupendous view of the harbour, and past interesting living relics of colonialism now rendered ex-pat multinationalism—such as the British International School—and new developments of HK SAR-owned global developments like the Cyberport. Finally we reached my research destination—the Fish Marketing Organization. This fish market is a remarkable institution, which actively helps to support local fisheries and fishers to the extent of providing loans for fledgling businesses and even has Marine Fish Scholarship Fund for training family members.[1] I wandered through the fishing stalls 'talking' in the international language of smiling and pointing to ask whether I could take photographs. I'll come back to this later but this was a brief affective encounter of a habitus where fish, fishers, and ethnicity commingle (Fig. 3.3).

In this chapter I want to try to think about ethnicity and affect through the lens of eating. It draws on but diverges form my present project where I am examining the

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[1]http://www.fmo.org.hk/index/lang_en/page_fmo-support/ (accessed 9 March 2015).

Fig. 3.3 Statue of fisherman, Aberdeen Fish Market (Fish Marketing Organization). Photo by author

global connections of fish and humans that may be able to contribute to an ethics and practice of more-than-human sustainability (Probyn 2016). But here I want to think about the distinction between how people are ethnicised through what and how they eat and the type of formulation I found in Billingsgate where a food—fish —is rendered ethnic and classed. The first part of this distinction is rampant within the dominant food politics in the West that demonises eating habits on the basis of class, which blurs with ethnicity. The quest for 'real' food on the part of white middle class Western writers often perfectly segues into the moral campaign against the poor waged by nutritionists against the so-called epidemic of obesity. Here what Lauren Berlant calls the 'slow death' of the poor—'the physical wearing out of a population and the deterioration of people in that population that is very nearly a defining condition of their experience and historical existence' (2007, p. 754)—is pathologized on the basis of eating.

In the so-called progressive politics of foodism where local is best and farmers' markets are placed as the pinnacle of authentic eating, seemingly well meaning people regularly trash those who they see as eating trash. Critics like Guthman (2003) dissect the neo-liberal force of what I've called feel good food politics (Probyn 2010). Guthman (2003) incisively reveals the moralistic tone and the ethnic- and class-blindness of much of the 'alternative' food politics. For instance, writing about the rise of organic in northern California, which is most successful in

terms of organic salad mix or what the growers call 'yuppie chow', Guthman (2007) questions the motivation of 'those whose moral sensibilities increasingly privileged environmental concerns over social ones'. The key thrust of her critique concerns the ways in which the privileged have taken on the congratulatory mantle of self-reflexivity in eating, and look down on those others who are said to lack the capacity to know that local, organic, slow food *tastes* better. With her colleague Guthman and DuPuis (2006) performs a magisterial critique of the politics of obesity which links the questions of availability and access to 'better food' though the vectors of gender and class that so over determine food politics now.

It is a strange state of affairs when people shame certain individuals and groups because they can't afford 'yuppie chow'. Seemingly unconcerned by empathy for under-class humans, Western middle class as well as the increasing numerically numerous middleclass consumers in Asian countries, now eat happy chickens and free range eggs. The concern for the welfare of the nonhuman is increasingly accepted as the norm, and even promoted by multinational food retail and fast food chains such as Wal-Mart and McDonalds. Big retail has realised that a happy chicken equals a consumer happy to pay more (Miele 2011).

Evidently there is a hierarchy concern of welfare where by only some humans merit concern. As Griffith et al. (2002) argue about the racialization of Filipinas in Los Angeles, cultural differences around attitudes toward and treatment of animals fuel processes of racialization. They point to how 'food' animals that for some groups may include dog are set in counter point to the equally cultural social construction of dogs as pets in mainstream American-European culture. In my current research it is telling to note how it is seemingly easier to care about terrestrial food than seafood. Obviously we care for some species more than others simply on their good looks and good luck to be anthropomorphically cute. It's hard (though not impossible) to cuddle a fish. In shifting out of the realm of the arbitrary hierarchies of what is good/not good to eat, can we engender a more wide-ranging politics of eating? I want to propose a more-than-human assemblage that focuses on the interrelations of nonhumans and humans categorised by their ethnicity, class, race, and gender, and that attends to the forms of affect that serve to block or enable further connections. The fairly recent naming of our geological time as the Anthropocene only renders these issues more pressing. As we live with the evidence—scientific as well as observed everyday—about the degradation that man has wrecked upon the earth, it is more than timely to think about how we will manage to equitably feed a forecast population of 9 billion by 2050.

3.1 Eating, Race, Disgust

A long history conjoins eating and the production of racial affect, most notably disgust. In Charles Darwin's exposition on *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animal*, we immediately see this connection:

> The term 'disgust,' in its simplest sense, means something offensive to the taste. It is curious how readily this feeling is excited by anything unusual in the appearance, odour, or nature of our food. In Tierra del Fuego a native touched with his finger some cold preserved meat which I was eating at our bivouac, and plainly showed utter disgust at its softness; whilst I felt utter disgust at my food being touched by a naked savage, though his hands did not appear dirty (1872, p. 257).[2]

As we can see the processes of racialization are in full force here: the 'native' is presumed to be disgusted by the 'softness' of the meat whereas Darwin is disgusted by his food being touched by 'a savage native'. Here Darwin is at pains to point out that while the contamination of human by the nonhuman is at the heart of why we feel disgust, there is nothing inherently disgusting in the food itself. Notwithstanding this, his aversion to the proximity to the native transfers itself onto the meat.

I have written at some length about eating and affect in Australia, and along with others I have also explored the how racism impregnates eating (Probyn 2000). To recap briefly, in Australia the coupling of food with questions of who belongs (and how) with those that don't has become relatively benign: questions of whether is there an Australian national cuisine have now shifted into a celebratory refrain of thanking 'ethnic' migrants (primarily Southern Mediterranean but noticeably not Lebanese or North African) for having saved 'us' from British stodge. The food writer John Newton argues in his book, *Wogfood* (1996) that the European-Mediterranean migrants made us think about 'the adoption of a way of life far better suited to our climate than that first imposed by the original colonists'. Another food writer, Ripe (1993) states: 'I believe that in Australia today, it's possible to claim that "I have seen the future of cuisine and this is it … a culinary identity of which we can be justly proud. In terms of food, for once we truly are the Lucky Country'.

For the first Australians the raced realities of food, eating and provision continue to be harsh and they have been in practice since colonisation. The ongoing reproduction of the racial structuring of Australia through land, soil and labour belies the optimism that accompanies much of the debates on food as a way of eating difference and differently. In addition to the social structuring of food we confront the materiality of earth: of who tills it, eats its produce, where and with which privileges? And of course this brings us to face once more the posited pivotal role of tending the land as a prerequisite for 'civilisation.' In Kant's words, 'the lawless freedom of hunting, fishing, and herding of all forms of life … is without doubt most contrary to a civilized constitution' (cited in Tully 1995, p. 167). This line of division continues to affect Indigenous peoples the world over in large part due to their multiple levels of disenfranchisement (economic, social, cultural) arising out of that fatal moment whereby land seen as untended was taken. *Terra nullius* is never far from the surface of everyday life. In Australia as elsewhere the effects of disenfranchisement are daily experienced in the lack of access to good quality, affordable food. Access or not is often accompanied by forms of negative affect—shame is primary.

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[2]https://www.brocku.ca/MeadProject/Darwin/Darwin_1872_11.html (accessed 10 September 2014).

In June 2007, the Commonwealth inaugurated the Northern Territory National Emergency Response, commonly called the 'Intervention'—a mandated surveillance scheme that included a package of changes to welfare provision, law enforcement, land tenure and other measures and some 600 hundred Australian soldiers sent to the NT. It was roughly based on allegations of sexual abuse in Aboriginal communities (Lea 2012; Biddle 2016). I am drawn to the way food has returned as a powerful visible and central valence of affective and physical control within Aboriginal communities. The Northern Territory Emergency Intervention resulted in an enforced income-management scheme, which has multiple infringements on its mostly Indigenous participants. A Basics Card is issued to those on any form of income support. The rationale reads: 'the Australian Government is working in partnership with the Northern Territory Government to provide support to payment recipients to encourage participation and to increase their financial literacy.'[3] 50% of income payments are quarantined to the card. The nub of concern and control is that the card has to be used to buy groceries (excluding alcohol and tobacco) at certified businesses—in the Northern Territory it apparently cost $AUD 76 million to implement the scheme. To fully comprehend what this means you need to understand the sheer size of the Territory (2½ times the size of Texas) and tiny populations of most of the Indigenous communities: 570 communities have populations of under 200 people, and 72% of the Territory's Aboriginal population lives on Aboriginal land outside major towns.[4] What are the chances of people living relatively close to reliable and inexpensive stores, let alone having a choice of where to shop with their mandated cards?

According to Bev Manton, an Aboriginal woman living in the midst of the NT Intervention, the chances are slim: 'in places like Camel Camp, only 250 kms north-east of Alice Springs, there's simply nowhere to access decent fresh food. There's limited access to health care, no roads—only tracks, and the living conditions are unfathomable to most Australians. … Fresh foods, including red meat, vegetables and fruit can only be bought in very small quantities (if they're even provided); they're just too expensive.'[5]

> What are the affects of people being corralled in this manner?
>
> You head to the checkout and wait in line, but when you go to pay for the shopping, there's not enough credit on your card. As the murmurs and whispers grow in volume behind you, you're directed to another aisle down the end of the supermarket, which has been set-aside for 'you guys.'[6]

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[3]http://www.humanservices.gov.au/customer/services/centrelink/income-management (accessed 17 September 2012).

[4]'A snapshot of the Northern Territory'. www.hreoc.gov.au/pdf/legal/seminars/snapshot_of_the_NT.pdf (accessed 20 September 2012).

[5]http://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/politics/northern-territory-emergency-response-intervention (accessed 9 March 2015).

[6]Bev Manton, Chairperson of the NSW Aboriginal Land Council. 'Perpetuating neglect', Koori Mail 482 p. 25. Reprinted: http://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/politics/northern-territory-emergence-response-intervention (accessed 17 September 2012).

An Aboriginal elder Richard Downs notes that 'at check-outs in Woolworths and Coles… we have got one line for the black people who have these special basics green cards and you have got the other check-outs which are open to the general public. It is an embarrassment'.[7]

Here the access to food is a weapon that has used and continues to be used extensively. Rowse's (1998) historical exploration of white power through rationing and foodstuffs is pertinent here, and this new development seems to repeat the more fully institutionalized and commercialized affective and material degradation of Indigenous Australians through food. It is hardly comforting that the tactics of the Intervention are now being rolled out into areas outside the Northern Territory deemed low SES zones (social-economic status)—themselves based on postcodes. So if you live in area code 6167 (Kwinana, Western Australia on the outskirts Perth —the capital of the mining boom wealth) and you are on income-support, you will be subjected to the machinations of income-management and will shop for food under the humiliating gaze of the government and your fellow citizens.[8] This program, like so many, replays and reproduces inequalities that in part stem from being divorced—forcibly removed—from land and its deep connections for many Indigenous people.

Food and feeding are then integral to regimes of surveillance and punishment. One way of framing this is to foreground the 'bioculturally collaborative' nature of what and how we eat (Head 2007). The entangled nature of this 'collaboration' highlights at every turn the power relations integral to eating. The idea of the biocultural or the more-than-human trend in cultural and social sciences may serve to further complicate an already complex picture. It is clear that historically certain foods have been raced and/or rendered ethnic—from avocado and bananas to grits and kangaroo (Slocum and Saldanha 2013; Tan 2011). It is equally undeniable that forms of enslavement and invasion continue in the production of food—for instance, the fishing industry is rife with different forms of inequality that can only be called slavery due to the ways in which certain workers are indentured. But equally we live within a geopolitics where globalisation blurs the origins and ethicized background of food. As Harvey Neo argues in the case of Chinese pig famers in Malaysia, there is often a 'reverse anthropomorphism' whereby 'the

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[7]'Intervention condemned', Koori Mail 462 p. 6. Reprinted: http://www.creativespirits.info/ aboriginalculture/politics/northern-territory-emergence-response-intervention (accessed 17 September 2012).

[8]American readers will of course be aware of the classed and raced aspects of the US Government's 'feeding' program, SNAP (the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program). From my very limited knowledge, there are important differences in how the Basics scheme targets geographical areas in relation to how income support can be spent, and it is not an 'extra' but is taken directly from income that the State has deemed to be required. In addition, the NTEI covers much more than food—in fact its thrust is aimed at the so-called prevalence of pornography in communities. It should be noted that there are many Indigenous leaders and especially women who support the Intervention, for instance the Warlpiri woman Bess Nungarrayi Price (see http://www. abc.net.au/radionational/programs/backgroundbriefing/bess-price-welcome-to-my-world/2949706) (accessed 9 March 2015).

beastly nature of animals can be conflated with and assigned to people who come into close contact with the former' (2011, p. 950). In Muslim Malaysia, it is less the pig that is rendered abject and more the Chinese pig farmer who comes to take the place of the abjection that Muslims feel about the pig. They are twice blamed: first for rearing the pig and second, because 'they do not know what is felt by Muslim at the sight and smell of a pig.' The Chinese farmers are effectively conflated with the pig and then portrayed as unfeeling of Muslim values because they are supposedly so close to the pig.

3.1.1 What You Eat Is You

The French gourmand and writer, Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin famously stated, 'Tell me what you eat, and I will tell you who you are.' He also wrote that 'the fate of a nation depends on the way that they eat.' The first aphorism frames an individualist mode of categorising people, and feeds into the common racist refrains that conflate people and food into an ethnic and most often derogatory class—e.g., 'curry-munchers' (what some English call other English), *les rostbif* (what the French call the English), the 'frogs' (what the English call the French), etc. The second of Brillat-Savarin's aphorisms refers to a more nebulous but all encompassing framing of peoples' manners, and ties national and perhaps ethnic destinies to ways of eating. In Krishnendu Ray's historical review of 'ethnic' eating in the USA we hear a refrain of this. He summarises the view that 'ethnic restaurants' are "other peoples" food'; in other words 'tell me what you eat and I can tell that you are other' (2010, p. 2). In the US at least, Ray finds the longstanding view of 'the ethnic as exotic and as someone with slightly disgusting eating habits'. Here it is again the 'eater' who is disgusting in his or her eating habits. 'Eating habits' includes many things, and perhaps especially smell of food cooking. This envelops people, food and feelings: for instance, the white Australian man with lamb sizzling on his BBQ supposedly captures the quintessential smell of Australia Day (a very Anglo type of celebration versus what Indigenous people call 'Survival Day'). It is so 'normal' that no one would remark on the odours or gag on the stench of roasting lamb fat. However parts of Sydney deemed 'other' are often framed with invocations of aromas. A blog sponsored (bizarrely) by Coca-Cola describes the wonder of Sydney's western suburbs:

> It's not just eating that makes a trip to Cabramatta worthwhile. Walking down the streets, through the arcades and wandering in and out of canteens and restaurants, you're surrounded by the smells and sounds of another place, and reminded that this is multicultural Sydney at its best.[9]

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[9]http://www.coca-colajourney.com.au/stories/sydneys-food-scene-taste-the-wonder-of-cabramatta-on-john-street (accessed 9 March 2015).

Another blogger found herself 'whisked to Hong Kong thanks to a smell wafting over the fence of a property nearby. We couldn't quite put our finger on what the smell was, but likened it to a stagnant alleyway creek near our apartment complex in Hong Kong, before settling on stinky tofu as the smell most like what we were experiencing.'[10] Of course this replays an implicit white perspective, and as Carruthers (2013) describes, Cabramatta and other Western Sydney suburbs are noteable for the ways in which minorities meet other minorities—such as Cambodians, Vietnamese and those from Laos—often for the first time, and frequently over each other's cuisine. As Lisa Law has written in her study of Filipina maids in Hong Kong, 'the perceived olfactory differences between social classes or ethnic communities produce, and are themselves produced by, classification schemes which relate more to cultural ideologies rather than to odours or aromas themselves.' (2001, p. 273). Law is particularly interested in the role aromas take in urban life, and how they enter the 'processes of embodiment [in] … the interrelationships between bodies and senses in the city' (p. 266). For Wanning Sun, food allows the exiled to travel if only in her imagination: 'food eaten by the "ethnic" allows the exiled body to "go home"' (2002, p. 140).

Such descriptions evoke Pierre Bourdieu's ideas about taste and social classification, although as I will shortly mention there are some shortcomings. Habitus is the central part of Bourdieu's conceptual platform that I will deal with here. As is well known, for Bourdieu habitus is the term by which he melds the inner realm of subjectivity and the outer one of social structures—hence it is as he says 'embodied social structure'. One's primary habitus is developed from the early incorporation of experiences of familial background, class, gender, and so on, and is often carried by what we eat. This coalesces into a way of framing the world: how one views one's position in the present and into the future is on the basis of the past, and in turn becomes the materiality by which we are judged. In Bourdieu's terms, people's habitus 'defines their own idea of themselves, the primordial, tacit contract whereby they define 'us' as opposed to 'them', 'other people', and which is the basis of the exclusions ('not for the likes of us') and inclusions they perform among the characteristics produced by the common classificatory system' (1984). He continues:

> It functions as a sort of social orientation, a 'sense of one's place', guiding the occupants of a given place in social space towards the social positions adjusted to their properties, and towards the practices or goods which befit the occupants of that position (1984).

For Bourdieu, taste is how we come to judge others and ourselves: 'taste distinguishes us in an essential way, since taste is the basis of all that one has—people and things—and all that on is for others, whereby one classifies oneself and is classified by others' (1984, p. 56). Further

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[10]http://www.beyondjelly.com/2014/01/iron-chef-chinese-seafood-restaurant.html.

> Taste, a class culture turned into nature, that is *embodied*, helps shape the class body. It is an incorporated principle of classification which governs all forms of incorporation, choosing and modifying everything that the body ingests and digests and assimilates, physiologically and psychologically (1984, p. 190).

It is quite clear how ethnicity would work in Bourdieu's scheme, although it has had to be extrapolated. In their research on food choice in the UK, Alan Warde and Lydia Marten find 'that factors like parental class, education, economic resources and social connections do, as described by Bourdieu, influence behaviour and preferences in the field and reflect positions of social domination and subordination' (Warde and Marten 2000). Bourdieu's long-time collaborator, Loic Wacquant argues that ethnicity is a powerful element within the habitus that generates certain ways of being: 'There is an ethnic (local, regional, ethnolinguistic, ethnoreligious, ethnoracial, national, civilizational, etc.) habitus since each of these prevalent "containers" of social action making claim to collective honor tends to produce joint ways of thinking, feeling and acting, and common sets of expectations' (2014)

The way in which Wacquant following Bourdieu frames ethnicity can, of course, replay once again how whiteness has for so long worked as a invisible marker: white as the invisible norm from which all others are differentiated as other. In this sense only some are marked by 'ethnicity'. If we were to return to the examples I cited, for instance of Darwin's disgust at the idea of the native touching his food, we have a clear exemplar of how food is conjoined with ethnicity and the concomitant affect. As Darwin portrays his emotion: 'I felt utter disgust at my food being touched by a naked savage, though his hands did not appear dirty'. As I flagged earlier, the native 'pollutes' the meat with his ethnicity. Strangely enough, in the reverse case of the native, Darwin represents him as 'plainly show[ing] utter disgust at [the meat's] softness'. In this scenario, the white man is disgusted by what he sees as the contamination of his meat with the taint of nativeness, whereas Darwin portrays the native as repelled by the food itself. Frank Dikötter relates how in twelfth-century China, 'African slaves were expected to change bowels (*huanchang*) to become half-human' (2002, p. 496). Here it is the food itself that changes the very anatomy of the enslaved eater, just as evidence of that change (notably in the diarrhoea that came with eating the unusual food) allowed the captor to conceive of the slaves as 'half-human'.[11]

3.2 Eating Ethnic

Is it possible to distinguish between the ethnicized and racial expression of affect—notably disgust—aimed at the conjoining of ethnicity and food, versus the ethnicized disgust directed at the foodstuff itself? This might allow us to rework Bourdieu's notion of how the habitus operates in much the same way in which

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[11]With thanks to Murat Es for this reference (accessed 9 March 2015).

Amanda Wise and Selvaraj Velayutham have done in terms of what they call the intercultural habitus of 'convivial multiculture' (2013, p. 419). I want to extend this thinking into another direction where we might include the nonhuman within the equation.

To explore this more, I turn to Fuschia Dunlop's writing about eating in China. Dunlop is an English woman has been called the 'best writer in the West on Chinese food'.[12] She recounts the long years in Chengdu where she arrived in 1994 to learn Mandarin. She fell in love with China and was to spend another 15 years there. It was the food that drew her. She became the only woman, and foreigner, to enrol in the Sichuan Institute of Higher Cuisine. This was a deep immersion into another world where ethnic differences were marked by taste. For instance, her first encounter with a fish was in a bathroom where her inaugural teacher or *shifu* Feng Rui dealt with a live fish by whacking it on the side of the bathtub. 'The fish stunned, became still, allowing him to scale it clean, rip out its blood-red gills, slit its belly open and finger out the bulging slickness of its guts'. As he smoked a cigarette over the now dead fish, he remarked to Dunlop: '"you know, you won't believe this, but in Guangdong they actually eat fish intestines! Image! How disgusting! Those Cantonese, they eat *anything*!"' (2008, p. 47).

For her Chinese friends, the whole idea of what Westerners ate was beyond the pale. One of them had once eaten Kentucky Fried Chicken. 'It was disgusting' he said. As Dunlop writes, 'this one experience, shocking, unhappy and vividly remembered, had soured his view of the achievements of the entire Western world' (2008, p. 64). And then there is cheese, described as 'the mucous discharge of some old cow's guts, allowed to putrefy'. Escorting three top Chinese chefs to Thomas Keller's The French Laundry, a Michelin guide three-starred restaurant, the chefs were confused with the flavours and textures of the food. As Dunlop writes

> We may think it's the Chinese, with their surprising diversity of ingredients, who eat "weird" food, and that Western food is "safe" and "normal" by comparison. But as these chefs' experiences in this country show, gastro-culture shock works in both directions (2008, p. 65).

In her eating Dunlop seeks to become Chinese, and the length to which Dunlop will go is impressive. For instance, to please her friends she embarks on cooking stag penises. As she recounts in her essay, 'Dick Soup':

> I have to admit I was full of trepidation. I felt slightly disturbed at the idea of taking a whetted knife to a male member, whomever it belonged to. And from a purely professional point of view, I knew I was dealing with a prized Chinese delicacy, and I didn't want to screw it up. If my Chinese friends knew I'd ruined such a bounty of treasured tonic food, they'd never take me seriously again.[13]

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[12]http://www.fuchsiadunlop.com/about/ (accessed 9 March 2015).

[13]http://www.buzzfeed.com/luckypeach/how-to-make-dick-soup#2kjlha5 (accessed 9 March 2015).

3.3   More-Than-Human Eating

Through her tongue and nose, her hands that learned to be at one with a cleaver, her dedication to learning the histories of regional Chinese cooking and her all encompassing appetite, Dunlop finds herself morphing: '"You are half Chinese", my friends tell me. And, as I look at them out of my round Caucasian eyes, I have to acknowledge that, inside me, there is someone who is no longer English. I'm not even sure if I know, anymore, precisely where the cultural boundaries lie' (2008, p. 310). Dikotter relates how the nineteen-century scholar Xu Jiyu was convinced that 'the hair and eyes of some [Europeans] gradually turn black when they come to China and stay for a long time. Presumably aided by their adopted diets, 'the features of such men and women half-resemble the Chinese' (cited in Dikötter 2002, p. 498).

What differentiates Dunlop from more conventional accounts of 'ethnic eating' is the sheer determination with which she goes about ingesting China. This is not just a mere addition of colour or what bell hooks critiques as the hankering by whites for a soupcon of racialised difference. Hooks' argument in her well-cited essay, 'Eating the Other' is that 'ethnicity becomes a spice, seasoning that can liven up the dull dish that is mainstream culture' (1992, p. 21). This is a situation that Hage frames as 'deprived of the capacity of appreciating other ethnic cultures, and with Anglo culture decreed as uninteresting and provincial [by the elite white cosmo-multiculturalists, Anglos] are left without even a stall in the multicultural fair' (1998, p. 205).

In the years since these critiques, mainstream culture may have continued to be dull but it is now a thoroughly bastardised culinary concoction. In Sydney for instance, there are regular boom and bust cycles of 'ethnic' culture that pervade bars and restaurants. This year it is both Mexican and Korean often on the same plate. Last year it was American dude food that was initiated by David Chang, a New York-based American-Korean. Supermarket aisles overflow with cook-at-home versions of Thai, Japanese or Vietnamese that have prepared by people like Adam Liaw and other second-generation migrant winners of the Australian *Master Chef*.

3.4   Affective Eating and Habitus

Of all the striking aspects of the students Occupy Central event, it was for me seeing how people share everything—from hope to biscuits and water. The protestors turned a hugely important demonstration against political rule into a demonstration of care for each other, epitomized by their willingness to share whatever food they have. As Jeffie Lam, a reporter for the *South China Morning Post* realized, 'this is a system based on mutual trust'. From the '5 star bathroom' where people share their skin care to 'the slogans that call on Hong Kongers' collective memory', she writes that 'it is surreal to see how [a group of people—strangers until a minute ago] has

transformed one of the city's busiest arteries into a vibrant and self-contained community' (13 October 2014, p. A4).

This is a striking illustration of practices in progress that build other forms of relations within what Ash Amin calls (in line with Wise and Velayutham) 'conviviality'. Amin's recent book, *Land of Strangers* argues that 'daily life in the multiethnic and multicultural city remains a form of habitual negotiating of difference, at most times without rancour' (2013, p. 4). This then may allow for conviviality as 'a habit of negotiating multiplicity and the company of unknown others as a kind of bodily training.' In my own work, I consider this as how we come to care—for others, for humans, and for nonhumans such as fish. While in small and sometimes large ways, this is how many of us go about in our daily lives. The challenge is 'to make visible and widely endorse everyday *convivium*: its tacit pluralism, its practiced and deliberative nature, its daily compromises, its pragmatic negotiation of uncertainty and risk' (Amin, p. 7). While the goal of this form of convivial society is always on the horizon, its making is always in the everyday. This is where as Amin says, we work 'on affects of empathy, curiosity and multiplicity'. It is about 'making explicit existing civilities of living together'. This making visible was, of course, at the heart of the conference, which resulted in this book. In addition to audiovisual representations, the making visible was also in the documenting, the research on small corners of everyday commensality conducted by many at the conference. I use the term, commensality, deliberately referring as it does to the simple and the not so simple act of eating together—etymologically, sharing the table—*mensa*, sharing bread *con panis*. For Georg Simmel the act of eating presents a fundamental paradox. On the one hand, 'what a single individual eats can under no circumstance be eaten by another' (in Fischler 2011, p. 531). However on the other hand this is overcome in the eating together. 'It counteracts the essential, basic, biological, "exclusive selfishness of eating" and turns it into, at the very least, a collective, social experience' (Fischler 2011, p. 531).

Now to simply pose commensality as the solution to racism or in fact to any of a number of social ills would be facile. But commensality and conviviality are practices in progress that are fuelled by hope, the hope of being together that will change a collective and individual present and future. Claude Fishler in his discussion of commensality remarks that 'if eating a food makes one become more like that food, then those sharing the same food become more like each other' (2011, p. 533). In this he takes Brillat-Savarin's aphorism 'you are what you eat' to a deeper level. This describes Dunlop's behaviour—through eating she becomes Chinese. As she puts it, 'if you want a real encounter with another culture, you have to abandon your cocoon. It is necessary to dine with the natives in a metaphorical sense as well as a literal one' (2008, p. 152).

It would be nice to close on that note—to propose that our common eating will mean that we become more like each other. There is, however, no panacea for the routine forms of ethnic abuse that range from name calling to death. But through eating, gradually our habitus will open to others in ways that make this harder, and more unusual. Once the usual becomes unusual, once the commensal becomes habitual, once the harming effects of affective abuse becomes visible, the space of

Fig. 3.4 Fish worker, Aberdeen Fish Market (Fish Marketing Organization). Photo by author

conviviality will become wider, the table more open to the exchange of strangers. *Chi fan le mei you*? (Fig. 3.4).

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Chapter 4
Negotiating Difference and Cultural Minoritization: Chinese Migrant Workers in Singapore's Little India

Selvaraj Velayutham

Temporary labour migration has overtaken permanent migration in many countries. This phenomenon is particularly acute in the small city-state of Singapore which has one of largest non-resident population in the world and a majority is on temporary employment visas. Their employment contracts allow them to reside in Singapore between 3 and 5 years. Temporary migration produces fleeting and disjunctive contact with cultural difference (Velayutham 2007). This chapter considers the question of cultural mobility and intercultural encounter in relation to the variegated citizenships of temporary migrant labour. It asks, under what labour conditions are a cosmopolitan sensibility and openness to otherness likely to emerge, as against a set of survival based intercultural capacities?

The chapter presents findings from and reflection upon current research among workers in multi-racial Singaporean workplaces. Workplaces are sites of enforced proximity to difference, and for many, one of the few contexts where difference is encountered on a sustained basis. The research involved fieldwork and semi-structured interviews with Singaporeans and migrant workers from the Peoples' Republic of China (PRC), the Philippines and India. In this chapter, I reflect upon situations of 'incongruous encounter' where, because of Singapore's radicalised visa system, PRC migrant workers find themselves working in Indian/South Asian owned and staffed restaurants in Singapore's Little India. The cases highlight how in a place like Singapore, the 'encounter' needs to be understood within a regime of mobile labour, racial hierarchies and a highly stratified system of work visas. In a context of forced encounter, I argue that learnt capacities to function and interact across difference should not necessarily be romanticized as a cosmopolitan sensibility.

On a range of indices, Singapore is one of the most unequal societies and is among the world's most globalised economies. Singapore is an interesting case

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where intersections of race, work, and citizenship are at their most acute and offers interesting insight into everyday multiculturalism at work. Singapore has a long history of racial categorization which today manifests in every sphere of life from the distribution of housing to the management of food courts to hiring practices, welfare and philanthropic support, and most acutely in the sphere of migrant labour. Encounters with difference intimately entwined with Singapore's hierarchical regime of racial differentiation and immigrant status (Velayutham 2016; Wise and Velayutham 2014). So embedded in everyday and bureaucratic thinking is race, that, unsurprisingly, this also translates into the sphere of migrant labour where there is a quota system in place. For the basic skill work permit category, each industry has particular 'approved' source countries for migrant labour. This has resulted in some incongruous cultural juxtaposition, especially in the hospitality sector. Singapore's Little India district is packed with Indian restaurants and business servicing the Indian community. Because of the labour quotas, Indian restaurants are forced to hire cleaners, cooks, kitchen hands and wait staff from approved source countries like China. It should be noted that the majority of Indians in Singapore are Tamil south Indians. If not for the source country criteria, these migrant workers would most likely never have to interact with Indians and would have ended up working with majority Chinese Singaporeans. Thus encountering Chinese workers in Indian business establishments in Little India is somewhat surprising.

In this sense, cultural minoritization occurs as a result of temporary Chinese migrant workers who are not given the right to decide on the potential employers being deployed by recruitment agents to a job and/or workplace where they become an ethnic minority. Temporary visa holders work long hours and are entitled to only a few off-days over the duration of their employment contracts and therefore their everyday social interactions are limited to the workplace and its surrounds, namely Indian restaurants in Little India. Moreover, as I will explain later in the chapter, PRC temporary migrant workers despite having greater cultural affinities with the Chinese majority population in Singapore have been subjected xenophobic and racial abuse. Thus PRC migrant workers are minoritised and marginalised as an ethnic Other in Singapore and further in the working environment of in Little India.

4.1   Cultural Diversity at Work

There has been some exciting research emerging in human geography, cultural studies and related areas in recent years on 'everyday multiculturalism', exploring through theoretically informed yet empirically grounded qualitative and often ethnographic research frames, what it means to live with difference in our urban multicultural 'contact zones', what underpins convivial or conflictual inter-ethnic relations and hierarchies, and when and how identities are reconfigured in the

process (Wise 2005, 2011). There is also some impressive work now emerging on everyday multiculturalism in Asia too, suggesting much can be learnt through comparative perspectives. Much of this work has taken the multicultural 'city' or 'neighbourhood' as the empirical frame, presumably due to an underlying assumption that this is where the most 'everyday' encounters with otherness occur. With a couple of notable exceptions the workplace has not been the focus of such studies. This is an odd omission as many people spend more, or as much, time at work than in the 'neighbourhood'. Workplaces are sites of enforced proximity to difference, and for many, one of the few contexts where difference is encountered on a sustained basis.

According to the British geographer Amin (2002, p. 969) places of fleeting contact and encounter such as public spaces 'seem to fall short of inculcating interethnic understanding because they are not structured as spaces of interdependence and habitual engagement'. He argues there is a need to produce more meaningful situations of cross-cultural encounter and engagement, which he terms 'micro-publics'. Examples of micro-publics include places such as schools, sporting clubs, workplaces, and other spaces of association. These are prosaic places of enforced encounter—where ethnic and racial differences are confronted and negotiated on an everyday basis. Amin (2002, p. 970) argues that micro-publics 'can offer moments of cultural destabilisation, offering individuals the chance to break out of fixed relations and fixed notions, and through this, learn to become different through new patterns of social interaction'. He suggests that the effectiveness of micropublics 'lies in placing people from different backgrounds in new settings where engagement with strangers in a common activity disrupts easy labelling of the stranger as enemy and initiates new attachments' (Amin 2002: 970). At the same time, Amin argues that these must also be understood as 'spaces in which near and remote connections (including media cultures, national discourses, institutional rules, global imaginaries, associational networks, virtual worlds and connections) intersect with each other in shaping social practice, including response to difference' (Amin 2012, p. 3). As a space of inter-ethnic encounter and engagement, the workplace provides a useful laboratory to study the workings of a multicultural 'micro-public'. Yet the workplace is a special kind of micro-public, where the rules and codes of contemporary working cultures interplay with collegial and hierarchical relationships, which in turn mediate inter-ethnic relationships (Du Gay 1996; Essed 1991; Willis 1981). In addition media cultures and wider national discourses on diversity and particular ethnic groups will resonate through situated encounters with and meanings made of difference.

As Watson (2006, pp. 2–3) argues, the challenge is not to develop an overarching narrative of 'what it means to live with difference' but to explore the micro-spaces of contact which reveal much more complex and contradictory relations of inclusion, exclusion and agonistic negotiations across difference. Her point highlights the fact that 'micro-publics' are inherently place based and thus require focused and situation oriented research to unravel their internal and external

rhythms and dynamics. To what extent do those exposed to cultural difference on a daily basis become 'cosmopolitans' in the sense of an enhanced capacity deal with difference, and an open disposition to Otherness (Skrbiš and Woodward 2013)? Writers like Thrift (2008) for example, suggest that practical action such as everyday civilities of kindness and compassion in situations of intercultural encounter represent hopeful baseline conditions for an affective 'spill over' into more positive race relations. However Calcutt et al. (2009, p. 170) suggest we need to bracket the more romantic, idealist readings of cosmopolitanism and undertake research to 'pin it down empirically'. Likewise, Noble (2009, pp. 46–65) points out that literature on cosmopolitanism too often asserts it as a moral ideal and conflates the attitude of openness and the dispositions this entails, with the actual practice of 'doing cosmopolitanism'. He argues that we need to examine the actual 'practices through which attributes are habituated to account for the dispositional nature of openness to others' (Noble 2009, p. 49). He suggests that viewing cosmopolitanism as a set of everyday practices rather than just moral virtue highlights the fact that the production of community (including community across difference) involves labour, 'not just because it is hard … but because it is productive, transactional and cumulative (Noble 2009, p. 53).

The chapter builds upon the work of two writers in particular: Greg Noble's work on intercultural habit and capacity, and Pnina Werbner's seminal piece on Working Class Cosmopolitanism, where she reflects upon the case of a Pakistani Sufi transnational labourer in the Gulf, working for a Japanese firm whose knowledge of other cultural traditions and capacity to function across cultural difference have become part of his repertoire for and general life outlook (Noble 2009, 2013; Werbner 1999). Through this, she highlighted the classed blinkers of previous accounts of cosmopolitanism and argued that a 'cosmopolitan sensibility' was not confined to cultural elites. Since then, some scholars have argued that many instances of 'working class cosmopolitanism' reveal not so much an ethical sensibility, but a strategic 'engagement with others through coerced choices in order to survive in new environments' (Datta 2010, pp. 10–47). Datta (2010, p. 25) thus argues for a multiplication of cosmopolitanisms, understood as shaped by individual biographies, access to forms of capital, and the localised spatial contexts in which specific attitudes and behaviours towards others are practised'. Noble (2013, pp. 167–168) in turn describes 'cosmopolitan habits' as 'a 'web or assemblage of feelings, attitudes and practices that coalesce as a disposition' and raises questions about studies that simply aim to describe cosmopolitan 'types', 'rather than exploring how these capacities are acquired in ensembles of social practices and relations'. In line with this, the specificities of work, work conditions, and workplace—and in the context of mobile labour, the citizenship regimes under which mobility takes place—are key 'environing conditions' (Noble 2013, p. 175). Consideration of these is important in understanding this dialectic between subjectivity and practice in terms of whether or not a sensibility one could describe as a 'cosmopolitan outlook' evolves out of the repertoire of intercultural capacities a migrant worker develops to survive.

4.2 New Immigrants in Singapore

Singapore is a significant context for this study as it is a nation where culturally different co-workers typically have a good knowledge of the cultural and religious codes of other groups (e.g. Malay Muslim, Indian Hindu and Chinese Taoist/Buddhist or Christian), and the Singapore State has promoted an explicit and ongoing message of inter-racial harmony and multicultural citizenship (Wise and Velayutham 2014). It also has a rapidly evolving racial landscape, with the traditional 'four races' (Chinese, Malay, Indian, 'Other') now complicated for the first time by a new migration push has seen migrants from other source countries settle permanently in Singapore for the first time. Singapore is an immigrant society consisting of a Chinese majority (74.2%) followed by Malays (13.3%), Indians (9.1%) and 'Others' (3.3%). In 2010 (last census year), out of a total population of 5.39 million, Singapore's permanent population was 3.84 million and remarkably, an additional 1.55 million people were non-residents on temporary visa status (Department of Statistics 2014). The proportion of non-residents out of total population almost doubled from 18.7% in 2000 to 29.3% in 2014 (Department of Statistics 2014: 6). Those working made up 34.7% of the Singapore labour force. This temporary workforce is variegated by highly paid 'foreign talents' (majority Western expatriates), middling transnationals and low-waged workers from the Philippines, Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka, Burma, China and Indonesia employed in domestic help/care, construction, manufacturing, shipbuilding and other labour intensive occupations.

This migration trend has begun to impact upon the everyday lives of Singaporeans. The new immigrants are both renting and buying homes in HDB estates (government built and managed housing where 80% of Singaporeans reside)—living next to ordinary Singaporeans and competing for space, infrastructure and resources with long-time residents. While there has always been racism between the 'four races' (Velayutham 2009), now racism is often directed at newcomers and xenophobic attitudes appear to be on the rise. Reportedly, incidents of everyday racism are increasing, especially surrounding shared infrastructure, public transport and housing, and public space. At the same time there are genuine cultural differences that manifest in everyday habitus and practices that make day to day living sometimes quite awkward. These tensions often cut both ways, sometimes resulting (many Singaporeans feel) in forms of reverse racism, intercultural tension and discomfort. Their diversity has also challenged Singaporean ideas of national and racial identity. Civilisational discourses have increasingly come into play as 'local' Singaporeans of Chinese and Indian background seek to distinguish themselves from 'third world' racial compatriots from their ancestral 'homelands'.

Singapore is a settler society with the Chinese majority originating from China. Though historical and ongoing links with their ancestral home still exists, the ethnic-Chinese population in post-colonial Singapore became 'formally named *Huaren* and the language, *Huayu* to signify the difference in national identity between themselves and the citizens of the PRC. Unfortunately, the term 'Chinese'

continues to be used in English in Singapore, unnecessarily extending the emotional link to 'China' as 'homeland', when the overwhelming majority of the contemporary Huaren are local born and for whom Singapore is home' (Chua 2009, p. 240). Significantly, as a result of Singapore's rapid modernization and nation-building program, Chinese Singaporeans who are mostly English educated and urbane see themselves as different from people of the PRC. As Chua (2009, p. 248) points out 'with the imprinting of the nation, national identity as Singaporeans is slowly gaining on race-identity as 'Chinese'. A number of highly publicized incidents as well as everyday tensions aired in social media and internet forums have highlighted the 'cultural clash' between Chinese Singaporeans and migrants from the PRC (Gomes 2014). In a 2012 newspaper survey of 400 Singaporeans, the top gripes of Singaporeans towards foreigners included 'they cause over-crowding on public transport and common spaces'; 'take away jobs from Singaporeans'; 'do not observe social rules; add to stress and competition for Singaporean students in schools'; 'drive property prices up' and 'do not speak English' (The Straits Times June 2012b). For Malays and Indians who have always assumed ethnic minority status, their encounter with PRC migrants is only an extension of their existing relationship with the Chinese majority (Velayutham 2009). In other words, though they are recent arrivals, their ethnicity elevates their status quo as they are seen to be a part of the dominant Chinese population. However, this is not the case in terms of how Chinese Singaporeans view migrants from PRC. As I indicated earlier, Chinese Singaporeans go to great length to dismiss having any cultural affinity with the latter. According to one newspaper report, 'mainlanders may look like us, but they aren't like us' and 'Singaporeans look down on mainlanders as country bumpkins, and they look down on us because we can't speak proper Mandarin' (The Straits Times July 2012a). The disconnect obviously cuts both ways but migrants from PRC as is the case in Hong Kong are always seen as foreigners who do not belong in Singapore. In this context PRC migrant workers employed in Singapore's Little India find themselves as ethnic minorities in a predominantly Indian dominated socio-economic space.

4.3 Yanjun—Kitchen Hand/Cleaner at an Indian Restaurant

Yanjun is a 43 year old mainland Chinese man from Henan province. He owned his own small restaurant in China and was, by his account, a skilled chef. When his eatery had a downturn in business because of a main road diversion, he was forced to look for employment opportunities abroad. Through an agent he secured a position in Singapore, for which he paid about $600AUD. He knew nothing of his work destination until he arrived in Singapore where he discovered his new employer was a chain of Indian restaurants and he would be based in Little India. As Yanjun pointed out, "prior to working in Singapore, I had my own eatery back

home. The agents in China got in touch with the agents in Singapore. I paid the agents their fees. … I ended up working for an Indian restaurant although my expertise lies in Chinese cuisine". Scholars like Wise and Biao have argued that such practices of agent-transfer and point-to-point labour migration simply remove decision making from the hands of the migrant to intermediaries in the migration process (Wise 2013; Biao 2012). As a result, previous qualification and skills are not recognised and migrants end up in situations as exploitative labour. Yanjun spent the first year as a chef in the kitchen responsible for 'dough preparation', and then requested to be reassigned to the service area of the restaurant as a table clearer.

He is one of four Chinese workers in his workplace, the balance of the 40 staff being local Tamils. He had never met a non-Chinese before leaving China so this was quite a cultural shock and it has been a period of rapid learning on his part, compounded by the fact that he spoke almost no English. As Yanjun said

> Actually. … I felt my command of English was hopeless. Completely hopeless! And I'm already considered old. When I first arrived in Singapore, I could not understand a word of English. But I thought since I chose to be here – and this is my personal philosophy – since I chose to be here, I must do a good job. I carry a small notebook with me everywhere I go. I ask the chef what this is, or what that is in the Indian language. And I make note of everything he taught me. I wrote down what these things are, what the words mean in Mandarin. I learned a couple of words every day. Day by day, my vocabulary grew.

During his period as a chef he worked alongside an Indian cook and was responsible for making the dough based dishes. In the kitchen he slowly learnt the names of the food items on the menu. He described himself as having a 'can do' attitude, making an effort to learn English and Tamil as much as possible so he can function better at work.

Participant: Ah, you must do that. It's impossible for them to (offer to) teach you. Impossible. You have to take the initiative to ask. Ask them: what is this in Indian? Ask once, twice, and you will get it. Sometimes they would speak to each other in Indian, and I do not understand what is going on. Just like what happened yesterday. They asked me to bring the food to the customer holding the Number Seven tag. They said, "ye-le," "ye-le," I had no idea what was going on. So I asked them what "ye-le" means. And they told me it means "seven" in the Indian language. So that's how I managed to learn very slowly. I just scribbled down how to pronounce the numbers one to ten in Indian. And I would take out my notes and go through them whenever I am free. I just need to go through them a few times, and I would be able to remember the words. And then I can do without my notes.

As is usually the story with low-waged labour migrants in Singapore, Yanjun's worked long hours long—12 h plus shifts with only two rest days a month. He earns a base salary of $1000 plus overtime after the first 10 h of the day. His days are busy with one 25 min meal break, which he takes on the premises. He is acutely aware that his Indian co-workers (who are mostly from Malaysia) are respected more and believes they are paid more and have more favourable conditions. The China workers must work 10 h before they can earn overtime while the Indian workers only have to work 8 h before earning overtime. The Indian workers earn up

to $1000 a month more, which he is acutely aware of. He talks quite negatively about the fact that when he was deployed in the kitchen on 'dough duty' that the bosses wouldn't recognise his skills as a chef to do more complex cooking.

He does speak with pride about his capacity to acquire the new language and the fact that he is famous in his workplace for knowing all the words and being able to sing along to the Indian songs. Yanjun developed that strategy of writing down Indian words as he was learning them. He said "the difficulty in learning the Indian languages lies in writing. I can pronounce many of these words, but I cannot write them. Yesterday they taught me this. … I scribbled the words on a napkin (proceeds to display the napkin with scribbling). This is "how are you" in Indian and the numbers one to ten in Indian".

He describes his boss as 'quite nice' when talking about the fact the boss brings in Ang Pows for the China workers on Chinese new year, and all workers on Deepavali. He uses Tamil familial terms to address co-workers [*Thambi* (brother), *Akka* (sister), etc.] but this is framed in terms of not knowing their proper names, or as a sign of respect to the female colleagues. However he talks equally of an unfair sense of being discriminated against and the work as difficult and unfulfilling. When it was put to him this is an Indian environment, do you feel the supervisor or manager isn't that nice to the China workers, compared to the Indian workers? He replied "yes, there's quite a bit of that. Indeed. If you ask me, as well as the rest of the China workers, we all feel that way". There are no reflections that might describe an 'emerging cosmopolitan sensibility'. His affect is restrained and mostly negative.

Indian workers? May be in terms of work allocation?
Participant: Our salaries are different.
Interviewer: So they are paid more.
Participant: Yes.
Interviewer: How much are they paid?
Participant: About $2500–$2600.
Interviewer: I see. And what about work allocation? Say, maybe all those in charge of collecting and cleaning the dishes are from China, while the Indians all work inside (food preparation duties).

4.4   Discussion

Exposed for the first time to South Asians in situations of forced encounter, Yanjun has developed new intercultural skills around language, culture, and food and capacity to survive as a minority in his workplace. The place of PRC migrant workers like Yanjun in Singapore is tenuous. As a work permit holder his work conditions are heavily regulated. He has limited choice in terms of place of employment or job position. In a highly racialised society like Singapore where the Chinese are the dominant majority and enjoy a great deal of privilege and status

compared to the Malays and Indians, a Chinese working under a minority is uncommon but because of the visa quota system it has become possible—establishing an asymmetric power relationship.

Chinese-ness is a contested notion both within Singapore and in relation to China. In the 1970s, it was intensified through cultural policies of sinicisation with the promotion of Mandarin (resulting in the demise of Chinese dialects) and propagation of Confucianism to combat Westernisation. The Singaporean-Chinese, as is the case with diasporic identities in general, are a product of their social context and nation-state. In Singapore national identity construction has been largely predetermined by the hegemony of economic discourse. Excluded from this identity construction are the cultural, social and political consequences of capitalist economic development, namely, the anxieties of living under the demands generated by a highly market-driven yet highly state-managed capitalist regime. As Singaporean Sociologist Chua (1998, p. 42) observes that:

> Without irony, these anxieties are mixed with the measures of pride in being part of an incorruptible system which is efficacious in generating economic growth, in improving material consumption for all, maintaining a clean and efficient city and, finally, in maintaining social stability and public security. This pride is reinforced by constant comparison with the "decadence", "chaos" and "irrationalities" that apparently surround this island of "rational planning". These comparisons are repeated in the speeches of national leaders, circulated widely by the national media, and in the popular sphere, directly "experienced in their travels". Indeed, it is with these comparisons that a "Singaporean" differentiates himself/herself from Others (for instance from neighbouring countries like Malaysia and Indonesia) in terms of level of economic development, and difference in the levels of corruption of public officials and even level of public cleanliness.

Encounters with PRC nationals intensified from the 2000 onwards as large numbers started arriving in Singapore and rather quickly they were seen as culturally backward and uncivilized on the back of many well publicized cultural clashes between Singaporeans and PRC immigrants and workers. Singaporean Chinese were most vocal especially on social media and in the press chastising them for their unruly behaviour. Such xenophobic and even racists' sentiments were articulated from the standpoint of national characteristics which represented greater cultural and moral superiority than the category of being ethnic Chinese. Under the circumstance, it is not surprising that Singaporean Chinese expressed higher levels of national attachment compared to ethnic minorities and appear relatively more accommodating to PRC Chinese. This is evident in the way Yanjun was accepted and treated at his workplace run and staffed by his Indian colleagues.

Yanjun uses familial terms to address colleagues but being a work permit holder, he is quite bitter about his work conditions and this seems to have a bearing on his negative assessments of his Indian colleagues and their culture. In particular the differences in the pay and special treatment that Indian colleagues enjoy were apparent to Yanjun. His status as a worker is defined by his national origin and embedded structurally through Singapore's visa system. Mainland Chinese come in on Work Permits—the lowest status of the temporary visas with salary cap and punitive conditions. This variegated system of visas has both material and

discursive effects—affording particular conditions, but also framing perceptions towards national groups who are employed under a particular visa. Yanjun works much longer hours. His work is difficult, busy and intense. There is little time for rest or for engaging in banter or the 'slow time' needed for building relationships and a sense of conviviality. He doesn't mention specific negative encounters with his Indian colleagues and superiors. There is deadness and a lack of hope in Yanjun's narrative. There is something at once structural and atmospheric at work here. Work intensity; relations of respect linked to visa, and in turn, occupation and race; and the temporal qualities of their work, we suggest, have a large bearing on Yanjun's affective disposition towards his workplace. In turn, this shapes perceptions of colleagues that, in such a highly racialised workplace, inevitably become entangled with comparisons and evaluative thoughts. In this way, it is possible to imagine that in the more punitive work environment, intercultural 'survival skills' remain just that. The work and limited collegial environment are such that they become a disincentive for openings toward a more cosmopolitan sensibility and moments of cultural openness, incorporation and accommodation. In short, Yanjun manages his inevitable encounter with Indians as a mere survival strategy.

In closing, as Noble (2009) has pointed out, cosmopolitanism involves labour that is both cumulative and productive; it involves capacities that are learnt in particular contexts. As many before us have argued, cosmopolitanism needs to be understood in the plural and as situational (Datta 2010; Kendall et al. 2009). We suggest that the workplace is an under-recognised domain of encounter and that the zones and regimes of labour mobility and the sometimes-incongruous encounters produced by these flows, offer further layers of specificity. These shape relations of recognition that in turn produce particular affective sensibilities that inhibit or open up the possibility of intercultural affinity or disjuncture, flexibility or indifference (Sennett 2002). Of course these vignettes are singular slices and represent only one of the many layered and overlapping spheres of interaction that shape lives and dispositions. The intention here was to capture how the 'slice of life' that is work might feed into the shaping of a particular sensibility around difference in the context of a highly regulated and racialised regime of mobile labour in a society like Singapore where so much of life is framed and regulated through race.

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Chapter 5
Are There "Proper" Migrants? The Making of Affective Personhood Through Films by Migrants in South Korea

Hyun Mee Kim

5.1 Introduction

When I first came to South Korea four years ago, I had no difficulty in communicating in "South Korean." But because of my unique accent as a Joseon-jok (Korean-Chinese from China), I rarely spoke up in public. I even avoided answering my cellphone in the bus or subway. I was afraid of people saying, "She sounds like a foreigner." So I turned off my cellphone and called back when I was all alone. I feel that South Korea is way too ethnocentric and that people end up either ignoring or pitying foreigners. I think they also forget that we migrant women are people with strong wills, beliefs, abilities and a sense of pride. I always receive too much attention in my neighborhood. Each time I pass by, women in my community will point at me and whisper things like, "That's the Chinese daughter-in-law of Bulgyeo. She speaks good South Korean, but isn't a good cook. Her husband does all the cooking. She is not polite." I used to have hard time going to the market. Whenever I went shopping, almost all the merchants would say, "Be sure to buy this one; it isn't made in China." Probably they were not aware of my Chinese background. But I must make one remark here. It is true that China is famous for fake goods. But not every product from China is fake or of low quality. When you shop in department stores or big supermarkets [there], the quality of goods is excellent. I think China's image was worsened by South Korean traders who brought in cheap or imitation goods of low quality. From my experience in South Korea, one should first learn the standard South Korean language, especially

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the Seoul accent, as fast as one can. Then one should get accustomed to culture, customs, food, emotions and atmosphere of South Korea in order to reduce or eliminate any troubles with one's husband and his family, as well as the overall South Korean society.

The written account above is by Young-ran Ha, a 31-year old ethnic South Korean Chinese woman who migrated to South Korea through marriage. Although Ms. Ha has been living in South Korea for four years and had no difficulty speaking the language, she was always somewhat discouraged about her new life. In daily life, migrants always stand out because of certain ethnic or cultural markers such as their way of talking, the color of their skin, their style of makeup and attire, customs, and other such things that set them apart from the local population. The act of being a "successful" migrant is accompanied by specific practices enacted to erase such distinctions. Migrants regularly confront circumstances in which their identities are easily ignored, simplified, or conflated. Grappling everyday with the resulting emotional tension, they begin to learn rules of survival through mimicry or "copying." Migrants tend to pay close attention to the affect and emotions of others while they learn and re-learn the "racial etiquette" of local residents in receiving countries, and hence straddle multiple translocal racial or ethnic formations (Ramos-Zayas 2012).

As the number of migrants rapidly increased in the 1990s, migrants were frequently portrayed on mainstream television and in mass media or films in South Korea. Until then, South Korea lacked a public sphere where migrants and locals come into contact, partly due to Korea's historical lack of any substantial large-scale immigration. Hence, representations of migrants by the state or mainstream media have predominantly been responsible for the construction of the social imagination concerning migrants (Jung 2011). As a result, the cultural representation of migrants has sometimes been mobilized and managed for political and other ends by the dominant population.

As the number of migrations grew in South Korea, the representations of them in the mainstream media or films also expanded in quantity and variety. Self-representations by migrants themselves, however, are still rarely on display in the public sphere. Recently, the number of self-produced videos by migrants is on the rise, as migrants and migrant support organizations collaborate with media/film activists in the making of migrant films. Migrants have created records of their own lives by creating and distributing videos or short films about themselves. As such films and videos created through filmmaking workshops went on to screenings in film festivals, public attention towards 'migrant cinema' has also grown. Here, migrant cinema refers to two categories of films: (1) films about migrants, and (2) films made by migrants. This chapter focuses specifically on short videos produced by migrants in order to examine the characteristics of affectivity realized by migrants through films. While the mainstream media generally offers a shallow and one-sided account of 'patronizing compassion' or 'irreconcilable feeling of cultural difference' when portraying the lives of migrants, the narratives of migrants themselves are constructed with a palette of emotions that includes indifference, insensibility, joyfulness and incomprehensibility. South Korean society seen

through the eyes of migrants hardly resembles that of the dominant society. Yet, self-representations of migrants do not necessarily lead to the construction of an alternative public sphere.

This chapter interprets these films as self-portraits that serve as a kind of mediatized negotiation with South Koreans and as a means of addressing how the official categorization of migrants in the different roles societal roles they play as wives or workers and the legal constraints they are under has led to the emergence of specific forms of affect and affective practices among migrants. At the same time, and in contrast to the attempt to construct what constitutes a suitable, proper, and commodifiable migrant identity in a South Korea's neoliberal environment, these films also serve as a platform for migrants to express themselves as autonomous or culturally cosmopolitan beings in resistance to the restrictive and discriminating conditions imposed upon them. As such, these films can be viewed as a contested domain for migrants and diverse audiences in South Korean society to interpret and re-interpret forms of affective personhood for migrants.

5.2 "Migrant Films" and Affective Personhood

Mainstream films about migrants in South Korea are interested in representing the day-to-day lives of the minority rather than focusing on the social relations between locals and migrants. In this sense, the portrayal of migrants is quite similar to prevalent forms of representation by the mainstream media based on the following three premises: as "a code of practice" (Husband 2005), as "a collective frame of interpretation" and "homogenization of standards" (Bourdieu 1996). Within this framework, migrants are represented within the boundaries of order and tolerance established by the dominant majority (Jung 2011, p. 497). Additionally, in mainstream films, the themes most often selected to represent migrant lives revolve around extreme patterns of suffering, accidents, deaths, crimes and the image of illegality (Um 2011; Jung 2011; Kim S. 2014). The mere amount and the frequency of films about migrants do not bring fairness to the relationship between locals and migrants. Rather, migrants carry the risk of being stereotyped as the archetypical Other by the selective frames presented and highlighted by the mainstream.

However, if media/films produced by migrants express a minority perspective, they serve as multiple public spheres (Cunningham 2001) or a diasporic public sphere. The minority perspective stresses that migrants are unique and active players—not perpetual victims or goods—in political and economic structures and it advocates for a dialogical relation between migrants and locals (Chae 2009). Through the production of migrant films, migrants secure their rights to self-representation, allowing them to reaffirm their multiple identities and mobilize the necessary resources and political structures for participation into decision making.

Ponzanesi emphasizes the concept of "politics of encounter" in her analysis of migrant cinema in Europe (Ahmed 2000; Ponzanesi 2011, p. 74). She argues that a

migrant, who is regarded as the 'strange other' in Europe, is not an outsider; rather, he or she constitutes the dynamism of the European project of modernization and contemporary globalization. Migrant cinema provides a "face" and "form" for those people who are seen as this so-called strange other. By portraying various patterns of encounters among migrants, it provides alternative models of belonging, identification, and affectivity. In addition, migrant cinema demonstrates how processes of colonization and globalization have operated in Europe and other countries, resulting in new forms of racism, violence, and exclusion. According to Ponzanesi, migrants are neither easily assimilated nor conquered. The viewing audience of migrant cinema also comes to the realization that they themselves are also traveling under the guise of otherness. Thus, Europeans no longer exist as a self-contained and self-perpetuating people. In short, migrant cinema shows how the concept of the European subject is expanding in multilateral terms within the politics of encounter. However, the concept of the strange other carries the risk of ethnicizing migrants, as it attempts to situate migrants within particular meanings and forms. Therefore, migrant cinema, by establishing cultural boundaries for migrants and stressing cultural "differences", may conceal class polarization while emphasizing the ethnic over the civic, ultimately resulting in the "re-ethnicization" of civil society (Um 2011).

While migrant cinema presents a fragmented perspective to counter the shallow homogenization of the mainstream media, it does not always allow for opposing political perspectives, especially regarding language, state, migrant rights, and community. Rather, migrant cinema exhibits the characteristics of a parasite, feeding on mainstream modes (Kim H.M. 2014; Kim S. 2014). Thus, migrant cinema exists as a negotiated form of parasite or nomad attached to existing national and transnational narratives and images.

Previous research on this topic has mostly concentrated on analyzing the aspects of genre or social meanings of migrant media/cinema. In contrast, not much research is available on how migrant cinema has functioned as a medium that produces, maintains, and transforms the rules of affective personhood of migrants. Under the neoliberal capitalist system, the migrant has to make conscious efforts to learn the rules and structures associated with the emotions of the local majority, while at the same time striving to prove his or her value in the labor market. Ramos-Zayas (2012) analyzes this learning process in relation to capital accumulation in the neoliberal era. Neoliberal capital accumulation imposes the politics of self-responsibility on all individuals, while emphasizing the virtue of self-control to maintain appropriate public comportment. In order to experience the "feeling of marketability", everyone needs to learn relevant emotional styles and expectations. In particular, minorities such as migrants measure their own value through an endless process of interrogation about their value as "citizens" or members of society. For migrants, engaging in emotion-based practices in the hierarchical space of different groups of migrants and locals is not a mere act of revealing their innate belief system; in fact, it is a way of embracing the externalized actions or normative attitudes required to be a "proper" migrant.

When migrants step into the host country, they learn and execute the rules of emotion, which then leads to incorporation into the hierarchical structure of emotions of locals in the mainstream society. The types and contexts of expressed emotions differ according to migrants' categories, ethnicity, and gender. Proper migrants must execute and perform emotions using newly acquired emotional intelligence, based on their understanding of the emotional cultural scheme of employers or local residents. Migrants are classified as either hostile or hospitable beings based on whether or not they are able to utilize their emotional intelligence appropriately to transform their otherness to become 'controllable beings' fully equipped with optimal marketability and personality. Because of the intimidating and dangerous nature of migrants as the embodiment of emotional inappropriateness, expression of emotions or actions needs to be controlled. Certain acts of migrants, including idiosyncratic attitudes, aggressive behaviors, stubbornness, sarcasm, obsession for cultural tradition, and so on are easily interpreted as immorality, unsuitability, and even incompetence. In their portrayal of migrants, the mainstream media tends to zero in on different aspects of the migrant experience—daily routines of migrants, life in a new place, their future plans—all of which fall within the boundaries of appropriate rules of emotion—and then, stress the docility and affability, difficulty or danger associated with the lives of migrants. It is obsessed with showing how migrants are challenged by the acquisition of affective appropriateness within the emotional-moral scheme of mainstream culture. As a result, its representations of migrants become the means and the governing system that in turn adjust and control the emotions of migrants.

Mainstream media/cinema contribute to transforming the issue of migration and its social structural attributes into a 'management scheme of emotions' for both individuals and the category of migrants as a whole. The management scheme of emotions refers to particular emotional schemes that regulate migrants' feelings and identities. When interacting emotionally with locals, migrants must exercise self-control. Such self-control is made up of the ability to understand and use mainstream language and appropriate 'racial' etiquettes. Migrants, who succeed in exercising self-control based upon the close observation and judgment of the locals of the host country, are regarded as "proper migrants" or "well-adjusted migrants."

However, migrant cinema by migrants contributes to fragmenting and diluting the rules of emotion and controlling power imposed on migrants by mainstream media. While some migrant filmmakers conform in part to the existing dominant emotional cultural scheme, they also express complex emotions concerning their inability to be incorporated into such a scheme. They depict how migrants experience and understand certain information and emotions in their workplace, homes, and communities, as well as the meaning making of migrants in their interactions with locals. In this way, migrant cinema drives change regarding the formation of emotions and capabilities of migrants.

5.3   The Emergence of "Migrant Films" in South Korea

Barricade (1997), directed by Yoon In-ho, was the first feature film that attempted to depict the reality of migrant workers in South Korea. The film was about a story of the undocumented Bangladesh worker at a washing factory. This film portrayed migrants as the victims of global political economy. Since then, feature films on marriage migration and the lives of different groups of migrant workers and North Korean refugees went on to be screened. However, only a handful of films received significant attention from the public.[1]

Over the past thirty years, the number of migrants residing in South Korea has grown to be substantial. However, the South Korean government is concerned with these individuals solely as a source of low-income production and as a labor force to ensure reproduction and care within the confines of the family. The government has never proposed multicultural inclusion policies for migrant workers. Nor has it allocated sufficient funds to encourage multicultural environments in workplaces. Likewise, the South Korean government has hardly paid any attention to assisting the cultural integration of Korean-Chinese, who hold both different cultural values and nationality. The discussions around multiculturalism started to flourish only after witnessing the increase of the number of marriage migrants who represent the first wave of settler-type migrants to South Korea. Members of this group are allowed to become South Korean nationals, owing to the fact that they bear the children of South Korean families. Marriage migrants have become the subject of full-fledged integration by the state. With the surge of international marriage since the 2000s between South Korean men and Southeast Asian women, particularly those from Vietnam and Cambodia, the South Korean government became concerned over issues of cultural heterogeneity and poverty in these families. The South Korean government termed the families resulting from international marriages "multicultural families." Subsequently, in April 2006, the government announced a "transition to a multiracial and multicultural society." Since then, relevant keywords—multiculturalism, multicultural society, multicultural families and multicultural children—have become popularized in every sector of South Korean society, ranging from the government, corporations, media, academia, and civil society. Without question, South Korean society has witnessed an explosion of 'multicultural' discourse, as the term emerged as a new governing principle to challenge the powerful, well-embedded ideology of ethnic monoculturalism.

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[1]*Pairan* (2001), a film by Song Hae-sung, received wide attention, partly because of its actors, Choi Min-sik along with China's top star actress Jang Baekji. However, the film was understood as a heartbroken love story rather than a female migrant worker's narrative about marriage fraud. Beginning with *In Search of Roni* (2009) by Sim Sang-guk, films depicting migrants as affirmative and adventurous subjects have appeared.

Initially, the term "multiculturalism" was first adopted by civil society, especially by non-governmental organizations supporting migrants. Migrant workers demanded protection of their labor and human rights, but their voices had limited influence due to the rampant racism present in South Korean society. The government's power to limit migrant activism through its control of migrant workers' legal status also acted as an impediment to widespread cultural struggle. The discourse over multiculturalism or multicultural human rights, as proposed by migrants themselves, called for self-reflection and contemplation by the South Korean majority. However, as the state adopted the multiculturalism discourse without much philosophical substance, its scope has now been reduced to discussion about how to support marriage migrants and multicultural families.

In South Korea, migrant cinema created by migrants came into existence through collaboration between migrant support organizations and media activists. Migrant media first emerged in South Korea in 2004. During the period 2003–2004, a group of migrant workers went on a strike for 380 days in Seoul's Myeongdong cathedral. The strike had two main objectives: first, to criticize the government policies of crackdown and deportation, and second, to oppose the newly prepared Employment Permit System. The South Korean media activists also joined the strike, along with members of labor unions and organizations in support of migrants. The activists from Mediact and other organizations provided media-related education to the participants of the strike as part of cultural education for migrant workers. In December 2004, Migrant Worker TV (MWTV) was established. Unlike other broadcasting programs on migrants, the migrant workers at MWTV actively participated in the production and distribution of migrant-related news and cultivated a network of activists. From 2006, the MWTV began to hold an annual Migrant Workers' Film Festival. However, in 2008 under the neoliberal conservative administration of President Lee Myung-Bak, the overall support for civil society was reduced, which resulted in a financial crisis for the film festival. Furthermore, during the late 2000s, core leaders of the migrant media/film initiative were deported back to their home countries.

Since the mid-2000s, a new group of media activists, consisting mainly of marriage migrant women emerged. During this period, the discussion of marriage migrant women and their families, especially children of "multicultural families", gained prevalence over migrant workers' rights or more comprehensive rights for migrants. Consequently, migrant cinema also began to shift its attention from the issue of migrant workers to that of marriage migrant women and their children. From 2006 to 2014, the International Women's Film Festival in Seoul held eight series of filmmaking workshops for migrant women, and showcased the completed works at film screenings.

With the increased support for community-based culture/arts, media centers were established in different communities. Media-related activities and education also gradually relocated to local communities outside Seoul. This change not only provided opportunities for support centers for multicultural families or welfare centers to connect with media centers, but also led to the emergence of self-run

migrant film festivals.[2] For nearly ten years, migrant media activism has been sustained by joint efforts of migrant activists and media activists, who teach the entire process of filmmaking from basic camera techniques to editing by computers.

5.4 Proper Marriage Migrants as Performers of South Korean-ness

Women constitute approximately 89% of international marriage migrants—the first settler type migrants to South Korea. Due to this fact, migrant women are frequently featured in mainstream media that portray families formed through international marriage. The mainstream South Korean media tends to represent "desirable" migrant women, rather than the actual realities faced by women and their families. Marriage migrant women are often seen as "performing" the already extinct "South Korean-ness", or devoting themselves as care providers for the sick or elderly. Although their socioeconomic status is quite insecure in South Korean society, the women, with teary eyes, express deep concerns over their parents back home. Such representation implies two things; first, desiring to Koreanize migrant women, and second, hoping optimistically that pain and poverty will soon disappear if the women work hard enough. Moreover, since these women are represented as victims who reveal the "third world" within economically prosperous Korea, it is argued that South Koreans who seek to become more mature must assist migrant women; in other words, the image of migrant women is used as an instrument for achieving a "better South Korea" (Hong 2011; Kim H.M. 2014).

On the other hand, migrant women are seen as 'hyper-emotional' in nearly every mainstream work in which they are represented. While they laugh a lot in their familial spaces in South Korea, they burst with emotion when they touch upon memory, separation, and reunion, especially when either reminiscing over their original families or actually visiting their homes of their birth. In their everyday lives, marriage migrant women perform different kinds of activities related to reproduction: from household chores such as taking care of parents-in-law, cleaning, and cooking, to family reproduction of childbirth and child-rearing, and finally, cultural reproduction through language learning. In addition, they also need to shoulder income-generating responsibilities in order to complement their husbands' low salaries. The aforementioned processes reflect the fact that the women have to respond to multiple societal demands of family formation and social integration. The demands on multiple role-playing can only be fulfilled by optimizing the body and mind of the migrant women, which then, ultimately comes under the realm of

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[2]Film festivals that involve films about and by migrants are as follows: Migrant World Film Festival (MWFF, 2006–), International Women's Film Festival in Seoul, Special Section for Migrant Women's Films (2006–2014), Seoul Human Rights Film Festival (1996–), Seoul Migrant Art Festival (2012–), Migrant Workers' Film Festival (2014–).

media control. Through television programs such as *Love in Asia* (KBS)[3] or *Multicultural Journal* (EBS),[4] South Korean broadcasts have put forth frames that delimit who constitute proper migrants. Moreover, with the government's support policies for multicultural families, there is a growing attempt to keep and treat the multicultural family as an excluded or disadvantaged category (Georgiou 2005; Kim H.M. 2014).

During my interviews with numerous marriage migrants, the women remarked that excessive intervention and attention toward multicultural families may act as an impediment to the real discovery of self. "I want to live as myself," is a common statement by the women. This can be interpreted in two ways. First, it is a way of expressing their desires to assert the existence of individualized and constantly constructed selves, breaking away from the existing stereotypes of South Korean society. Second, it points to their aspirations for living ordinary lives just as they did back home—namely, working and making friends. Through the interviews, women frequently declare their yearning for emotional security and a sense of belonging in the various realms of their lives, refraining from being the object of exotic and deficient foreigners.

Self-camera has been the most prevailing form of films produced by migrant women with support of South Korean activists. Yet, self-representations of migrant women are not always starkly different from that of mainstream media. Although migrant women express anger over such programs like *Love in Asia* for being "too one-sided", they, too, easily internalize desires and power of South Koreans. It is not easy for women to transition from being seen to gain the power of seeing, especially in South Korean society.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that women, through filmmaking or film/media education, are now enhancing their expressive powers and exploring channels of communication with the South Korean society. For those women undergoing existential crises, cameras not only provide condolences but also become a door for open communication for groups of people in trust and collaboration. Moreover, films that involve interviews with husbands or parents-in-law enable all relevant parties to open up their stories that otherwise would have been concealed or avoided. In this sense, the filmmaking process by women is much more than a narcissistic, confessional self-camera; it provides resources for building new social relationships.

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[3]*Love in Asia* (KBS 1), first aired in November 2005, is the oldest television program still running that deals with marriage migrants in South Korean broadcasting system. Every week, one family is invited as a special guest and is given the opportunity to visit the marriage migrant woman's native home. Early on, the program took the format of a talk show with an invited panel of marriage migrants. Nowadays, the program is centered around the story of one family, combined with occasional comments from other women on the panel. Website: http://www.kbs.co.kr/1tv/sisa/loveasia/.

[4]*Multicultural Journal* (EBS) is a program where a migrant woman and her mother-in-law go on a trip together, with the objective of promoting mutual understanding. Website: http://home.ebs.co.kr/gobu/main.

For example, *My name is Tu*, a video by the eponymous Ms. Tu, recounts her journey of marriage migration from Vietnam to South Korea. Especially, the video presents her expectations, disappointment, frustrations, and negotiations in a poised manner. In her work, she asks that South Koreans look at her "not from your perspectives but from mine." She displays a good grasp of psychological and emotional changes such as expectations and fear during her adjustment to South Korea as a stranger. In her early days of settlement, Ms. Tu is too afraid of her new home that she would get on her husband's bus every night to wander around different parts of Seoul. Ms. Tu and her husband embark on their journeys as both a married couple and driver-passenger. Everyday Ms. Tu, through her viewpoints as the strange other, stares plainly at the same route. The video succeeds in showing the transformation of Ms. Tu from a completely isolated and dependent being into an active and public self through her interactions with South Korean society, including language classes from organizations such as "South Korean Women Migrants Human Rights Center." Currently, Ms. Tu works as staff at the Center to provide counseling and to protect the human rights for migrant women like herself. In addition, she occasionally takes part in volunteer activities in Hanoi. The video does not simply point out Ms. Tu's changed identities as the dramatic turning point. Rather, it exposes the multifaceted nature of life in South Korea, as well as expectations and potential, through the eyes of a migrant woman. Thus, it reveals the woman as an actual living subject and protagonist, ultimately attempting to begin a dialogue with the rest of South Korean society.

The first and foremost change seen in women making videos is their transformation into cultural interpreters. Prior to making their own videos, most marriage migrant women were struggling to adjust to South Korea's culture and its unique way of life. Afterwards, they have become cultural interpreters who are able to connect and interpret two cultures, that of South Korea and that of their home countries. Even though they previously viewed themselves as "foreigners who do not have the qualities necessary to live in South Korea", through making videos, they grow to view themselves as communicators that connect the two cultures and as subjects who have attained emotional stability.

Many video works by migrant women are filled with creativity and wit. For instance, *A New Cinderella Story* and *Don't be Greedy* are composed of moral and satirical critiques of competition, greed and selfishness of human beings in the contemporary society. Ms. Nari, one of the co-producers of these videos arrived in South Korea two years prior, after completing high school in Kyrgyzstan. Although she had no previous experience with digital cameras or video in her home country, she learned about basic digital production and the meaning of photography and videos through various workshops. For the first time, she discovers that she had the talents to write scenarios as well as plan and produce scenes in works on video. Filled with the joy and confidence of creative video making, she decided to pursue a career in the advertising sector.

However, most self-confessional films by marriage migrant women focus on their families. The meaning of a proper marriage migrant is equivalent to gender performativity within her household, which is exactly the same as films made by

women. In the music video, *A song you probably wouldn't want to listen to but you should*, Ms. Leizel, a marriage migrant from the Philippines, openly criticizes racism and gender roles that exist in her newly formed family. However, at the end, she tries to mend conflict by fulfilling expectations of South Korean femininity—namely, having a slim body. Unlike mainstream media, she reveals discrepancies between the ideal and reality, but also adopts narratives from the mainstream images at times to reach compromise. The majority of marriage migrants adopt first-person, "self-camera" techniques to depict their "homes" and communities. The narratives in their films usually include one or more of the following: expectations and aspirations for a happy family, conflict with husband and loneliness, struggles over cultural differences, decision to "settle" after having a child, self-discovery as a victim amidst a strange society and people, and problem solving process through "maturation" (Hong 2011). They regain their self-esteem by realizing the fact that they are not inferior "South Koreans." However, they fall short of bringing forward new interpretations of the state, nation or communities of their affiliation. Rather, their emotions and narratives continue to achieve "justice in the private sphere." Their understanding and political negotiation involve their husbands, children, parents-in-law, and support centers for multicultural families in their communities. In sum, first-person documentaries made by migrant women emphasize their agency to reveal the gap within mainstream discourse, and also depend on the typical framing of the mainstream or demonstrate a negotiated parasitic form. Occasionally, videos by marriage migrant women in 'home video' format carry the risk of over-emphasizing such videos' narcissistic nature, especially that of the power to see.

5.5 The Emergence of "Testimonial" Films Using Mobile Phones

In recent years, short videos produced with mobile phones have drawn particular attention. Generally, these types of videos are presented in the form of unscripted testimonials that depict the lives of migrant workers without the artifice of any narrative arc. Earthians' Station, one of the representative filmmaking organizations for migrants, has pioneered this genre of film. The organization was originally set up as a "place of creation and exchange of culture" among "Earthians"—locals and migrants in South Korea from various backgrounds. However, as the number of migrant workers increased, they found themselves faced were practical issues of economic survival that take precedence over cultural production. For this reason, art studios became shelters and the South Korean artists took on additional roles as counselors or activists dealing with labor issues facing the migrant workers.

Numerous migrant workers filed claims with government labor authorities or the police, but their stories were rarely believed. Earthians' Station taught migrants how to make films using mobile phones, especially how to film the conditions in their

workplaces without editing. These films show their workplace as a site, in the absence of interference from South Koreans or specific forms of narrative. The films capture everything from work-related directives to abusive remarks by South Korean employers, interactions between migrants and South Koreans, conversations between migrants, to the entire labor process. For example, a scene which shows the migrant worker at work on a farm from 6 am to 7 pm, clearly illustrates the economic 'value' of the migrant worker to the employer; he receives only two days off each month and receives 0.9 million KRW (US 850 dollars) as a monthly salary. In another, a migrant worker who picks sesame leaves for twelve hours each day suddenly swears in his own language after long days of work. His words are cries of non-communication; no one listens to or is able to comprehend his words. In contrast, cinema depicting migrants produced by the mainstream media tends to depict migrants either as commodified beings lacking emotions at home and in the workplace, or as working subjects, who ceaselessly perform their duties. In contrast, the majority of films by migrant workers are characterized by straightforward resistance or back talk. *Salary Day*, a music video played and directed by the members of the popular band STOPCRACKDOWN, is a typical example of resistance satire. The lyrics of the song indicate expectations for salary day, satire about the boss and his wife, and disappointment after receiving the salary. While the lyrics portray the affect of the migrants in a humorous fashion, it also serves as a critique of corrupt employers in South Korea.

Mobile films do not have clear starting or ending point. At one moment, migrant workers can be seen exchanging jokes with other non-Korean colleagues, but the next, they are wearing serious faces. Occasionally, they can even be seen snickering at the orders given by the employer. In mainstream media, migrants appear as obedient subjects, dutifully carrying out the orders given by their boss. However, in the migrant-made films, they may balk at the profane words used by their employer and may even use English as a way of demonstrating their cosmopolitan cultural statuses that the Korean employer may not even comprehend. They can be seen as rude, insensitive subjects who easily trespass the given emotional cultural scheme. The production quality of these films, however, is much too amateur to be taken as having been carefully planned and produced.

However, in terms of their political project, these mobile films demonstrate clear emotional effects. The Korean audience, who are invited to view scenes of the actual workplaces of migrant workers, starts to experience a different set of emotions, questioning, for example, "what if I were to work here" or "would I be able to work here." Hence, the usual social imagination around migrants is deconstructed. Migrants are depicted as ambiguous subjects who are neither easily controlled nor rebellious. Narrative intervention and soundtrack often create a depoliticizing effect by reversing strong emotional affect created through "place-ness". Videos made by migrants, though, let the sound from the shooting site flow naturally and do not edit out sections where ambient noises, cursing, English interjections, and the native languages of migrants are mixed all together. The sound belongs to the "place"—usually both workplace as well as residence/home for the migrants—and regardless of whether one is a migrant or locals, enables oneself to imagine the emotions and

affects that are quasi-universal. These videos reject the typical narrative structure broken into past-present-future. Instead, they adopt the "present progressive" and create a form of "intervention" that refrains from strengthening the seeing power by excluding the rules of emotions present in mainstream representations. They point out "life problems from the here and now" which constitutes a reality for the migrants, Korean employers, as well as the audience, calling for engagement, self-examination, and intervention.

5.6 Conclusion

Although migrant cinema by migrants since the 2000s has had a limited influence compared to mainstream media, it is increasingly gaining ground as a cultural alternative in the migrant movements of South Korea. For migrants, acquiring the means of self-expression allows them a way to assert their cultural rights. Moreover, this form of creative activity may also have effects of self-healing. However, not all films made by migrants lead to expanded realms of social reflexivity (Park 2007).

Nevertheless, films by migrants, while exhibiting their own experience and affects mostly through first-person perspective or self-camera, have contributed to revealing the perspectives of South Koreans as well as the constructed nature of the majority's position. Unlike the images of migrants shaped in the image of government policies toward migrants or sustained in mainstream discourse, films by migrants hold an antithetical position that serves as critique. Migrants have to build intimate relationships with Koreans from the mainstream world in their homes and workplaces. By framing their experience in their own terms, migrants leave the door of incomprehensibility open. While migrants are "the strangest others" in the most intimate spaces, Koreans are also depicted as narrow-minded agents who have blocked any possibilities of communication or understanding. Self-representations by migrants are fragmented, transitory, and incomplete. As part of a survival strategy or self-recovery declaration, they form social spaces that exist as a kind of parasite attached to the mainstream discourse. In this context, migrant cinema fragmentizes the emotional cultural scheme of the mainstream and emerges as a genre showing the possibility of resisting the neoliberal "politics of worth".

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Chapter 6
Sugarcoated Racism: Managing Racialized Anxieties in Hong Kong Television Drama

Daren Shi-chi Leung

In this chapter, I explore the relationship between racial representation and emotions/affect as part of the struggle for racial minorities' visibility. It focuses on Hong Kong's television culture as a site for context configuration, or conjuncture, for constituting the inter- and intra-racial relations between the dominant ethnic Chinese population and ethnic minorities (EM), via the production of emotions. In this chapter, I explore how the configuration of racialized feeling can transform the particular racial relation in the popular text. In the introduction, the historical context of EMs will show why the TV drama *No Good Either Way* (2012) does matter to the understanding of cultural existence of EMs. Second, in order to study race by reading affects and narratives, this study takes a methodological shift from content analysis of stereotyping to an affective narrative approach. Third, most importantly, the affective narrative analysis will be applied to examine how the ethnic troublemaker hinges on the varied pattern of anxiety in various subplots, in order to enable what I call the figuration of 'sweetened trouble' as a kind of structure of feeling. Finally, in a new context demanding recognition, I argue that 'sugarcoated racism' becomes a popular form of racialization in Hong Kong, which sugarcoats different racisms as the cover for sympathy toward minorities' anxieties.

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6.1 Background

Who are ethnic minorities (EM)? Hong Kong is so-called a 'Chinese society,' yet about 6.4% of its whole population is categorized as ethnic minorities[1] (see Population Census, HKSAR 2011), who are popularly referred to the group of South and South East Asians (Erni and Leung 2014). For the reason of policy advocacy, the literature of social scientists and NGOs has highlighted different kinds of discrimination and social exclusion concerning various aspects of EM's lives, like employment, education, daily encounter, housing, and so on (Caritas Hong Kong 2008, 2010; Chan 2001; Hong Kong Unison 2012a, b; Loper 2001; Ku 2003; Ku et al. 2006a, b; Carmichael 2009; Equal Opportunities Commission 2012). However, to repeat such EM's victimization narrative still cannot help us to open up any possibility to overcome the existing cultural invisibility in Hong Kong where EMs have long been underrepresented as 'invisible neighbors' (Lo 2008), as 'outsiders' (Ku et al. 2008), and even as 'unfavorable strangers' (Erni and Leung 2014). Thus, this project concerns as much about the problem of EM's cultural (in)visibility.

Elsewhere, in the search for ethnic visibility in the TV industry, I (Leung, forthcoming) point out that there have been a few non-Chinese ethnic entertainers who are important for Hong Kong's TV culture, and specifically for the struggle for their particular modes of visibility.[2] There, I discuss three key figures: Louie Castro, a Portuguese-Chinese actor who is well-known as the first teen idol in 1970s; Gregory Rivers, a Cantonese-speaking actor of Anglo-Australian origin who has produced significant white images from 1980s to 2000s; and Gill Mohinderpaul Singh, popularly known as 'QBoBo,' a Hong Kong-born Indian actor who owes his fame to his comedy works on TV and film since 2005. What's more, the visual image of South Asians recently stirs a renewed interest in the TV industry, as

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[1]According to the *2011 Population Census*, about 6% population of Hong Kong is ethnic minorities that include Indonesians (29.6%), Filipinos (29.5%), White (12.3%), Mixed (6.4%), Indians (6.3%), Pakistanis (4.0%), Nepalese (3.7%), Japanese (3.1%), Thais (3.1%), Other Asians (3.1%), and Others (6.2%).

[2]Leung's study explicitly examines how these ethnic figures struggle for their particular mode of cultural visibility in Hong Kong's popular entertainment industry wraps up several key points. Firstly, the ethnic ambiguity during 1970s and 1980s presents Hong Kong identity with a renewed sense of historical richness. Ethnic differences possessed by the minorities were once not necessarily forbidden and underrepresented in TV culture, which is evident from the case of Castro whose mixed racial identity shows that ethnic differences can be displayed as a westernized as well as cosmopolitan marker of cultural abundance. Secondly, the privileged white faces, Rivers/Ho, has performed for 20 years has been the evidence of a certain historical conditioning. This conditioning is a repetitive discursive machine and Rivers/Ho's career amply demonstrates the overwhelmingly fixed imagination of the white figure. The contradiction between the powerful figures that he played and the "cultural fatigue' of endless repetition reveals the stubbornly narrow imagination of the foreign other in local TV culture. Thirdly, the multiple brown faces mark QBoBo's career are distinctive from Rivers/Ho's clichéd path; with his comedic intervention, QBoBo largely leads to a visual change for South Asians.Choosing of a racially-easy, or job due to the directors' Changing Cultural Boundaries. Buckingham; Philadelphia: Open Univeris.

QBoBo, who despite playing an array of stereotyped roles (such as security guard, chef, doctor, police, terrorist, and so on, for the commercial broadcaster TVB) (see Erni and Leung 2014; Lo 2008), manages to effect a visual change for South Asians to produce a cultural figure called 'Hong Kong-Indian.' As Leung argues,

> The ethnic characters that QBoBo has been able to play anchor the racial sites of Indianness and localness at the same time, but only upon a symbolic hierarchical order, in which the privileged signs of 'localness' (e.g. Cantonese-speaking, the capitalist drive in life, the urge to assimilate into the dominant culture, etc.) take priority over the racial dimensions of this 'brown face' (forthcoming).

The racial difference performed by QBoBo is not necessarily negative, but culturally rich and complex. Yet, his cultural significance has seldom been discussed. In this sense, the TV drama *No Good Either Way* is noteworthy, because the TV industry rarely strives to redefine racial relation on a basis of the close racial dynamics of the friendship between ethnic Chinese and their EM friends and neighbors. Notice that it is the first time in Hong Kong television history that there is a production that casts an Indian actor (QBoBo) as a major protagonist, using various elements derived from the local Indian communities. And its extraordinary way of satire-making seems to be highly accepted by the audience in Hong Kong.[3]

6.2   No Good Either Way

No Good Either Way (衝呀!瘦薪兵團) (hereafter NGEW) is a popular TV sitcom produced and broadcast by Television Broadcasts Limited (TVB) in 2012.

NGEW follows the circulation of anxiety among a multiracial cast of characters who are meant to represent the cultural landscape of modern urban existence in Hong Kong, by portraying a variety of distress in and out of the workplace. Like the name in the title, this drama depicts an atmosphere of 'feeling uneasy' in which the *da-gong-zai (*打工仔*),*[4] who are the salaried class, always seem to feel stressed

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[3]As a popular drama of the premiere week, NGEW reaches the highest watching rate, 28 point. According to the previous TV reviews published on newspapers, one comment points out that 'NGEW is successful because the plot is very realistic and close to audience's stressful working life, specifically when it talks about the conflicts between the employers and the employees' (see Lam 2012b); another comment suggests that the tone of this TV show is so lively and relaxing that audience can enjoy the pain with pleasure (see Lam 2012a). Although Lee (2012), a TV columnist, criticizes the script for being too weak as well as simple and lack of novelty, he deems the two charming comedians, Louis Yuen and QBoBo, the vital reason for NGEW to reach its popularity.

[4]The term 'da-gong-zai' refers to a group of employees who work at various positions in an office; the meaning of this term is different from 'working class' which is a historical term given by factories. In NGEW, da-gong-zai shares a similar condition of being a particular class. The Chinese title of NGEW—'Chung Ar! Sau San Bin Tun' (衝呀!瘦薪兵團)—literally means 'Go! Low Salary Group.' The term 'low salary group' directly points out the class condition of da-gong-zai in the world of NGEW—a group of people getting low pay, no matter what positions they are situated in workplaces and being together to fight for their benefits.

about their career in the highly competitive work place. Moreover, it also illustrates an interracial life fraught with anxiety produced by various unexpected troubles, troubles that circulate back to the interracial dynamic between the Chinese and EM characters. As a part of this research, Miss. Amy Sum-wai Wong, the producer of NGEW, and Mr. QBoBo are also interviewed in order to give a better understanding of the affective configuration of race/ethnicity that lies latent in the text.

In NGEW, Interpal, played by QBoBo, is a Hong Kong-born Indian. He met his good friends Alex (Ruco Chan) and Steve (Louis Yuen), who are both local Chinese, in high school. More than classmates, they are close friends and basketball teammates when they were young. However, failing one of the three major subjects in the public examination—Chinese language—Interpal was brought back to India by his mother to have his marriage arranged as well as to develop his career. Due to the economic downturn in India after a disastrous flood, he returns to Hong Kong to hunt for a better job while moving into Steve's flat, as Interpal deems Hong Kong a city full of opportunities. He however fails to find employment. Meanwhile, Alex, who is a senior product designer, and Steve, who is a senior marketing officer, both of whom have worked hard for a creative technology corporation, GOTECH, for 10 years, but their promotions are unexpectedly derailed by their arch-enemy, Violet (Florence Kwok), who is manager of human resources at GOTECH. She later hinders them from any possible development in career and disrupts their working schedules, which makes them fight against her, but worry about their careers at the same time. The gloomy situation and the daily stress among these three men are what anchor the plot of NGEW.

According to Wong, the producer of the show, Interpal is largely configured as the comedic figure of troublemaker:

> I won't make QBoBo a man with achievement and sophistication. Even though he needs to be sophisticated, I will still make him a *chung-ming-bun-pak* (聰明笨伯, roughly means troublemaker), who will always make trouble. This kind of character is an important element to the form of a comedy. Of course, he is a kindhearted but clumsy person caring his friends, which makes him popular to the audience (Interview with Wong, 11 February 2015, translated by author).

QBoBo thinks the role of troublemaker is positive, when Interpal would mainly please the audience, gaining himself a favorable impression from the audience. In an interview, QBobo said:

> *No Good Either Way* shows what really the Indians in Hong Kong are thinking nowadays. It tells people about how we Indians in Hong Kong interact with the local people peacefully and how we develop joint ventures with the locals to try out different money-making opportunities. There isn't any discrimination and the programme is a proper and up-to-date version showing how hard-working and devoted Indians can be (Interview with QBoBo, 28 January 2013, translated by author).

In the show, in many incidents, it can be seen that a good plan thought of by Interpal usually ends up putting himself and his friends in trouble. Even a plan out

of his kindness and effort to help his friends will elevate Alex and Steve's already anxious life. Thus, in order to understand how the daily emotions generating an 'uneasy feeling' within the plot of NGEW create a certain imagination of racial relation, it is necessary to track the cultural discourses of displaying anxiety and its articulation of racial differences between Chinese and EMs, or more precisely, the emerging interracial relations in the popular arena.

6.3 Study Race from Stereotypes to Narrative

Generally speaking, stereotype is a series of images we use to identify the identities and natures of other communities (Lippman 2009). In other words, stereotypes, for social categorization, can be understood as the expectation some people in the society bear to see other groups and their performativity, such as women, elders, lower classes and minorities (Grossberg et al. 1998). The approaches of stereotypical representation have emphasized that in mass media, how the minorities in a society are misrepresented and underrepresented for the purpose of rationalizing the governance and of rebuilding mainstream ideology to understand a society. Because the strength of stereotype studies lies in discussing the relationships built by minorities, identification and power-relation, the study of stereotypes occupies the dominant position among the critical approaches in media studies. Researchers with Media studies discipline tend to explore binary oppositional discourses where 'racialized other' is constructed and the unequal relationships between majorities and minorities, separating 'us' from 'them,' is reinforced as stereotype studies have been widely used to deal with how otherized images are constructed and further naturalized (Creeber 2006; Cottle 2000; Fiske 2011; Gray 2005; Grossberg et al. 1998; van Dijk 1984, 1987, 1988, 1991). For studying TV dramas, we will have the intention to recognize stereotypes as an enforcement of 'a form of rigid uniformity on whole groups, simplifying individual characteristic into social and ideological clichés' (Creeber 2006, p. 48).

The race politics in NGEW showing how EMs strain to survive the working place full of troubles and hardship in the city, the diligent and harmless images of EMs, are highly supported by the producer Wong and QBoBo. When racial differences do not necessarily fall into the binary opposition, like what has been presented in NGEW, stereotype studies as a methodology is deficient in touching upon an overall picture of the studied objects, for instance, EM's occupations, their authority and even their emotional expression. Thus, if NGEW is viewed as a TV drama, which mobilizes a subtler layer of racism or racial othering, the engagement of other methodologies is required.

In *Representing 'Race'*, Downing and Husband (2005, p. 26) propose the method of narrative-reading, criticizing researchers' lazy reading with stereotype

studies that leads to what is 'straightforward and only goes awry occasionally'. This approves that the methodological shift to the narrativity in this study can conduct a careful and seasoned analysis through inspecting three dimensions of a narrative: the rhetorical language, the specificity of genre, and the narrative of a pivotal story.[5] Thus, this approach allows us to ask how a specific figuration of narrative is usually naturalized by a sort of racialized 'framing.' With the abovementioned reason, it is worthy to dig into how Wong frames her sitcom in order to lead us to note 'how something unsaid, out of frame, may be as (or more) important in representing ethnicity or 'race' as what is said' (2005, p. 36).

When it comes to sitcom genre, two key natures can be always found from the development of plot, as the core of its narrative: the capability of softening social conflicts and tension (Feuer 2001) and that of returning the interrupted situation to its original status, which is a restored structure with an 'order-disorder-order' circulation (Creeber 2006, p. 47). Yet, Wong especially translates these two natures into her sitcom approach forming the frame which evokes certain emotional works. Firstly, NGEW as a practice of a sitcom softens serious matters in workplace, such as oppression on employees, conflicts between colleagues and everyday tension, and tends to convert them into irony and laughter in comedy, which can turn out to ask for 'audience's sympathy' toward to victims, in Wong's words. Secondly, the 'restored' function in NGEW relies on its particular channeling effect that forms a discourse of frivolity (Mills 2009), and the plot therefore will not be burdened with extra serious but negative emotions such as worry, anxiety, fear, and anger and is going to focus on how to channel the unavoidable seriousness. Thus, what significant to the sitcom specificity of NGEW's narrative is that it mostly registers an affective logic among its ups and downs: the softened conflicts reduce the intensity of anxiety and the deepened conflicts increase the intensity of anxiety. In other words, the shifting nature of anxieties showed in the narrative of this sitcom enables us to describe its complex tendency as a seemingly repeated wave—between its accumulation and relief, letting us depict a varied pattern by following the changes in intensity. Furthermore, both in the form of conflict and harmony, the varied portrayals of anxieties assist to reshape the relationship between roles. This emotional shift is significantly related to the Indian role Interpal, his character setting, racialized signs, and his conduction of anxieties; this relationship is noteworthy when we move to the study of interracial relation by the form of cultural discourse.

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[5]What follows is the principal of this sort of methodology given by Downing and Husband (2005, p. 28): (a) the analysis should recognize 'the multiple ways in which language is used, including irony, parody, sarcasm, rhetorical-over and under-statement, phrases carrying a particular symbolic charge…laden with historical associations' and (b) be able to take 'the specificities of genre' into account, but (c) should not neglect the narrative dimension that is definitely significant for TV drama series, in which 'random sampling of content [which] would often miss a pivotal story, or chop out the beginning or the end or even the middle, so that the important of narrative consequence, build-up, and build-down would risk being entirely lost'.

6.4 Affective Narrative Study: Cultural Signpost and Structure of Feeling

Popular culture, even in various forms, attempts to represent certain kinds of emotion and to connect affective experiences of people in chorus (Grossberg 1992). Emotions can lead to the works of popular cultures and create their meanings and impact that should be attended to. In other words, one of the keys in this about popular culture being 'popular' is their effective exertion of the charm of emotions, predominating the social imagination and experiences of audiences (Pribram 2011). In the previous discussion about the shift to narrativity from stereotypes, characters with racial markers and the episodic plot transmitted through the specificity of narrative are also considered requiring the dependency of effects of emotionalization to send meanings to audiences (Delgado 1998). It is very significant that Wong's sitcom approach to form NGEW with the aim of inducing sympathy of audience toward the troubles, sufferings and anxieties of characters:

> However, in the form of comedy, the suffering of victims can be exaggerated, which does not mean to get the compassionate tears of the audience, but to generate the laughter coming from a kind of sympathy from audiences when the workers are forced to meet some unreasonable and ridiculous demands… (Interview with Wong, 11 February 2015, translated by author).

The attention to the text therefore should return to a particular conceptualization to deliberately evaluate the production of emotions before the sympathetic reading of audience, especially like the disassembly of text in this study whose pivot is composed of emotional meanings of anxiety. To do so, we should track, in detailed way, how the text constructs a particular racial relation through the configuration of racialized anxiety. Notice that the reason to take the affective narrative analytical method, from E. Deidre Pribram's cultural emotion study—*Emotions, Genre, Justice in Film and Television: Detecting Feeling* (2011), is mainly because the operation of anxiety in NGEW needs a specific theoretical engagement for 'valuating and appreciating the multiple purposes of emotion in popular texts' (p. 71).

In her book, given that Raymond William's (2009b) notion of structure of feeling—an emotion is not only an individual and inner phenomenon but a collective cultural experience, Pribram then suggests a cultural perspective that emotions are products of social sharing and historical development which rely on the construction and communication of mass media. To recognize the effect of emotions in a text effectively, Pribram further considers that the question we ask should not be what these emotions are but be what they have done, by following Ahmed's (2004) insistence on the work of emotions—how emotions create, fix and change the position of a subject and the identity in a society. Interestingly, Pribram's argument therefore frees us from the past interpretation of emotions in television and films concentrating on the concept that emotions are limited to physical or psychological inner phenomena of individuals, and then makes it possible to view

emotions as a significant approach to social interaction, with which we are able to organize the meanings among people, stories, and experiences. In this sense, the circulation of emotions is the possibility to build up the inter-individual relations and the relations between individuals and social structures.

The method with which Pribram deploys to conduct an affective narrative analysis is a multidiscursive narrative task engaging with the representation of emotions; it requires an analysis of social imaginary of racial relation at the same time as it accounts for specific structures of feeling (2011, p. 71). In doing so it carefully evaluates how media like television and films conceptualize emotions represented only by means of certain particularized narratives and cultural contexts (p. 2). To theorize the specific narrative of NGEW Pribram's usage of *cultural signposts*[6] should be introduced first. As a key conceptualizing tool, cultural signpost is the assemblage of generic signs provided by a text. In this assemblage how *social imaginary* operates is to unceasingly, and affectively, redefines the social imagination of audience on their social belief, behavior and context during the process of representation. Only through analyzing the particular social imaginary of social relation, we can explore the structure of feeling, to identify the cultural discourse manipulated by a certain emotional meaning. For Pribram,

> the circulation of structure of feeling—of cultural widespread complexes of emotion—is a means by which social relations are negotiated and exchanged. I would add that because social relation never occur beyond or outside of social difference, structure of feeling are also a means by which power circulate, establishing and reestablishing its discrepancies (2011, p. 41).

What's more, on the level of cultural politics, as Pribram's insistence, studying structure of feeling helps us not merely to discover that the process for it to function and circulate will organize and re-organize social relations, but to evaluate the power relation derived from social differences, such as the general difference of gender, class, race, etc., more subtly when we try to deconstruct such hidden relation of feelings.

Methodologically speaking, an affective narrative perspective will be applied to chart the specific structure of feeling in NGEW to study interracial dynamics between ethnic Chinese and EM group. In the following part, the textual analysis will convert various subplots, or what I call events of change of anxiety, into the

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[6]Following Gledhill and Williams (2000) original concept of 'cultural signpost,' Pribram outlines the relationship between genres and cultures by defining it as a process of negotiation in which 'media fictions circulate in society, supplying generic signs as cultural signposts.' It thus enables genres to articulate in societies as aesthetic questions. This process is described as formulating of a social imaginary, whereby 'reality is discursively shaped and a resulting 'social imaginary' becomes materially and aesthetically concrete in the form of a specific film, television, or other text' (Downing and Husband 2005, p. 50).

cultural signposts for interrogating the complex and intricate racial interaction. It helps to open up a space for discussing the changing social imaginary of race/ethnicity in popular culture of Hong Kong.

6.5 Anxiety Is an Everyday Affect

As a TV drama which vividly portrays the daily anxieties of employees, NGEW is penetrated by multiple and configured anxieties, but it does not display the anxieties in a form with high intensity continuously due to its comedic nature. Among the twenty-one episodes, the light anxieties of the characters intermittently emerge in a mutative form.

Anxiety, a feeling of uncomfortableness including nervousness, fear and worry to the coming events that may happen shortly, in NGEW has not reached the clinical level like anxiety disorders[7]; NGEW tends to normalize anxieties in it in order to make them a part of everyday emotion and circulation among the interaction between characters. It is exactly because these anxieties are recognizable easily so the anxieties develop their mediated functions during social interaction, as a form of symbolic interaction. In other words, the feeling of anxiety is an everyday affect. As the characters of NGEW move back and forth, lingering between the working and non-working time in their everyday life and encountering certain difficulties or crises that are 'going to happen' or 'being happening,' they display the emotional reaction such as worry, nervousness and stress. Anxiety is evident in narrative of NGEW as shown in the form of flurry, embarrassment, sighs and dialogues between characters. Under this condition, the textual meanings and generic signs liberated from them may allow audiences to keep up with the 'disruption' in Wong's sitcom perspective, and the specific reason and influence of anxieties, and the varied pattern of anxiety, which will be discussed in detail later.

Once we ask 'what emotions do to people' (Pribram 2011, p. 2), anxieties in the text should not be assumed to be a feeling of discomfort only; but, its circulation does work to re-frame the interracial relation among characters. Especially, when Interpal, as a conductor of such an emotion, has an ability to release-or-recharge anxieties of other characters repetitively. This affective activity, or phenomenon, can be realized only through the ways of racialization and enables a tendency of shift to circulate anxieties in the text. Also, it continuously posits characters in an interplaying emotional association (to affect and to be affected) rather than only observing how characters respond to the appearance of anxiety. If we ponder this question from the narrative perspective of Downing and Husband (2005), how the

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[7]Notice that the characters in NGEW do not have symptoms of excessive anxiety as patients who contract anxiety disorders influencing the functionality of their daily life (National Institute of Mental Health 2015). Keeping this in mind, this study does not attempt to understand the represented emotions related to anxieties in the clinical categorization and symptoms of anxiety disorders.

problematic framing of racialized anxiety notes something unsaid and out of frame may be considered as (or more) important in representing 'ethnicity' or 'race' as what is said. To examine how emotional registers are possibly racialized, the affective narrative analysis will focus on the racialized structure of anxiety that is able to reconstruct racial relation. In the following, I chart the dominant textual events in NGEW by tracking the moments of charging and releasing anxieties, in order to perform an affective narrative analysis for an understanding of how this TV show manages the racial other, along with different discursive and affective moments.

6.6   Problematizing EM's Localness with Access to Cantoneseness

With the belief that 'the God of Wealth has no racial discrimination,' (episode3: scene6), Interpal comes back to Hong Kong where one Indian has won the Six-Mark. To him, it is a place that harbors his 'Hong Kong Dream.' In order to pave a smooth start for his Hong Kong life, Interpal resolutely shaves his beard which carries sacred connotation in his culture, for he considers that such action can help a non-Chinese to have an acceptable look in the local working environment. Facing Steve's shock on his action which seemingly violates his own religious belief, Interpal firmly says, 'What does it matter? As long as I can get the job and my mother won't find out, everything is fine. What matters is to get the job!'(episode3: scene13) The scene of shaving, instead of being focused on the image of a shaved 'brown face' (Leung, forthcoming), should be considered as an 'emotional action,' in Pribram's words, entwined an affective investment of Interpal's hope and interest to the interview, also that of his wish to erase his otherness in the local workplace. Unluckily, this investment and the confidence from his best preparation do not grant Interpal the success in getting the job because of some unexpected weakness.

In the interview scene, Interpal's remarkable multilingual ability is affirmed by the director of the community center where a community assistant officer is needed: 'I know you are multilingual. You can speak languages like Chinese, Hindi and English, right? I believe you will be a fast learner who can pick up the job easily.' However, Interpal eventually fails. Interpal exudes sweat and gets anxious when facing the foreseeable failure—He is required to take note for a call made by an elderly resident whose non-local dialect cannot be fully understood by him. Although the director looks satisfied while listening Interpal's oral report, she is shocked to see the 'note' composed of pictures drawn by Interpal. This 'picturesque' note reveals Interpal's inability to write Chinese:

Director: 'What's that? Oh my god, you don't know Chinese?'

Interpal: 'No, I can do it! I can! I'm good at that!'

Director: 'You can do it? How can you do it?' (episode3: scene14).

It is quite clear that this scene exhibits the institutional racism. Despite the fact that Interpal correctly reports the resident's inquiry without writing down a Chinese character, Interpal still fails to get the job due to the director's requirement for the capability of writing Chinese. Indeed, some audiences might consider such a scene realistic, for this example can generally reflect the racial disadvantage and discrimination against EM applicants when it comes to the choice of jobs (HKHeadline, 9 July 2012, Macao Daily, 19 June 2012, Press Teen, 16 August 2012). Furthermore, this exhibition of institutional racism does initiate Interpal's anxiety in the story, in which his incomplete access to Chinese becomes the charger of anxiety about job hunting; more significantly, it operates to racialize his anxiety, when Interpal feels frustrated after he has realized the direct but negative linkage between being an EM and getting a decent job offered in the world with an overwhelming majority of Chinese. At this discursive moment, the affective narrative begins to run and inaugurates the way to release such racially conditioned anxiety in the rest of story, where Interpal immediately returns to the Indian communities and is benefited from its ethnic networking.

After failing in the interview, Interpal has a reunion with his fellowmen on the street, one of whom perceives his worry, referring him to be the private driver for a rich widow, Mrs. Szema. For privacy's sake, Mrs. Szema wishes to have a driver who cannot understand Chinese/Cantonese so Interpal pretends to understand no Chinese/Cantonese accordingly in order to be qualified. However, when he overhears the conversation between Mrs. Szema's boyfriend, Dickson, and his friends, he discovers that Dickson actually targets nothing but Mrs. Szema's wealth in their relationship. Almost at the same time, finding out that Interpal actually knows Cantonese, Dickson threatens to blow his cover but concurrently bribes him into silence. Trapped in the dilemma, Interpal pours out his trouble to Steve. Upon describing his worry and struggle, Interpal uses the words like 'doom' or 'fierce inner conflict' (天人交戰) to make his anxiety concrete (episode4: scene13). On the one hand, he is reluctant to lose the hard-earned job; on the other, the action of deception will be the disobedience to the will of (Sikhism) God. This dilemma shows that Interpal's anxiety is recharged by his ethnic identity (a religious register), because without this particular consideration, Interpal in fact needs only to think about how to keep his job, instead of dealing with such unique and specific struggle. At the end of the episode, Interpal is fired, for Mrs. Szema gets to know his liar face (regarding language ability) before he has the chance to uncover Dickson's scheme.

In fact, the bumpy job-seeking path, as an affective narrative figuration, tries to naturalize that the disadvantage of EM dai-gong-zai due to their own poor access of Chinese language and religious practice. In doing so, it diffuses the possible racial exclusion EMs may face in the Chinese-dominant workplace. What's more, what these cultural signposts implies is not solely the illustration of Interpal's failure and anxiety in the job market resulting from his own linguistic and religious difficulties, but also the discomfort coming from his problematized identity (or, psychologically speaking, the distress induced by the failure of his investment) that recharges his anxiety. Besides, what suddenly dawns on him is that he is not a local and that as a

member of so-called EMs he cannot smoothly live and work at the local communities as he previously has believed.

It is just the way of NGEW characterizing Interpal in the beginning. The disappointment generated by his anxious experience also functions as a shift for Interpal to turn to work the jobs associated with the local EM communities in the rest of the plotline.

6.7 Converting Shum Shui Po into a 'Racially-Easy Space'

This part will discuss how the change of anxieties in Interpal's experience of being a scrap dealer in Shum Shui Po transforms that poor district into a cultural signpost of a 'racially-friendly' local space that allows the daily interracial dynamics to be produced in a favorable face. Ethnic Chinese as well as South Asians, as carriers or as odd job men waiting and vying for jobs on the streets of Shum Shui Po are represented along with the storyline of Interpal's encounter. Depicted as a particular space for EM communities, Shum Shui Po serves as the spot for Interpal to meet his countrymen, to work as a scrap dealer, to run juice shop and to be forced work in his cousin's trading company. In fact, Wong chooses Shum Shui Po as the major exterior (7 out of 21 episodes) exactly because it is a site which can illustrate EMs' vivid, positive and diligent images with the sense of reality. Her choice nevertheless gives us chance to question of the racialization of space.

Here, we first need to see how NGEW makes Shum Shui Po a specific workplace where embodies different kinds of signifiers of anxiety. At the beginning of episode 5, after Alex delightfully narrates 'I am more or less put ashore safely but to some people, it is extremely hard to get ashore, for they do not even see their first boat,' the camera-narrator then cuts into Shum Shui Po where some South Asian carriers working on the street. The following shot shows that Interpal strives for an odd job among some EMs and Chinese (as interactional signifier) but fails. With a melancholic face (as bodily signifier), he says, 'No job can be gotten and no money can be made. The only thing can be done is to eat curry with rice' (as verbal signifier). Green with envy, he looks hard at the working South Asians, turning away with disappointment (as signifiers of sense and emotion). Notice that NGEW emphasizes the fact that the textual anxieties come from his constant unemployment, but not yet makes Shum Shui Po a site gathering anxiety, because at least, other EMs and Chinese get employed there. However, the change of Interpal's anxiety later makes us rediscover how NGEW further develops its racial discourse embodied at the space of Shum Shui Po.

From an Indian dealer, Interpal gets to know that there is a booming market for selling used electronic appliances from Hong Kong to India, which inspires him to be a scrap dealer. Fortunately, with the earning, Interpal's face is lightened and he is

released from the stress of being jobless, and then he turns to set a stall on the street without a legal license. In reality this kind of illegal activity is truly common in that area and the government would rarely take any legal action. The change of Interpal's anxiety does not merely display Shum Shui Po as a place full of (unofficial) opportunities of making money without any racial discrimination, but also represents how it exhibits a 'favorable' discourse of interracial relationship. In despite of the fact that Interpal does oil his words and exaggerate the functions while promoting the goods, he still succeeds in selling things to local Chinese. The inflated selling skill earns him the first income and makes him the Indian who sells some extraordinary goods. This image of a magical and popular Indian is reinforced by the promoting jokes which are formed with Indian cultural signifiers:

> Interpal: 'This heater is really cheap. A hundred. Take a try. Only for one minute, it gets hotter than the weather in India!'

> Interpal: 'This cheap toaster only costs forty. Put one piece of toast in it, and it only takes thirty seconds to make it a piece of 'bok beng' (Indian chapati)!' (episode5: scene10).

The way of Interpal's promotion consists of racial signs, which range from the mysterious air (novel products), the specific climate (hot) to exotic food ('bok beng'); it reifies the salesman's Indian identity but, notably, the reification produces some textual meanings, or 'effects' in Pribram's word. They not only make Interpal's racial difference prominent but also 'comedize' Interpal's misconduct as a racially-easy practice. Interpal makes the doubtful selling skill work because, as a comedian figure, his exotic air makes himself entertaining and turns his racial difference beneficially as 'racial commodity' to serve or cheat Chinese costumers. These racial commodities entertain his customers (the audience as well) and give him the room to perform his humorous face. This affective operation under this change of anxiety offers racialization a chance to provide the possible paradox (Interpal cheats his consumers) to be replaced by racial commodities. The racialized operation at the same time forms a peaceful, favorable and reciprocal discourse of interracial dynamic which meets the interests of both sides. Thus, in the process of releasing Interpal's anxiety, displaying Interpal's cheerful body turns out to animate Shum Shui Po, which originally is a place full of underemployed and anxious people, as a 'racially-easy space'[8] for people of different races to find working opportunities, or hopes, to survive the urban jungle. Now, Shum Shui Po becomes imaginable as an inclusive workplace where more interracial encounters are promising in the following plotline.

To conclude, in the configuration of the 'racially-easy space,' presenting Shum Shui Po as a place of daily interracial encounters with less anxiety and more amiability to Interpal and EM employees informs the social imaginary of EM's

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[8]The term of 'the racially-easy space' I made is inspired by the concept of 'racially dis-eased corpus' Sianne Ngai gave in her affect study, *Ugly Feelings* (2005). It is used to describe the black female protagonist in *Quicksand* easily affected by different kinds of light-intensity irritation once her body is situated into various interracial (White and Black) public space. Here, I turn to theorize the place where Interpal feels less anxious of being unemployed with the faint hope I questioned.

urban survival; such configuration can only offer the 'faint hope' for EM's social integration in the lower ranked occupational sphere, exposing the fact that the ease for other racial groups in a Chinese-dominant society is a racist logic of inclusive othering, like what Erni (2016) terms an illegal and informal form of cultural racism in Hong Kong as the politics of 'being included-out'.

6.8 Problematizing the Intra-racial Relationships

Yet, if we read the text on the narrative dimension, it can be found that for the stereotype whose formation relying on a single, static and fixed signification can hardly offer the analysis on the narrative full of anxieties (Downing and Husband 2005, p. 28). What will be discussed are the events displaying below is that the construction of local EM community as an interactive, negotiating or even a contestable social group, and emphasizing the reciprocity and conflicts within the intra-racial relationship with a conscious effort.

In NGEW, evaluating the intra-racial encounters among EMs does not be set a priority when it comes to the (profitable) interest for Interpal, or for the intra-racial relationship itself. On the contrary, the so-called ethnic solidarity is often challenged, but contextually problematized in the plotline. In the section, I will convert the event of running the business of illegal taxi into a cultural signpost grounded on law-and-order on the one hand; and the event of running a juicy shop into a cultural signpost based on ethnic capital on the other.

For understanding the law-breaking scene in NGEW, Pribrum's (2011, p. 50) cultural emotion study on justice genres does remind us that the generic configuration in the law-breaking event can invoke contested social identities in which 'a range of different agents participate, representing aesthetic, cultural, and ideological factors. These textual elements are generically organized into a fictional version and returned to the social world as affective experience and moral perceptions'. Therefore, for contextualizing the judicial and moral discourse for Wong's insistence—'even though life is hard, no action against the laws should be taken,' NGEW requires a 'proper' place from the social institution in reality in order to advocate how EMs can be adherent to Hong Kong society.

How Steve's anxiety can be reloaded is mainly because of Wong's treatment of Interpal's ethnic capital under such particular legal/moral discourse that audience can articulate easily with. After the failing of his business as a scrap dealer, Interpal figures out another way of moneymaking—illegal taxi—by using Steve's beloved car and invites him to be his business partner. There are two reasons persuade Steve to invest into this illegal business: (1) the deployment of Interpal's ethnic capital, i.e., EM's intra-racial network as a kind of economic resource, secure him from being disclosed by other Chinese citizens. Thus, it clears up Steve's misgiving that the business may be found by the police, as Interpal says so, 'Don't worry. All passengers I carry are from my country, people of my own! Chill out, it's profitable' (episode8: scene7). In fact, the saying of Interpal is based on a kind of ethnic

solidarity of Indian communities he assumes will guarantee his illegal business to escape the surveillance of legal system ruled by the Chinese majority. (2) This profitable business can free him from the suffering caused by Steve's superior, Violet, and his boss Sam (Stephen Au), who both suspend his promotion again. Steve feels disappointed with the ingratitude of the company to him and worries that he has no future in GOTECH: 'the promising index of this company to me is negative. It treats me heartlessly; I treat it with no loyalty…' (episode9: scene13). Therefore, such illegal business becomes Steve's only way-out. In the narrative, Interpal's ethnic capital somehow releases his anxiety gotten rom GOTECH, but then recharge it back.

When Steve accomplishes his first deal, singing elatedly with Interpal, the undercover policewoman arrests them red-handed for violating the law. Caught by an Indian, Interpal feels stunned and ashamed:

> Interpal: 'Being caught by whoever is better than being arrested by my countryman. Indeed, lose my face!'

> Indian policewoman: 'Making money with illegal method hardly can save your face. There is some citizen who cannot bear your breaking the law and then report you!' (episode9: scene16).

In fact, this unfortunate but funny narrative implicitly operates through a kind of struggle between Chinese majority and EMs over the normative order. Through demonstrating a set of dichotomic, but racialized value—legality (the public interest built on the rules of fair competition) versus illegality (the private interest produced by the reciprocal relations from Interpal). Notably, the laws appearing in NGEW do not forgive those who break the law; whoever makes a mistake only can accept the bad result, including this kind of intra-racial business. Thus, the tendency of releasing anxiety depends on the existing moral standard. For recharging anxiety, the Indian policewoman, who represents the agent of law, aims at highlighting the idea of racial equality in terms of the equal punishment. All in all, this judicial/moral discourse may comfort the audiences by their identity being the majority, since this cultural signpost of illegal use of ethnic capital also gives a warning that the way-out for EMs to earning a life should be submitted to the legal system that preserves the less visible but existing Chinese-favor economic order as well.

Anxieties, now, form an oscillogram becoming clearly descriptive and drawable at the discursive moments of being released and recharged. After failing to make money via the illegal business, Steve still needs to conquer his anxiety about the faint future in GOTECH. Then, in episode 10, Steve (as a boss) starts up a juice shop business with Interpal (as a manager), in order to earn him respect and money. To Steve, Interpal is a good partner in the sense of being the free capital of starting a business. It includes the ability of Interpal (being jobless but smart), the featured drink Mango lassi (for that Interpal can import certain kind of yogurt from Indian), and potential EM customers in Shum Shui Po (Steve desires to monopoly the market of EM costumers). As Steve hands out the leaflets to EMs in this neighborhood, it introduces the EM villain—Interpal's elder cousin—Raja (Singh Bitto).

Steve: 'My friend, take a try. Our juice is the genuine Lassi from India'.

Raja and his Indian fellows: 'You sell Lassi?'

Steve: 'Of course. You can chat with your people in our store with the language you are familiar with and drink the tasty drink. Shooting two birds with one stone, right?' (episode11: scene2).

Thus, the racial difference Interpal carries can be understood as Steve's interest, but when Raja finally catches up Interpal, he forces him to work at his trading company, in the name of caretaker for Interpal's mother. When Interpal refuses to work under his wings for Raja's harsh offer, Raja then threatens him with this particular connection of kinship, saying, 'If you don't agree, I will book the ticket to invite your mother here.' After that, Interpal cannot help but agree. From this example, the consanguinity added in NGEW shows that even ethnically-close network between relatives is not necessarily beneficial to all; instead, it may wrap certain percentage of intra-racial exploitation. As what Mathews (2011) has observed in his anthropological work, many local Indians in Chungking Mansion will provide illicit jobs to exploit those newcomers who are their relatives. Nevertheless, this kin reunion between Interpal and Raja is added as an unexpected turning point to reload Steve's anxiety in his start-up business. In this cultural signpost of varying anxiety, it turns Interpal's intra-racial relationship 'in interest' (that Steve expected) over to that 'in conflict' (that Steve suffers in).

Lack of Interpal's support, Steve's business gets slack and recharges his anxiety to the foreseeable failure. For instance, Steve works simultaneously at the juice shop and GOTECH. His everyday anxiety is shown on his tiring face and the dilemma of being stuck in the position of being an employer and an employee at the same time. Steve's anxiety is here indirectly relayed through the anticipant benefit of having Interpal and his ethnic capital. Working anxiety is therefore never far from the various forms of anxiety provoked by racial difference.

In the parallel, once Interpal tries many times for getting rid of the control of Raja, Raja takes the authority from Interpal's mother as his bargaining power. For example, knowing that Steve traps him to fire Interpal, Raja immediately brings some elders (in Indian attire) to the juice shop to accuse him of not helping his kin and warns to boycott their business. Although Interpal complains about Raja's exploitation, Raja still wins the elders' heart with the reason of 'caring about the outsiders only'. In the end, Interpal is taken away by Raja while being blamed by the elders. To recharge anxieties for Steve and Interpal, NGEW seems to turn the intra-racial relationship into an overbearing and oppressive cultural signpost.

Now, it is worthy to discuss the effect of othering from NGEW's emotionally troublous figuration of the intra-racial relationships from the abovementioned subplots. Critically speaking, on the one hand, when Interpal finds his intra-racial network as a profitable business, NGEW portrays it as a kind of troublesome effect of racial difference, for the intra-racial business will threaten the public interest and order; thus, the form of business can only be operated in an illegal way. What kind of othering provoked by this judicial/moral discourse is that the intra-racial zone may provide refuge on the surface, but it is also a site for disciplining the racial

other. On the other hand, NGEW seems to proactively render the racial solidarity of Indian EM group a conflictive site. However, carefully speaking, what emotional meaning this narrative provokes repeatedly makes the intra-racial solidarity of EM group a self-isolation from the local community. This self-isolation seems to deliver the message about the difficulties at promoting a multicultural public life.

6.9   The Affective Figuration of Ethnic Troublemaker

An overwhelming cultural signpost among others for NGEW is how the text all-roundly turns the comedic figure, Interpal into an ethnic troublemaker. As the plot goes by, the interweaving events generate more and more anxieties. Near the end of the story, the last crisis in the plot overweights all the main characters with anxiety. Alex feels extremely stressful and worried about the nearly completed project ES, which can save GOTECH from bankruptcy and his colleagues from losing jobs, but Alex's bad temper distances himself from his subordinates and wife at the crucial moment. While everything is against Alex, he gets drunk with Steve and Interpal, joking at selling ES to release their emotional burden. With the hope of Alex to get the reward of his hardworking, Interpal sells ES's copy to the black market. This scene is typical for a troublemaker, for Interpal at this moment destroys the nearly completed project of Alex, pushing the story to the climax before the ending. In other words, Interpal's good will does not produce any effect to release Alex's anxiety; instead, the ethnic specificities, his commonsense, his hairy body and his religion Interpal carries trigger anxiety and fear throughout the following three recharging phases: (1) Alex and Steve get nervous when knowing the fact that Interpal sold ES, and then tell him that selling GOTECH's property is a commercial crime for three of them. They madly explain how serious the situation is to Interpal:

> Steve: 'We are done. Now we will be put into prison! My inmates.'

> Interpal: 'Hey, isn't ES your invention? You have the absolute right to decide where it goes, right?'

> Alex: 'Damn it. It is your partial understanding. Only the lyricists have the complete copyright of one's creation. All our inventions belong to GOTECH. We have nothing, my boss!' (episode19: scene13).

This nervous scene demonstrates Interpal's lack of the sense of how local companies work regarding copyright issue, for he has never been employed by any company. (2) The three get to a sauna club to redeem ES, but the gangster head, Keung (the buyer), rejects them. Therefore, the three disguise themselves as massage girls to serve him who closes his eyes waiting. While Alex and Steve get ES's copy, Keung sees through their trick because he touches the furry legs of Interpal, which displays his unique but hindered racially-bodily feature. Caught on the spot, the three worry more about the difficulty of getting ES back and their safety. (3) They can finally redeem it at the doubled price from Keung, but Alex has to

secretly mortgage his house for ransom because he knows that his wife, Ling, will definitely report their crime to GOTECH accordingly. Unfortunately, when seeing Interpal prays and waits Alex outside the mortgage company, Ling forces Interpal to confess by his Sikhism: 'Still tell a tall tale? I saw you praying. If you lie in your throat, you will not get the blessing from your God!'. Stuck in the dilemma between his loyalty for religion and that for his friends, Interpal's anxiety which has been released for the seeable solution is suddenly recharged. Although they can get ES back, Ling's threat will put them in another crisis.

Importantly, we find that the happening of these incidents and anxieties is not much because of Interpal's stupidity, but because of his ethnic difference that are once natural, and even positive in the previous plotline. For instance, being smart Interpal has made money in commercial world with his cleverness, he is proud of the hairy body that renders him the quality of 'Spartan masculine', and his honesty cultivated by his Sikhism belief is appreciated by his friends. These all of sudden become the source for making troubles to lead the unexpected crisis and thus the process of recharging anxiety. So, analytically, the comedic figuration of Interpal is no longer race-irrelevant like what Wong insists on whatever ethnicities, or nationalities, can cast such role of troublemaker. By tracking the circulation of anxiety, Wong's model of troublemaker in (the affective) reality needs to be deeply racialized through QBoBo's performance.

Moreover, with Pribram's idea of emotional action, the textual function triggered by this ethnic troublemaker along with unexpected but emotive 'effects' that correlates with the troubles and 'processes' to otherize the ethnic figure itself, while these troubles Interpal made largely depend on his ethnic capital. The othering effect yielded by the process of recharging anxiety, I found here, entails the 'un-intentionality' of Wong's model of troublemaker a deeply racialized cultural signpost—an *ethnic figuration of troublemaker*—in which racial differences tend to be performed to produce the favorable but troublous emotional encounters to the Chinese majority under the kindhearted, comedic mask. Therefore, representing Interpal's racial difference generates the social imaginary of racial other, whose daily encounters presents disruptively, abnormally and uncomfortably along the story plot centering at the Chinese leading character, but somehow challenges the norm of their world.

6.10   Conclusion: Sweetened Trouble and Sugarcoated Racism

This affective narrative analysis shows that the emergence of ethnic characters with detailed figuration in the popular culture can mainly be attributed to the significant events which firstly lead a contingent shift, even slightly, on the TV production and

then on the cultural figuration of racial relation. It also points out that from the new context we understand how race politics in Hong Kong popular culture has recently changed.

Instead of once again relegating EMs as invisible neighbor, under the discourse of pseudo-racial harmony insisted by Lo (2008, p. 60)—'in a place where over-crowding can be easily exacerbating racial antagonism perhaps pretending not to see the existence of ethnic others may create a more peaceful public sphere'. The text strives to refine racial relations on a basis of the close interracial dynamics of the friendship between EMs and their Chinese friends. NGEW works to reassert the everyday anxieties, with the awareness that the unprivileged condition and troubles related to EM da-gong-zai as filtered through racial difference, turning the latter into something unavoidable within interracial dynamics in everyday life of this city. What the case of NGEW shows is putting the 'invisible neighbor' onto the inescapable and favorable urban encounter, but under the popular discourse of sugarcoated racism, will be elaborated.

The 'soft sell' approach for producing a cultural discourse of racial harmony in the commercial TV is now noteworthy. The popularity of QBoBo's comedic performance in TVB and Wong's good intention both make positive portrayals for EMs to roll out the comedic figuration of ethnic troublemaker:

> When doing research, I do take RTHK's documentaries as my reference but RTHK's style is a direct and 'hard sell' of facts to audience. What I want is to use the comedy to do the 'soft sell,' because every episode is to bring the audience an impression, an acknowledgement…I do not intend to put the feather in my own cap. All I want to do is just dig out the good faces of ethnic minorities. When the audience see the representation and come to realize that the representation is an actual fact, they will change their attitude and offer more tolerance and understanding (Interview with Wong, 11 February 2015, translated by author).

In this way, Interpal in NGEW offers the commercial broadcasting arena a 'soft' appeal to appreciating the struggles and hardship experienced by EMs (this strategy in some extent positively recognizes EMs' diligent and harmless existence that QBoBo longs to achieve). Therefore, the structure of feeling the text evokes is a kind of sweetened trouble, that aims to 'move' people emotionally (Williams 2009a). When the discourse in TVB on racial harmony was codified into concrete cultural signposts that become the 'felt, experienced reality,' at least from a speculative point of view of the receiving audience, then, in Raymond Williams' words (2009b), a certain social identification with EMs holds out the prospect of making sense of their largely unacknowledged existence. Mapping out the particular affective reality, my analysis is not merely a content analysis, but a contextual analysis that I attempt to locate these historical and social discourses of racial harmony at the new context for EM, if any, demanding recognition.

Back to the problem of race representation in Hong Kong media, however, Erni and Leung (2014, p. 63) figure out a pattern to depict South Asian: negative stereotypes have long determined the cultural image of EMs, where 'the commercial logic of media production justifies the ritualistic negative and comical portrayal of South Asians as voyeuristic gaze of the majority', from the figure of

funny Filipina maid from the reality show *I am Maria* (1988) in the 90s to the recent rise of QBoBo. However, the finding of my analysis on the ideas of ethnic troublemaker and sweetened trouble is not too far away, but indeed with an important difference, a particular form of racial othering.

In NGEW, the sweetened trouble as a structure of feeling insists that the troubles caused by Interpal's racial difference does not simply look negative, even if it always conduces his own and his friends' anxieties. The narrative works as a reminder asking for audience's sympathy for EMs who face the hardship to settle in Hong Kong by acknowledging Interpal's troublous life and urban experience for surviving because of his ethnicity. Thus, the affective reality structured by the sweetened trouble can also be understood as the way for Chinese audience[9] to feel and to be connected with a kind of ethnic diversity that they seldom encounter on TV, or in local popular culture at large. Yet, the problem behind the sweetened trouble is the 'sugarcoated racism,' which is a form of racial othering not taken in the reproduction of stereotypes, but is a racial framing that positions the racial other in the status of a troublemaker and a fool along with lightened anxieties. In the sugarcoated framing, when the Indian actor QBoBo and the producer repeatedly make the sweetened trouble a 'soft sell,' this comedic mode of visuality may limit South Asians' endeavor for cultural visibility.

Finally, this race study of TV drama reveals a cultural shift of understanding EMs' existence in Hong Kong popular culture. The significance of televisual emotions serves as a valuable endeavor to understand particular forms of popular racialization that 'sugarcoats' different racisms in the cover of sympathy toward EMs' anxieties.

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[9]For the audience's self-reflection, such racial framing can help us to rethink how audience experience the emotional meaning of anxiety offered by NGEW. There is no doubt that it has portrayed da-gong-zai's hardship and anxiety of living in Hong Kong, but the kind of factors that can cause these crises and its related anxieties are the sugarcoated troublemaking of Interpal due to his racial difference. However, Steve and Alex seemingly work hard for their career and living that the capitalist value they carry and have seldom been judged in the story. More questionably, how to soften or to release the racial charged anxieties for the audience also needs Interpal's humorous performance that have made fun with his racial difference. Thus, as an audience, the way I feel good or I am being sympathetic with the process charging and discharging anxiety is crucial for our reflection on such sugarcoated racism.

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Chapter 7
Happy Campers: "All About Us" and Self-representation

John Nguyet Erni and Louis Ho

7.1 Introduction

On a clear autumn day, the teenage participants for "All About Us" went to the Jockey Club Tai Tong Holiday Camp to learn about how to make videos to express themselves. After they settled down in their dormitory, they were assembled in the main hall for the first briefing. Eagerness, restlessness, and anticipation were in the air, particularly for the first-timers, some of them as young as fourteen years old. The facilitators, which included the organizers, the social workers, the artists responsible for teaching creative video-making, and the university students acting as tutors, were keen to present a new idea for the camp. In previous camps, the participants were in free play, generating their own ideas for the video exercises. But after four years, the organizers wanted to try a new approach, by introducing an overarching theme. They pulled out a board, on which was written:

> A person smiles and laugh when he or she feels happy, for example, when seeing a person whom he/she likes, cares and loves, tasting favorite food, playing favorite sport, or listening to favorite music. At the same time, a person cries when he or she feels sad, for example, when failing a test or examination, arguing with friends or parents, or losing some important things. This subjective feeling is a unique expression of desires since everyone has their own expression of emotions. In general, emotion is a subjective and conscious experience of a person who has a physical and psychological reaction and feeling to a particular event, person, or moment. It is a very personal and direct response to the everyday surrounding. Through making a short film with emotion as a theme, it provides a medium for a person to tell a personal story or experience, which is a process of getting to

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know more about him or herself. As the film is made by a group of students, it is also a great chance for the group members to tell stories to each other and hence to find something common among them.

Specifically, eight types of emotions were proposed to the student groups as foci for their films: Happiness, Sadness, Shame, Pride, Fear, Anger, Affection, Hatred. They were identified as typical enough emotions experienced by ordinary teenagers. And as ethnic minorities (hereafter EM), feelings of shame, pride, or anger might carry prominent meanings.

This essay serves as an introduction and review of All About Us (hereafter AAU), which according to our research, is the sole community-based programme in Hong Kong to date that is dedicated to creative visual expression of minority ethnic feelings. AAU can be said to be a flagship programme of the ifva (Incubator for Film & Visual Media in Asia) of the Hong Kong Arts Centre. Its debut was in 2010. According to ifva, the idea was brought up by a local video artist who wanted to shoot a movie about ethnic minority prisoners in Hong Kong. During the research process, the artist discovered that there were many ethnic minorities living in New Territories North, especially in Tin Shui Wai. Most of them were not so familiar with the media. Later, due to limited resource, the artist had no choice but to give up this idea. Ifva learned of the idea and found it a meaningful project campaign by asking youth to express themselves through the media channel. The birth of AAU carried with it three major goals. First, by providing EM youth with appropriate cultural resources especially in visual media, the programme aims to empower them to find their own narrative voice. Second, the project aims to provide EM with some basic knowledge and technical skills of production, which would in part help lay the foundation for their future career development in the media. The third goal is to use AAU as a platform for developing mutual respect and understanding between EM and Hong Kong Chinese. The main format of AAU is a 3-day-2-night Orientation and Creative Camp, through which basic creative and filming skills and knowledge, and even acting skills, are transmitted from the teaching artists who are the professional local filmmakers but also enjoy the process of team building with the aid of social workers from Life Workshop. Participants in small groups would produce creative short videos (of about 5–20 min long) under the guidance of the teaching artists. The Camp ends with a screening. Afterwards, ifva organizes screening tours to local schools to promote the creative talents and messages of ethnic feelings and harmony. In addition, ifva also publishes as an education kit to distribute for free to schools, so that teachers may adopt the kit to discuss issues about racial harmony with students, and eventually help students learn about EM life in Hong Kong.

In this essay, we endeavor to showcase AAU chiefly as an institutional form for facilitating ethnic minority cultural participation. Our goal is twofold: to situate AAU in the larger global awareness for the elevation of ethnic minority's cultural participation, and to showcase some of the works of the participants of AAU through textual readings of selected video pieces in order to better illuminate the connection between minority identity and affects.

7.2 "The Right to Culture" Through Cultural Participation

Article 27 of the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) states: "Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits." The notion of cultural rights as enshrined in international human-rights frameworks concerning indigenous and minority cultures has spawned robust cultural participation research in Canada, Australia, France, New Zealand, Chile, Columbia, South Africa, UK, USA, and elsewhere (see Australian Council for the Arts 2010; Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes 2007; Delaney and Keaney 2006; Dirección de Regulación, Planeación, Estandarización y Normalización 2008; Eurostat 2011; Hagg 2006; Hill Strategies Research Inc. 2007; Holden 2006; National Endowment for the Arts 2009; Ogrodnik 2000; Statistical Research and Training Institute 2008). In Asia, similar research has been conducted in Singapore (National Arts Council 2009), Japan (Statistical Research and Training Institute 2011), and Hong Kong (HK Arts Development Council 2000, 2005). Research prompted by international standards coalesces around a broad argument that "the right to culture" goes well beyond the mere availability of culture to encompass the vital concerns about education, language, social service provision, geography and territory, and arts and cultural participation (Couldry 2006; Novak-Leonard et al. 2011). Besides, cultural participation can be a research and policy nexus that draws cooperation among nations, as exemplified in the CultureWatchEurope think-tank event of 2012 in Finland, where high-ranking policy makers, members of Parliament, leading researchers, and practitioners of the cultural sector discussed the Council of Europe's agenda on democratic "cultural governance," and in doing so, elevated research on cultural participation as one of key areas of strategic importance for developing democratic citizenship (see Laitio 2012).

Clarifying the meaning of cultural participation has been important, before any form of measurement and planning can be considered. The 2009 UNESCO framework for cultural statistics defines cultural participation as including "cultural practices that may involve consumption as well as activities that are undertaken within the community, reflecting quality of life, traditions and beliefs." Subsequent to its promulgation, many nations have developed their own cultural-experience research agendas, but rarely is there is mention of indicators that directly address the needs of ethnic and linguistic minorities. In fact, sub-sector participation in the arts and culture has been largely ignored in research. The unique experiences of arts and cultural participation among minorities are therefore lost, even as national and city-based cultural surveys claim the goals of enhancing creativity, quality of life, and even cultural democracy.

Interestingly, the majority of cultural participation studies to date tends to create a general, homogeneous picture of cultural participation patterns (e.g. city creativity indices, livability indices, quality of life barometers). Among the variables examined, ethnic minority status (and its variants by immigration status, refugee status,

ethnic neighborhoods, etc.) has not received sufficient attention. Some initiatives and research studies, however, do exist (e.g. Carr and Williams 1993; Floyd and Gramann 1993; Hutchison 1988; Van Wel et al. 2005). In 2012, a first "interCultureBarometer" survey conducted by the Centre for Cultural Research in Germany recommended that publicly funded cultural institutions should reflect in their repertoires of programmes the increasing interest of migrants in new art forms (Keuchel 2012). It advocated that, instead of devising a "quota system" for art based on the migrants' countries of origin, participatory approaches and inter- or transcultural mediation concepts should be adopted. In another effort in Australia, Yue et al. (2011) examined the cultural planning agenda of the city of Whittlesea at the metropolitan edge of Melbourne in order to study the impact of cultural planning on the region's multicultural communities. They argued for the development of a localized cultural-indicator framework with robust tools of measurement to account for thick narratives of multicultural participation.

In Hong Kong, the Hong Kong Arts Development Council (HKADC) commissioned a group of international researchers in 2005 to complete a report on *Hong Kong Arts and Cultural indicators*. It happened to be conducted while the Home Affairs Bureau was commissioning a study for developing a *Creativity Index*. Interestingly, the report's findings emphasized: "It is in the area of consumption and participation that the most significant policy issues arise … There is a broad consensus across the demographic groups on the actual and tangible contributions that culture and the arts make in community building, personal development … However, these high valuation rates do not translate into consumption and participation rates because a high percentage of individuals consider themselves to be either 'too busy' or 'too busy to participate more often'" (HKADC 2005, p. 12). In other words, high valuing of but low participation in the arts characterizes the local situation. The report called for "priority development of research and data capture on cultural consumption patterns and trends and attitudes to the arts and culture" and "the development of research targeted at qualitative issues relating to social impacts of the arts and culture" (p. 13). The same results and recommendations were echoed in the Hong Kong Sustainable Development Index in which respondents were asked to rank priority aspects for community well-being. It found that "arts and culture" was rated eighth out of nine categories with only 6% level of recognition. In the same Index, "cultural/ethnic diversity" was rated at the very bottom with only 4% level of recognition.

It is to the context outlined above that we believe AAU is making a visible impact. As a whole, education, let alone arts education, is sorely lacking for EM youth in Hong Kong. Young Pakistanis, Nepalese, Filipinos, and so on, face structural limitations that curb their intellectual and artistic development. In an education system that pays insufficient attention to the needs of unprivileged ethnic students, Hong Kong needs special, rigorous, sustainable arts education programmes that will empower those young people, create visibility for them, and cultivate their artistic creativity. As a modest programme, we suggest that AAU is one of those special projects that, over six years' time, has opened the door for many EM youth to receive training on video making. Each year, the programme

supports more than twenty ethnic youth, producing at least six short videos through a close mentoring system. In all, the programme has produced more than thirty short videos, which received public attention in the annual film festival organized by ifva. Public visibility, as it is coupled with a process of mentoring and community building, is what generates the sparks in the eyes of those young people. Here, film and video art becomes a powerful tool for building confidence and hope for them. In all, the AAU programme imparts more than a technical training. The special format of training camps and ethnographic participation in AAU ensures that those who participated in it gain an arts education that value originality, creativity, love of the visual culture, and most importantly, human connections in artistic endeavor. In Hong Kong, there is simply no other programme like it.

7.3 Showcasing Ethnic Feelings Through Visual Narratives

In what follows, we offer short textual readings of selected works of AAU in order to reflect on the specificity of ethnic feelings embodied in the visual narratives. In those works, ordinary teenage angst about schooling, interpersonal relationship, romance, and community life are intertwined with the very facticity of minority life, such as the kinds of spaces within which they move, the family and religious configurations, and so on. We organize our discussion around six themes:

1. Conditions for communicating affect
2. Oneness: Desiring universality
3. Authority and authenticity
4. From retribution to forgiveness
5. On happiness
6. Girls' space.

7.3.1 Conditions for Communicating Affect

When we examine the types of cast in the five videos produced in 2010, there are mother and son in *The Mother's Love*; two friends in *The True Friendship*; and there is a solo actor in *Cooking MoMo*, *Everyday*, and *Facebook Addiction*. Apart from the fact that there is more than one ethnicity of actor in *The Mother's Love* (Mother is Southeast Asian, and the son is Chinese), there is always one ethnicity per video. Besides, the story plot is always direct and simple: *The Cooking MoMo* is a video showing how to make MoMo, a traditional Nepalese food; *Everyday* has the main actor telling his daily life and encounter with friends; *Facebook Addiction* explores teenage indulgence in Facebook. These three stories are presented with

straightforward narration, amateur shooting skills and almost absent of mise-en-scene. The story of other two videos made in 2010 is candid as well with minimal dialogue. *The Mother's Love*, for example, is narrated by simple sentences and body movements. *The True Friendship* contains also only a few dialogues. Regarding the choice of background, most of the shooting scenes in *The Mother's Love*, *The Cooking MoMo*, and *Facebook Addictio*n take place at home. Choosing home as the major shooting scene actually echoes with the main themes of the works in 2010: daily life, friendship as well as relationship with family.

In 2001, five videos were made with an increasing number of actors and diversity of ethnicities: *Killer X Translator* and *U'r going to hell* both have three actors; there are even five actors in *School Idiots*. The actors' ethnicity is varied in *Killer X Translator*, *Chinese Desi Style*, and *School Idiots*. The increasing number of actors indeed creates more possibilities for storytelling: *Killer X Translator* talks about how the killer and translator cooperate to murder a person; *School Idiots* shows a series of jokes created by miscommunication. Genre of the story is also on the increase, including action (*Killer X Translator*), comedy (*School Idiots* and *U'r going to hell*), and the hybrid of comedy and horror (*U'r going to hell*). And this horror-comedy hybrid has been more common in the upcoming videos in later years. Shooting skill of this year is also largely improved: close-ups are used to depict characters' thinking moments, allowing the audience to identify with their feelings; more sound effects are injected into the videos (such as gun shooting sound). Apart from the varied dialogues in *School Idiots*, the video adds dubbing in order to make it look better as a comedy. The frame setting is more impressive than the previous works. *Chinese Desi Style*, for example, provides split screens in order to show two different cultures simultaneously. While the works in 2010 look a bit like mini-documentaries, the works in 2011 with more participants and advanced skills tell more complicated stories that carry more emotions and messages.

In 2012, the scene setting and content of the videos were further improved. This development may be the result of the increasing number of participants of the year. There are six videos in total, and each video has five to ten actors from different ethnicities.

Killer X 2 is the sequel to *Killer X Translator* in 2011. From only three actors in 2011 to ten in 2012 shows that the frame setting can be more advanced that allows more complicated mise-en-scene expressions. In *Killer X 2*, there are fighting and shooting sound effects. Also the shooting scene is expanded to the street and basketball field. The action-comedy hybrid style of the video makes us associate with the hey day of Hong Kong action-comedy movies in 1980s and 1990s.

In general, the storytelling of the videos in 2012 has been more completed and well articulated to deliver messages. *Santiago Clause*, for example, is a story about hope and transformation: with the influence of a class newcomer, the main character Santiago who is previously a class bully begins to learn how to be a more caring person. Santiago no longer bullies other classmates, and even helps those who are bullied by others. By the end of the story during Christmas time, Santiago acts as Santa Claus to give presents to those classmates whom he bullied before. The story ends by hinting the possibility of further friendship (romance) development between

Santiago and a class newcomer. The story delivers a message of hope and expectation, possibility of change, re-connection and re-establishment.

The Day After Today is Another Day, on the other hand, is an ironical story: there is a student who is always late to class and has lots of ideas in discussion with other classmates, but then, he never helps solve the problems or gives any workable idea. His classmates trust his idea at the very beginning, but everyone leaves him in the end as they realize that the protagonist never really helps but only "talk and talk" with unrealistic ideas. The protagonist never changes his bad habit. On the day of presenting the report, he still arrives late to the class. The video ends with a cyclical scene: the protagonist is still thinking of so-called "new ideas." The audience would definitely understand that the protagonist was not trying to improve except continuously giving useless ideas. This story may be read as a satire of social policies experienced by EMs that present themselves as endlessly new but are in fact vacuous.

With the continuous development of 'All about Us' program, the stories and presentation of the videos in 2013 have been more sophisticated. The videos of this year show more techniques and efforts on editing, mise-en-scene, voice-over and sound. And they generally depict the participants' emotions, expectations and perspectives of living in Hong Kong. The message of 'expectation and prospect' is strongly circulated among the videos. For example, *Don't Just Dream, Do*! tells a story about chasing dreams, but cynically. Being, literally, the first work talking about dreams since the beginning of AAU in 2010, the work satirizes the people who only 'dream to dream' without any concrete action. However, cynicism does not monopolize the themes of the works in 2013. *Football Passion*, for example, positively delivers a message that you will achieve your goal when you try very hard and never give up. The work portrays a desire to live the conventional "Hong Kong Story," through the so-called "Lion Rock Spirit." Similar to *Football Passion*, the protagonist in *Jellyfishman* is going through a difficult time, but he becomes a hero in the end by working hard. There is a huge improvement and more possibilities in these four years of video works.

7.3.2 Oneness: Desiring Universality

A visible thread that connects many of the video works is the expression of socially and cultural constructed differences—skin's color, language, taste, clothes, food, and religious belief. Their 'differences' are often judged by the dominant majority in society.

Chinese Desi Style! (2011) visually and conceptually engages with the question of cultural difference. In C*hinese Desi Style*! the screen splits into two parts: a Chinese boy on the left and a Southeast Asian boy on the right. They are doing "the same thing" (religious rituals, dressing in their traditional attire, and interacting with others according to their cultural codes, etc.). On one screen, though on left and right, they act the same but differently. The work demonstrates different ways of life of different ethnicities, but at the same time shows the unity of their life by this way

of juxtaposition. Yet, the deliberate intention of presenting the significant difference does not create a strong sense of difference to audience. Instead, a sense of oneness in two ethnicities is presented. The work echoes the overall emphasis on "all about us."

Apart from *Chinese Desi Style*!, some other works also talk about the notion of oneness in different ethnicities and about "us" in the same city. *The Mother's Love* (2010) depicts pure love of a mother. The son prices all the tasks that he has to do for his mother, such as housework costing $2, a good examination result costing $5, and so on. His mother teaches him that her love and education to his son is "free of charge." More than that, the film demonstrates the universal value that there is no cultural and ethnic difference in family love. More importantly, the actors playing mother and son are from different ethnicities (the son is a Chinese boy and the mother is Indian). The traditional style of clothing of the mother also illustrates the ethnic difference but it does not intend to diminish this apparent difference. The story provides no clue to explain why mother and son are from different ethnicities. In the film, the mother and son use body language and English to communicate, in this way a sense of harmony is created. As a result, the work intends to deliver the message of universal value in order to show "us" from the film to daily life, from daily life to value or ethical level.

Another work, *The True Friendship* (2011), shows the universal value about friendship. Though the film is directed and acted by ethnic minorities, it delivers a neutralized taste of story and value without any easy ethnic association. *Facebook Addiction* presents a phenomenon that the teenagers are addicted to social media, which is not just a problem happening in Hong Kong, but also around the world. *Killer X Translator* (2011) with both Chinese and Southeast Asian actors tells a story about the Southeast Asian killer murdering a Chinese man accompanied by a Southeast Asian translator. As such, language difference has been portrayed as a major problem among ethnicities, yet the existence of translator solves this problem, and the rest of the story does not even touch the issue of ethnic difference.

In short, among these films (such as school story *Santiago Clause*, *The Day After Today is Another Day*, and *School Idiots*; the fighting driven story such as *Killer x 2*, *Once Upon A Time In SSP*, and *The Dark Dream*; the pursuit of dreams such as *Don't Just Dream, Do*!, and *Football Passion*; and the love story such as *Troubled Love*.), the ethnic characters are interchangeable. In other words, ethnicities of the character do not influence the storytelling and delivery of the messages at all. All the scenes happened in these films are 'common' collective experiences in Hong Kong, which is justified to be enjoyed and shared by different ethnic identities. In these works, the message of oneness shared by ethnic minorities is powerful particularly when the difference in appearance among them is in fact accentuated.

7.3.3   Authority and Authenticity

For AAU, it is quite a pivotal matter to consider video-making as a means through which, we'd hope, ethnic minority youth could represent themselves. Who are

they? What is their everyday life like? What are their feelings and observations about Hong Kong society? What dreams and fears do they have? But having the means of representation implies many things, one of which is "authority." When you get to hold the camera and choose through the viewfinder what components of our community you want to frame, how to frame them, and with what storyline, you hold quite a bit of cultural authority! Like a carpenter or a jewelry-maker who polish their tools in order to create a unique and original piece of furniture or jewelry, a video-maker reigns over his/her craft to lend support to a certain vision with authenticity.

The linkage between authority and authenticity was made by British thinker Raymond Williams in the late 1940s, because Williams, a working-class intellectual, was always committed to remembering his working-class roots and reflecting on working-class people's sense of dignity in spite of life's hardship. Among the qualities Williams wrote about are the down-to-earth folks' sense of authority about the way they choose to live—in other words, their lives were not to be defined and limited by what the noble class said. It is this everyday authority—found through a general and often collective self-pride—that enables working-class life to shine to the world as authentic life. In the context of the AAU program, we can find a certain similarity about matters of self-pride and authenticity that would please Williams and other thinkers like him.

Of course, many of the EM youth are amateurs in video-making. They attend the workshops with a sense of child play. Their short videos are often results of hesitant camerawork and rough cuts. Questions of cultural authority and authenticity are far from their mind. However slapdash as they may be, the videos seem to carry a longing for just having a view into their own everyday life. For some of the EM teenagers, coming to AAU may well provide them with the first opportunity to think about and capture the daily environment in which they exist—the schoolyard, the streets, the park, the basketball court, the home in the public housing estate, etc. More, the videos they end up making, again clumsily, seem to be expressions of their search for "the beyond"—whether it is a different color of everyday life, a different persona (including being a crime boss, a superhero, or a successful street performer), a different future. A few examples of these videos should suffice to demonstrate the sense of "soft authority" and "authenticity," which points to the parallel expressions to (a) capture their own environment and (b) look beyond.

Someday (2011) stands out among the videos, firstly, as the only video in all the years of works with no participants playing any characters in it, and secondly, as a video that maximizes the use of the wandering camera and dissolve cuts to capture the everyday environment of Hong Kong life. Shot from the perspective of a young Thai woman, *Someday* moves the viewer through the window of an elevated MTR train and slowly dissolving into vignettes of ordinary people and activities in a shopping centre and along the Victoria harbor. No plot, character, or fanfare, the video only has the voice of the Thai female narrator, who tells us about her daily

journey to school, her best friend from her home country, and her enjoyment of solitude. The video is a melodic representation of how the young video-maker wants to see the world around her, a brief and inspiring contemplation.

Another kind of "soft authority" and "authenticity" is shown in *Chinese Desi Style* (2011). Drawing again from the view of EMs, the video searches for similarities and differences between Chinese and South Asian cultures and traditions. Using a split screen throughout, the video displays Chinese cultural life on one side and South Asian cultural and religious traditions on the other side. Despite it looking like a cultural tourism promotion, the video does something remarkable: it manages to not only proudly display snippets of EM culture, it actually tells the viewers that Chinese life in the city is itself an ethnic life! Why is this remarkable? In a city with 96% Chinese population, it is quite easy to fix our gaze on "those ethnic people" and forget that the majority are also "ethnics." The forgetting of ethnicity among the majority can often turn out to a source of silent domination that propels the belief that we all have the same values, history, and heritage. Slowly, this can become a form of invisible domination, resulting in the minorities always being fixed as nothing more than minorities. In that way, the minorities become either exotic objects of difference, or a segment of our community to be forgotten. *Chinese Desi Style*, we think, tries to not let us fall into forgetfulness that in turn breeds invisible power. Instead, it shows authentic similarities and differences of ethnicities on equal footings.

As mentioned before, soft authority and authenticity present not only a way to capture current existence in new light, they often compel us to look beyond. We believe this yearning to look beyond explains why so many of the videos produced in AAU over the years are fantasy pieces. There is a slate of fantasy dramas involving crime bosses, killers, and fighters, e.g. *Killer x Translator* (2011), *Killer x 2* (2012), *The Dark Dream* (2012), *Once Upon a Time in SSP* (2013). There are horror and comic-horror videos that show the supernatural and the mystical, e.g. *U'r Going to Hell* (2011), *The Doll* (2012), *Reflection* (2012). Furthermore, *Jellyfish Man* (2013) presents a superhero drama. Indeed, fantasy is mundane teenager fair, and these videos show this kind of ordinariness in the videomakers' imagination. But at another level, we can read these videos as the opposite: as, precisely, representing their urge to move beyond the mundane, the ordinary, and the banality of everyday life.

Among all the videos of AAU we reviewed, the most direct representation of the strong desire to break from the monotonous life of teenage-dom is *Don't Just Dream, Do*! (2013). A sincere, authentic, and inspirational drama, this video tells the story of two brothers and their dreams, one wishing to be a singer-performer while the other longing to become an athletic street performer of Parkour. Just like what Raymond Williams wrote regarding the down-to-earth folks' sense of authority about the way they choose to live (i.e. not to be defined and limited by what the noble class said), *Don't Just Dream, Do*! shows us the protagonists' everyday authority found through their self-pride, which enables them as EMs to shine to the world as authentic life.

7.3.4 From Retribution to Forgiveness

A notable theme runs through a group of videos in *All About Us*, which revolves around the relation of harm, retribution, and forgiveness. Let's call this underlying theme an "unconscious storyline," which traverses the field of imagination by many young EMs. Although this unconscious storyline is largely scripted by young men accompanied by their masculinist urge for action in a revenge plot, some video narratives—offered by both young EM men and women—stress the importance of the restoration of peace through forgiveness.

Why is the relation of harm, retribution, and forgiveness a recurrent subject matter in these works? Street masculinity comes to mind. There is a strong fascination with thughood or gangsterism. This may be reflecting EM youth's experience in, or observation of, real-life gangsters in the public housing estates where they reside and play. But the style of these videos shows a much stronger source of this imagination—the Hollywood or Bollywood gangster genre mixed in with the Hong Kong-style gangster film format. The stylization is often presented in the figure of the suave gangster in sunglasses who is decked out in a dark suit. Whereas a briefcase is optional in this stylization, a gun is an essential object that he carries as an extension of his strong will power, determination, and self-confidence. Paying homage to the 007 style of action hero, this smooth and urbane gangster-criminal is not, however, hailed from a national security bureau. Instead, this hero is summoned from the streets, the warehouse district, and the grassroots corners of the metropolis. In *Killer x Translator* (2011), a hired killer, who only speaks Urdu, in turn hires a translator. In a manner driven more by comedy than by mean violence, the killer and his translator track down a Chinese boy. Why is this Chinese boy targeted? The scene of confrontation, comically presented, takes the viewer through a gibberish set of dialogue through which, essentially, the killer chastises the Chinese boy for lacking style in his clothes and in the place where he lives. Calling the place and the boy's clothes a "mess," the killer demands that the boy strips of his clothes, or face a terrible consequence. Here, street masculinity manifests as non-sensical child play, all for the thrill of staging the spectacle of harm. Earlier in the video, when the translator received his call for assistance, he was seen playing a video game, which is, as expected, a game of shooting. In *Killer x Translator*, video play and gun play are overlapped in a sheer search for thrill aimed at scaring another person and reducing him to submission.

Killer x Translator, in fact, has a sequel: *Killer x 2* (2012) returns the viewer to the public housing estate. A battle was brewing over the basketball court, where a couple of young EM friends playing ball were met by two older bullies. Like *Killer x Translator*, the theme of gaming-bullying by street boys is the narrative drive of this video. But soon, another theme takes over: that of retribution. The bullies are good fighters, but soon they are met with a couple of bulky guys who come for the rescue of the young basketball players. A real fight ensues, in which the bullies are hit back. And just as we think retribution is achieved, a narrative turn takes the viewer by complete surprise. In a manner reminiscent of the classic *A Better*

Tomorrow, a tilting shot in slow motion shows a figure walking toward the fighting boys. The Chinese boy who was bullied in *Killer x Translator* has returned! He identifies one of the boys who is now a bully on the basketball field as the killer who has bullied him a year earlier. Retribution advances into vengeance. This Chinese boy has returned with a fierce sense of violence; eventually he guns down everyone in the fight and walks away triumphantly.[1]

While it is true that these videos are made with a sense of child play, they nonetheless embody a fairly raw sensation of violence-by-retribution. Harm is rewarded by harm, through the rehearsing of stylized kicks, punches, street chasing, and eventually gunshots. What is behind this problem? My guess is this: these videos of gangsterism appear to be an expression of brotherhood in search of everyday (masculine) heroes. It appears that these young EMs' imagination in these narratives originates from a private longing for strong figures of protection. The compulsion to fight and to shoot guns for one's brothers,[2] while indeed childish and un-original, reflects a social milieu in which intimidation, mistreatment, and victimization might well be everyday realities for EM youths. Strictly speaking, "retribution" is not the same as "revenge." Retribution is different from the sheer single-mindedness of revenge, because retribution involves the search for recompense. In other words, it looks for a return, a reparation, even a reward. I tend to think of these video narratives as carrying a sense of retribution, embodying a search or a longing for some kind of "repayment" of harm delivered by a heroic figure who can defend and rescue.

Yet we also find in *All About Us* some other videos who present a different kind of heroes. In *Everyway* (2010), a young girl bullied by a friend finds in her heart to forgive, and she is rewarded by the love of a boy. In *School Idiots* (2011), a thief is caught through the same treatment of street chasing and fighting, but he is eventually forgiven by his friend. In *Santiago Clause* (2012), an unruly school bully was touched by a genuine friendship; his forgiveness is delivered through his complete change of behavior (he masquerades as Santa Claus and passes out gifts to his former victims). Finally, in *Jellyfish Man* (2013), a superhero fantasy narrative presents a solution to everyday intimidation and bullying through a justice-oriented action hero, whose aim is not retribution but rather the provision of righteous protection of the weak.

In the end, victimization is an important social reality reflected in this group of videos. Directly or indirectly experienced, victimization among young people, not the least among EM youth, is something that unfortunately stays close to their everyday imagination (which is then projected on screen). In this sense, we should be glad that these videos represent not only their search for recompense (the

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[1]Some of the same motifs of gang fight, played by more or less the same cast, can also be found in *Once Upon a Time in SSP* (2013).

[2]In *The Dark Dream* (2012), the victims of a ransom plot are indeed brothers. In this video, the major fight scene takes place in a graveyard next to a swamp, highlighting the truly dark side of victimization and retribution.

gangster mode of life), but also, fortunately, also for reconciliation (another possible mode of life that is equally fascinating to watch).

7.3.5   On Happiness

The works for AAU are mainly played by young ethnic minorities who express their own ideas and stories through video. In our city, the terms such as 'minority', 'marginal people', 'outsider' and sometimes even 'parasite' are used to describe ethnic minorities. Indeed, these terms go along with 'unfairness', 'discrimination', 'incompatible', and 'poor living condition'. AAU aims to let ethnic minorities speak for themselves instead of being described. As a result, one of the significant aims is to reflect the reality and complains from ethnic minorities' perspective. When critical way of reflection, or dozens of complains, may be expected, however, the participants show us joyful and positive ideas, stories and presentation. These positive ways of expression can be categorized into two types: the first one is about love with happy ending; and the second one is comedy.

In the 2010's films, although there are not many comedies, most of the works are warm and happy. *The Mother's Love* has a typical warm mother-and-son setting: kind mum, cute son, and both of them have a happy ending. Moreover, the cuteness of the son brings pleasure to the audience throughout the work. In *The True Friendship*, there are two Southeast Asian boys playing basketball until one of them breaks his glasses by accident. The boy is too poor to fix his glasses so his friend lends him money to do so. This simple ending is direct, happy and joyful. This film, similar to *The Mother's Love*, also aims to deliver the message and value of 'love' (friendship and family).

Although the work *Cooking MoMo* does not particularly presents 'love', the whole film is full of joyful pleasure. The appearance of two brothers shows the love of brotherhood and the jubilant appreciation of home food. There are also some so-called 'nonsense' comedies in 2011. In *Killer X Translator*, the Southeast Asian killer does not know any Chinese, so he finds a translator to help him find and kill the Chinese man. Nevertheless, the translator makes many mistakes during the translation (which provide many materials for audience to laugh at), the exaggerated expression and actions as well as the murder without reason make this film a 'nonsense' but funny. Although it is a film about a killer, there is no sense of violence but purely weird 'black humor'.

The joyful atmosphere is also strong in the work *School Idiots*. The story happens in a school where a student drops his wallet, when his friend picks the wallet up who is then misaddressed as a thief by another student. The misunderstanding is clear after a few minutes of running and chasing. As an usual practice in comedy, one of the female characters is performed by a male actor.

On the other hand, *U'r going to hell* seems to be a horror movie, but in fact it is comedy de facto. There is a ghost wearing a white shirt, hunchbacked, and with a disfigured face and weird make-up who wants to scare people. However, his 'scary'

plan never succeeds because of different scenarios: sometimes the target are listening to music with headphones; sometimes when he wants to scare people from the back, the man throws his backpack hitting the ghost directly. In the end, when the ghost tries to scare, he is unfortunately beaten and blamed "next time fxxking speak in English". This ridiculous and unexpected ending successfully brings the weird story to an end with a sense of happiness and humor.

In 2012, *Killer x 2* and *The Day After Today is Another Day* are also comedy. *Killer x 2* is the sequel of *Killer x Translator* (2011). It talks about the Chinese man who was killed in *Killer x Translator* takes revenge. This time, the director adopts a more energetic and happy music to the fighting scenes. Besides, there are more sound effects for actions, much exaggerated acting of the actors and more arrangements for slow motion in the fighting scene, all these make this killer's film happy and relaxed. *The Day After Today is Another Day* is another humor movie in 2012. It is not simply a comedy, but also delivers an ironical message. The story happens in the school in which a group of student works for a group project. One of the students is always late to the class, but at the same time he delivers many different ideas every day. The group mates respect and listen to his ideas at the very beginning, but gradually they no longer understand and listen to his 'theory'. Yet, they still believe that he will be able to finish the project. Hence, he is late as usual and suggesting this and that as usual which are not helpful for the project at all. Day by day, all the group mates decide to leave the group. Even on the day of presenting the report, he is still late to the class, and offering ideas again. Hence, he has no report to submit in the end. This story satirizes "nothing change" attitude which implies the attitude to ethnic minorities' policies in reality.

In 2013, *Don't Just Dream, Do*! and *Trophobia* are both comedy while *Jellyfishman* and *Football Passion* both have a happy ending. In *Don't Just Dream, Do*! George and Bob have a dream to chase that George wants to be a singer and Bob wants to be a successful parkour performer. However, they dream without any actual action or plan to achieve what they want. This film uses a relaxing but ironical voice-over to tell the story making the whole story cyclical but enjoyable. The interesting, and sometimes funny, acting and the interaction between two brothers is a very relaxing and pleasurable way to watch. For example, George makes fun of Bob saying he looks like a monkey when he does parkour while Bob says George looks like a parrot when he sings. In the end, both of them achieve their dream but it turns out to be really a 'dream' only. When they wake up, they still do the same. Opposite to *Don't Just Dream, Do*!, *Football Passion* talks about a group of girls who are passionate to football but they are teased by boys. The girls do not give up but work hard and practice every day. Finally, they defeat the boy's team in a football match.

7.3.6   Girls' Space

It is not hard to realize that the majority of *All About Us* (AAU) videos are directed by EM young men, who more or less feature boys as the central characters of the

stories. This is why *Reflection* (2012), the only video in all four years of video output in AAU that features only young EM women, deserves special commentary. It is also why *Gender and Football* (2013), a video that puts at its center the competition between boys and girls, stands out among the works. Before I turn to comment on these two special videos, let me say a few words about the question of gender as represented in the AAU videos and about the notion of "girls' space" in terms of its visual and narrative significance.

Over the years, AAU has endeavored to encourage more girls to participate in the program. The uneven gender distribution has been observed ever since the launch of the program four years ago. Social, familial, ethnic, and religious factors have kept many young EM women away from a program whose operation demands gender mixing and collaboration.[3] This is the first sense of the "girls' space" that deserves our attention, because it is a kind of exceptional space where EM women are *visible* despite the constraints.

When visible, EM women have been represented in the roles of mother and grandmother (*Mother's Love*, 2010; *My Grandma*, 2010), whistle-blower of schoolyard crime (*School Idiots*, 2011), gentle friend to rough boys (*Santiago Clause*, 2012), daughter (*The Doll*, 2012), unrequited lover (*Everyway*, 2010; *Troubled Love*, 2013), girl bullies (*Everyway*, 2010; *Troubled Love*, 2013), victims of bullying (*Everyway*, 2010; *Jellyfish Man*, 2013), and cook (*Making Momo*, 2010). Many of these female roles are depicted in either the school setting or the home setting (especially the kitchen and the bedroom), perhaps reflecting a sense of confinement of females in these limited spaces. This is the second sense of the "girl's space" that we need to observe from these videos, because the representation seems to be making the point that these young women are reduced to mere *domesticated* figures.

Visible but domesticated: this is a familiar enough predicament of women-on-screen, as proven again and again by research on media and gender both locally and internationally. But the more somber point I want to make here is that the school and the home seem to be where the EM women and girls unwittingly *assign* themselves to. It is true that we cannot possibly tell the EM women's and girls' aspirations for existence from these short videos. We can only speculate that the school and the home are their principal comfort zones, where they feel they have the possibility to craft the storylines they know how to create. The "assignments" of roles—or more accurately, self-assignments—thus depict the (comfortable) vignettes of their own lives as school girls, domestic housewives, or older sisters who take care of younger siblings, etc. In contrast, the men and boys in the AAU videos are often featured in the open space of the streets and the sports arenas. The point is not merely one of contrast—girls are confined but boys run around freely about—but also about the vista of social milieu for EM women and girls. For the men and boys run *around* them, casting the wider social context as one of

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[3]For instance, it is reported during the AAU recruitment that some parents of a certain religious persuasion and/or cultural tradition prohibits direct contact between boys and girls.

perpetual action and commotion, while the women and girls stay put in more or less stationary positions while the world moves around them. They are rarely seen running, chasing each other, or in the general state of motion.

It behooves us, therefore, to pay special attention to EM women and girls *when they move*. It becomes a viewing pleasure to see that some of the works in the AAU videos feature an alternative "girls' space," one in which they *redefine* that space of mobility normally reserved for masculine freedom. As mentioned before, *Reflection* (2012) is the only video in all four years of video output in AAU that features only young EM women. It is a haunted story of one young woman who experiences frightening hallucinations in her apartment allegedly populated with spirits (a fellow EM woman warns her of the spirits in the apartment). This video employs outstanding special visual effects, conjuring flying objects, shadowy figures, and fleeting fragments of bodies. In this video, the home is far from being a comfort zone, and the central character never feels a sense of normal domestication. While I do not want to speculate on why the horror genre is adopted in this video to tell the story of a young woman in her own apartment,[4] I want to note how it stands out as a work that actively redefines the "girls' space." In other words, some may indeed read a dark vision about feminine existence in this video, but I suggest that the more important reading lies in the way it re-charts the space for women, into a space of its own disturbance, discontinuity, and disruption.

Gender and Football (2013) is another video that endeavors to re-chart the space for girls, with its own form of disruption (of the male space). If the home is de-normalized in *Reflection*, then the school space is what *Gender and Football* wants to disrupt. More focally, it's the football pitch. Unlike *Killer x 2* (2012), where innocent kids playing basketball is disrupted by older bullies, the soccer game in *Gender and Football* is itself already filled with masculine bravado. A team of EM girls find themselves belittled by the boys in the football game. The boys use their skills to edge out the girls; they in fact show disregard of the girls as worthy competitors. The team of girls, however, thinks that they can one day win the boys in the game if they practice hard and become united—as boys! Masquerading themselves with caps and football attire, the girls ask to challenge the boys. The subsequent scenes show that athletic skills aside, the football pitch is transformed into a field of "equals," for the boys now take this team of new "boys" on the block seriously as worthy opponents. When this happens, the "boys" actually thrive, and in the end, win the game. In the entire video, the most remarkable visual sign is that of girls on the move. Girls' mobility appears as both a physical reality in the football game as well as a more abstract sign indicating the way in which the girls successfully re-chart the space where they were formerly excluded.

All in all, girls' space is a particularly worthy subject for reflection in the videos. AAU's effort to recruit more young EM girls did not go to waste, for their videos

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[4]The video *The Doll* (2012) also adopts the horror genre and features a young EM girl haunted by her mother's death. Another point that it is similar to *Reflection* is that the narrative takes place almost entirely in the girl's bedroom.

provide a much needed gender balance in a video world (and the real world of the EM community at large) where girls are often only encircled by male action.

Final note: In 2013, the Hong Kong Arts Development Council awarded the Hong Kong Arts Centre's AAU programme with an Award for Arts Education (non-school division).

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Chapter 8
What's Love Got to Do with Ethnic Tensions in Hong Kong?

Kwai-Cheung Lo

In his annual policy address of 2015, Hong Kong Chief Executive Leung Chun-ying launched a severe attack on some university students' calls for Hong Kong nationalism and self-determination. He harshly slammed the students for "advocating independence" in the University of Hong Kong Students' Union magazine *Xueyuan* (學苑 Undergrad) and condemned an anthology published by *Xueyuan* in September 2014 entitled *Xianggang minzulun* (香港民族論 On Hong Kong Nationality). The Chief Executive went on to categorize the students' attempts as fallacies and dismiss a popular slogan during the Occupy protests,[1] "Hong Kong shall resolve Hong Kong's problems" as unconstitutional according to the Basic Law. As a politician of pro-Beijing bloc, Leung is widely regarded as the mouthpiece of the central government and the one who prioritizes Beijing's interest over Hong Kong. Previous policy speeches have rarely discussed Hong Kong's

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[1]The Occupy protest movement, or Umbrella Movement, which is in quest for genuine universal suffrage, shut down key streets in Hong Kong (Admiralty and Causeway Bay on Hong Kong Island, and Mongkok on Kowloon Peninsula) for seventy-nine days beginning in late September 2014. The protesters want the pro-Beijing Hong Kong Chief Executive Leung Chun-ying to resign and Beijing to reverse its decision to screen candidates for the city's 2017 election, because Beijing insists that candidates for the chief executive must be scrutinized by an electoral committee made up largely of tycoons, pro-Beijing, and establishment figures. The major demand of the protesters is full democracy, the right to nominate and directly elect the head of the Hong Kong government, without sifting candidates through a strict selection mechanism. At some point, the protesters numbered in the tens of thousands created significant challenges not only to the Hong Kong government but also to the Beijing authorities. The Chinese central government declared the protests illegal and eventually had them cleared by police without granting the demonstrators any concessions. The protest is called Umbrella Movement or Revolution because protesters have been using umbrellas to protect themselves from police pepper spray. Thus the umbrellas (the yellow one because the crossed yellow ribbon was first used as an icon for democracy campaign in Hong Kong) became a symbol of the movement and gave it its nickname.

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level of autonomy so directly. But in Mainland China, high officials openly criticizing the voices from the ethnic autonomous provinces for self-determination which is understood as aspirations to independence are not uncommon. What is revealing in Leung's combative posture against the students' summons for Hong Kong self-determination is that Beijing may increasingly "ethnicize" the city in a way as if it tackles Xinjiang or Tibet's demands for autonomy and freedom.

8.1   Love, Hate, and Nationalism

By no means is the central government extremely strict and heavy-handed towards Hong Kong as it is towards restive Tibet and Xinjiang, however. What Beijing mainly resorts to, other than using economic incentives to preempt any longing for independence, is patriotic education, that is to say, implanting the love of the nation among Hong Kongers. The nationalist love is perceived as the adhesive glue that binds two divided subjects back to a single loving unity, i.e. the One. From the Chinese authorities' perspective, to love is to want to be loved. To love Hong Kong is to expect and demand Hong Kong to return the amorous passions to China. Nevertheless, the lover's raptures are narcissistic by nature, and the beloved Hong Kong is obviously not very interested in taking part in this love game and has not shown a strong sense of reciprocity yet. The loving relation between China and Hong Kong appears to be a missed encounter, since the love object that Beijing aims for eludes every attempt to grasp it. Efforts of patriotic education have been made persistently to instill the sense of national pride and identification in the minds of Hong Kong people especially after the mass local protest of half a million in 2003 against the introduction of the National Security Ordinance which prohibits any act of secession and subversion, and hence may jeopardize the freedom of speech in Hong Kong. But the attempt to inculcate through education a deeper sense of being a patriotic Chinese among Hong Kong residents apparently has not achieved its efficacy. Hong Kong students long after the Cold War era continue to perceive the Chinese Communist Party negatively for its corruption and bureaucracy, and hold the same negative image of the Mainland Chinese compatriots as lacking hygiene, manners, culture and being backward. The adverse perceptions indicate "an unwillingness to imagine themselves as actual members of the mainland Chinese community" (Chin 2014: 1577). In 2011, the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR) government attempted to implement in the primary and the secondary schools the compulsory "moral and national education" curriculum which again aims at promoting a stronger sense of identification among Hong Kong local residents with China. But after confronting torrential downpour of protests that charged the government of brainwashing the children, the SAR government has shelved the curriculum temporarily. Yet the authorities do not hesitate to spend more resources on educating the younger generation nationalist passions for Mainland China after the Occupy Movement.

China's patriotic education campaign, with the emphases on the brutality of foreign invasion and the century-long humiliation suffered by the nation, carried out after the Tiananmen Square massacre and the disintegration of Soviet Union of 1989 seems to succeed over last few decades in instigating Chinese youths' anti-Japanese or anti-competitor nation sentiments. The selective teaching of modern Chinese history in the campaign, while highlighting the nation's antagonistic relations with foreign enemies, downplaying the class struggle principle and carefully eliminating the atrocities or mistakes by China's leaders, attempts to legitimize the regime by cultivating a nationalistic, anti-western victim mentality among the young generation. Young Chinese in the Mainland have been taught for more than two decades that their country has always been peace-loving, and never imperialist. Undoubtedly, it is an intended misrepresentation that simplifies Communist China's history, including some recent border wars with India and Vietnam in the 1960s and 70s. Yet, the passions for the nation built upon the hatred of the vicious foreigners can be aggressive and violent. When the Chinese from ordinary citizens to some top leaders see themselves as a persecuted victim self-obsessed with their humiliating wounds, they are not aware that China is viewed as an uncontrollable juggernaut determined to bully smaller neighbors in the region. Such love for one's country can also be disruptive to the authorities that cultivate it since many patriotic angry youths may not follow the state-led nationalism but take out their anger by attacking Japanese property or Japanese brand products in the Chinese cities, pressuring the government to take radical approach to the territorial disputes with the foreign countries.

For some critics, love (Eros) is dangerous and needs to be tamed, regulated, controlled, and converted to some kind of domesticated relations like marital fidelity (Agape).[2] The history of love in many cultural traditions, including the Christian West and the Confucian China, is a history of regulating passions. Does the Chinese government really know how to arouse the love of the nation among the Hong Kong youths that works to the regime's advantage? Love is considered one of the most deceptive affects since there is always an essential role of artifice in such emotion. Not only love is anything but the effect of transference as understood in psychoanalysis, the passion is usually produced in some artificial situation particularly in the sense that love is an illusion of fusion into the One that covers up the non-existence of (sexual) relationship.[3] The arousal of passions going beyond the individual level would be suspected as some kinds of irrational fanaticism or be effected as a gigantic transfer to the nation represented by the party and its leader, like the cult of Mao or the recent surge of Han Chinese nationalism. The new emergence of right-wing factions in Mainland China, as embodied in the

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[2]See, for instance, De Rougemont (1983). De Rougemont wrote this book in a historical era that Italy, Germany and Spain espoused passionate nationalisms to their modern problems.

[3]In the beginning of his Seminar XX, Jacques Lacan has said "what I say of love is assuredly that one cannot speak about it. 'Talk to me of love'—what a lark!" (Lacan 1998: 12). He argues that it is not possible to say anything sensible about love, and he also associates love with "bêtise" (stupidity, imbecility).

publications like *Zhongguo bu gaoxing* with an emotional title (China is unhappy 中國不高興), seems to confirm the pathological fusion of morbid excess of love-passions with fascist politics.[4] Talk of war among some Chinese generals and ordinary citizens is disturbingly common since these ultra-nationalists hold a fervent belief that China would come out well from a limited-scale war through which the nation could show its resolution to the outsiders and bolster enthusiastic domestic support for the new leadership of Xi Jinping for the realization of China's dream to be a super power. But even within the national boundaries, the process of nation-building is also extremely aggressive, which can be described as "colonial activity" because the nation state could repudiate the popular sovereignty to its people but impose on them the obligation of loyalty and duty to the abstract notion of nationhood embodied by the state (Dirlik 2014). There have been studies on Chinese nationalism as a form of colonialism in the frontier areas and over non-Han ethnic groups, but relatively little analyses have been done on the intra-Han relationships.

It is apparent that the statist nationalism aiming at national integration and legitimacy via the Hong Kong official discourse is increasingly counteracted by an "indigenist" or regionalist expressions of place-based cultural identity. The image of the Chinese nation state is increasingly viewed as an alien power, if not colonizer, for many Hong Kongers. After the 1997 Hong Kong handover to China, the SAR government's heritage policy has begun to stress the common cultural origins of Hong Kong and China. The official project of fostering Hong Kong local identity and belonging within a larger sense of Chinese nationalism was a strategy to build loyalty to the Chinese motherland and to diminish Britain's unrivalled role in the modernization process of Hong Kong from a so-called barren rock to an international financial center (Carroll 2005). However, after a decade or so, other than the failure of the patriotic education and propaganda, the heritage preservation discourse in Hong Kong has more often been appropriated by local activists or non-government groups to resist against developmentalism and the exploitative character of capitalism represented by the dominant class and the state government. It may have a lot to do with the growing discontents with the government's neoliberal measures that aggravate income inequality and the young generations' embracing of post-materialist values and their stronger sense of entitlement in politics (Yew and Kwong 2014). Such heritage discourse manifests in a series of social protests and movements which seek to save historic Queen's pier from demolition for high-way project and to protect the Vegetable Garden Village (Choi Yuen Chuen) from being evicted for the construction of high-speed railway that is meant to facilitate a more intense economic development, prosperity and a stronger tie between Hong Kong and Mainland China.

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[4]It is a widely read popular nationalistic book whose authors (Song et al. 2009) include some who contributed to the "China Can Say No" series bestsellers.

Such physical attachments to certain site and place and the historical memories that constitute forms of solidarity with a specific environment could be understood as a local reaction to the predatory Chinese state with its national or global capitalist encroachments on the life of the community being marginalized by its rapid expansion. The conflicts became acute in the first decade of the twenty-first century not only because of the central government's mounting interventions in the city's affairs, but also because the Chinese nation state growingly incorporates Hong Kong to be an integral part of the overall nation-building project. The top-down assimilationist "mainlandization" project (daluhua 大陸化, a term derogatively used by Hong Kong locals) has frightened and alienated Hong Kong people and their sense of narcissistic superiority and distinctiveness. Hong Kongers seem not to understand that the nation state's unity has to be established by the violent erasure of local ties and particular identity. Beijing's growing interferences in Hong Kong's governance and its coercive top-down integrationist policy precisely produce a constitutive condition for the rise of Hong Kong self-love. As long as the Chinese state is perceived as oppressive in preventing Hong Kong locals in the name of national unification from loving and attaching to their particular identity, values, norms, and spoken language, stronger passions for maintaining Hong Kong distinctiveness have been provoked by such prohibition. The desire for Hong Kong identity or subjectivity is potently generated by the possibilities of its inhibition, unavailability, or even extinction. The unattainability paradoxically gives rise to its passionate attachment. The love of the nation indoctrination becomes an obstacle that actually turns into a driving force for the growth of Hong Kong passions of indigeneity and the ethno-regionalist reaction to the power of the state. But it is also well noted that Hong Kong people have been very critical of and not happy about the society for its materialistic-orientation, superficiality, complacencies, selfishness, and other far-from-ideal qualities. Now melancholia in Freudian sense emerges for the possible death of a loathed object. It is melancholic in the sense that it idealizes a lost object (or an object going to be lost) as it has never been idealized when alive. When idealization is fueled by anxiety, defensiveness, or affect that entails heightened aggression toward any challenge to the idealization, people may have already given up being critical of Hong Kong again.

8.2 Ethnicizing Antagonism

Being an immigrant city since the British occupation from the mid-nineteenth century, Hong Kong has been historically receptive to the influx of migrants from Mainland China bringing in different kinds of resources for the city's development. Although the continual flows of populations from China have caused some grudges in the British colony that successfully became an affluent metropolis in the late twentieth century, it is primarily after the reunification that tensions between Hong Kong locals and the Mainland Chinese escalate rather quickly and might have gradually turned into ethnic politics (zuqun zhengzhi 族群政治, or sometimes it is

called regionalism). About 150 Mainland immigrants per day, on average, have moved to Hong Kong since the 1997 handover, which are about 54,000 per year. This number does not include those Mainland elites and well-to-do who are interested in gaining an internationally-recognized SAR passport but may not choose to reside in Hong Kong. The quota and number of Mainlanders immigrating to the ex-colonial city are entirely decided by the Chinese government, and the Hong Kong side has no control over what is mandated.

At a first glance, Mainland Chinese continuous entering Hong Kong under one-way permit without Hong Kong's monitoring could easily be interpreted as an act of "settler colonialism,"[5] given the facts that China's policy of encouraging Han people to migrate to ethnic borderlands like Mongolia, Manchuria, Xinjiang and Tibet is both a historical and ongoing movement in order for the state to shape the demographical components and to control these regions. On the other hand, huge numbers of Mainland Chinese visitors through "free individual multi-entry visit scheme" (ziyouxing 自由行)[6] come to the metropolitan city daily for consumer commodities and daily goods, creating pressures on the infrastructure of the city and disturbances to the everyday life of the local residents. Hong Kong residents are also infuriated by the flood of birth tourism, which they believe is straining the medical system. In the past ten years the number of Mainland women coming to the city to give birth has soared. Almost half of all babies born in Hong Kong in 2010 were the children of Mainland couples, according to the official figures. Since Chinese citizens born in Hong Kong have the right of abode in the territory, some Mainland parents choose to give birth in the city to obtain the free education, medical care as well as the right to carry a Hong Kong passport. Some Mainlanders also choose to give birth in Hong Kong to avoid the one-child policy, which can result in heavy fines for violators. Soon the ethnic politics between Hong Kong Chinese and their Mainland counterparts have turned white-hot and come to the front stage in the 2010s. Local protests against the Mainland Chinese visitors by stereotyping them as "locust" climaxed in a full-page advertisement on *Apple Daily* in 2012. Members of the Hong Kong Golden Forum (the most popular online forum in Hong Kong) successfully raised more than hundred thousand dollars to purchase a full-page anti-Mainland Chinese advertisement in the bestselling *Apple Daily* on 1 February 2012.

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[5]As some scholars point out, settler colonialism is a global and transnational phenomenon, a thing of the past as well as a thing of the present. Settlers come to stay, and are founders of political orders with a distinct sovereign capacity. And settler colonialism wants indigenous people to disappear or make use of their labor before they are made to vanish. Settler colonial form operates within (British in the Hong Kong case) colonial ones, or it subverts them, or it replaces them. If colonialism and settler colonialism interpenetrate and overlap, they remain separate and co-define each other as well (Veracini 2011).

[6]The Individual Visit Scheme began in 2003. It allowed travelers from Mainland China to visit Hong Kong on an individual basis. Prior to this scheme, Mainland residents could only come to Hong Kong on business visas or in group tours. The major reason for launching the Individual Visit Scheme was to boost Hong Kong economy and tourism. The scheme brought an immediate surge in the number of Mainland visitors.

The advertisement featured a giant locust overlooking Hong Kong urban land-scape. The locust stereotypically stands for Mainland Chinese though visually there is only one big insect instead of their usual huge numbers. The slogans on the ad directly addresses to "you" (the Hong Kong people): "do you like to see Hong Kong spend HK \$1 million every 18 min on the 'shuangfei' children of non-Hong Kongers?" and exclaims "Hong Kongers have had enough!" and "strongly demand Hong Kong government to revise the Basic Law Article 24 by preventing the Mainland 'shuangfei' pregnant women from invading Hong Kong in refugee-style." "Shuangfei" (雙非 literally double-negative, double-illegal) means both parents of the child are not the citizen of Hong Kong. What is amazing is the figure of speech in the poster continues to use direct mode to address a different group of reader. This time the "you" no longer refers to Hong Kong people, but to the Mainland Chinese: "because you have suffered from the poisonous infant milk-powder, we sympathet-ically tolerate your rush to buy up all our baby-formula; because you are pitied for your lack of (political) freedom, we grant you 'individual visit scheme' (ziyouxing in Chinese literally means freedom tour) as gift; because your education system is known for its backwardness, we allow you to share our education resources; because you are supposed not to be able to read the traditional Chinese characters, we printed the following message in crippled Chinese (cantizi 殘體字, a pejorative term for simplified Chinese)—'please respect the local culture when you come to visit Hong Kong; if it were not Hong Kong, you would all be done for!'".

The contrast between "our way of life" and "your threat to destroy it" is pre-vailing in the speech of the poster. While acknowledging the imminent danger posed by the Mainland intruder (the giant locust), the addresser of the speech has tried hard to uphold Hong Kong superiority (in terms of its food safety, freedom of speech, education system, etc.) in order to look down upon the border-crossing (Mainland Chinese) aliens. But what is bizarre is that not all Mainlanders feel offended by the ad. At least, some are able to displace the hatred targeted at them to other groups. There are actually copycats that used the same poster to express their hostility towards migrant workers and other outsiders living in their cities.[7] However, the overlapping of the pronoun "you" to designate two ostensibly antagonistic positions may suggest that the boundary between oneself and the other is not as fixed and permanent as people believe. The sensations exhibited in the advertisement may have the capacity to break the line or the tendential frontier separating the so-called clearly-defined camps. In fact, the ethnic or ideological camps are never clearly delineated, although the direct address of "you" is an Althusserian interpellation. The subjectivization cannot be possible without the affective dimension. The affect, however, also creates certain excess that may infuse some other possibilities other than the rigid ideological interpellation.

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[7]Readers can find the multiple parodies or derivative works of the locust advertisement by Mainland netizens online, for instance, at http://www.dajiyuan.eu/%E6%96%B0%E9%97%BB/%E4%B8%A4%E5%B2%B8%E4%B8%89%E5%9C%B0/3034-%E8%B0%81%E6%98%AF%E8%9D%97%E8%99%AB%EF%BC%9F%E5%A4%A7%E9%99%86%E6%B0%91%E4%BC%97%E6%81%B6%E6%90%9E%E8%9D%97%E8%99%AB%E5%B9%BF%E5%91%8A.html.

In 2014, Hong Kong of just seven million residents hosted more than 60 million visitors, three-quarters of whom came from Mainland China. Amongst all these Mainland arrivals, about 60 percent came for just one day primarily to shop, and the locals strongly feel that they have been driven out from their own neighborhood especially in some shopping districts. Hong Kong locals have to compete with these day-trippers not only for daily necessities but also for space on the public transportation, in restaurants and shopping malls. The overwhelming demands from the Mainland visitors for certain types of consumer goods have also eliminated the variety of the shops, driven up the rents and forced the small retailers out of business. Those Hong Kong residents who live in the North District of Hong Kong bordering Shenzhen may have every reason to express their anger and grievances at the influx of visitors. According to a conservative government estimate, by 2023, annual arrivals would even exceed 100 million.[8]

Local protests against the Mainland Chinese visitors, after the locust advertisement, are actually on the rise and becoming more physical. Demonstrations against the luxury brand stores for their discriminatory policy in favor of the Mainland big spenders and against parallel traders (shuihuoke 水貨客) in Hong Kong have increasingly taken place with scuffles and name-calling amid a surge of shoppers from the Mainland. Although people from both sides of the border share a common written language and culture, differences in the spoken dialect, political views, economic standing and even personal hygiene have ignited a series of public incongruities. The cause for Hong Kong Chinese's hostility towards the Mainland counterparts could sometimes be explained away by emphasizing the socio-political context. While "one country, two systems" model fails to give Hong Kong any really high degree of autonomy because of Beijing's increasing intervention into the city's internal affairs and its reluctance to implement real democratic reforms. The huge flood of Mainland Chinese visitors into the city for a variety of commodities and services, from consumer goods, daily necessities to the Hong Kong internationally-recognized passport, citizenship and education for their babies born here has put pressures on the city's public services and created tremendous nuisances to the local people. Ironically, the active and expedient cross-border flows make integration of Hong Kong with China (at least at the psychological level) even harder to materialize. The dilemma of wooing or resenting the huge numbers of (badly behaved) Chinese tourists is actually a global issue, not only a Hong Kong problem. In a similar global scale, Mainland parents' choice to travel across the globe to give birth in order to attain superior education, clean environment, a passport with visa-free entry into many countries, and the possibility to apply for residency for the whole family after the children are twenty-one also intensify the rivalry over resources. But more than a decade after the handover when economic

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[8]In April 2015, the Chinese authority has agreed to limit visitors to Hong Kong after an increase in day-trippers and traders buying goods in the city led to series of protests in the city. Unlimited trips of the Mainland multiple-entry permit holders have been reduced to once a week per person. The change in policy helps ease tensions in Hong Kong, where scuffles have broken out between protesters and parallel traders, who buy daily necessities to resell them on the Mainland.

statuses of the Mainland and Hong Kong have been gradually reversed in terms of their hierarchic position in the capitalist order of the world, and now when it is the Mainland visitors who are getting more and more condescending to Hong Kong people and whose dominant presence already threatens the social structure, China's ethnic politics between center and periphery seems to come into play.

Some critics would say the ethnic tension is actually the distorted expression and effect of some deeply structural problem, namely the experience of belonging to a clearly-defined ethnic community that provides meaning to the individual's life is rapidly losing ground in face of the immense inflows of Chinese visitors and the changing relation between Hong Kong and China. Thus, separation of the two groups is an ideal endeavor to prevent further ethnic conflicts. The bestseller *Xianggang chengbanglun* (香港城邦論 Hong Kong as a City-State) by Chin (2011) has provoked heated debates since he advocates zealously the absolute separation between Hong Kong and China, and vocally supports young people to get more militant against the pro-Beijing Hong Kong authorities. For Chin, the continuous arrivals of Mainland immigrants and tourists represent the major threat to Hong Kong institutions and social customs. Thus, Hong Kong has to regain the power to screen the incoming people from China and build a stronghold for its autonomy in order to defend against the political changes in Mainland. Such discourse is anything but to reinforce the line of demarcation between those who belong to Hong Kong and those who cannot have the same rights because they are never part of us, while it is also a populist discourse with demagogy that plays on popular emotions by dividing politics into two opposed and antagonistic groups and claiming to represent the interests of a collectivity loosely identified as "the people" against the political elites. Chin's ideas are generally discredited by liberals and progressive critics as sensational rightwing populism which is potentially tyrannical and disruptive of some of the core elements of a democratic society where citizenship is founded on the basis of universal human equality. Isn't such proposal by Chin pure and simple form of racism? In this logic, the ethno structure that positions every ethnic groups in their so-called proper places (those beyond the boundary and those within it, as well as the top at the top, and the low down below, and they should not be mixed) has finally been legitimized and even mandated. Even though it is now the Hong Kongers who feel themselves ethnic (minority) being oppressed by the numerous Mainland Chinese, it does not mean that racism can then be justified.

In psychoanalysis, the cause for the hatred of the Other (either the majority Other or the minority Other) is the hatred of the "enjoyment" or jouissance (the Lacanian term for being) in the Other. We always accuse the Other of stealing our jouissance (by ruining our way of life), but we also hate the particular way the Other enjoys: their insane love for their nation, their noisy speech, their bad behaviors, their customs, their food, etc.; in short, their unbearable excess. However, it is not exactly that our "enjoyment" has been stolen by the Other. What we don't want to confront is we actually never have this jouissance which was allegedly stolen from us. "Enjoyment" always already constitutes itself as stolen, generating an illusion that jouissance would be attainable if it were not stolen. Indeed, it is the Other that

gives body to our own innermost impossibility, gives body to what is "in us more than us," and thus preventing us from achieving a full identity with ourselves. Hence, the Other is the Other inside us. The hatred of the Other is precisely the hatred of our own jouissance. It is also the obstacle to the community cohesion that becomes the constitutive condition for the love of the community.

8.3   Ethnocratic Structure and Affective Dimension

Post-1997 Hong Kong has been criticized as a semi-ethnocratic society (Sautman 2004),[9] in which the state apparatus is in the hands of one dominant ethnic group (Han Chinese) to consolidate its power, interest, and access to resources by maintaining a hierarchical ethnic system. This system of ethnic differentiation excludes other ethnic resident peoples from various kinds of political power (in the ways that they are discriminated in education, employment, housing and access to public services) and preserves a hierarchical social structure under which recent Mainland migrants, South and Southeast Asians are at the lower strata. Its ethnocracy is semi- or partial because the ethnic hierarchy is taken as "natural" than being legalized, and there could still be some non-dominant ethnic individuals occupying certain seats of power while the non-elite majority of the dominant ethnic group only obtain their privileges from the restrictive structure in varying degrees. Such ethnic structure may have something historically to do with the British colonial legacy, the very short period of Japanese military conquest and rule, and the traditional Chinese racial conception, as well as the experimental modern Chinese multinational state.

Hong Kong's semi-ethnocratic system may have been undermined and gradually taken over by the ethnocratic regime of the Chinese state which is able to secure the most important instruments of state power, like the military, the diplomatic, the economic, and gradually the legal and the institutional in the hands of a specific ethnic collectivity from the Mainland. The change may produce a new political context in which Hong Kong increasingly defines itself as a nation without state or a nation against the state (Guibernau 1999; Keating 2001). At this point, it may be too far-fetched to say Hong Kong is comparable to Catalonia, Quebec or Scotland; however, to a certain extent, it does see itself as a cultural community sharing a common past, a common cultural-national identity, emphasizing social solidarity as the main value of the political culture and wishing to decide upon its political future by asserting the right to self-determination or further autonomy within the state. In the past, those nations without states were politically and economically dependent on the states containing them, but the reliance has alleviated as the states have lost their capacity for territorial management and the minority nations are becoming

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[9]The model of ethnocracy was first formulated by Oren Yiftachel who draws on the prime example of Israel and Palestine (Yiftachel 2000).

more self-assertive. Hong Kong at present is not close to such a situation since the large-looming Chinese state shows no sign of declining. But in order to counteract the aggressive advance of Chinese nationalism, Hong Kong may have already begun the initial stage of nationalist movement which contains ethnic as well as civic elements in its doctrine. Miroslav Hroch's model of small nation-formation of three phases indicates that Hong Kong may have reached phase A, in which activists were devoted to scholarly inquiry into and dissemination of a consciousness of the linguistic, cultural, social and historical attributes of an ethnic group but without pressing specifically national demands, though phase B where activists would seek to win over as many of their ethnic group as possible to the nation-building project and phase C of mass movement formation are yet to be seen on the horizon (Hroch 2000).

Almost without any doubt, some Hong Kong activists have endeavored to define themselves collectively in ethnic terms in order to defend themselves against the threats from the Mainland Chinese. If Chin Wan's populism only agitates people's emotions with their shared experiences of dissatisfaction but fails to provide with a comprehensive ideology, the Hong Kong nationalism invoked recently like that in *On Hong Kong Nationality* is similarly impoverished since it is also unable to offer a reasonable broad range of answers to the political questions generated by the society itself and Hong Kong-China tensions. Indeed, the monolithic focus of nationalism on the unity of a nation leaves it with little room to be elaborated in directions that can allow it to provide solutions to a wide range of political problems, such as social justice, conflict management and distribution of resources. Those who fear and delegitimize Chin Wan-styled populist demagoguery may also rely on people's affects when they resort to the nationalist discourse. Although the ascriptive marker can be manipulated to forge an ethnic identity, such label only makes sense in some specific historical setting and easily loses the meaning. Ethnicity might be a powerful force in politics, but it may not be equivalent to nationalism since most ethnic groups do not necessarily identify themselves as nations or make any claims for territorial self-government.

However, the legacies of the Umbrella Movement may reveal that Hong Kong could be moving towards civic nationalism more rooted in acquired identity based upon common values and institutions, and patterns of social interaction. What establish the "national" identity are institutions, customs, cultures, historical memories and secular values. Anyone can join this nation irrespective of birth or ethnic origins, and there is no myth of common ancestry. Civic nationalism is built on territorially defined community, not upon some invisible social boundary among groups. There needs to be a set of political and social interaction guided by common values and a sense of common identity. Civic nationalism may not be regarded as a typical kind of nationalism since it is based on civic values and individual rights cast in universal terms. Nevertheless, these rights rely on an institutional structure for their implementation and it is only in relation to the state or civil society that the ideals of liberty and equality can be realized. However, there is never just one species of nationalism. China in theory already demonstrates a typical example of a multinational state consisting of a diversity of ascriptively defined groups to form a

national identity and civil society with common institutions. The difference between ethnic and civic nationalisms should not be grasped as some opposites, of which civic nationalism is benign and tolerant whereas ethnic nationalism violent and oppressive. Any given movement may contain both ethnic and civic elements in order to appeal and mobilize people. Civic nationalism seems more liberal and may have stronger appeal since no one is excluded from it. But it is not provocative as ethnic nationalism to have the effective mobilization. Thus, most nationalist movements usually appropriate both claims to cater for the needs of the circumstances and the audience (Keating 2001: 7–9).

Hong Kong Umbrella Movement began with the intellectual-initiated civil disobedience campaign that named itself "Occupy Central with Love and Peace." It highlights peace because it is supposed to be non-violent and demands participants to follow their rules, not to create harm or inconvenience to others, and turn themselves into the police after the campaign, even though they want to shut down the central financial district in order to cripple the city. It emphasizes love with strong religious overtone since its leaders are dedicated Christians. One of them is even a Christian minister, and their first press conference to announce the manifesto was held in a church. Although the Occupy campaign rapidly spread out to other districts as well as to various social classes and there is no longer any single group in charge of the mass protest, the affective dimension still plays a significant role in the movement. Ernesto Laclau has argued that the social unity cannot be conceptually intelligible, if it does not acquire a "radical investment," which is the affect. In his theoretical language, "the complexes which we call 'discursive or hegemonic formations,' which articulate differential and equivalent logics, would be unintelligible without the affective component. (This is a further proof—were one still needed—of the inanity of dismissing emotional populist attachment in the name of an uncontaminable rationality)" (2005: 111). For the plural and diverse identities to become a unity or a totality, Laclau points out, the totality (what he calls "hegemonic formation") has to convert itself into the object of strong feelings and sentiments, the object of affective investment, as in being in love or in hatred. The unity of the "people" is by no means simply a discursive effect, but more an affective one. During the Umbrella Movement, all walks of life from different social strata come together as a "people" even though they may not share common political interests. The people on the occupied streets have tried to build a new community not only by living in the on-site tents (at some point, the protesters were able to get postal code for their on-site tents and made postman deliver mails to their tents) but also constructing their outdoor study room, erecting architectures, creating artworks, growing organic food, choreographing umbrella dances (which some call "xianggang minzu wu" [Hong Kong national dance]),[10] filming and archiving their stories, and organizing other daily activities.[11] Being Hong Kong

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[10]Mui Cheuk-yin (choreographer) in discussion with the author, 10 January 2015.

[11]For the records and interviews of ordinary participants of the Umbrella Movement, see Fokaren and Cyan (2015).

people becomes an object of love. It is the affective relation that constitutes the basis of the unity among the protestors, even if the effects of solidarity or affective bonds are short-lived.

8.4   Anxiety of Other Ethnic Groups

Hong Kong nationalism could be seen as an affective reaction to the pressing Chinese nationalist campaigns. As a relatively thin ideology, nationalism strikes out on its own probably only at some exigent moments. Even the official nationalist ideology promoted by the Chinese state has to cohabit with other more full-fledged ideological narratives like authoritarianism, neo-liberalism, and socialism with Chinese characteristics in its daily operation. Affect unifies but also divides a community. After the Occupy Movement, Hong Kong has never been so torn apart as it has never been so passionately obsessed with itself. In answering to the suffocating nationalist love from the Chinese state, Hong Kong chooses to be narcissistically infatuated with its own self which, not unlike the myth of Narcissus, may lead the subject to destruction. When Hong Kong refuses to turn the Chinese Other to its mirror-image or to the means in the path of its self-realization, "China" would remain an impenetrable and enigmatic presence that arouses insurmountable anxiety. However, the stressful "impossible" relationship with China could also be disclosed in Hong Kong's relations with other ethnic neighbors. In the context of everyday life politics, these neighbors are the ethnic minorities from other Asian countries and the minority nationalities from China (中國少數民族 Zhongguo shaoshuminzu).

There have been a lot of reports and studies that expose how Hong Kong Chinese community is subtly as well as explicitly discriminating against the South and Southeast Asian locals and migrant workers. One of the most outrageous examples was the case of Indonesian domestic helper, Erwiana Sulistyaningsih who has been beaten, refused to pay and even starved by her Hong Kong employer, and has been sent home, emaciated, scarred and barely able to walk, after eight months of violent abuse. Although the employer was found guilty and sentenced to prison for six years, there is no encouraging sign that non-Chinese ethnic minorities would definitely be treated better after the verdict. There is also no certain answer for the impacts to be exerted on the Southeast Asian ethnic minorities living in the city if Hong Kong nationalist sentiments continue to grow. What I would like to look at, for the moment, is how Hong Kong's tensions with the Chinese Other (both the symbolic Other as it constitutes the substance of Hong Kong's socio-political existence, and the Other qua Real since, with whom, no symmetrical dialogue is possible) would find expressions in its relation to the domesticated subaltern others. Hong Kong relations with the domesticated others may provide an easy way out to channel away the complex and entangled affects with the radical Otherness. In 2009, the bestselling columnist Tsao Chip has published a short English article entitled "The War at Home" in *HK Magazine*, a freely distributed printed paper.

In a sarcastic and provocative tone which is supposed to be "funny" from the author's view, Tsao wrote that it was unforgivable of the Philippines to claim sovereignty over the scattered rocks in the South China Sea called the Spratly Islands which are supposed to belong to China, while the Russians sinking a Hong Kong cargo ship and the Japanese planting a flag on Diaoyu Island could be let go.

The Philippines move cannot be pardoned because "there are more than 130,000 Filipina maids working as $3,580-a-month cheap labor in Hong Kong," and "as a nation of servants, you (the Filipinos) don't flex your muscles at your master, from whom you earn most of your bread and butter" (Tsao 2009). "Master" in this context refers to the Hong Kong middle class households that employ Filipina maid. Identifying himself "a patriotic Chinese man" in the essay, Tsao described how he called upon his domestic helper from the Philippines and gave her a lesson that the Spratly Islands belong to China. In a hyperbolic mode, he said he has urged his Filipina maid to spread this news to her compatriots in Hong Kong, and warned that he would fire her if there is a war between China and the Philippines, or she and other Filipina maids serving at many different Hong Kong families would be held hostage. Perhaps in order to ironize the patriotic passions provoked by territorial disputes in Asia recently, Tsao exaggerated how his friends who have hired Filipina domestic maids declared state of emergency at home and ordered them "to shout 'China, Madam/Sir' loudly whenever they hear the word 'Spratly'." Such indoctrination was compared to the way that Chinese people shouted "long live Chairman Mao!" at the sight of his portrait during the Cultural Revolution.

The way how the essay was presented, probably from the author's perspective, did not mean to be taken seriously. It was only about how he felt the absurdity of the Asian nations' struggle over some unknown and unpopulated islands. However, it gave rise to a big outcry among many Filipino readers over such racist, discriminatory, and demeaning attitude, and the Philippine government declared Tsao an "undesirable alien," banning his entry to the Philippines. *HK Magazine* quickly issued an apology for the offense the article had made, and Tsao, who insisted that his article was meant as a satire, in the following day also apologized to the Philippine government and its people in an interview aired on television. It is never clear what Tsao's intended meaning is for his so-called satire, but the publication of such an article (implying the support from the editorial board) has already assumed that the subaltern ethnic groups in Hong Kong ethnic hierarchy have to know their place and accept that they could be made fun of if occasion requires. At the very superficial level, the article is about love of one's nation, and when the two nations have clashes over each other's territories (according to the logic of the global world order, competition for resources among all nation states is the norm), national love of one's motherland is immediately channeled into a manifestation of hatred or hostility towards the enemy nation state (the mechanism of selfing and othering is what the ideology of nationalism is mainly about). But in this case, only the Hong Kong Chinese master can be a subject of (nationalist) feeling, whereas the Filipina maid is deprived of such subjectivity status (that enables her to have feeling for her own nation) but is merely treated as an object over which the master's aggressive nationalist passions are projected.

Speech is a symbolic exchange that connects human beings to each other, constituting a pact which assigns roles to both the addressee and the addresser. However, speech, even in direct form, may not necessarily give us direct meaning. More often, it only has signification. Yet, it is not the same as lying. We may have the recognition that lies reveal the truth more fully than many honest and frank statements. No one will be able to articulate in speech the whole truth of one's feeling. Perhaps, we always tell the truth, but not the whole truth, because we are not capable of telling it all, and telling it all is materially, linguistically impossible. If we look a little deeper and tentatively see Tsao's article as a "satire" which does not directly say what it means and which carries double meaning, we may agree that the so-called nationalist passion of the Hong Kong middle class master is largely fake, not genuine. The subject actually has no real feeling towards China's claim for the Spratly Islands. The territorial dispute may be just another occasion for the Hong Kong master to assert his authority over and reinforce his racist attitude to the Filipina maid. But if the use of irony and ridicule is to expose and criticize someone's vices or follies, the Filipina maid is then not exactly the main object of derision or mockery since she has been for long reduced to a non-threatening, passive existent in the social ethnic structure.

The main target to be satirized is those who aggravate and perpetuate the tautology of nationalist passions propelling the country headlong into militarist expansion. Given the fact that the sense of national belonging of Hong Kong Chinese towards Mainland China has been diminishing over last decade and there is very little social concern in Hong Kong about the territorial dispute of the Spratly Islands, it becomes quite clear that what Tsao attempts to ridicule are the Chinese nationalists who always react aggressively to China's controversies with foreign countries. There is no secret that the recent waves of Chinese nationalism have been endorsed by the state although such permitted nationalistic fanaticism also puts pressure on the state to take an inflexible position in foreign policy.

Inheriting from the British colonial views, British-educated Tsao who probably considers himself "white" takes up the Eurocentric nation state model to look down upon Asian nationalism. For him, the Philippines is not qualified to be a modern nation state. And probably neither is China. Tsao may not intend to criticize the Chinese state in the article, but implicitly he has expressed his contempt towards the "peculiar" passions or feelings of the ethnic other (the Chinese nationalist in this case). The disdain is not directly conveyed. Rather, it is displaced to the way how the Filipina maid and her compatriots have been treated disrespectfully and abusively by her Hong Kong master. Meaning often indicates the direction toward which it fails. Perhaps, Tsao believes that there would have no consequences if he has his derision and bigotry transferred to the Filipina domestic helpers, the powerless ethnic group in the semi-ethnocratic society. Or, perhaps, the delicate ethnic tensions and changing relations between Hong Kong Chinese and their Mainland counterparts are too difficult for Tsao to articulate. But what is amazing is when the incident was reported in Sina.com, a major website in Mainland China, many Chinese netizens thought Tsao was defending China's territory and lauding him a

patriotic hero. It is very likely that most of these Chinese netizens in Mainland have not read the original English article to detect its satirical tone on fanatic patriotism.

No matter how great the tensions between China and Hong Kong are, when it comes to the issue of Han Chinese views on non-Chinese aliens, there seems to have a common agreement which is the Hua-Yi (華夷) hierarchy that emphasizes the superiority of Han over the foreign barbarian. Although overseas Tibetan activists during the Umbrella Movement have openly expressed their solidarity with the people of Hong Kong for their pro-democracy campaign, Hong Kong democratic leaders and protestors have not reciprocally announced that they would also stand in solidarity with the Tibetans, Uighurs and other ethnic groups living under the Chinese regime to fight for real freedom and democracy. Generally speaking, Hong Kong Chinese remain quite indifferent to the ethnic minority issues in China, let alone the political causes advocated by these ethnic groups. But there is an interesting case that I would like to look at, which is an open letter written by a Mainland Chinese Muslim student to the President of the Chinese University of Hong Kong in request for a Halal cafeteria on campus in July 2013.[12] Self-describing as a devoted Muslim, a Hui (回族), from Beijing spending a year at the Chinese University to finish his master degree in religious studies, Wang Yunan (王雨楠) addressed to the University President Joseph Jao-yiu Sung in the letter to complain how frustrated he was to live on campus because there is no Muslim cafes available on campus, and the nearest halal food provider is at least 30 min' train ride away. Asserting his love of the Chinese University (even though he only spent a year there) and his dedication to his religion, Wang explained that Muslims are particularly strict of their diet. Other than pork, Muslims are prohibited from eating animals that are "dead prior to slaughtering," or "not slaughtered in the name of Allah" according to the Koran. Since some other local universities have Muslim canteens or halal food sections, Wang was determined to press the Chinese University to upgrade its services. He described how he even carried out a survey to collect opinions from students and staff regarding a Muslim cafeteria. But when a university manager told him it would take about ten years to approve such a plan, he was shocked and made up his mind to write an open letter to pledge to the President Sung. To his surprise, the President Sung quickly responded to his request and promised to deliver a Halal eatery to cater to the needs of its Muslim community in twelve month time. The whole event had been reported in the media and it gained a lot of social approvals and endorsements. It looks like a typical case of love answering love. Ethnic needs are well taken care of by Hong Kong society. But does it imply any meaning of affective bonds between Hong Kong Chinese and Sino-Muslim?

The Hui, among all 55 Chinese nationalities, are the only nationality for whom a religion (Islam) is the only unifying category of identity. They are categorized as a single minzu/nationality mainly for historical reasons. Islam arrived on China as

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[12]The open letter by the Muslim student, 12 July 2013, accessed 15 October 2014, http://hktext. blogspot.hk/2013/07/president.html.

early as the seventh century of the Tang dynasty (618–906 AD). Muslims continued to come in numbers among the Chinese people through immigration and China's own expansion into Central Asia since the Mongol Yuan dynasty in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They grew in populations also by absorbing native Chinese through inter-marriage and conversion. They have been named "Huihui," "Huizi," or "Hui" before Qing. Their long history in China is accompanied with the forgetting of their places of origin and the loss of their mother tongues. Although maintaining Islamic dietary rules (such as the pork prohibition, abstaining from alcohol), Hui Muslims have undergone extensive sinicization by taking common Chinese surnames (e.g. Ma or Mu from Mohammed) and speaking Chinese while preserving their religious language. The Qing state did not find the Sino-Muslims were remarkably different from Han Chinese. That was why they were called "Hanhui" (Han Muslim) in Qing, and the queue hairstyle practice was also violently imposed on them.

Hui, or the Sino-Muslims, occupy a marginal position in discussion of Chineseness (they are and are not) and in discussions of non-Chinese peoples (they are and are not). Sino-Muslims are a ubiquitous part of the Chinese landscape, however. Normal but different, Sinophone but incomprehensible, local but outsiders, they challenged some fundamental Chinese conceptions of Self and Other, and denied the totally transforming power of Chinese civilization. Such a description of Hui is probably also the self-projection of Hong Kongers who somehow consider themselves different from the Mainland Chinese and a self-classified "ethnic minority" group (especially given the fact that China's Hong Kong policy is not much different in nature from its policy towards the ethnic autonomous regions). The positive response to the Hui student's request perhaps could be understood as an identification by including the ethnic other as one of us. But the Halal food (or what is usually called "qing zhen" 清真 food in Chinese, literally pure and true) is always already incorporated into Hong Kong foodscape. No special effort is required to make room for such an ethnic cuisine because it seems to be already a very sinicized component of Hong Kong Chinese community. While "qing zhen" is meant for the Sino-Muslim as a symbol of purity that fends off any influence from the surrounding Chinese, the ready incorporation of "qing zhen" cuisine is also only an identification with a distance in the sense that love for food is not equivalent to religious dedication in the minds of Hong Kong Chinese.

Hong Kong society probably cannot claim itself innocent of not having any Islamphobia. Such fear and ignorance about Islam deters the media from further pursuing if the Muslim student who wrote the open letter is a Hui as an ethnic (minzu) identity or a Muslim as a religious identity. Does Islamic orthodoxy and orthopraxy define a Muslim? Is Hui merely an ethnic heritage and genealogical descent? Like being Jewish in the Euro-American context, there could be a wide variety of ways of being Muslim in contemporary China. From the Qing dynasty to the Communist regime, Muslims in China have widely differing notions of the flexibility or rigidity of Islam to authenticate or reconcile themselves with the local situations. As equally diverging are Muslims' relations with the Chinese state: from violent uprisings against the government for an independent kingdom to

enthusiastically supporting the nationalist as well as socialist revolutions. In different historical periods, the images of Sino-Muslims have been versatile in the gaze of Han Chinese, changing from rebels to patriots, socialist comrades, and to terrorists-cum-separatists and to the embodiment of spiritual power. It is hard to determine if there is anything Hong Kong people can learn from the Hui in their relations to China at present. But anxiety is the only thing one can be sure of, while other affects like love or hatred are always deceiving. Anxiety is never about something in particular. Anxiety is the encounter with the empty ground of one's existence. Since anxiety is something that cannot be easily represented, it opens up some possibility for the subject to confront with its indeterminate being and situation. The subject seized by anxiety is prompted to search for possibilities of new relations to others as well as to itself. The search triggered by anxiety is a means through which the subject has a chance to give form to the indiscernible being that grounds its anxiety.

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Chapter 9
Learning Critical Multicultural Empathy Through Ethnic Minorities' Media Self-representation in Japan

Yuko Kawai

With the persistent influence of the myth of Japan being a single ethnic/racial nation (*tan'itsu minzoku*), ethnic minority cultural practices tend to be rendered invisible in Japanese society. Despite the long presence of ethnic minority groups, such as the Ainu, Chinese, Koreans, and Okinawans, and the recent increase in migrants, naturalized Japanese citizens, and 'mixed' children born to a non-Japanese and a Japanese parents, I still hear many of my students describe Japan as a homogenous society or claim that they have had little or no contact with people of a different cultural group.

Under these circumstances, films by and about ethnic minorities are an important resource for Japanese students to understand ethnic minority groups in Japan and learn critical multicultural empathy. This is an empathy for critical multiculturalism —a multiculturalism not to reinforce Japaneseness by essentializing and using minorities as the Other, but to acknowledge their cultural and identity practices and to view those as dynamic and tied to power relations (e.g., May 1999; McLaren 1994). Although theories and concepts of media and cultural studies are useful to critically analyze commercially-produced popular cultural products, those theories are not sufficient for people in the majority group to 'read' the less-commercialized media practices of ethnic minority groups.

This does not mean, however, that ethnic minority media self-representation is inherently 'authentic' or 'truthful'. According to standpoint theory proposed by feminist scholars who have scrutinized the production of knowledge, a standpoint is an achievement for which minorities must struggle through marginalized everyday

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experiences (Harding 2004a, p. 8), thus offering 'better grounds for certain kinds of knowledge' (Harding 2004b, p. 129). As Haraway (2004) claims, the standpoints of minority groups are 'not "innocent" positions' but 'preferred because they seem to promote more adequate, sustained, objective, transforming accounts of the world' (p. 88).[1] Ethnic minority media practices are not free from the dominant ideologies of the societies to which they physically, virtually, or imaginarily belong. However, they do provide different knowledge about ethnic cultural practices and identities at least, if not necessarily those of gender, sexuality, class, or religion.

This chapter is an attempt to add an approach to reading ethnic minority media practices. My central interest is in exploring ways for people in the majority group to listen to the voices of ethnic minorities and thereby learn critical multiculturalism. For this purpose, I revisit the concept of empathy. Popularly defined as 'putting yourself in someone else's shoes', philosophers and psychologists have conceptualized empathy (Barnes 2014; Coplan and Goldie 2011; Verducci 2000). Empathy also has received positive attention from scholars in multicultural education and critical pedagogy as a way of building a more just and equitable multicultural relationship (Dolby 2012; Kanpol 1995; Zembylas 2012) as well as criticism for being limited for that purpose (Boler 1999b; Taylor 2007). In addition, empathy has been popularized as a practical 'skill' in interpersonal relationship and business (e.g., sales and marketing). Due to the plethora of definitions of empathy, it often happens that a process or phenomenon referred to as empathy in one study is dismissed and regarded as something else in another. However, as Verducci (2000) argues, 'a serious problem lies in advocating or criticizing empathy as through there is consensus on the object of advocacy or criticism' (p. 66). More important is 'who should feel empathy for whom' (Boler 1999b, p. 164) or whether empathy is 'useful to whom and for what purposes' (Barnes 2014, p. 568).

Empathy—the English translation of the German word *Einfühlung* (feeling into)— makes a twofold contribution to the purpose of this study. One contribution is its incorporation of the affective. As the etymological background of the term shows, emotion is an integral part of empathy. Critical perspectives in teaching multicultural understanding, as exemplified by critical pedagogy, often stress 'rational' and cognitive approaches, such as deconstructing ideology, thinking about power, and reflecting one's privilege, thereby paying insufficient attention to the affective (Dolby 2012; Zembylas 2012). However, emotion is crucial in multicultural understanding. As critical emotion studies scholars have suggested, emotion, which is closely connected to values (Jaggar 2009), plays a significant role in the construction of national, ethnic, and racial identities and also in the majority group's negative attitudes and actions toward ethnic minority groups, such as racial discrimination, hate crimes, and parochial nationalism (Ahmed 2014; Appadurai 2009).

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[1]Haraway (2004) uses the word "objective" not in the sense of positivism, but to mean "less organized by axes of domination" (p. 89).

Another contribution is the prevention of polarization between the majority and the minority. Critical pedagogy and multicultural education practitioners themselves have confessed that their pedagogical approaches based on social justice paradigms do not work for the majority student (Allen and Rossatto 2009; Dolby 2012, p. 4). A serious problem is the tendency to pit the majority against the minority by viewing the minority's experience of marginalization as the central point of learning without paying sufficient attention to the majority's lived experience, feelings, and thoughts (Allen and Rossatto 2009; Dolby 2012; Ellsworth 1989). Empathy is useful because it is a way of creating unity between different others. However, the meaning of 'unity' must be carefully discussed to avoid positivist and universalist versions of empathy, which, as often seen in psychological studies, are premised on the possibility of vicariously understanding others and the decontextualized idea of people as individuals (Davis 1994; Hoffman 2001).

In this study, I analyze students' responses to the independent documentary film *Permanência* (2006) about young Japanese Brazilian return migrants in Japan by using empathy as a conceptual framework. Seeking better economic opportunities, a large number of Japanese Brazilians began to migrate to Japan in the 1990s. In Brazil, they were known as Japanese and 'a model minority' with higher than average education and income (Lesser 2007, p. xxix). However, back in Japan, primarily engaging in manual labor, they have been marginalized as foreigners with lower socio-economic status (Roth 2002; Tsuda 2003). At the peak of the return migration in 2008, approximately 300,000 Japanese Brazilians, one-fifth of the total Japanese Brazilian population, were living in Japan. In the following sections, I engage in an interdisciplinary discussion of how empathy has been studied, defined, and criticized. Then I examine students' responses to the film in relation to the ideas of empathy informed by Boler (1999b) and Coplan (2011). Lastly, I explore how ethnic minorities' visual self-representation can be used as a resource for the majority group to learn critical multicultural empathy.

9.1 The Concept of Empathy

The English word 'empathy' originates in the German word *Einfühlung* (feeling into) in late 19th century German aesthetics. However, before the introduction of the word, key issues of empathy can be identified in David Hume and Adam Smith's discussions of sympathy in the 18th century (Barnes 2014; Coplan and Goldie 2011). Following Coplan and Goldie's (2011) terminology, one issue is the distinction between 'lower-level empathy' and 'higher-level empathy'; the other issue is the distinction between 'self-oriented perspective-taking' and 'other-oriented perspective-taking'. Lower-level empathy consists of the (seemingly) fast, automatic, and unconscious affective reactions to another person's emotions, such as motor mimicry and emotional contagion. Higher-level empathy is a more deliberative and conscious process of understanding another person's

feelings, thoughts, and actions. The second issue, perspective-taking, thus matters only for higher-level empathy. The two perspective-takings differ in terms of placing oneself in another's situation (i.e., self-oriented) or shifting one's perspective to that of someone else (i.e., other-oriented).

On the one hand, for Hume, sympathy entailed lower-level empathy (Coplan and Goldie 2011, p. xi; Stueber 2006, pp. 28–30). Hume's sympathy meant affective responses that instantly arise in knowing another's situation and that are congruent with another person's emotion (Hume 2003/1739–40, p. 226). On the other hand, Smith discussed sympathy mainly as higher-level empathy (Coplan and Goldie 2011, p. xi; Davis 1994, p. 3), referring to it as one's conscious attempt to imagine and reconstruct another's emotion (Smith 2006/1759, pp. 2–7). Moreover, Smith's notion of sympathy is based on self-oriented perspective-taking (Coplan and Goldie 2011, pp. x–xi; Schertz 2007). Defining sympathy as 'fellow-feeling' enabled by imagination, Smith (2006/1759) stated that 'by the imagination, we place ourselves in his situation' (p. 3) and that 'I judge of your sight by my sight, of your ear by my ear, of your reason by my reason, of your resentment by my resentment, of your love by my love. I neither have, not can have, any other way of judging them' (p. 13).

In the early 20th century, Theodore Lipps, a German aesthetics scholar who played a central role in the initial development of the notion of *Einfühlung*, saw empathy as akin to lower-level empathy. Defining empathy as 'feeling something, namely, oneself, into the esthetic object' (1935, p. 302), Lipps viewed it as a process of inner resonance with both aesthetic objects and others' minds by 'merging' oneself with the objects or minds. For Lipps, empathy was 'an innate, instinctual, and beyond that, ultimately human tendency to motor mimicry' (Stueber 2006, pp. 7–8). Around that time, scholars in phenomenology and hermeneutics also picked up the concept of empathy, linking it with the concepts of intersubjectivity and *Verstehen* (understanding), or the process of sharing and understanding others' experiences, writings, and utterances (Barnes 2014, p. 563; Coplan and Goldie 2011, pp. xiii–xvii; Stueber 2006, p. 9–11). They criticized Lipp's essentialized and unmediated idea of empathy and attempted to revise it as a process of understanding other minds mediated through the observer's perspective. However, they later dismissed the concept of empathy, prioritizing the cognitive over the affective and arguing that personal, historical and social contextual knowledge plays a more central role in understanding others (Stueber 2006, pp. 15–16).

Since the end of World War II, psychologists have examined and theorized empathy (Wispé 1987). Psychologists have defined empathy in two ways as cognitive and as affective: the former is the cognitive awareness of another person's thinking and feeling, while the latter pertains to vicarious or congruent affective responses to another person's emotions (Hoffman 2001, pp. 29–30). Starting in the 1950s, empathy became an important concept in clinical psychology as a way for therapists to have access to a client's mind (Wispé 1987, p. 28). Empathy as discussed in this field was cognitive. For example, Rogers (1980/1975), an influential psychotherapy theorist, defined empathy as a process of 'entering the

private perceptual world of the other and becoming thoroughly at home in it' (p. 142). For Rogers, empathy meant that 'for the time being you lay aside the views and values you hold for yourself in order to enter another world without prejudice. In some sense, it means you lay aside your self' (p. 143). Rogers' idea of empathy implied higher-level empathy with other-oriented perspective-taking, or a conscious process of swapping one's own way of thinking and feeling with that of another person.

In the 1960s, empathy started to become a popular subject among developmental and social psychologists (Wispé 1987). Their focus has been on affective empathy or how one can accurately replicate and share another person's feelings (Batson et al. 1987, p. 20; Stueber 2006, p. 28). For example, Batson et al. (1987) defined empathy as 'emotional reactions to perceiving another person in need' and 'the other-focused, congruent emotion produced by witnessing another person's suffering' (p. 20), while Eisenberg and Strayer (1990) saw empathy as 'an emotional response that stems from another's emotional state or condition and that is congruent with the other's emotional state or situation' (p. 5). Hoffman (2001), defining empathy as 'an affective response more appropriate to another's situation than one's own' (p. 4), proposed five modes of empathy, incorporating both lower- and higher-level empathy, which are to be developed in the process of children's growth.[2] For Hoffman, empathy involved self-oriented perspective-taking in which one either involuntarily or voluntarily associates one's past similar experience in sharing another's emotion.

In the 1990s, 'after a century of philosophical neglect' (Stueber 2006, p. 4), philosophers rejoined the discussion of empathy by way of simulation theory. In this theory, empathy was equated with simulation, a way to engage in mindreading or understanding and predicting other people's feelings, thinking, and actions (Goldman 2011, p. 32). The context for the resurgence of interest in empathy was the increase in cognitive neuroscience empirical studies resulting from the discovery of mirror neurons[3] in the 1990s, which were regarded as 'objective' and 'scientific' grounds to support empathy (Coplan and Goldie 2011, pp. xxviii–xxx).

9.2 Empathy for Critical Multicultural Understanding

These rather positivist, individualized, and decontextualized conceptualizations of empathy are clearly problematic. That is not only because they neglect contexts including power relations in which people engaging in empathy are situated, but also because they presume that people can accurately comprehend and replicate

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[2]The five modes are mimicry, classical conditioning, direct association, mediated association, and role-taking. Hoffman classified three out of the five modes as lower-level empathy and the rest two as higher-level empathy (p. 5).

[3]The theory of mirror neurons suggests that people activate the same neurons when they observe emotions as if they actually feel the emotions.

another person's emotions. Boler (1999b) makes a notable criticism against empathy from a critical cultural and pedagogical perspective. Boler's criticism targets empathy as a self-oriented perspective-taking process advocated by the philosopher Nussbaum (1995) in line with Adam Smith's idea of sympathy. Boler (1999b) claims that such empathy derives from 'a fear for oneself' (p. 159), requiring 'the other's difference in order to consume it as sameness' (p. 160), and thus falls short as a way to understand and change social situations from which another suffers.

Dismissing that kind of 'passive empathy', Boler (1999b) advocates 'testimonial reading' that 'involves empathy, but requires the reader's responsibility' (p. 158). More specifically, it is the ability 'to recognize oneself as implicated in the social forces that create the climate of obstacles the other must confront' (p. 166). Boler argues that testimony, usually called upon when the factual accuracy of social and historical injustices is called into question, is beyond the common-sense notion of truth; it is an ongoing discursive practice in which the listener is urged to con-template how to put to use the testified information so as to do something about the injustices. Put differently, listening to testimony entails more than the receptive act of listening and understanding; it also requires the active participation of the listener in responding to the testimony and resolving the injustices.

Despite their limitations, the discussions of empathy in philosophy and psy-chology are not totally irrelevant but can be used to clarify important issues for the majority's critical multicultural empathy. Boler's (1999b) idea of testimonial reading is elaborated, for example, by referring to philosopher Coplan's (2011) definition of empathy, although Coplan's rather positivist and universalist idea includes aspects that are incompatible with Boler's. Coplan (2011) defines empathy as 'a complex imaginative process in which an observer simulates another person's situated psychological states while maintaining a clear self-other differentiation' (p. 5). Empathy being 'complex' means that 'it is simultaneously a cognitive and affective process'; being 'imaginative' implies that it 'involves the representations of a target's state that are activated by, but not directly accessible through, the observer's perception'; and 'simulating' refers to the process in which 'the observer replicates or reconstructs the target's experiences, while maintaining a clear sense of self-other differentiation' (pp. 5–6). In short, empathy is a conscious process of shifting one's thinking and emotion to another's to understand that person's experience. Based on this definition, Coplan (2011) identifies three important ele-ments of empathy: affective matching, other-oriented perspective-taking, and self-other differentiation (p. 6).

Thus empathy for Coplan (2011) is limited to higher-level empathy with other-oriented perspective-taking. Self-oriented perspective-taking does not qualify as empathy because imagining oneself as someone else means feeling not for others but merely for oneself (p. 16). An other-oriented perspective occurs when 'I imagine being the target undergoing the target's experiences rather than imagining being myself undergoing the target's experiences' (p. 13). Therefore, successful other-oriented perspective-taking requires the empathizer to have 'at least some knowledge of the target' (p. 13). Moreover, a clear distinction between oneself

and another is crucial to taking an other-oriented perspective because merging oneself with another offers a very weak linkage with and little understanding of another and another's experience, necessarily resulting in a self-oriented perspective (p. 17). Clarifying self-other differentiation in empathy, Coplan (2011) states that 'we are neither fused nor detached. We relate to the other as an other but share in the other's experience in a way that bridges but does not eliminate the gap between our experiences' (p. 16).

Coplan's (2011) discussion of empathy does not include historical, political, and socio-cultural contexts. However, if 'perspective' is taken as 'standpoint'—a particular way of seeing the world or epistemology, which is 'historically shaped, group-based experiences' (Collins 2004, p. 247)—Coplan's notion of empathy complements what Boler (1999b) does not sufficiently explicate in the notion of testimonial reading. Firstly, Coplan includes affective matching as one of the three key elements of empathy. Setting aside its positivist nuance (i.e., matching), the role of affect or emotions is more pronounced in Coplan.[4] This is probably because by adopting the term 'reading', Boler concentrates more on its cognitive aspect. As researchers across disciplines who critically study emotions have pointed out, emotions are socially, historically, culturally, and politically constructed and practiced (Harding and Pribram 2009). Thus emotions are interdependent with values (Jaggar 2009, p. 56) and 'are bound to play a role in our thinking about the good and the just' (Burkitt 2009, p. 159). As Boler (1999a) argues elsewhere, emotions 'reflect linguistically-embedded cultural values and rules and are thus a site of power and resistance' (p. 6). Emotions, therefore, are tightly connected to ethnic, racial and national identities as well as ideologies that reify and reinforce these identities, such as nationalism and racism (Ahmed 2014; Appadurai 2009). This suggests that understanding another's emotions is indispensable for critical multiculturalism.

Secondly, testimonial reading necessitates two of the three elements of Coplan's (2011) idea of empathy: self-other differentiation and other-oriented perspective-taking. As discussed previously, listening to another in testimonial reading implicates the listener in another's situation. This does not occur if the listener ignores socio-historical, cultural, economic and political differences, viewing both oneself and another just as individuals and unproblematically identifying with another. And being aware of these differences and one's perspective (or positionality) is imperative in understanding the other's perspective (or standpoint) that is tied to that other's collective and historical experience. In other words, this empathy is 'a form of virtual, not vicarious experience' in which 'emotional response comes with respect for the other and the realization that the experience of the other is not one's own' (LaCapra 2001, p. 40).

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[4]Emotion and affect are distinguished in some scholarly writings, while they are used interchangeably in others (Greco and Stenner 2008).

9.3   Student Responses to the Film *Permanência*

To explore ways in which ethnic minority media practices can be used to help the majority group practice critical multicultural understanding, I analyze 64 student responses[5] to the documentary film *Permanência* (2006) with this stretched notion of empathy informed by Boler (1999b) and Coplan (2011). The film was directed by Japanese Brazilian director Hélio Ishii, himself a return migrant, and was publicly screened at multicultural events and film festivals but not in theaters.[6] The film mainly depicts four young Japanese Brazilian return migrants (two males and two females) presumably in their late 10s and early 20s. Three of the four are college students and one is a factory worker. Three speak in Portuguese, while one female interviewee speaks in Japanese. The interviewees talk about their life in Japan, such as their identity struggles, cultural differences, parents, bullying, and their plans for the future. In addition, primary school children, teachers of Portuguese, parents who learn Japanese, and a Peruvian man married to a Japanese woman, appear in the film.

I chose this film because I thought that it would be relatively easier for students to empathize with the main Japanese Brazilian interviewees who are roughly their age and most of whom are students like themselves. Before the students watched the film, I had them read a book chapter about Japanese migration to Brazil and the recent return migration of Japanese Brazilians to Japan to provide them with contextual information. Immediately after screening the film, I asked the students to describe their feelings in writing.

9.3.1   Bullying

Bullying was frequently mentioned in students' responses probably because it is a familiar issue for them and also because the interviewees' verbal and nonverbal emotional expressions are intense and visible in the film. One of the main interviewees, Luana, has been in Japan for 17 years and speaks in Japanese. She talks about her younger days in Japan:

> I felt much pressure to be like Japanese. I was determined to be seen as Japanese. I had heard that it was common for foreigners to be ill-treated just because they were a little different than the others. So I was very scared [*sugoku kowai*] that this would happen to me. I wanted to tell everyone I was Japanese Brazilian but I thought I had to be seen as Japanese.

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[5]I collected the responses in introductory communication courses required for freshers in 2014 and 2015.

[6]See the film website http://www.amky.org/japanese/title/helio.html. As of this writing, the film has been screened 15 times so far.

In another scene, a narrator reads an excerpt from an essay about a Japanese Brazilian student who was bullied:

I was bullied simply because my name is longer and uses *katakana*.[7] I was even called a foreigner [*gaijin*]. People can understand each other even if their ethnicity and nationality are different. I got angry [*hara wo tateru*], wondering why Japanese people discriminated against me.

One type of response is to accept Japanese Brazilian emotions as legitimate with a self- (or majority-) oriented perspective. For example, one student writes that 'I felt sad [*kanashii*] to know that they were bullied just because they don't look Japanese and their name is long and written in *katakana* or because they look Japanese but can't speak Japanese' (Student 47).[8] Another student comments that 'Japanese people often feel that Japanese Brazilians like them [the interviewees] are Brazilians, not Japanese so we tend to discriminate against and bully them. I thought that is painful [*tsurai*]' (57). Another student confesses that 'I didn't know that Japanese exclusive attitudes were so awful [*hidoi*]. I didn't want to believe that Japanese people exclude and bully them just because they, who are human like ourselves, have different blood [*chigau chi ga majiru*]' (9).

In contrast to 'scared' and 'angry', the emotions of the Japanese Brazilians, the students' emotional words 'sad', 'painful,' and 'awful' indicate that they view the bullying from a bystander's perspective. Although they agree that bullying is wrong and thus do not reject these Japanese Brazilians' emotions, their perspective is not that of the bullied. As seen most clearly in the last comment, their emotional distress occurs not only from their compassion for the bullied but also from the negative image it creates of the Japanese. The last student's emotion, 'awful', is directed toward the Japanese who marginalize the Japanese Brazilians for reasons that she does not think is right: the student 'didn't want to believe' that the Japanese would do it, seeing herself as part of the Japanese.

Another response is to deny the legitimacy of these Japanese Brazilian emotions with a self- (or majority-) oriented perspective. For example, one student argues:

They said that they were pressured to be like Japanese because they were scared of being bullied due to their difference. I don't think so. Japanese people also become targets of bullying. They [Japanese Brazilians] might sometimes be excluded because they are foreigner or speak a different language but I think they don't have to behave like Japanese. Everybody is different and nobody is the same (19).

Here Japanese Brazilians and Japanese are just individuals detached from their cultural, social, historical and other contexts. Luana's emotion 'scared' is not acknowledged as valid in this response because there is no clear self-other differentiation or differentiation between the minority and the majority in this abstract and decontextualized view of people. When power relations between the minority

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[7]*Katakana* is one of the two Japanese alphabets used mainly for foreign words. Japanese names are rarely written in *katakana*.

[8]Each response is randomly assigned a number between 1 and 64.

and the majority are ignored, assimilation pressure—a practice based on the influential ideology of Japan as a single ethnic/racial nation—is not recognized as a serious problem for ethnic minorities in Japan, and thus the Japanese Brazilian emotions are not acknowledged as relevant.

9.3.2   Cultural Difference

The cultural difference also drew responses from many students. Culture is emotional because emotions depend on how people selectively observe and interpret situations and events, which they learn culturally and socially (Jaggar 2009, p. 56). In the film, the interviewees' emotions are more visibly expressed in both verbal and nonverbal messages when they talk about the cultural difference.

Language is one topic of cultural difference highlighted in the film. Tomas, a college student who had been in Japan for 13 years, talks about the stress that he experienced in his younger days because he did not fully understand the Japanese language. In this scene, he uses large hand gestures and uses an emotional tone of voice:

> I felt a lot of stress. I was stressed all day. When you can't communicate in Japanese, you get frustrated… When, by any chance, I heard them [classmates] saying something about me or my sister, I said, 'Hold on. You are talking bad about me!' As I couldn't speak, I had to slap them… Later the teacher came and said, 'You can't do this' and asked me, 'Why did you do this?' I felt pain because I couldn't explain why. So I got even more angry.

One type of response is to accept Tomas' emotion as valid by taking an other-oriented perspective. For example, one student writes that 'language is the primary means to communicate so I imagine that Japanese Brazilians suffer from a lot of frustration [*modokashisa*] that they cannot make themselves heard on the spot' (57). A similar response was: 'I thought it would be very painful [*tsurai*] to live by feeling stressed because of language and cultural differences' (41). In these comments, students imagine Tomas' frustration and pain due to his limited proficiency in Japanese largely in line with his perspective. Taking an other-oriented perspective on this issue is probably not very difficult because students have had a similar difficulty in study-abroad programs or in English classes.

Another type of response is to take a self-oriented perspective in understanding Tomas' experience and emotion. One example is:

> I thought about what I would do if I were Japanese Brazilian. If I were bullied or had to have a stressful life just because I looked Japanese but couldn't speak Japanese, I would feel happier [*motto shiawase*] to live in Brazil and be with people speaking my language (13).

This student imagines herself as Japanese Brazilian, focusing on what she would possibly do or how she would feel in a similar situation rather than imagining Tomas' experience. However, the following comment exemplifies a different kind of self-oriented perspective-taking: 'I felt stunned [*syōgeki wo ukeru*] to find out

that his experience is similar to my own experience. I felt tortured [*yarusenai*] and sad [*kanashii*] when I couldn't explain what others thought was my fault was actually not mine' (6). Although both students take a self-oriented perspective, the latter student grasps Tomas' situation and emotion more appropriately by recalling the student's own similar experience. For Tomas, a child at that time, going back to Brazil was impossible. Thus imagining that Tomas would be happier in Brazil, which he also must have thought, is probably not so meaningful. However, referring to one's past experience is helpful as long as one has a similar experience.

Seniority culture is another topic of cultural difference in which the emotions of the interviewees were visible in the film. Luana talks about the basketball club that she joined in junior high school:

> The hierarchy in junior high school was very rigid. I had to use polite language to club members who are only one year older than me. The veterans in third grade didn't do anything such as preparations for club activities. I belonged to the basketball club and the students in first or second grade had to do all the preparations for club activities. The students in third grade behaved as if they were superior, and I felt very annoyed [*sugoku iya*] about that.

Luana frowns when she says 'annoying', reinforcing her disapproval of a seniority culture. Tomas also says that 'in Japan, they are very strict in terms of age. The oldest has to be the most respected. Respecting seniors is okay but not someone who is only one or two years older than you!' and adds that 'Japanese-style for 24 hours? I can't do that', shaking his head in disbelief.

Accepting Luana's or Tomas' emotions is not easy for students, who probably have experienced seniority culture in their junior and senior high school days. They discuss this issue largely from a self-oriented perspective. One student recalls being in the basketball club and writes that 'listening to the words of the Brazilians, I thought club activities without seniority culture would be unimaginable' (44). Another student argued that 'I think this [seniority culture] is a Japanese culture. If they migrate here, I think they should understand it and accept it even on the surface' (19). However, an international student from China comments that 'I felt the same way about Japanese seniority culture', confessing that using polite language to people who are only one year older than herself was 'the largest bother [*mendokusai*] and most difficult' issue in Japan (3).

Not accepting Japanese Brazilian emotions about cultural difference is tied to a particular view of culture. In addition to language and seniority culture, the film portrays other topics of cultural difference including school uniforms, the educational system, and friendship. Referring to those cultural differences as a whole, one student claimed that 'to be honest, I think it is too much for them to expect to maintain Brazilian culture in Japanese society. The Japanese should tolerate [*ki wo tsukatte ageru*] different cultures, but Brazilians (foreigners) also should make efforts to assimilate into Japanese culture' (34). Another student had a similar response: 'It is difficult to assimilate into a different culture but I think migrant workers and their family members also should make efforts to accept Japanese culture' (8). Here, culture may be viewed with cultural relativism, but it has a

different value by location: in Japan, Japanese culture should be prioritized over other cultures. This view of culture is inseparable from the idea of the nation 'imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign' (Anderson 1991, p. 6) and is tied to the belief that national culture is entitled to have privilege over other cultures inside the nation.

9.3.3 Identity Struggle

The topic that attracted most responses is identity struggle. In one scene of the film, when primary school children are asked if they are Brazilian, only a couple of students agree while others say, '*hafu* [mixed]', '*nikkei* [people of Japanese descent]', or '*sansei* [third generation]'. In another scene, a teacher discusses identity struggles of Japanese Peruvian children by giving an example: 'The child believes s/he is Japanese. When the parents say to the child, "you are not Japanese but Peruvian", the child gets angry [*okoru*] and says, "I was born in Japan so I am Japanese!"'.

The main interviewees in the film talk about their identities in ambivalent, contradictory, and fluid ways. Luciana, a university student who came to Japan when she was in primary school, says: 'When I learned I couldn't go back to Brazil, I thought I had to become Japanese. But when I would come back home from school, I would find my parents speaking in Portuguese. I thought I was Brazilian. One day, I said to my mom, "Don't speak Portuguese to me anymore"'. However, at the end of the film, Luciana says, 'It's not because I have a Brazilian passport. It's not because I was born in Brazil. I don't know why but I consider myself as Brazilian''. While Tomas says that his way of thinking is Brazilian, he confesses that 'to be honest, I don't want people to know I am Brazilian' and claims that 'I spend my childhood, my teenage years, and now as an adult in Japan. So Japan is my second home country. If Brazil is my first home country, Japan is the second'.

Although Japanese Brazilian identity struggles are viewed as valid in student responses, they are interpreted differently depending on each student's perspective. One type of response is to view the identity struggle from a self- (or majority-) oriented perspective. For example, one student argues that 'it is difficult to live in two worlds, their home country and the country that they moved to. They suffer [*kurushimu*] very much from cultural difference…. If they don't decide in which world they are going to live, their identities will end up being fuzzy [*aimai*]' (33). Another student writes that 'they belong to Brazil at home and to Japan at school. I've learned from the film that this fuzzy [*aimai*] and neither-nor [*chūto hanpa*] situation causes them huge stress' (53). In these responses, identity is assumed to be singular and clearly defined; ambiguous and fluid identities, for which multicultural living environments are responsible, are not good. The perspective of these responses is that of the majority because it is based on the idea that people are supposed to live in their 'own' country to have a clearly demarcated meaning of

who they are. This idea has a tight connection to the nation-state principle in which migrants and ethnic minority groups are often seen as 'deviants'.

Another type of response is to view the issue of identity struggle with an other-(or minority-) oriented perspective by taking into account the majority's role in Japanese Brazilians' identity struggle. One student comments that 'Japanese Brazilians born in Japan may think that they aren't different from Japanese. It would be painful [*tsurai*] for them if Japanese around them don't accept them as such' (59). Another student writes that 'Japanese Brazilian children's identities are fuzzy [*aimai*] because they aren't accepted in Japan and also seen as different from ordinary Brazilians even if they call themselves Brazilian. I think they suffer [*kunō*] under such circumstances' (50). In these responses, Japanese Brazilians feel 'pain' or 'suffer' not because of their multicultural life-world but because of the way in which the majority (i.e., Japanese in Japan or Brazilians in Brazil) views minority groups.

For students with a multicultural background, there is nothing deviant about such Japanese Brazilians' identities. Although they also take a self-oriented perspective, theirs differs from that of the majority. A student of South Asian descent who grew up in Japan comments:

> I think Japan is a country where if you are different, you are not accepted as Japanese. Even though you think you are Japanese or Brazilian, as long as people around you don't accept you as so, you can't feel confident about your identity as Japanese or Brazilian. I don't think it necessary to choose to be either Japanese or Brazilian but I suspect that they try to be like Japanese because it is painful [*tsurai*] for them to be torn between the two identities (42).

A student of Chinese descent, a naturalized Japanese citizen, in referring to the Luciana's words 'I consider myself as Brazilian', writes that 'I can't answer who I want to be. I accept my situation that I am neither Chinese nor Japanese. But I felt envious [*urayamashii*] she could say it so clearly. This made me think deeply, although I am not sure if I should decide who I am' (46). The two students who grew up as a minority in Japan would probably have similar identity struggles. For them, choosing one identity or the other is not imperative; a fuzzy, hybrid, multiple, and fluid identity is the norm, not the exception. What makes Japanese Brazilians feel 'pain' or 'suffer' is the majority group's failure to acknowledge such identities.

9.4 Conclusion

Self- (or majority-) oriented perspective-taking was more dominant than other-oriented perspective-taking in "reading" *Permanência*. When students took a self-oriented perspective, accepting the emotions of the Japanese Brazilian interviewees was possible, but 'affective matching', or sharing the emotions did not occur as seen in their responses to bullying. However, as exemplified by the responses of students with a multicultural background, when they had a similar life

experience, self-oriented perspective-taking helped them critically empathize with the Japanese Brazilians.

An important element of critical multicultural empathy is shifting the majority's perspective to an other-oriented perspective, or in other words learning the minority's standpoints. This must be done without polarization of the majority and minority and simultaneously with self-other differentiation. Thus the first step is—in addition to teaching related concepts and ethnic minority groups' social and historical contexts—making students aware of the perspective they take when they feel or think something in reading ethnic minority media practices. For this purpose, starting from the majority students' feelings and thinking is indispensable. Shifting or moving one to another does not occur without knowing where that one is located. To move the majority students' self-oriented perspective to an other-oriented perspective, students must become conscious about the fact that they feel and think from a particular positionality. The second step is encouraging them to think about why there are differences and/or similarities between their own and ethnic minority people's emotions and/or perspectives. These two steps are necessary in practicing Boler's (1999b) idea of testimonial reading or implicating oneself in another's struggle over injustices and engaging oneself in transforming those injustices. This act of implicating involves relating oneself to another historically, politically, culturally, economically, and emotionally. Such connections are often made invisible beyond personal relationships that the majority student may have in everyday life.

An issue to be investigated further in the future is teaching empathy with more different others. Among the four main interviewees of the film, Fabio, a 19-year old factory worker, drew the fewest responses from students. Fabio came to Japan when he was 14 years old and started working three months after his arrival without going to school. For students in my class, Fabio's life is too different from theirs. Empathizing with less familiar others is more difficult (Coplan 2011, p. 13), and, therefore, requires a different approach in teaching critical multicultural empathy.

Ethnic minorities' visual self-representation can have a strong impact on the majority student. Several students commented that the film was their first exposure to Japanese Brazilians or to seeing Japanese Brazilians visually and hearing them speaking 'in person'. For example, one student wrote that 'I don't see any Japanese Brazilians around me, so it was the first chance for me to actually hear their voice' (36). After writing that all she knew about Japanese Brazilians before watching the film was their language problem, one student wrote that 'I felt embarrassed [*hazukashii*] realizing that I had seen them from a very narrow viewpoint' (20). Even if it is not a direct, face-to-face experience, the majority student can at least have opportunities to listen to ethnic minorities' voices, which are especially meaningful in Japanese society where their cultural practices are often made invisible. One student writes as follows:

> I didn't know that many Japanese Brazilians live in Japan and have a difficult life. I had thought that compared with other countries, Japan was almost a single ethnic/racial nation [*tan'itsu minzoku*] so did not have problems about migrants. I think many Japanese think similarly…What can we do to understand minorities more? I think each of us should start taking a second look at what we think we know (52).

Audio-visual images are powerful because they are more immediate than writings. Ethnic minorities' media self-representation can transform the majority's perception, offering 'better grounds' for knowledge about ethnic minorities' life experiences. For this purpose, just showing ethnic minority films to people of the majority group is not sufficient. What is needed is to encourage them to 'feel into' ethnic minorities' experience by asking the right questions.

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Chapter 10
Hegemonic Pan-Ethnic White Australian Masculinity: Feeling Masculine During Mediated-Assemblages

Clifton Evers

10.1 Introduction

Globalization have brought transformations to conditions of possibility—historical, social, material, economic, spatial, political, and cultural—at various scales: local, regional, national, and international. Fortunati et al. (2012) have identified that especially for new migrants information and communication technologies now play an important role in negotiating the changes as they migrate and resettle. This Chapter is an ethnographic account of feeling masculine and feeling ethnic by a cohort of hegemonic-aligned "Aussie men" engaged in transnational[1] employment and how mobile phones are entangled with such.[2]

The particular cohort I explore has learned how to act, think, and feel primarily while aligned with normative idealized expectations of masculinity in Australia. For example, whiteness, heteronormativity, stoicism, strength, physicality, control, self-reliance, honor, respect, homophobia. They have also become accustomed to bonding practices such as heteronormative sexual conquest and objectification of

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[1]Following the work of Ong (1999), by the term 'transnational' I am referring to people who as a result of late capitalism and globalisation take up live their lives across national borders—a "flexible citizenship."

[2]There are, of course, many other possible ways of interpreting, doing, and experiencing masculinity in relation to Australia. These are differentially valued. They are marked by marginalisation, occlusion, subordination, and exclusion based on varying intersections of discourses about ethnicity, race, sexuality, class, and (dis)ability. As Connell (1995) argues, there are "masculinities". My focus here is on a particular cohort as politically I aim to undermine the hegemonic alliance of relationship that privilege them at the expense of others. Further, while I am aware that women can do masculinity and men can do femininity my focus is on men doing masculinity. I do not imply or intend any generalisations or to extrapolate the findings to or across any other identifications.

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women, sport, alcohol consumption, and even violence (perpetrating it and/or "dealing with it"). The idealized alliance of normalized expectations can be referred to as "hegemonic masculinity" (Connell 1995).[3] These normative expectations are normalized and repeatedly reaffirmed in their hegemony in Australia by a broader dispositif[4] that the expectations have dominated and co-constituted.

Of particular interest to me in this particular Chapter is how this cohort feels ethnic. Following the work of Brubaker (2004, p. 11), when I use the term "ethnic" throughout the Chapter this does not refer to a substance or essence or "discrete, concrete, tangible, bounded and enduring 'groups'". By ethnic I mean how, as Brubaker (2004, p. 11) puts it, this is the performative iteration of "practical categories, cultural idioms, cognitive schemas, discursive frames, organizational routines, institutional forms, political projects and contingent events … as political, social, cultural and psychological processes". I also figure gender (and specifically in the case here masculinity/ies) as "performative" (Butler 1990).[5] This cohort of men (and myself) have learned to be "Aussie men" while entangled with a particular gendered and ethnic dispositif and performative iterations that have led to our habitus (Bourdieu 1977) which is experienced as a "common-sense" system of dispositions: how we think, act, feel, perceive, identify, and align (or not) ourselves with others.[6]

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[3]The alliance signifies rather than acts as an achievable and actualisable holistic identity. It is culturally, historically, socially, and politically specific. All gendered identities involve the ongoing construction of oneself in relation to hegemonic masculinity and the concomitant expectations and effects.

[4]I am using the term 'dispositif' (apparatus) as per Michel Foucault (1977/1980, p. 194), who explains this as "What I'm trying to pick out with this term is, firstly, a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic. The concept of the dispositive propositions—in short, the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the apparatus. The apparatus itself is the system of relations that can be established between these elements". http://www.egs.edu/faculty/giorgio-agamben/articles/what-is-a-dispositif/overview/.

[5]I am also drawing here on the work of feminist philosopher Judith Butler on 'gender performativity'. For Butler, performativity is the process of repetition, iteration, and citation of discourses through bodies and language. Discourses produce identity categories and our knowledge of what these are and how to do and be them. The repetition, iterations, and citations of discourses leads to some dispositions, perceptual schema, thoughts and bodily techniques becoming more powerful—orthodox, normative, "natural", standardized, regular and acceptable—rather than others. However, Butler explains these cannot be apprehended on their own terms and so rely on being delineated and buttressed from that which they are not—the 'abnormal' or binary 'other.'

[6]By "habitus" I am drawing on the work of sociologist Bourdieu (1977) who uses this term to refer to how sociological processes are internalized and naturalized—principles, values, beliefs, tendencies, appreciations, tastes, expectations—that function through a "bodily hexis" (bodily logics) that is the acting of everyday life. The habitus is, Bourdieu (p. 82) writes, "a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences … makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to the analogical transfers of schemes". This habitus is constantly affected by experiences that "either reinforce or modifies its structures" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 133). Importantly, as Probyn (2005) has emphasised, this process is felt—affective and emotional.

Our habitus is heavily influence by what Hage (2001, p. 68) calls a "white nation fantasy", in Australia there is a "A fantasy of a nation governed by white people, a fantasy of White supremacy" despite Australia having an Indigenous and multi-ethnic history and current state of affairs. One of the effects of this white nation fantasy is to produce a symbolic imaginary of the "authentic" Australian man as white and the omission of other bodies when representing Australian men. Artist Huo Leong makes this obvious when he puts himself into nationally iconic images of Australian masculinity e.g. the Digger (Australian soldier) and lifesaver. The symbolic imaginary of the Australian male as white is woven through with historical ties to various amalgamated Anglo-Celtic ethnicities e.g. from throughout the United Kingdom (England, Scotland, Northern Ireland) and Ireland.[7] A pan-ethnic whiteness emerged.[8]

The pan-ethnic whiteness has been informed by the ever-shifting yet particular conditions of possibility in Australia. For example, consider the contribution to this by historical and current colonisation, immigration, and security policies in Australia such as genocide of Indigenous Australians, the White Australia policy,[9] the ongoing operation of immigration detention camps, and the repeated "wars on terror". The pan-ethnic Australian whiteness has defined itself and continues to define itself against what it is not: the Other. Australian hegemonic heteronormative masculine identification works in the same way. That is, defining itself by what it is not (other genders, sexualities, ethnicities, etc.).

Masculinity scholars Hibbins and Pease (2009, p. 3) explain that "During the settlement process and beyond men need to adapt gender, national, sexual, ethnic and class dimensions of identity". Research to-date about Australia, masculinity,

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[7]Northern Europeans and those from the Caucasus are classed as white, also. However, they are thought to have an ethnicity and so are not as white. It's as if to be "truly white" one's experience of ethnicisation has to be so normalised as to be part of the "common-sense". None of the cohort identified with southern Europe (such as Greece, Spain, Portugal, Italy, etc.), even though in Australia ethnicities from these regions are prevalent and are sometimes classed as white and Australian. This particularly happens when there are moves by those with most proximity to the hegemony broaden the scope of belonging and alliance to confront a "threat". The thing is, the ethnicisation as white Australian is meant to be under the determination of those with the closet proximity to the hegemony—the Anglo-Celtic alliance. Put simply, this cohort's functions as self-appointed guardians of white Australian pan-ethnicisation. Further, white ethnicities did not become part of the pan-ethnic white alliance without bring with them their own traditions, habits, values, practices, beliefs, etc. that were complimentary and conflictual. However, a contingent equilibrium emerges in opposition to the Other.

[8]Mind you, white ethnicities did not become part of the pan-ethnic white alliance in Australia without bringing with them their own traditions, habits, values, practices, beliefs, etc. that were both complimentary and conflictual. Australia was not "ground zero".

[9]The White Australia Policy began in the 1850s to restrict the presence of Chinese miners. The policy favoured applicants from Britain and this favouritism was slowly expanded to include others populations from Europe. Underscoring the policy was a perceived threat of a settlement by large numbers of people from "Asia". The policy shaped Australia's immigration from federation until the latter part of the 20th century. It has contributed to an the white nation fantasy and white pan-ethnicisation as part of the Australian national consciousness.

and migration tend to focus on those moving to Australia and how the new arrivals must renegotiate their own culturally-specific expectations of masculinity with meanings and practices of masculinity (Hibbins and Pease 2009). The focus has been on negotiating with hegemonic Australian masculinity. This has left under-examined the negotiation with other masculinities which have long had a place in Australia. What is also absent are studies about what happens when hegemonic pan-ethnic white Australian expectations of masculinity move with "Aussie men" as they travel, work, and live away from Australia.

Building on my previous politically-active research on masculinity, homosociality, and Australia (Evers 2004, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010) I consider in this Chapter how there is consistency with, intensification of, and traces of the alliance of the hegemonic expectations of white pan-ethnic masculinity in Australia—values, tastes, reflections, beliefs, tendencies, behaviours, expectations, qualities, materialities, etc. That is, the persistence of these. However, I also consider how transformed conditions of possibility in Shanghai, China yield experiences that contest, unsettle, challenge, and transform the familiar feelings, practices, meanings, and expectations of this cohort. They find that feeling ethnic is anything but straight-forward.

I also bring into this study the role mobile phones play during this globalising of hegemonic white pan-ethnic Australian masculinity. As media theorists Kember and Zylinska (2012, p. 140) argue, we now come to experience ourselves in the midst of "interlocking technical, social, and biological processes of mediation". Light (2013, p. 245) argues that digital media's use, production, materiality, connectivity, mobility, and convergence characteristics are gendered and facilitate what he calls "networked masculinities," which he defines as "those masculinities (co) produced and reproduced with digitally networked publics".[10]

Importantly, I do not reduce media (and concomitantly networked masculinities) to representation. Media is bound up with how we pay attention, how and what we read, see, feel, hear, perceive, move, learn, and know (McLuhan 1964). It's also important to pay attention to the autonomous and agential material-technical-instrumental infrastructure, which includes machines and information systems (Kittler 1999). As Packer and Wiley (2011) argue that "communication matters" and the materiality whether it is physiological, mechanical, or digital is vibrant and also has agency.

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[10]Light (2013, p. 245) writes about how masculinities as they pertain to "relationships, play and leisure, work and commerce, and ethics" are digitally mediated. The focus of studies to-date, according to Light (p. 247), have been on the relationships between gay men, digital media, and masculinities. These cover issues such as identity, as well as "facilitation of social and sexual connections" (p. 248). Light points out that heteronormative men's experiences with digital media are underexplored. What few there are have looked at pornography, gaming, and dating. Light provides a comprehensive summary of the studies to-date and concludes that there continues to be a dearth of studies of the coming together of heteronormative masculinity and digital media. If we add white ethnicity to this network the gap in research is even more pronounced.

Mediated heterogeneous conditions of possibility—human and non-human,[11] abstract and material—contingently come together and enter into affective relationships whereby the vitality yields articulations (again: human and non-human, abstract and material).[12] By "affective relationship" I mean how the capacity to affect carries a corresponding and inseparable capacity to be affected.

What this process of "mediation" yields is not "predetermined with any certainty," stable, or "well-demarcated" (Vogl 2012, p. 628). While there is always movement feminist theorist Grosz (1994, p. 169) has made clear that there can be congealing, inertia, sedimentation, stubbornness, standardisation, and coagulation.[13] I am cognisant of Dianne Currier's (2013, p. 327) point that there are "regimes of signs and relations of power," which contribute to the persistence of some relationships and conditions at the expense of others.

There is co-constitution of technology and subjectivity (Sterne 2005). In our case here, mobile phones condition how we see, read, hear, perceive, do, understand, and feel masculinity and ethnicity. However, in the very act of doing so, these sensory actions and cognitive functions and effects (e.g. on gendering and ethnicization) condition the media. Again, it's an affective relationship.

The theorisation I have undertaken allows me to better register the mediated conditions of possibility that co-constitute experiences of feeling ethnic and feeling masculine, as well as identify when these experiences affirm and subvert, assemble and dissemble, intensify and diffuse, become entrenched or are discarded, and so on. I am concerned here with the physics of power (Foucault 1980).

I will now turn my attention to some specific quotidian examples of media-assemblages to explore such as this pertains to the "Aussie men" in Shanghai, China.

10.2 Buying Phone Credit

P tells me about how when he first arrived in Shanghai one of his first concerns was to get credit for his mobile phone. His sense of self is mediated. Without a mobile phone he tells me it is more difficult to "get into" Shanghai. This makes sense

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[11]There is what Bennett (2010, p. 6) calls, "thing power," which is "the curious ability of inanimate things to animate, to act, to produce effects dramatic and subtle". As Dewsbury (2011, p. 152) explains, the process of becoming is "not just willed by us humans but come about equally through the materialities of the world in which we are just a part".

[12]Hall and Grossberg (1996) explain that "articulation" can be understood as the cooperation of various conditions of possibility to communicate and effect but at the same time—in a double sense—in the very act of doing so simultaneously communicate their conditioning. I understand examples of articulations to be meanings, energies, properties, qualities, subjectivities, identities, momentums, institutions, space, bodies, technologies, practices, behaviours, beliefs, values, and much more.

[13]Persistence depends on the "movement and rest" of co-operation and conflict of relationships and the ability of assemblages to adjust as they replace lost relationships with new ones to maintain momentum or a "modality" (Bennett 2010, p. 22).

because the administrative functioning of banking, employment, housing, policing, and immigration are all now interfaced with the material, social, cultural, political, economic, spatial processes of mobile phones. As mobile media scholar Ling (2012) instructs, mobile communications are now embedded in society.

P's working-class concomitant educational experiences of ethnicization in Australia meant he learned only English at school. His cultural capital does not extend to knowing other languages. Lots of gesturing in stores couldn't get across what he needed. P tells me he became frustrated and eventually felt angry both at himself for his ineptness and at the store workers because they didn't appear to want to make an effort to help him. He said, "They took forever to serve me even though they were just standing there in a group." He put this hesitancy down to poor customer service rather than perhaps the store workers possibly feeling nervous about the cross-cultural encounter. P's sense of entitlement to being understood and expectation that people be willing to engage with him comes from how he has always been understood and 'commands attention' in Australia.

P felt ethnic and dealt with this experience as he would at home. In Australia he has learned that it is OK for him to be strong, dominant, forceful, and to get angry when he isn't getting what he believes he is entitled to. It's an example of "aggrieved entitlement" which "legitimates" retaliation (Kalish and Kimmel 2010).

P also says to me, "They should know a little English. I was in the French concession after all." In some areas such as the former foreign concessions he expects to feel less ethnic, despite being in China. From 1842 to 1949 there were colonial foreign concessions or enclaves. These areas continue to be highly-populated by people who understand English. His sense of entitlement doesn't extend to the outer suburbs of Shanghai. He avoids those areas. Feeling ethnic is spatial.

This entitlement P feels and how he dealt with being aggrieved evidences how he is unfamiliar with feeling ethnic. His (and the rest of the cohort and my own) ethnicisation and the associated privileges[14] and entitlements common-sense are largely rendered as "normal" and "unseen"[15] due to a privileged gaze articulated by

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[14]The dividends of this hegemony means these men are more likely to feel entitled to, expect, and occupy better positions in labour markets, reside in better housing, have better experiences of the education system, and even unproblematic service in telecommunications stores in China.

[15]Mind you, the claim that whiteness (which I take to include white ethnicities) and masculinity are the norm and so relatively unseen is only true for some men because they (and I) inhabit such. As Ahmed (2004, para. 1) writes about whiteness (the same can be said of masculinity):

But of course whiteness [masculinity] is only invisible for those who inhabit it. For those who don't, it is hard not to see whiteness; it even seems everywhere. Seeing whiteness is about living its effects, as effects that allow white bodies to extend into spaces that have already taken their shape, spaces in which black bodies stand out, stand apart, unless they pass, which means passing through space by passing as white.

persistent powerful discursive and material alliances of conditions of possibility that have traveled with him to Shanghai. This recalls Whitehead's (2002) point in regards to how white heteronormative masculinity is rendered invisible so as to become the absent presence (neutral, objective) against which other identities are to be measured against and defined by.

P is forced to reflect on the experience of not being able to buy mobile phone credit even though it is such a quotidian task. Yet, I don't witness a self-reflexivity emerge about his own ethnicity. It's the shop workers who he says "are stupid" because they "should be able to work out what he wants because everyone has a mobile phone." The ubiquity of the mobile phone—in addition to his sense of entitlement borne of his habitus—work together to inhibit self-reflexivity.

After P told me about his experience buying credit I asked other participants of this study about ethnicity. They made comments such as: "Like the Chinese and stuff?"; "I like ethnic food"; and "I like traveling to places to learn about other cultures." Ethnicity equated to consuming "exotic" food, clothing, objects, and practices. For some of the men the question generated a sense of bewilderment. It's an uncommon question for them. Several answered: "I don't have one [an ethnicity]." As Debord (1979) writes, "The more powerful the class, the more it claims not to exist". When pushed, some of the men answered: "I'm an Aussie." By this answer the men went on to articulate the pan-ethnic whiteness in Australia.

10.3   Chinese Ethnicities

T uses his mobile phone to learn about China. With a swipe of his finger he brings up an official Government webpage and excitedly tells me about how China has 56 officially-recognised ethnicities. X, who is T's friend (and self-identifies as Han), is present and validates the information on the webpage. X proceeds to describe the ethnicities in essentialist, reductive, Othering, and non-modern ways. It's an example of "self-Orientalisation" within China (Dirlik 1996). T gets angry and begins to argue with X about how X is defining and describing non-Han ethnicities. He explains later that X is unaware that some of the categories were assigned to people by Han-dominated Chinese bureaucracies (governmental and academic) based on geographic location rather than lifestyle features of the people themselves or how when they do attempt self-determination of their identity it is politically fraught and dangerous. He provides examples drawn from the ongoing tension in Xinjiang Province.[16] Access to such knowledge via the media infrastructure is

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[16]For example, consider how people classified as Uyghur (which as an identification category did not exist until the 1960s) and who have ties to the Xinjiang province continue to not have the right to contribute on their own terms to their own ethnicisation. The resultant conflict has led to the regular shutting down of the internet in Xinjiang province and recently the imprisonment of Beijing-based Central University for Nationalities economics professor Ilham Tohti illustrates.

blocked by Chinese government censors. Censorship, leisure, politics, prisons, the Google corporation, economics, software, internet infrastructure, bureaucracies, and the mobile phone come together to articulate T's feeling ethnic in China. Ethnicity, however, continues to be about what Others have.

10.4   Google Translate and Google Maps

The first app T download in China was Google Translate. The presence of English and Mandarin evidences the hegemony of these semiotics systems, the privileging of certain ethnicities when it comes to software. Software is entangled with ethnicity. The Google Translate app means an algorithm now mediates feeling ethnic for T. He never uses the app in Australia. It's his "lifeline" in China, as he said. However, the translations are clumsy. Misinterpretation is common. Nuance is lost. A hybrid mediated ethnic semiotic system emerges. However, T explains that the app is still "reassuring."

T also uses Google Maps on his phone. This website connects him into a vast network of satellites hurtling around the planet, as well as wifi antennas spreading radiation waves along the streets and that carry the data he needs. The strength of the wifi signal determines the streets he travels. Without access to Google Maps he tells me he can "feels lost." He also says, "I need the compass to work out where North, South, East, and West are. I still can't work them out." T could use the Chinese software Bing Maps but draws attention to how his own ethnicisation is doesn't fit in China because he is directed to stores, restaurants, and cultural events that are that are orientated toward Chinese tastes, etc.

T ensures his mobile phone battery is fully charged before going out onto the streets of Shanghai. He feels anxious if the battery dies and he cannot access Google Translate and Google Maps. I have also seen T panic when his VPN isn't working well and he cannot access the software when required. T needs a VPN—a proxy server for this service. This can enable him to get around the Great China Firewall. Google services are blocked in China for commercial and political reasons. The cost for a high quality VPN is high and its affordance is because of K's privileged employment and concomitant economic situation achieved because of his ethnicity and masculinity. However, he doesn't bring such factors up and has told me in the past that "everyone has an equal chance" and he got his job simply because he worked harder.

(Footnote 16 continued)

Ilham Tohti has been charged with 'separatism', with evidence of that 'seperatism' including his running of a self-defining Uyghur website and lectures on Uyghur identity.

10.5 A Chinese Phone

D purchased a Chinese-designed and made mobile phone. He bought it because it was cheap, a Shanzhai phone. Shanzhai refers to a copy-cat culture of pirated, copied, imitation, and fake products (Yang 2014).[17] The term originally came into common modern usage to refer to locally derivative mobile/cell phones made by entrepreneurs in Guangdong Province (Ibid.). This involved imitating the design and features of global brands but also incorporating local features (Ibid.). Given this, Shanzhai involves creativity, rerouting, appropriating, innovation, experimenting, revision, hybridity, peculiarity, etc.

Political, cultural, material, and social dimensions come into play as the local and global meet, and this influences the mobile phone's algorithms, layout, printing on the buttons, aesthetics, and more. Mobile phones can materialise ethnicity. The phone itself is even othered when D called it a "Chinese phone" and belittled Shanzhai when he said "The Chinese can't even copy."

The Chinese operating system confused D as his fingers, eyes, and cognitive schema find the ethnicised phone unfamiliar. D says the phone is "too hard to use." In her work on the corporeality of mobile media Richardson (2005, para. 14) explains how "the growing complexity of mobile devices can also bewilder the non-expert use". Out of mediated assemblages there can emerge what Richardson (para. 14) refers to as a "technosoma," which refers to a "corporeal intimacy … with the handset or portable console' that 'renders it an object of tactile and kinesthetic familiarity". There is an orchestrating of a perceptual schema, and "embodiment of the mobile phone". Technosoma is tangled with D's ethnic and gendered habitus, as well as the broader ethnic and gendered dispositif. D's perceptual schema and sensory demands previously developed with mobile phones in Australia are at odds with what comes together with the "Chinese phone" in Shanghai.

10.6 A Boys' Night Out

I went along on one of the regular "boys' nights out." Group solidarity emerges through such boys' nights out on the town because of bonding rituals the men are familiar with because of their apprenticeship in Australia. The bonding rituals include drinking alcohol, swearing, sexual banter and conquest, sledging, and sport.

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[17]Shanzhai literally means mountain stronghold, and it was originally used refers to the strongholds of regional warlords or bandits who eluded official control.

The modus operandi of this homosocial[18] bonding is used to reaffirm their sense of self—including ethnicity—in Shanghai.

A male-to-male intimacy is evident in the frequency of the contact via mobile phones and who is and is not part of the contact list. Hjorth and Lim (2012) have shown that mobile phones amplify intimacy for women. It's also the case for these men. Mobile phones are entangled with bonding and the concomitant support—financial, emotional, economic, safety, cultural know-how, and so on—that may be forthcoming if you show the appropriate commitment to th hegemonic pan-ethnic white Australian masculine expectations.

Newcomers are sent an electronic "taxi card" from the Smart Shanghai app. This app has an English interface and is an archive of business, cultural, and administrative locations. There is a networking into a digitally-mediated pan-ethnic white Australian ethnicity mapping of Shanghai. A mapping of enclaves identifies where one can not feel as ethnic for a little while.

'The Camel' is an Australian-themed bar that is a favoured starting point for these men. The space, food, etiquettes (e.g. hand-shakes), language, activities (e.g. sport on television), etc. feel familiar and they can, as R put it, "let down their guard and relax." The popularity of this venue and how it is networked into the mediated lives of these men fits with how Bourdieu (1990, p. 61) argues the habitus tends to "[P]rotect itself from crises and critical challenges by providing itself with a milieu to which it is pre-adapted as possible; that is, a relatively constant universe of situations tending to reinforce its dispositions".

There is often banter about local women. Sexual objectification works as a bonding mechanism. Some of the men will share images via their mobile phone of the women they have recently had sex with. Mobile phone apps such as WeChat and Momo are used to, as they put it, "trawl' profiles to meet local women and have sex. The men who can read and write some Mandarin are hailed as heroes, not because of a better politics of location, but because it enables them to, as L put it, "fuck more women." They laugh about what they refer to as "yellow fever." There is an Orientalist fetishisation of local women, who are stereotyped as submissive, delicate, shy, passive, exotic, mysterious, tolerant, accepting, innocent, and deferring. The local women's agency is taken from them. When agency is ascribed to the women this more often than not frames the women as opportunists e.g. after money.

Most of the men ignore how local women do have agency and how they ethnically stereotype white foreign men. In an illuminating study of English teachers in Stanley (2013, pp. 62–63) explains that such men are eroticised and objectified by local women, and an "Authentic Westernness" is stereotyped as having white skin and attributed qualities such as being hedonistic, having money, decadent, fun, exotic, adventurous, fun loving, and sexually open. Stanley (p. 63) identifies how the local women may use them to experience a lifestyle that could be out of bounds

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[18]Following the work of Sedgwick (1985) I understand "homosociality" as a process by which men bond through "something" else e.g. a woman, an object, a past-time, etc. The process works to frame male-to-male relationships as heteronormative.

for them due to local conditions of possibility. For example, social class, the province they are from, normative Chinese gender and sexual expectations, and finances. Some of the men do register this agency and exploit it. Stanley explains how the male English teachers benefit from this gaze. It's an accurate observation.

Some men speak of themselves as having such qualities to attract local women. They will post pictures to their social network site profiles that represent such. L tells me if he does this "it's easy to get local chicks." However, some local women don't like the "Aussie men's" proclivities for sport, alcohol, particular foods, ways of dressing, etc. Or, indeed, simply that they are foreign. This means when the men are what they call "rejected" they get angry. They experience a challenge to their sense of superiority and entitlement that has become part of they have brought with them from Australia and which is sometimes reinforced in Shanghai by stereotypes about Western men. The men's position is: "how dare you reject me; who are you! You should be especially glad for my attention." There is a sense of "aggrieved entitlement."

When a phone call inspires the men to move to a new location they are very drunk and impose themselves on public space. This is a common practice in Australia where they dominate such. I witness F take a photo with the phone camera of some people sitting and eating next to a tricycle with a stove. The flash of the camera triggered an encounter.

Two men eating the street food rush at F. It takes him by surprise. As Stanley (2013, p. 48) explains, the gaze toward White Western foreigners is rarely hostile and According to Stanley (p. 54) white Western foreigners predominantly report "respect and kindness in everyday encounters", and there are also discourses that construct foreigners as a "negative force".[19] Some of the characteristics maligned in these discourses are precisely what these Aussie men celebrate as defining features of themselves e.g. being reckless, loud, boisterous, shameless, etc.

Mobile phones were held high as people film and take photos of the confrontation. The men's awareness of being watched, filmed, and photographed influenced the performances of masculinity. F dances like a boxer. One of the insulted men looked at the camera and yelled into the lens. He is seeing himself as he imagines the camera and potential audience would. As Benjamin (1985, p. 175) writes in regards to photography and film, "technology has subjected the human sensorium to a complex kind of training".

This isn't the expression of masculinity F expected, informed as it is by the Orientalist discourse about Chinese masculinity that constructs Chinese men as effeminate, slight of build, submissive, passive, 'nerdy', weak, and having 'small dicks'. In a historical discussion of Chinese masculinity Louie (2003) explains that

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[19]Discourses about foreigners can frame them as "invaders, capitalists, imperialists, barbarians, and devils … [who] are characteristically described as greedy, crazy, reckless, shameless, unreasonable, and inhumane" (Callahan in Stanley 2013, p. 54). The Chinese Communist Party is not adverse to warning against Western influences (Ibid.). China has a complex relationship with outsiders. Decades of colonisation and being exploited and insulted by foreign nations has led to a love/hate, victim/victor discursive positioning in regards to the West (Ibid.).

masculinities in China are wen-wu variants, with an emphasis on having an appropriate combination of both characteristics. "Wen" refers to literary. "Wu" refers to martial. The men F faces seem to be quite comfortable with their Wu characteristics. I could tell F felt uncertain as his body shrunk in stature. F backs off. Fortunately, sanity prevails and the assemblage diffuses.

Later K shows everyone the footage. F blushes. Some of the other men get angry and want to go back to the street corner. B is feeling ashamed at this group's cultural insensitivity. There is a sensual life to masculinity and ethnicisation is woven into this. Further, affects and emotions are interwoven with our mediated existence. Angel and Gibbs (2006) explain how media communication involves "biomediation" and is always "more than semiotic and cognitive." Biomediation is how media interfaces with the human organism's affective register (capacity to affect and be affected)—joy, fear, anger, pride, etc.

Personally, I was exhausted, had enough of all this, and went home. Such research can be emotionally, affectively, and politically difficult.

10.7   Conclusion

I have provided some examples[20] of how the habitus of hegemonic pan-ethnic white Australian masculinity travels as Aussie men take up transnational mediated lives in Shanghai. In some cases a powerful return gaze has set off fragmentation and an objectification of the self (Stanley 2013, p. 48). Sometimes the men are forced to negotiate feeling ethnic and their relationship to belonging and not belonging based on this, something they are not used to back in Australia. Sometimes, this feeling ethnic this yields articulations that reaffirm what they are used to, expect, and their sense of entitlement. However, as they are in China the conditions of possibility are radically different so the what comes together does yields uncertainty, fear, anxiety, anger, 'aggrieved entitlement', and retreat into and set up enclaves of familiarity and belonging—digitally, materially, and discursively networked.

Ahmed (2004) has expressed a problem with the inherent narcissism of white men making that which is invisible to themselves visible, and because it tends to stop at an anxiousness or worrying that doesn't actually change anything. Ahmed (para. 11) also cautions against "a politics of declaration, in which institutions as well as individuals 'admit' to forms of bad practice, and in which the 'admission' itself becomes seen as good practice".

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[20]As per the work of Agamben (1993), the "example" holds a unique status for Agamben because it is both general and particular. Agamben outlines how the example refers to a vague and opaque generality but it is also a real particular case that is singular and so refuses any claim to uniformity.

However, with these critiques in mind I still pursued this study with the aim to better understand what is going on e.g. during homosocial gatherings which are a somewhat "closed club" so it can be difficult as an "outsider" to get access to and thus tactically locate fractures (points of intervention) from within such groupings. By doing this I want to identify ways that will speak to these men from within their "own ranks," as well as letting them know they are *always* being held to account. My hope is to contribute to and amplify their (and my own) self-doubt, vulnerability, self-reflexivity, anxieties, and uncertainties. Just as they experience when "feeling ethnic." However, according to Deleuze and Guattari (1987, p. 180) it will also be necessary to identify alternative ethical "lines of flight"—lines of transformation, creativity, imagining, possibilities, emergences, belongings—that "blow apart strata, cut roots, and make new connections". This, in a small way, may help to get these men to pay attention to how, as Ahmed (2004, para. 2) notes, others are already "making what can already be seen, visible in a different way".

While some of these men may retaliate and become defensive others will and do listen and learn and can help work on and deconstruct the meta-persistent dispositif that helps to perpetuate the hegemonic alliance of masculine and pan-ethnic expectations. This, of course, means not only being aware of the negative (and often traumatic) effects of such on so many of this alliance but doing something about it, which will involve relinquishing the sense of entitlement and privileges they currently carry with them a transnationals around the globe.

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