Hong Kong, China

Learning to belong to a nation

Gordon Mathews, Eric Kit-wai Ma, and Tai-lok Lui

Hong Kong, China

The idea of "national identity" is an ambiguous one for Hong Kong. Returned to the national embrace of China on 1 July 1997 after 150 years as a British colony, the concept of national identity and what it means to "belong to a nation" is a matter of great tension and contestation in Hong Kong.

Written by three academic specialists on cultural identity, social history, and the mass media, this book explores the processes through which the people of Hong Kong are "learning to belong to a nation" by examining their shifting relationship with the Chinese nation and state in the recent past, present, and future. It considers the complex meanings of and debates over national identity in Hong Kong over the past fifty years, especially during the last decade following the territory's return to China. In doing so, the book takes a larger, global perspective, exploring what Hong Kong teaches us about potential future transformations of national identity in the world as a whole.

Multidisciplinary in approach, *Hong Kong, China* examines national identity in terms of theory, ethnography, history, the mass media, and survey data, and will appeal to students and scholars of Chinese history, cultural studies, and nationalism.

Gordon Mathews teaches in the Department of Anthropology, the Chinese University of Hong Kong. **Eric Kit-wai Ma** teaches in the School of Journalism and Communication, the Chinese University of Hong Kong. **Tai-lok Lui** teaches in the Department of Sociology, the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Routledge contemporary China series

Hong Kong, China

Learning to belong to a nation

Gordon Mathews, Eric Kit-wai Ma, and Tai-lok Lui

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

LONDON AND NEW YORK

Contents

Illustrations

Maps

Tables

Acknowledgments

Notes on Hong Kong and Chinese

Hong Kong geography

Hong Kong has been described as a pimple on the hide of an elephant, a tiny bump on the southern coast of the vast land that is China. It is often thought of as a city, but it is not: it is full of steep mountains and numerous small islands, and has many isolated rural villages, and hundreds of miles of country trails. The territory of Hong Kong is roughly 1,100 square kilometres, or 684 square miles, some six times the size of Washington DC. The urban heart of Hong Kong is Hong Kong Island, particularly Victoria Harbor, on the north of the island, and Kowloon, across the harbour from Hong Kong island: these are the most densely populated urban areas of the territory. The New Territories are the area north of Kowloon that is most immediately adjacent to China; it is much larger in area, and now contains a greater share of Hong Kong's population than either Hong Kong Island or Kowloon. Between the New Territories and China is a tightly controlled border; China is effectively a foreign country. The narrative that follows mentions a number of specific places, which we have placed upon the accompanying maps 1–2.

Romanization and names

Chinese titles in Hong Kong have been Romanized using the Yale Romanization of Cantonese; this has not, however, applied to names, which are generally Romanized in the more casual Hong Kong style that most people in Hong Kong use. Mainland Chinese titles have been Romanized in *pinyin*. Names in Chinese are generally given in the Chinese order of surname first, unless the person uses a Western given name, in which case the Western order of surname last is generally followed.

Map 1 Hong Kong
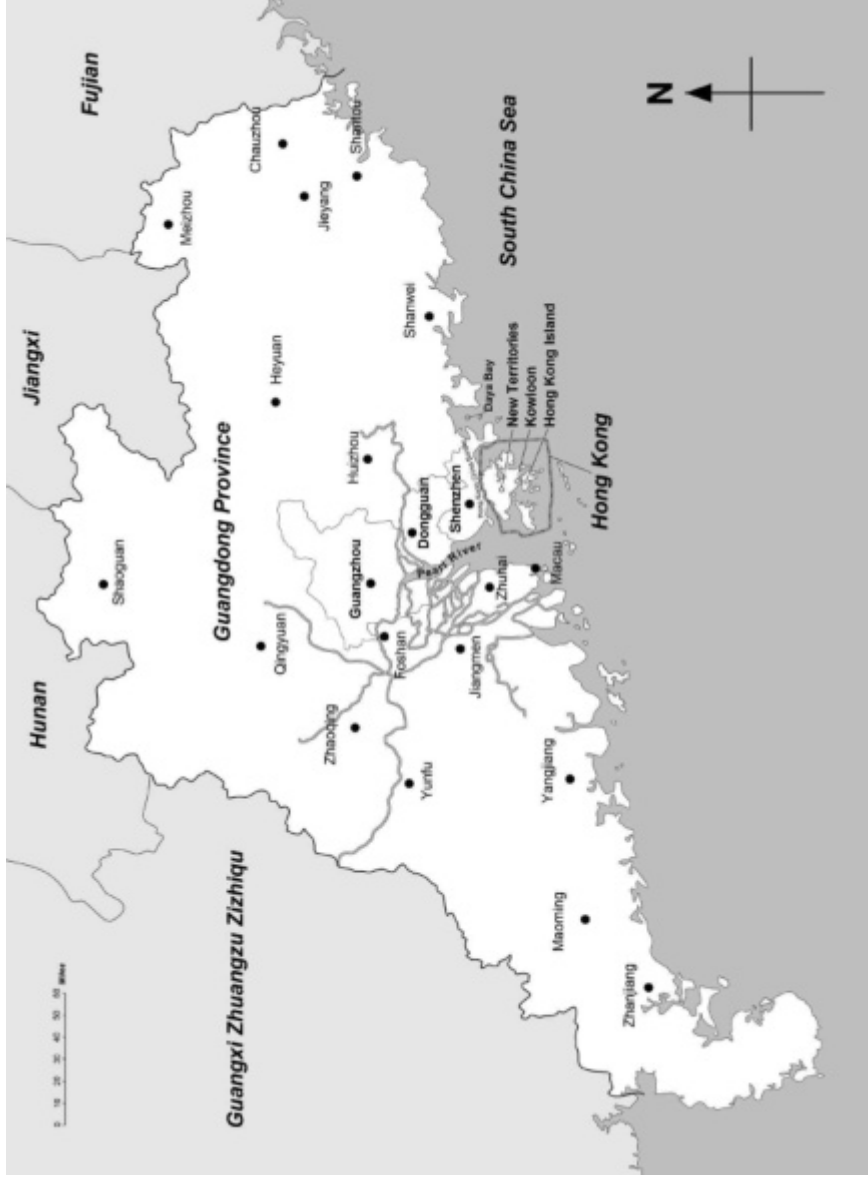
Map 2 South China

Prologue

What does it mean to "belong to a nation," and what can Hong Kong, returned to the national embrace of China on 1 July 1997 after 150 years as a British colony, teach us about such belonging? People throughout the world feel that they have a national identity as a matter of common sense; but this has not been true in Hong Kong in recent decades, and remains largely untrue today – although this is a matter of great tension and contestation in Hong Kong, as this book explores. Written jointly by three academic specialists on Hong Kong cultural identity, social history, and mass media, this book explores the processes through which Hong Kong people are "learning to belong to a nation" by examining Hong Kong people's relations with the Chinese nation and state in the recent past, present, and future. It considers the complex meanings of and debates over national identity in Hong Kong over the past fifty years and especially during Hong Kong's initial decade following its return to China; and it places these arguments within a larger, global perspective, to ask, "What can Hong Kong tell us about national identity and its potential transformations?"

The book's basic premise is that the processes through which Hong Kong people have been acquiring and resisting a sense of national identity have relevance beyond Hong Kong; they address issues of national belonging across the globe. "Belonging to a nation" is taken for granted by people throughout the world today, but Hong Kong people have been an exception. The majority of Hong Kong people have felt little sense of national belonging: China has been their cultural home, but also a dictatorship from which many in Hong Kong once fled; and Great Britain was felt as no home for most, but only a distant colonizer. Today this detachment from national belonging is beginning to fade, as more in Hong Kong come to accept that they indeed emotionally belong to the Chinese nation, if not necessarily to the Chinese state; but this issue of identity continues to be a matter of intense debate. In a world in which national identity tends to be seen as a "fact of nature," Hong Kong people's conscious struggles over belonging to a nation can reveal much about what belonging to a nation really means, not just in Hong Kong but in general. This is particularly the case in a world in which (11 September 2001 and its effects notwithstanding) the global market may be increasingly superseding the national state as a locus of power, and perhaps identity as well.

In making its broader argument, this book intensively explores Hong Kong history and society through historical materials and survey and ethnographic data. The book's introductory chapter examines the significance of Hong Kong in the world, in not yet fully belonging to a nation, and places the particular situation of Hong Kong within a context of global theorizing about national identity. Chapters 2 and 3 examine the nation in Hong's recent history, first considering the emergence of Hong Kong and a Hong Kong identity apart from China in the 1960s and 1970s, and then the process of Hong Kong's returning to China over the past two decades, and the cultural accommodation/collision of Hong Kong and China over these years. Chapters 4 and 5 then examine how national identity is being taught to Hong Kong people: through mass media, particularly television and its changing portrayals of mainland Chinese and China over the past several decades (Chapter 4) and through schooling: Hong Kong schools' efforts to instill national identity in their students, and how Hong Kong teachers and students respond to these efforts (Chapter 5). Chapters 6, 7, and 8 then explore how Hong Kong people actually feel about national identity, examining first through an array of surveys conducted over the past decade how Hong Kong people have been subtly shifting in their senses of cultural and national identity in the years since the handover, both towards and away from China (Chapter 6); Then analyzing, on the basis of extended group interviews, how Hong Kong students comprehend "belonging to a nation" in comparison with students from mainland China and from the United States (Chapter 7); and then ethnographically exploring the lives and interactions of Hong Kong people living in south China, and how, in light of their new experiences of the nation, they are coming to comprehend their national identity. The book's concluding chapter hypothesizes that many Hong Kong people may be creating a new form of "belonging to a nation," one based on the discourse not of the state but of the market, that might serve as a harbinger of the future of national identity throughout the world.

This book explores in considerable detail life in Hong Kong in recent past and present, as culturally both a part of China and apart from China. Beyond this, it uses Hong Kong as a lens through which to consider the meaning of national identity in the world at large – an identity most of us take for granted, and yet that cries out for critical examination. Hong Kong today, a place where people argue over and struggle to understand what exactly it means to have a nation as one's home, can serve as an essential forum and means for such an examination, we who write this book maintain. In order to do this, we must understand Hong Kong and its people, in all their complexities and ambiguities. This book will take its readers on a journey into such understanding.

1 The significance of Hong Kong

Many Hong Kong people in recent decades, unlike people elsewhere in the world, have lacked any sense of national identity; they have not understood what it means to belong to a nation or, to its synonym, a country. This situation is changing today, now that Hong Kong has returned to China; but while some in Hong Kong eagerly accept their new Chinese national identity, others remain skeptical of the idea of "belonging to a nation." As Chinese control over Hong Kong grows more "natural," will people in Hong Kong become like people elsewhere in the world, in feeling a taken-for-granted sense of belonging to their nation, or will many Hong Kong people continue to resist having a national identity? What can Hong Kong teach us about the meanings of national identity in the world today? These questions underlie this book, examining Hong Kong's complex sociocultural relations to China in recent past and present. In this opening chapter, we set forth the larger issues at stake in this examination. Why do people throughout the world feel that they belong to their country? And how have so many Hong Kong people missed out on this belonging?[1]

Hong Kong's lack of "a nose and two ears"

Today, "a man must have a nationality as he must have a nose and two ears," Ernest Gellner has written. "Having a nation is not an inherent attribute of humanity, but it has now come to appear as such" (1983: 6). Individual Japanese, mainland Chinese, Mexicans, French, Germans, and so on may differ in the degree of conscious emphasis they place upon their national identity; but for the large majority, this national identity is, again, taken for granted. One is German or Chinese just as "naturally" as one is a man or a woman.[2]

However, Hong Kong has been one of the few places in the world in which Gellner's statement has not applied. Stories abound of Hong Kong people in the 1980s and 1990s (and to a lesser extent today as well) not knowing what to write on immigration forms when traveling overseas. As one woman said to one of us in 1995 (Mathews 2000: 122), "Every time I travel to another country, I have to write down my nationality…. I have to ask the flight attendant, 'What should I write, "British," "British Hong Kong," "Hong Kong," or "Chinese"?' For a long time I didn't know how to properly fill out the forms."[3] But the issue

transcended the filling out of forms; it was a matter of where people in Hong Kong were to belong, of what country they should feel allegiance to. Not to the distant colonizer Great Britain: most Hong Kong people felt little allegiance to Great Britain and in any case had no right of abode in Great Britain. Not to China: China was most Hong Kong people's cultural and ethnic home, their ancestral roots; but China was also communist, a communism many in Hong Kong had fled. Not to Hong Kong itself, for Hong Kong wasn't a country, and never could be a country, given its geographical proximity and historical linkage to China. Many Hong Kong people have thus not felt that they belonged to any country at all.

A nineteenth-century American novelist, Edward Everett Hale, wrote *The Man Without A Country* (1905), a story whose protagonist was a tragic misfit spending his life at sea, unable to return to the country he had renounced. Hong Kong people have, in a sense, been the collective equivalent of Hale's protagonist (see Dittmer and Kim 1993: 5), and, like Hale's protagonist, have been anomalies in the world. But many Hong Kong people have not realized this; they have not felt their lack of national identity until confronted by those who did possess such an identity, particularly those of their "motherland" to the north. As one Hong Kong student said in 1997, "I went to Guangzhou [a large Chinese city a two-hour train ride north of Hong Kong] for a meeting with Chinese students…. I couldn't believe it…. Those students there – they feel proud of their country!" A newspaper columnist wrote in 1997 of how strange he felt when, at a ceremony, the Chinese flag was raised and the national anthem played: "it was more embarrassing than being in church … when everyone else is praying" (Lee 1997, quoted in Mathews 2000: 157). These statements illustrate the astonishment and incredulity that some Hong Kong people have felt over anyone's "belonging to a country."

But of course now Hong Kong too belongs to a country: Hong Kong, since 1 July 1997, has become part of China. The Chinese flag flutters on flagpoles beside many public buildings. Television programs show Hong Kong throngs cheering visiting Chinese astronauts, and eagerly lining up to gaze at People's Liberation Army exhibitions of weaponry. The Chinese national anthem is played every night before the news on Chinese-language television channels; schools offer education into national identity from kindergarten onwards. Newspapers that a decade earlier expressed foreboding over the coming Chinese control of Hong Kong in recent years have offered headlines such as " 'We're Chinese and Proud of It' " (J. Cheung 2002) and "Why it's less the Mainland than the Motherland Now" (G. Cheung 2002). The message that "Hong Kong is Chinese" is apparent throughout Hong Kong today; there is a growing sense of Chinese identity in Hong Kong, according to some surveys (for example, G. Cheung 2002) if not to others (Hong Kong Transition Project 2002, 2005; see Chapter 6, this book, for our own sets of surveys). As one Hong Kong student told us, "I feel happy that Hong Kong has returned to China, because now I can have a clear sense of identity. Before 1997, I always felt confused, but now I can say that I'm Chinese." It seems that many people in Hong Kong are indeed

acquiring "the nose and two ears" that, until recently, almost everyone in the world has possessed except for them.

But this process is being contested by many more people, who insist that they need no such appendages; they feel they are Hongkongers, not Chinese like the people on the mainland. On 1 July 2003, the sixth anniversary of the return of Hong Kong to China and officially a day of celebration, 500,000 people in Hong Kong took to the streets in protest, a protest against the Hong Kong government, but underlying this, against the sinification of Hong Kong – the Hong Kong government's effort to enact an anti-subversion law that would make Hong Kong more like the mainland. On 1 July 2004 a similar protest took place. Pro-China commentators sometimes lament that many Hong Kong people don't yet feel love for their country: "Since the handover … the government has spent six years trying to make young people believe they belong to the motherland, with no results…. This is like a six-year-old child who doesn't know how to say "Mama" and "Papa"'" (L. Leung 2003). Commentators less favorably disposed towards China speak more disdainfully: "Look at the behavior and speech of those 'patriotic people' [in Hong Kong]. It makes other people want to vomit" (Chung 2002).[4] Others present more nuanced views: "Top students love China but can leave the party," states a report on Hong Kong students' attitudes (Lai 2004): they love the country but have no use for communism. Another commentary (K. Chan 2004) contrasts love for Chinese tradition with the current fear of mainland foods coming into Hong Kong with their sub-standard and perhaps dangerous ingredients – emphasizing Hong Kong's "First World" status as against "Third World" China.

This process by which Hong Kong people are accepting or resisting belonging to a nation or, to use its popular synonym, country is of considerable importance in its own right. How are members of one of the richest, most cosmopolitan societies in East Asia experiencing their return to the society that their forebears fled, a society that is their ethnic home but also a communist dictatorship – and a society that, within decades, will probably become economically the second most powerful country in the world? Will China become more like Hong Kong – an icon of capitalism (albeit suffering hard times in recent years), wide open to all the world's goods, media, and information? Or will Hong Kong become more like China: more closed to the world, and more ideological; economically booming but rife with corruption?

This process is also of considerable significance beyond Hong Kong, for what it indicates about the meanings of national identity at large. Most people in the world take for granted their national identity, and thus cannot easily examine it critically; they may disagree with their country's policies, but their subliminal feeling of rooted attachment to their country – the unexamined sense that they "naturally" belong to their country – makes critical examination difficult. Citizens everywhere may sometimes feel dislike or disdain for their government, but few ever say, "I hate my country," or, even more strikingly, "I don't care at all about my country." In Hong Kong, however, because national identity is new, it is indeed often reflected upon in a critical and conscious way: pundits and ordinary citizens alike sometimes vociferously argue over the question

"What does it mean to belong to a country?" with some saying that national belonging involves rediscovering one's long-lost home and roots, and others saying that national belonging means succumbing to state propaganda. This argument in Hong Kong can shed light on the meanings of national identity throughout the world, this book contends. Let us in the following section briefly consider these meanings.

Why do people throughout the world "belong to their country"?

In a purely cognitive sense, "belonging to a country" may seem to be nothing special: people may belong to their country just as they belong to their city, province, or school; "belonging to a country" may be no more than a matter of showing a passport at border controls, with no meaning beyond such procedures. This is certainly true for some people in the world; but for many others, "belonging to a country" entails more than this. It entails not just cognitive belonging but emotional belonging: "belonging to country" may mean, for many, "love for country." Over the past century, well over a hundred million people throughout the world have died "fighting for their country." While some of these people were coerced, many more fought and died willingly, even eagerly, sacrificing their lives for their country. Why? How has their country been able to inspire in them such ultimate devotion? There are a number of salient identities people hold today, such as those based in gender, religion, family, and occupation – but among these, why is national identity so salient that at least some people are willing to die for it?[5] This is a huge question, that cannot begin to be fully explored in a few pages, but a brief consideration may be worthwhile.[6]

A "nation," as defined by Anthony Smith (1991: 14), is "a named human population, sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members." Despite the occasional claims of political leaders otherwise, "the nation" is not a natural locus of identity for human beings from time immemorial, but rather is a product of more or less recent history. There has been a lively debate over the origins of national identity: some scholars, such as Smith (1991) have emphasized the premodern background of contemporary national identities, while others, such as Gellner (1983), have emphasized that senses of the nation are products of little more than the past two hundred years.

Both views have a degree of validity. Some members of some nations have had for hundreds or thousands of years a notion of belonging to a particular ethnicity and society. This is the case for China, according to Watson, who argues that there has been for many centuries a shared sense of cultural identity embodied in rituals, such as those of funerals, practiced in the lives of ordinary people. "It is my argument that ordinary people (not just state authorities) played a central role in the promotion and perpetuation of a shared sense of cultural identity. In China, nationalism – and with it, national identity – came later" (Watson 1993: 81).

As the above quotation indicates, while cultural identity in China and elsewhere may have a long history, national identity is more recent. National identity emerged only in the modern era, Gellner (1983) maintains, when the idea fully took hold that people intrinsically belong to a nation to which they should "naturally" be loyal. "Premodern states," writes Lie (2004: 105), "had neither the capacity nor the will to instill a common political-cultural identity…. The dominant ideology of premodern polities was the superiority of the ruler over the ruled…. National identity remained largely latent," in that governments had little interest in unifying their members through a common ideology. National identity was catalyzed by events such as the French Revolution, whereby "the vocabulary of pride, dignity, and honor that had been the privilege of the nobility became the property of the whole nation" (Lie 2004: 118). "Belonging to a nation" apparently didn't matter much for most people in premodern times throughout the world, in that the bonds of kinship and village, as well as to some extent religion, had not yet been loosened by modernity's solvent. As Eriksen suggests (2002: 107), "One may perhaps go so far as to say that urbanization and individualism create a social and cultural vacuum in human lives…. Nationalism promises to satisfy some of the same needs that kinship was formerly responsible for…. Nationalism appears as a metaphoric kinship ideology tailored to fit large-scale modern society." We see this metaphor in such terms as "motherland" and "fatherland": the nation as one's parent.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the ideology of nationalism spread throughout the world. The nationalisms of European societies clearly differ in their historical trajectories from those of China and Japan, and differ as well from those of colonized societies such as India and Pakistan. To speak only of China,

> The quest for Chinese *national* identity in a modern sense finally began at the turn of the [twentieth] century.... In order to cope with the wrenching ambiguities and uncertainties created by China's encounter with the other (Western) world, to fight fire with fire as it were, the Chinese were forced to accept such Western concepts as nation, sovereignty, race, citizenship, and identity.
>
> (Kim and Dittmer 1993: 251)

While intellectuals today in China, as well as other societies, write of their nation's long historical and cultural tradition as justifying belonging to one's country, the idea of attachment to one's country seems distinctly modern.

In its early development, nationalism was often conceived of as a progressive force: "Most eighteenth- and nineteenth-century republican and nationalist thinkers, blaming militarism on nobility or feudalism, had envisioned international peace after the victory of the people" (Lie 2004: 131). In more recent years, however, after the terrible wreckage and inhumanity of two world wars, many analysts have come to see nationalism in a profoundly negative light: "Nationalism is the starkest political shame of the twentieth century" (Dunn

1993: 57). Nonetheless, although nationalism, as an ideology proclaiming that one's nation is the essence of one's identity and must be valued over all else, may have become devalued in at least some critics' eyes, senses of national identity have become thoroughly entrenched in contemporary human life as never before. As earlier touched upon, it has become increasingly difficult to imagine a people in the world apart from their "natural" belonging to the nation; we live in a world of nations, and can scarcely imagine a people not ensconced within a nation.

Senses of national identity take different forms in different parts of the world today. To mention just one pivotal difference (discussed in Chapter 7), there is a distinction between national identity as based in ethnicity and as based in civic loyalty (see Smith 1991: 11). The former refers to identity based on belonging to a particular ethnicity, as in China and Japan (no non-Japanese, whatever their legal citizenship status, will be fully accepted as Japanese if they are not ethnically Japanese; China is similar to Japan in this respect, although with its "minority nationalities" and historical tradition of sometimes incorporating foreigners as "Chinese," it is not as ethnically exclusive).[7] The latter refers to national identity based on adhering to civic principles: citizens' personal choice to belong to their nation. Racism clearly exists in the United States; but nonetheless, anyone, regardless of ethnicity, who has lived in the United States for a few years and speaks English can be regarded as American, in legal status and socially as well to at least some extent.[8]

Theorists have emphasized that both these forms of identity, the ethnic and the civic, are present in every society's senses of national identity: "Modern identities are never constructed solely out of either the ethnic or the civic models. Rather they reflect a profound dualism at the heart of every nationalism" (Jones and Smith 2001: 112; see also Smith 1991: 13). It seems clear that in discussing national identity across societies, we are discussing a common type of identity – this is what makes a universal analysis possible. In Lie's words, "the transnational diffusion of peoplehood identity ensures that the same set of attributes, tropes, and predicates is found in all nation-states…. Chinese and Belgians, or French and Sudanese belong to the same order of entities" (2004: 157), and inspire, broadly, the same order of senses of "belonging to one's country." Tensions nonetheless clearly remain: if most mainland Chinese adhere firmly to ethnicity as the basis for national identity, many in Hong Kong waver between ethnic and civic conceptions, and do not fully trust Chinese conceptions of national identity, as we shall see in Chapter 7.

Why, again, do people hold to national identity? One commonly offered explanation is that it is natural to belong to a nation and to love the nation to which one belongs. Indeed, if the nation consists of all those who share one's deep-rooted ethnic identity, or all those who share one's deeply committed loyalty to one's chosen nation, then love for nation or country may indeed seem akin to loving one's mother or one's spouse or closest friends. However, there is an essential difference. Love for one's mother or spouse or friends is a love for those one knows; love for nation is a love for multitudes that one has never met,

and has no personal relation to. The nation is an "imagined community," in Anderson's celebrated term, (1991), and this imagination does not come naturally but must be developed. There may indeed be a distinct psychological need for national identity, as we discuss below, but it is not natural but taught – taught by the state in its control of education and of the mass media.

The state we may define as "the administrative apparatus and mechanisms of power through which the nation is maintained." The state has the power to tax its citizens, arrest its citizens, and educate its citizens to believe that they "naturally" belong to the nation and to the state which claims to represent it. States propagandize their citizens to believe that their ultimate loyalty should be to the nation that the state claims to represent. Despite the oft-used obfuscation "nation-state," "nation" and "state" are by no means synonymous, even though states labor to make them seem synonymous. States try to blur the distinction between nation and state in their citizens' minds, and at this they are often successful.

How much do citizens feel that they actually belong to their nation, as defined by their state? Inglehart and his associates (2004) show that in answer to the question "How proud are you to be [your nationality]?" 60 percent of respondents across the globe answered "very proud," with Puerto Rico, Iran, and Venezuela at the top, with over 90 percent, and South Korea, Germany, and Taiwan – all three divided, recently divided, or politically contested societies – at the bottom, with under 20 percent. In the United States, 72 percent of respondents answered "very proud"; in China, just 26 percent of respondents answered "very proud" (2004: 380). Another question in the survey asks "Would you be willing to fight in war for your country?" Among the 54 countries in which responses are available, the median was 74 percent answering affirmatively. (Interestingly, substantially more people across the globe say they are willing to fight for their country than say they feel proud of their country.) China was among the very highest in expressed willingness to fight for country, at 97 percent; the United States lay at 73 percent; and Japan was by far the lowest of any country surveyed, at 25 percent.

It is unfortunate that, in this treasure trove of data, nothing is provided for Hong Kong, for it would have been highly valuable to be able to compare Hong Kong with other societies. In examining these data, what stands out is, first, the remarkably high rate of positive responses globally, showing the hold that "belonging to a nation" has on people throughout the world today. There is, second, the wide individual variation among countries, a variation that can be explained only in terms of each country's particular history. Dijkink (1996) discusses how each country has its own historically shaped geopolitical vision, molding the senses of "belonging to country" that its citizens hold; Oommen (1997) provides these views for a number of additional countries. These range from Germany's ongoing agony of guilt over World War II, as well as its subsequent split and reintegration, to the United States as a land of once limitless frontier and still extant sense of manifest destiny, to Argentina's "peripheral dignity and pain," as one of the world's wealthiest societies in 1900, later a police state and still later an economic basket case.

We may add to these particular national portraits China: China's low sense of pride in country and high willingness to fight for country are a reflection of Chinese senses of historical humiliation at the hands of the West and of Japan in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and fervent desire never to let such a thing happen again. This is also a marker of the deep desire to reclaim Taiwan as part of China (see Lee 2001, citing surveys showing that between 82 percent and 97 percent of Chinese people favor using military force to retake Taiwan). If Hong Kong were included in this survey, we conjecture that Hong Kong would represent the opposite of these Chinese views, showing considerable pride in country, reflecting Hong Kong feelings for Chinese civilization more than its current government, and an extremely low willingness to fight for country, something that remains a distinctly foreign concept in Hong Kong, as we will shortly discuss.

Despite the fact that each nation differs in the historical construction of its senses of "belonging to a country," there are broadly common ways through which senses are inculcated, most typically through schooling and the mass media. Billig, in his wonderfully entitled book *Banal Nationalism* (1995), discusses the day-to-day ways in which national identity is inculcated by the state into individual minds. Consider, for example, the American pledge of allegiance that American primary school students recite before the flag that graces their classroom (1995: 50). This is a ritual that for most people is no more subject to questioning than the act of brushing one's teeth. Mathews recited the pledge of allegiance every day as a student in the 1960s, and remains captured by it: when he sees the American flag on ceremonial occasions, he is still automatically moved, despite his feelings of bemusement at this Pavlovian response. When, in interviews in recent years, he asked groups of American students to recite the pledge of allegiance, they all generally did so in unison. One student told him, "We just say it. We don't think about it at all." Nonetheless, the fact that she and her fellow students could instantaneously recite this oath of loyalty reveals its underlying power: it stayed with them. This is the power of state propaganda, a power apparent not just in the United States, but, more or less, in states across the globe. This same banal nationalism is apparent in the playing of national anthems at school assemblies and sporting events, and on radio and television: the nation thereby is inculcated subliminally in an ongoing way into its citizens' minds.

This explanation is no doubt valid, but it is insufficient. The premise that people adhere to national identity simply because they have been propagandized into such adherence doesn't take into account what individuals gain from such adherence. Bloom writes that "identification … is a psychobiological imperative based in the earliest infantile need to survive" (1990: 50). As the individual passes through childhood, he notes, identification comes to be made with more diffuse symbolic entities, such as the state, which possesses an overwhelming advantage over any competing force in gaining its citizens' loyalty, since it controls the media and schooling (1990: 73). But this molding will not work unless the individual gains from it: "The propagandist … might incessantly sell the

nationalist notion … but the sale will not be made unless the purchaser experiences a direct psychological benefit from the transaction" (1990: 59). Dittmer and Kim discuss how "people seem to have a universal psychological need to belong, which political systems are able to tap" (1993: 21). Smith writes of national identity as akin to religion:

> The primary function of national identity is to provide a strong "community of history and destiny" to save people from personal oblivion…. Identification with the "nation" in a secular era is the surest way to surmount the finality of death and ensure a measure of personal immortality
>
> (Smith 1991: 160–1)

This may be why so many millions of people have willingly died for their country this century: dying for one's country gives immortality, in that what one dies for lives on.

The foregoing has discussed why people throughout the world feel the need to belong to a nation. There is a universal psychological need to belong, and there has been an historical change over the past two hundred years making the nation a pivotal locus for such belonging, a development that states cultivate and make use of. This is why a feeling of belonging to one's country has become all but ubiquitous in the developed world today. But we have not yet addressed the exception of Hong Kong. Why have many Hong Kong people not needed to feel that they belong to their country?

Why have many Hong Kong people not "belonged to their country"?

The simple answer is colonialism. Due to Hong Kong's particular historical circumstances – the fact that China became communist in the second half of the twentieth century, and was closed off for much of that period and did not seriously pursue Hong Kong's return, along with the fact that Hong Kong itself could not survive on its own – Great Britain's colonial control lasted decades longer in Hong Kong than in almost all of its other colonies. During the final four decades of that extended colonial rule, Hong Kong was transformed from a city of poverty to a capitalist powerhouse. The British authorities in Hong Kong downplayed Hong Kong's linkage to China to legitimize British rule, and also downplayed Hong Kong's linkage to Great Britain, fearing that Hong Kong people might clamor for the right of abode in Great Britain.[9] At the same time, Hong Kong's own growing affluence, as well as China's seemingly alien political path, caused many in Hong Kong's middle class to feel that they belonged not to any national state but to the global market, as we will shortly discuss.

Before these recent decades, many Chinese in Hong Kong apparently felt that they indeed belonged to a nation, or at least to a common Chinese culture. The borders between Hong Kong and mainland China were open until 1950 (Tsang 2004: 180–1); residents, except in times of crisis, could freely come and go

between Hong Kong and China, and there was little distinction in senses of iden-
tity between Hong Kong Chinese residents of Hong Kong and residents of the
mainland. There were periodic acts of protest and violence against the British,
from the battles fought by New Territories residents against British soldiers in
1899 to the General Strike of 1925–26, to the Red Guard-inspired riots in 1967
as discussed in the next chapter. These were acts motivated by Chinese national-
ism and committed against the British colonial rulers.

Hong Kong has been crucially involved in China's history, according to
recent accounts. Stephanie Po-ying Chung's study (1998) of the engagement of
Hong Kong Chinese businessmen and other elites in Chinese politics points to
the close economic and political connections of Hong Kong and the mainland in
the first three decades of the twentieth century, and the salience of the economic
and political interests of those who had stakes in both places. C. K. Fok writes
that Hong Kong Chinese played a key role in the 1911 Chinese Revolution: a
Hong Kong newspaper offered in 1900 what he has called "perhaps the first
open message of nationalism to the Chinese people" (1990: 55): "Without the
support of Hong Kong … the course of revolution in modern Chinese history
would no doubt have [had] to take quite a different form and direction" (1990:
64). In the 1930s, according to Fok, in reaction to the Japanese invasion of
China, there was a great upsurge in nationalism, "a state of mind … [which] per-
meated the large majority of the Chinese community in Hong Kong" (1990:
118). During the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong, many in Hong Kong, not
least the resistance group known as the Dongjiang (East River) Guerillas, persis-
tently fought the Japanese, often "dying for their country."

Hong Kong throughout its colonial history was of course not simply part of
the Chinese nation; by the very fact that it was a colony for 150 years, it was
globalized as the rest of China was not. The book *Global Hong Kong*
(McDonogh and Wong 2005) has emphasized this: "Hong Kong has been
intrinsically "global" since it took shape 165 years ago at the edges of two
world empires – China and Great Britain"; Hong Kong has had a "unique role
as a "laboratory" for globalization in the last two centuries" (2005: xi, 1). This
is true; and yet globalization has apparently coexisted with a strong sense of
cultural/national identity felt by many of the Chinese in Hong Kong, as we
saw above. It is only in the past fifty years that this sense of identity largely
vanished. A fundamental shift in Hong Kong's relation to China took place
after 1949, with the ascendance of China's communist government, a period
during which millions fled to Hong Kong, as discussed in the next chapter. In
later decades, further waves of emigrants fled China for Hong Kong's more
stable shores, as, for example, during the Cultural Revolution. During the
1950s, 1960s and 1970s, China was closed, a land glimpsed by climbing Hong
Kong's northern mountain of Lok Ma Chau, but almost never entered. Mean-
while, Hong Kong itself became progressively richer from the 1960s on; by
the 1970s a new middle class had begun to emerge that knew only Hong Kong
as home, needing no sense of national identity to define itself, as discussed in
Chapter 2.

Accordingly, distinct Hong Kong identity emerged in the 1970s. This is denoted by the term *hèunggóngyàhn* (Hongkongese), as contrasted with *jùnggwokyàhn* (Chinese) (and as distinctly opposed to the derogatory term *daaihluhkyàhn* (mainlander)). Surveys over the past twenty years have traced these senses of identity, which have remained remarkably stable. In 1985, Lau and Kuan found that 59.5 percent of respondents identified themselves as Hongkongese, and 36.2 percent as Chinese (1988: 178); in 1995, 50.2 percent of respondents identified themselves as Hongkongese, 30.9 percent as Chinese, and 15.4 percent as "both" (Lau 2000: 259); in 2001, 45 percent identified themselves as "HK people," 26 percent as "HK Chinese" and 22 percent as "Chinese" (Hong Kong Transition Project 2002: 18–19). A more recent survey (Hong Kong Transition Project 2005: 17) shows that as of November 2005, 39 percent of respondents identified themselves as "Hongkongese," 29 percent as "Chinese," and 27 percent as "Hong Kong Chinese." These data show a slight tilt towards Chinese identity in Hong Kong over the past twenty-odd years, but perhaps a slighter shift than might have been expected, given Hong Kong's shift from colonial to Chinese rule. Generally speaking, those who identify themselves as Hongkongese have tended to be somewhat better educated, middle-class, and younger, as well as female (Lau 2000: 259–60); those who identify themselves as Chinese have tended to somewhat be less educated, working-class, and older, as well as male.

In recent years, as the above statistical data imply, there has been a shift, in that "Hong Kong Chinese" has emerged as a category of identity in Hong Kong, splitting the difference between "Hongkongese" and "Chinese": this new category is partly a survey artifact, since earlier surveys did not include such a designation, but also reflects a genuine new development of identity. Recent research (for example Lee and Chan 2005) has indicated that the earlier framework of "Hongkongese versus Chinese" no longer makes full analytical sense: the issue, instead, is how different groups of Hong Kong people feel that they are Chinese in different ways. Our own survey of cultural identity, as discussed in Chapter 6, divides "Hong Kong Chinese" into two distinct categories; we find that in 2006, 21.5 percent identified themselves as "Hongkongese," 38.1 percent as "Hongkongese but also Chinese," 21.2 percent as "Chinese but also Hongkongese," and 18.6 percent as "Chinese." These survey data depict the emergence of a significant new sense of dual identity in Hong Kong, merging Hongkongese and Chinese. However, because some respondents see themselves as *Hong Kong* Chinese and others as Hong Kong *Chinese*, with different emphases, the opposition or at least contrast between identity as located in "Hongkongness" and as located in "Chineseness" remains, although perhaps lessened within these new identity categories.

Some claim that Hong Kong identity signifies no more than a metropolitan identity encapsulated within a national identity, such as Shanghainese in China or New Yorker in the United States. However, it seems clear that for many in Hong Kong this difference transcends the local within the national. Hong Kong identity, connoting affluence, openness to the world, and pragmatism, has

remained distinct from and to some extent opposed to Chinese identity, which connotes attachment to a particular tradition, ethnicity, and nationality.

This distinction is readily apparent in a comparison of critical aspects of life in Hong Kong and mainland China. In Hong Kong, much of the world's mass media is readily available, on regular or cable television and from downtown newspaper vendors; in mainland China, outside of top-class tourist hotels, such media are inaccessible, having been filtered and censored by the state. In Hong Kong the internet is open to the world; in China it is controlled and censored by the state. In Hong Kong, the presence of foreigners as long-term residents is readily accepted, whereas in China it generally is not. (This is not to deny Hong Kong racism against Indians and other Asians and Africans, which is acute.) "Hongkongese" has remained the identity choice of a plurality of Hong Kong's people in most surveys over the past two decades, as an identity in part antithetical to Chinese identity. Of course, most Hong Kong people readily acknowledge that they are Chinese in ethnicity and cultural background,[10] but many also continue to feel that they are not Chinese like the mainlanders living across the border in southern China; rather, they are Hongkongers. As Tsang writes, "British rule [in Hong Kong] … led to the rise of a people that remain quintessentially Chinese and yet share a way of life, core values and an outlook that resemble at least as much, if not more, that of the average New Yorker or Londoner, rather than that of their compatriots in China" (2004: ix).

Despite the salience of this sense of separate Hong Kong identity in recent decades, few have ever seriously advocated that Hong Kong become independent. No one, not even the most fervent advocate of Hong Kong, has seriously suggested at any time over the past forty years that Hong Kong people should be willing to "sacrifice their lives for Hong Kong" – such a cry would have been seen as insane. Hong Kong is wholly dependent upon China for its water supply, and most of its food; it could not possibly survive apart from China. It is revealing that those who have proclaimed their Hong Kong identity have been those who say they are most willing to leave Hong Kong, according to opinion surveys (Lau 2000: 260; Hong Kong Transition Project 2005: 18). What this implies is that Hong Kong identity has not been that of belonging to a particular state, culture, or place to which one must remain loyal, but rather to the a global market, to which no particular loyalty is required.

Hong Kong identity came into being in the shadow of its own demise, given Hong Kong's return to China. These years are discussed in full in Chapter 3. In 1984, the Sino-British Joint Declaration decreed that Hong Kong was to be returned to China on 1 July 1997, and returned it was, with the promise that under the formula of "one country two systems" Hong Kong could preserve its own autonomous way of life for fifty years. In the initial seven years after the handover, Hong Kong was in a steady downturn, economically and by most other measures as well; but at the same time that many Hong Kong people have derided Hong Kong's Beijing-supported leaders their confidence in China has been surging – due partly to the Chineseness promulgated by Hong Kong mass media (see Chapter 4) but more to soaring growth curves on economic charts, as

well as an ever-greater familiarity with China as experienced by many Hong Kong people, as discussed in Chapter 8. And still, there is considerable skepticism. In 1997, when we asked our students, "Do you love China?" the answer was generally a forthright "no." Today, some say "yes," others say "no," but the answer is very often an embarrassed giggle: "I feel like I'm *supposed* to love my country, but…"

Newspapers in Hong Kong over the past few years have debated endlessly over how Hong Kong people should relate to their country. "Hongkongers are first Chinese, citizens of China, then Hongkongers," one writer maintains (Kwan 2002). But as another cautions, "We need to love China, but in a Hong Kong way" (Yeung 2002), in which love of one's nation is not given automatically but must be earned. One columnist writes that "Hong Kong must enhance its nationalistic sentiment, and wash away its colonial mindset" (Wu 2004); another argues that "so far, all the evidence suggests that [Hong Kong people] … are proud to be Chinese nationals, even though some are highly critical of the state of governance on the mainland" (Cheung 2004); while still another derides the "pathological patriotism" of "those so much under the control of patriotic ideology … that they allow emotion to be their measure of right and wrong" (Lee 2002).

This is the ambivalent state of Hong Kong today *vis-à-vis* the country to which it belongs. To understand the broader implications of this, let us add a further element to our discussion. People throughout the world are shaped not just by their sense of belonging to a national state but also of belonging to the global market; in Hong Kong, in the absence of a state, the market became ubiquitous.

State and market and their manipulations

Most people in the world today take for granted two omnipresent but contradictory discursive principles, those of the state and of the market (see Mathews 2000: 1–23). There are other omnipresent discourses at work in the world today, such as, for example, those of science and of gender; but in terms of cultural identity, these two are most essential. In their particulars, these discourses vary in different societies and eras, but there are broad universal commonalities. The discursive principle of the state is that "you must cherish and defend your nation and its way of life" – this is how governments throughout the world justify their demands on citizens' loyalty, as we earlier discussed. In contrast to this, the discourse of the market is that "you can buy, do, and be anything in the world that you want" – a discourse that most people in the developed world adhere to without question. We generally consume goods without giving much thought to their national origin – consumptive choice from the market is assumed to be free, unbounded by national ideology.

Just as the discourse of the state is relatively new in history, as we have seen, so too is the discourse of the market, which arose over the past several centuries, to become, today, ubiquitous, as analysts of capitalism from Marx (1978 [1867])

to Jameson (1991) and Harvey (1989) have shown. Even more than the discourse of the state, the discourse of the market has become taken for granted as natural and commonsensical. This is because different states challenge one another's claims and thus relativize those claims, causing at least some to realize that their own national values are not universal. However, the entire world is now under the sway of capitalism, which can hardly be doubted. To give an everyday example of the even greater discursive power of the market than the state, if one were to burn one's country's flag in public, one might be reviled or arrested, but probably not viewed as insane; but if one were to burn money in public, one's sanity would likely be called into question.

States and market in actual practice have a complicated interrelation, with states using market and market using states to mutual advantage. States hire marketing firms to tout to the world their virtues as tourist destinations or political beacons of reason and virtue, and the market sells the state as well, from national flags to GI Joe dolls. States sometimes act as barriers to the market (virtually all states practice some forms of protectionism) and at other times as hardly impartial referees in the market – i.e. the WTO and its member states. In practice these principles complexly interweave; but in terms of discourse – the principles that underlie and condition our conceptions of the world – these principles are contradictory. If you are to "cherish your nation – your culture – and its way of life," then how can you "buy, do, and be anything in the world that you want"? If you cherish your own culture, then how can you consume goods and ideas from other cultures? Doesn't that serve to undermine your own culture? It does indeed, at least in an indirect sense; but because many people in the world take both these discursive principles wholly for granted, they are not aware of this contradiction.

Consider, for example, how bizarre it would seem for an Olympic medalist to choose the national anthem to be played at her medals ceremony by how much she fancies its melody ("Yes, I'm English, but I like the Russian national anthem better: it sounds really neat!"), thereby using the discourse of the market to evaluate matters of the state. Or consider how weird it would seem for a person to choose the food he eats by its national origin ("I'm an American! I can't eat a banana! It wasn't grown in this country!"), thereby using the criteria of the state to evaluate items from the market. These discourses do sometimes cross. Consider the short-lived renaming of French fries as "freedom fries" in the United States in 2003, a renaming that enabled some Americans to freely consume fried potatoes without uttering the name of a nation they thought had insulted them. South Korean consumers were urged in the 1980s and 1990s not to buy foreign goods, but to support their nation's economy by buying Korean goods (Nelson 2000), thereby making their market choices congruent with the state; in a general sense, protectionism signifies the conscious subordination of market to state. But overall, it is surprising how little this contradiction generally emerges into awareness; rather, state and market belong to two different, largely exclusive discursive realms.

But this has not been the case in Hong Kong. Many Hong Kong people have

been quite aware of this contradiction, at least in the concrete world of their day-to-day lives; while most people in the developed world are molded at an early age by discourses of both state and market, many Hong Kong people have been molded by only one of these discourses, that of the market. This is apparent in many areas of Hong Kong life, from Hong Kong's famous obsession with money ("In Hong Kong … money is the measure of all worth": Mathews and Lui 2001: 10) to the extraordinary global array of shopping outlets in the city, to the occasional claim of the Hong Kong upwardly mobile that "I can make anywhere in the world my home, as long as I'm near an airport." In Hong Kong there has been the very distinct sense that one can "buy, do, or be anything in the world that one wants" unencumbered by any loyalty to any state. Indeed, Hong Kong identity itself may be defined, in part, as loyalty to the global market over any state.

The reasons for the prevalence of the discourse of the market in Hong Kong are readily apparent from this book's chapters to come. To put it briefly here, the "market mentality" that characterizes many of Hong Kong's people is related to Hong Kong's peculiar situation as a colony, decades after most of the rest of the world's colonies had become independent. During its half-century of postwar colonial rule, Hong Kong was bordered by a vast homeland that, with its transformation into a communist state, became an alien and even menacing society for many. Chapter 2 discusses the "refugee mentality" of many Hong Kong residents in the 1950s and 1960s, whereby political stability in Hong Kong, a foreign colony, was preferable to political instability in China, one's homeland. In such a situation, money and family – the former accrued for the sake of the latter – are all that can be trusted.

By the 1970s and 1980s, as Chapter 3 explores, this refugee mentality had become transmuted into a market mentality, based not on survival but on choice. No longer was survival the dominant concern: instead, the emergent middle class could enjoy consumption of worldwide goods and ideas for their own sake, with little concern about national identity. A new Hong Kong identity had begun to emerge, one that, unlike identity formulations elsewhere in the world, was unencumbered by senses of national identity. (Chinese ethnic identity remained undisputed among most of Hong Kong's people; but national identity was for most people distinctly absent.) This makes Hong Kong's market mentality unique: it has not been in conjunction with the mentality of the state, but in rejection of that mentality. Elsewhere in the world, the mentality of the market shows itself only in relation and in contrast to the mentality of the state, with the two discourses existing in common in people's minds, despite their contradiction; only in Hong Kong over the postwar decades has the discourse of the state been largely absent, leaving people to focus wholly on the market. This has changed over the past two decades, and especially since the handover, with the discourse of the state ever increasingly asserting itself; but for many Hong Kong people, the discourse of the state remains to some extent foreign, and the discourse of the market remains paramount.

Hong Kong mass media regularly portray this market mentality. To cite just a

few examples, one newspaper article describes how land in Hong Kong is not viewed as one's sacred motherland as in China: "in Hong Kong land is not holy … it is just a commodity" (Yip 2004). Another article quotes a secondary-school student criticizing her fellows for their situational attitude towards their country: "Hong Kong students think in terms of profit: when the situation in China is good, they say they are Chinese, for example, when China … won the rights to host the Olympics. But when talking about democracy, they think of themselves as Hongkongers" (*Ta Kung Pao* 2002) – in other words, they shift their allegiance towards their country as they might shift their allegiance towards a consumer product. Other columnists celebrate this market mentality: "We may regret to say that Hong Kong people are homeless and floating…. Yet it is fortunate that we are homeless and floating" (Lee 2005); "In the post-colonial era, the mindset of not caring about identity and identity politics makes Hong Kong people outstanding world citizens" (W. Chan 2004).

These examples show a judgment based on personal calculation of profit and loss rather than on one's belonging to a particular place and society to which one is unstintingly loyal. This is the mentality of the market depicted above, based not on love but on self-interest, not on emotion but on calculation. Of course, in actual practice, buyers and sellers on the market have a vast range of motivations and emotions; but in an abstract sense, in terms of "ideal types," if the discourse of the state entails attachment, and love, the discourse of the market entails detachment and calculation. This is what we see in Hong Kong.

The mentality of the market in Hong Kong has been noted by scholars long before this book was written. The noted social scientists Lau Siu-kai and Kuan Hsin-chi (Lau and Kuan 1988: 54) discussed two decades ago their survey finding that 85 percent of Hong Kong people "agreed that the most important personal goal was to make as much money as possible without breaking the law"; on the other hand, these respondents' political interest and sense of national attachment was relatively low, they found (1988: 93, 179). Lau discussed in an earlier publication (1981) the "utilitarian familism" of many Hong Kong Chinese, whereby the accumulation of material goods for one's family was an essential value, as opposed to any larger collective concern. These views have evolved in recent decades; but more recent analyses too posit Hong Kong's market mentality as essential. "Hong Kong remains a place where market rights are predominant, and citizenship is just a premature notion as a guiding principle for Hongkongers," notes Denny Kwok-leung Ho (2004: 34).

In a more sustained argument on this theme, Aihwa Ong discusses the "flexible citizenship" of overseas Chinese, a term referring "to the strategies and effects of mobile managers, technocrats, and professionals seeking to both circumvent *and* benefit from different nation-state regimes by selecting different sites for investments, work, and family relocation" (1999: 112). This "flexible citizenship" is particularly apparent in Hong Kong, in Ong's account; she quotes a young Hongkonger as saying, "I don't think I need to associate myself with a particular country," and comments that "like many savvy Hong Kongers, he was … aligned more toward world market conditions than toward the moral meaning

of citizenship in a particular nation" (1999: 119). Hong Kong people's market mentality is a cliché echoed in tourist guidebooks, as well as in so many of the accounts that Hong Kong people tell about themselves. Yet, like many clichés, it bears a kernel of truth, as these scholars' findings indicate. It is what has made many Hong Kong people particularly resistant to national identity, and particularly able to frame "belonging to a nation" in alternative market-based forms, as we will see in the chapters to come – although the situation is in flux.

This discourse of the market has been grounded in institutional policies and practices in Hong Kong. Hong Kong, under Great Britain's colonial rule was largely free from any state ideology. One could say of the British colonial government in Hong Kong, with only slight exaggeration, that "the discourse of the state was the market." The British rulers of Hong Kong sought to instill this discourse in Hong Kong, not only because it could effectively substitute for the absent discourse of the state, but also because in the 1970s through the 1990s, an era in which Hong Kong's *per capita* income was dramatically rising, this discourse could easily serve to justify British colonial rule.[11] Education in schools throughout this period, as we explore in Chapter 5, consistently de-emphasized national belonging of any kind, rendering the market "king." But this was hardly a discourse proclaimed only from "the top down"; most Hong Kong people were not simply propagandized by this market discourse, but readily welcomed it. Many had escaped the chaos of China's communist–nationalist struggles, and the subsequent communist revolution (not to mention the later Cultural Revolution); having escaped such a climate of uncertainty, money, they felt, was all that can be trusted. This attitude very much fed the discourse of the market that dominated the thinking of many Hong Kong people in the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s, and today as well.

Of course not all Hong Kong people have lived only by the discourse of the market. Broadly speaking, those who identify themselves as Hongkongese, as earlier discussed – people who tend to be better educated, middle-class, younger, and female – seem somewhat more closely aligned with the mentality of the market, while those who identify themselves as Chinese – often less educated, working-class, older, and male – seem somewhat more closely aligned with the mentality of the state (see Mathews 2001b). Gender, education level, affluence and age seem logically linked to adherence to the discourse of the market, although this cannot easily be demonstrated empirically. That there is little literature on gender and nationalism (McCrone 1998: 120; but see also Ranchod-Nilsson and Tétrault 2000) may reflect the fact that it is men more than women who heed the nationalist call, and fight on the battlefields that nationalism sometimes creates. Some 10–20 percent of Hong Kong people, according to surveys, were strong supporters of the mainland government in the 1990s, seeing themselves as "Chinese patriots." A similar percentage of Hong Kong people have been "Chinese patriots" of a different sort, directing their loyalty to an imagined China of the future: these are the people one sees at the 4 June memorial vigils in Hong Kong: tens of thousands of people commemorating the Tiananmen Square massacre, some with tears streaming down their faces. Ku and Pun write

of how, after the handover, "the discourse of the global city … was uneasily coupled with an emphasis on patriotic education stressing traditional Chinese values" (2004: 6): the market mentality has come to be accompanied by and sometimes intertwined with that of the state, leading at least some in Hong Kong to newly embrace the discourse of the state. But certainly many in Hong Kong do indeed continue to live by the discourse of the market and view the rising discourse of the state in terms of the market. This is what makes Hong Kong today, if not necessarily tomorrow, highly unusual in the world.[12]

Ong cautions that we should not analytically posit "a simple opposition between cosmopolitanism and patriotism" (1999: 135), and this is no doubt correct. While in their underlying logic these discourses are indeed in opposition, in their actual interplay in Hong Kong these discourses are not only in dichotomy, but also in a dialectical pushing and pulling, and are sometimes aligned together. We will see in Chapter 3, for example, how Hong Kong elites first used the discourse of the market to justify emigration to flee Chinese control, placing their own personal and familial choice over any sense of local or national duty. A few years later, however, they used that discourse to justify closer relations with China, in all its economic benefits: the discourse of the market can thus be opposed to the state but also aligned with the interests of the state. We will see in Chapter 8 how faith in the national market of China serves as a substitute for faith in the Chinese state in compelling the interest of Hong Kong businessmen, serving as a back-door route to nationalism, albeit of a pragmatic sort; the market thus enables an alternative form of loyalty to China. On the other hand, we will see in Chapter 7 how some Hong Kong students view the symbols of the state by the standards of the market, seeing the Chinese flag as "unfashionable" – here the discourse of the market seems used almost wilfully as a means of keeping the discourse of the state at arm's length. The interplay of the discourses of state and market is a subtext to this book's dominant theme of how Hong Kong is learning to belong to a nation; but it will appear at points throughout this book's chapters. The discourse of the market is a means through which many Hong Kong people are resisting "belonging to a nation," but also learning alternative means of "belonging to a nation," as we will eventually explore.

The structure of this book

This book is unusual in that it has three authors, each with a different academic specialism, who have written the book together. Mathews, a cultural anthropologist, was the primary author of Chapters 1, 5, 7, and 9; Ma, a scholar of journalism and communication, was the primary author of Chapters 4, 6, and 8; and Lui, a sociologist, was the primary author of Chapters 2 and 3.

It may be worth discussing each of our backgrounds in brief. Lui was born in Hong Kong and grew up in the 1960s and 1970s, a time when Hong Kong and its population experienced major transformation. Being a member of the postwar baby-boomer cohort and a participant of the student movement in the late 1970s,

he observed the social and political detachment of his parents' generation and personally witnessed how his own generation changed from being critics of colonialism to advocates of Hong Kong's own values as distinct from those of China. Like many others in the 1970s, he had first-hand experience of how a local Hong Kong identity came into formation. He was a founding member of the political group "Meeting Point," one of the earliest groups promoting political democratization in Hong Kong. He firmly believes that Hong Kong is part of China. Yet he also recognizes that Hong Kong, its people and culture, continues to maintain a distinctive identity apart from the mainland, an identity whose birth he experienced and whose ongoing evolution he studies and lives through with great fascination.

Ma too grew up in the formative years of postwar Hong Kong. When he was a student, he only had a vague idea of Chinese history, and knew little about contemporary China; but in recent years, with Hong Kong's return to China, he has noticed a subtle shift in his ideological inclination. He still opposes China's war of words against Taiwan and criminalization of Falun Gong. But he has also become more sensitive to what he sees as his previous tendency to oversimplify Chinese history and politics. In the early 1990s, his research interests were focused on local Hong Kong culture, but since the late 1990s, he has started several research projects on the cultural dynamic between Hong Kong and south China. He takes a critical but pragmatic stance towards his newfound national identity, seeing the mainland as a place where he can discover cultural connections to his local Hong Kong identity. He thinks of Hong Kong people's critical yet pragmatic and multidimensional identification with the nation as reflexive and flexible; but whether this flexibility and reflexivity can be maintained is an open question, just as is his own ultimate sense of identity *vis-à-vis* China

If Lui is a critical advocate for Hong Kong's separate identity, and Ma a critical advocate for Hong Kong's belonging to China, Mathews is a critic of all national identity. He was born in the United States, and raised on the pledge of allegiance and the national anthem, though he spent his teenage years in the distant American state of Alaska, apart in its outlook from the "lower forty-eight" states. Mathews came to Hong Kong in 1994, after spending a decade in Japan and a few years in American graduate school, and was immediately drawn to the tense debates taking place over Hong Kong's future. He remains fascinated by Hong Kong's struggles over cultural and national identity, and views the subtle differences in view between Lui and Ma with great interest; he himself is skeptical about national identity, sensing that it is fundamentally illusory – his own life, lived with his Japanese wife in Hong Kong, is evidence of his lifelong efforts to transcend the bounds of nation. Yet he remains enthralled by American politics, and is thus ineradicably American despite himself, and despite believing that the United States and China are the two greatest threats to lasting peace in the world.

Given these differences in personal views, we have found writing this book to be a bracing experience: we have each revised one another's chapters and argued over one another's ideas at length. This book as a whole is a synthesis of

all three of our efforts, and very much benefits from our ongoing discussions and revisions. The reader will no doubt detect subtle differences in style and emphasis in our different chapters, but analytically they fully cohere, we believe, and trust that you who read will agree.

This book's initial introductory chapter has discussed the unusual situation of Hong Kong, and explained why the issue of national identity in Hong Kong transcends Hong Kong. It has explored why human beings throughout the world today seem to need to belong to the nation, and why most Hong Kong people in recent decades have not felt this need; and it has examined Hong Kong's recent history in light of the global discourses of state and market.

In the chapters that follow, the book moves to particulars. Chapter 2 focuses on Hong Kong and China in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, between China's communist revolution and the Sino-British accord mandating the return of Hong Kong to China. The 1950s were a time of desperate poverty, but by the 1970s, Hong Kong's identity as a separate society had begun to form, a society whose younger generation felt itself, unlike its elders, to be distinctly apart from China. Chapter 3 then examines Hong Kong's last two-plus decades – the uneasiness following the agreement that Hong Kong would be returned to China, the massive demonstrations in Hong Kong following China's Tiananmen Square incident, the efforts to make Hong Kong democratic in the last years before the handover, the handover itself in the ambivalence it engendered, the post-handover economic downturn and loss of social confidence, the threats to freedom of speech in the mass media, and the huge demonstrations of 1 July 2003 and 2004; this chapter takes us up to the present.

Chapter 4 discusses how mainland Chinese have been depicted in the Hong Kong mass media, from being seen in the 1980s as country bumpkins and corrupt officials to being now portrayed with much more affection; but while mainlanders are portrayed on television with a new benignity, symbols of the state, such as the Chinese national anthem, now broadcast every night on Hong Kong television, continue to inspire a degree of controversy. Chapter 5 examines instruction in "belonging to a nation" in Hong Kong schools, arguing, on the basis of interviewing of teachers and students, that while love for the nation is unproblematic and can easily be taught, love for the state remains problematic – but in a Hong Kong that belongs to China, this dichotomy cannot easily be spoken of.

Chapter 6 explores through a series of opinion surveys Hong Kong people's attitudes towards China; it finds that while many people in Hong Kong feel that mainland Chinese are similar to themselves in economic and practical values, a gap remains in political values; many Hong Kong people keep patriotism at arm's length, and espouse a pragmatic notion of national identity. Chapter 7 examines how Hong Kong students describe their senses of "belonging to the nation" in comparison with students from mainland China and the United States, revealing a broad array of differences as well as similarities between Hong Kong and these other societies. In crucial respects, American and Chinese students resemble one another, with Hong Kong students on the outside, uncomprehend-

ing of the "love for country" that both American and Chinese students express: some Hong Kong students long to feel such love, while others only scorn it. Chapter 8 explores through ethnographic fieldwork how some Hong Kong people are increasingly making their business and lives in south China, producing a regional culture that is gradually overcoming the sharp boundaries once drawn by many Hong Kong people *vis-à-vis* their Chinese neighbors – a culture that distinctly differs from the national identity proclaimed by the Chinese state, but that nonetheless offers a sense of national identity previously unexperienced in the lifetimes of Hong Kong people today.

The book's concluding chapter, Chapter 9, considers the broad implications of Hong Kong's fifty-year process of estrangement from and reunification with the Chinese nation. Do Hong Kong people, in their hesitation towards loving their country, represent a colonial past or a global future? How are Hong Kong senses of national identity, as explored in this book, linked to the fate of national identity in the world at large? What can Hong Kong's ongoing experience in "learning to belong to a nation" teach us all about what national identity means in the world today?

2 Fleeing the nation, creating a local home, 1949–1983

Chapters 2 and 3 of this book discuss the recent history of Hong Kong in order to understand the historical background against which Hong Kong people are today "learning to belong to a nation." In this chapter, following a brief discussion of Hong Kong's linkages to China throughout its history, we examine Hong Kong in the late 1940s and 1950s, during which waves of migrants fled to Hong Kong from China. In their search for social and political stability, enabling the private pursuit of happiness, some of these migrants had to struggle with adjusting to colonialism, but many more were eager to leave the question of national identity aside, after all the turmoil that it had caused in China. We then explore how, following the watershed of the 1966–67 riots, a new identification with Hong Kong emerged in the 1970s, and the issue of "belonging to the Chinese nation" was set aside; it was in this era that Hong Kong began its development into an engine of capitalism, while China was roiled by the chaos of the Cultural Revolution.

National identity in Hong Kong's history

Archeological excavations in Hong Kong over the past few decades have shown that Hong Kong has a long history of being linked to China (Shang 1999). There are reasons to be skeptical at some new assertions of Hong Kong's Chineseness on the basis of archeological evidence – when one authority writes, "In that Hong Kong is a *very* Chinese city even today, its precolonial past is as relevant as its colonial history" (Chan 1993: 483), the reader may be forgiven for wondering how much present-day political exigencies are shaping views of the past. Nonetheless, it does seem clear that Hong Kong has had thousands of years of being linked to China, albeit a linkage that became attenuated in more recent centuries. Pottery and other artifacts have been found at numerous sites in Hong Kong dating back 5,000–6,000 years; bronze tools date from 1500 B.C. "As shown by the large number of unearthed artifacts, the ancient cultures of the Hong Kong area and Guangdong on the mainland have enough features in common to prove they were of the same origin" (Liu 1997: 3–4), implying a shared prehistoric culture.

Throughout recorded Chinese history, Hong Kong was under the jurisdiction of counties in what is now mainland China (Liu 1997: 7–8), and was notable for

its pearl-gathering industry, as well as its production of salt and incense-wood; it also was a link in China's coastal defenses. However, as Chan (1993: 479–83) reluctantly admits, Hong Kong had become less tightly linked to the mainland and less densely populated in the several centuries preceding the arrival of the British. Liu writes that "since ancient times [Hong Kong] … has been an inalienable part of China" (1997: 22), and this is true – even if, for the most part, it seems to have been more or less a backwater.

Hong Kong was colonized by the British in 1841, a spoil of victory in a war fought over Great Britain's right to import opium into China (see Robbins 2002: 85; Liu 1997: 23–38; see Welsh 1994: 62–131 for a different view). Chinese products such as tea were in great demand in Great Britain, but the Chinese desired little that was produced in Great Britain. However, the British East India Company had control over the supply of opium, for which there was a great demand in China but which was illegal. The British fought the first Opium War to force China not to enforce its own laws against opium and to allow the British to flood the Chinese market with the drug; Hong Kong was ceded to Great Britain as a result of its victory in this war. "An analogy today might be the Columbian government sending troops to the United States to force acceptance of Columbian cocaine shipments" (Robbins 2002: 85).

Hong Kong island was, by British accounts, sparsely populated at the time of its colonization. In a report prepared in 1844, it was stated there were "about 7,500 inhabitants, scattered over 20 fishing hamlets and villages" (Jarman 1996: 9). R. Montgomery Martin, the colonial treasurer of Hong Kong and a historian of British colonies, who prepared that report on Hong Kong and objected to the choice of the island for British occupation, went on to argue that, "on a review of the whole case, there are no assignable grounds for the political or military occupancy of Hong Kong, even if there were no expense attending that occupancy" (Jarman 1996: 16). More famously, Lord Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, described Hong Kong in 1842 as "a barren island, which will never be a mart of trade" (Welsh 1994: 1). While this might well be an overstatement of the barrenness of Hong Kong – Liu (1997: 14–15) claims that Hong Kong island on the eve of its colonization was thriving – the above description does point to an important fact about the colonization. The British had their eyes on business with China and for that purpose they needed a sheltered harbor and a land base for logistics. These, not its natural resources, nor a population constituting an attractive market, were the primary functions of Hong Kong to the British. So, although Hong Kong clearly had its own longer historical linkages with China and benefited from its location and connectedness with a China-centered economic network (Hamashita 1997a, b), its social development into a trading port with an influx of population from China was largely an aftermath of the British colonization – although as many scholars have stressed (see Ngo 1999), the success of Hong Kong can by no means be explained simply as the result of good colonial rule.[1]

From the very early days of Hong Kong, there has been the question of national identity – for many its absence and for others its peculiar form of

presence. Many people from China migrated to Hong Kong in the decades following its colonization, mostly as sojourners. But whatever the final destinations of these migrants – some stayed, many returned to China, and others went on to Southeast Asia, Australia or North America – their links with China were never cut off. Indeed, quite often, Chinese identity constituted a basis for political mobilization. This happened sometimes in the conflict between the local Chinese community and the colonial government, but more often its basis was political action in China (Tsai 1993). The 1925–26 strike-boycott, whereby 250,000 workers went on strike against their British colonial rulers, was but one example: the movement in Hong Kong was responding to events in Shanghai and was directed from Canton (now known as Guangzhou) (Tsang 2004: 94–5). This connection with politics in China continued to make its impact on Hong Kong throughout the 150 years between its colonization in 1841 and its reversion to China in 1997. Yet, this connection with politics in China never led to any sustained anti-colonial campaign, and despite occasional acts of resistance against the British colonizers, overthrowing colonialism has never been a serious topic on the public agenda (Tsai 2001: 283–4).

The essence of Hong Kong lay not only in the fact that it was a colony, but also in the fact that it was a society of migrants. Most people came to Hong Kong seeking to leave behind the political turmoil on the mainland. In the eyes of many of these migrants, Hong Kong was a place where the nation was bracketed and suspended, giving them a degree of freedom and autonomy in their pursuit of personal and familial interests. But this bracketing was always tentative. Being Chinese in a British colony, with the Chinese constituting some 98 percent of the local population during much of Hong Kong's history, was a situation that continued to haunt many generations of Chinese in Hong Kong. In their quest for identity, questions over whether to resist or to embrace China cropped up repeatedly. Tsai observes that "in the past hundred years, Hong Kong people politically identified China as their motherland and yet at the same time held a negative view of the government in China" (2001: 2). This is true today as well, as we will see, but this sense long antecedes the communist government on the mainland. The very fact that these people were living in Hong Kong suggested that for whatever reason they, or their parents or forebears, left China. Yet, being Chinese, they were always aware of their non-British status and identity. Colonialism always served as a reminder to the Chinese in Hong Kong of their distance from China, the nation to which they felt they belonged. But at the same time, as the large majority of the local population, under the indirect and soft authoritarian style of colonial rule practiced by the British, Chinese in Hong Kong have throughout Hong Kong's history been able to actively maintain their ties with China and Chinese culture. The ambiguities in the connection of Hong Kong Chinese with China have always been a part of social and cultural life; this was true when Hong Kong was a colony, and is true today as well.

For this book's purposes, to understand the unique status of Hong Kong people *vis-à-vis* China, we need not go back in detail over all of Hong Kong's

history. It is sufficient to focus on the past sixty years, a period during which a distinct Hong Kong identity was formed, and then threatened, as we explore in this and the following chapter.[2]

The arrival of the refugees: Chinese politics on Hong Kong soil

The lead article in the *Hong Kong Annual Report: 1956*, entitled "A Problem of People," was a review of social development in the post-war decade. It states:

> Looking back over this period, one can say that there is little that has been done that would not have been done differently if one problem had never existed. Finance, education, medical and health services, social welfare, prisons, police, industry, commerce, labour relations, land policy, housing, agriculture and fisheries, political relations – even the law itself – all bear the unmistakable surcharge (in a few cases an almost obliterating surcharge) of this single problem. It is a problem of a vast immigrant population; vast because for every resident of the Colony at the British reoccupation in 1945 there are now four residents.
>
> (Hong Kong Government 1957: 2)

The history of Hong Kong has always been regularly punctuated by the arrival of sojourners from the mainland since the early days of its colonization. This was always an outcome of social, economic, and particularly political turmoil across the border, be it the Taiping Rebellion in the nineteenth century or the civil war between the nationalists and the communists that flared up after the Japanese surrender in 1945. Once the socio-economic and political conditions on the mainland were settled, many of these migrants returned to their home-towns on the mainland. But this time the situation was different.

At the end of World War II, the population of Hong Kong was about 900,000. It rose rapidly to about two million by the end of 1950 (Census and Statistics Department 1969). Within this group of newly arrived immigrants, some were returnees, who had lived in Hong Kong before the Japanese invasion in World War II, but more came to escape from the civil war in China and the resultant political changes in the mainland, as China became communist. Perhaps because of the political project of containing communism in the Cold War years, as well as the necessity of avoiding tensions with the Chinese population of Hong Kong, the colonial administration, despite tightening its control of the incoming population and issuing personal identity documents in 1949 and border controls in 1950, had kept border controls rather relaxed. Most Chinese who wanted to leave the mainland could find entry into Hong Kong.

However, unlike the mobile population that had in earlier eras come temporarily to Hong Kong and subsequently returned to China, this group of immigrants was not destined to return to the mainland when the situation there calmed down. Sensing that this group of immigrants might come to constitute a

part of the local population, the colonial administration began to worry about problems of housing and public health in the early 1950s. Many newly arrived migrants built squatter huts on hillsides and rooftops. These wooden squatter huts were prone to fire and other disasters and the resettlement of the squatting population was always a source of social as well as political conflict (Smart 1989, 2006). In 1953 a terrible fire ravaged the northern Kowloon areas of Shek Kip Mei, making some 50,000 squatters homeless; this fire led the colonial government to create a massive public housing program in the following year (see Smart 2006 for a skeptical view of this process) which came to accommodate almost 40 percent of all households in the 1970s and 1980s. This massive public housing program was considered to be one of the most important factors enabling Hong Kong's export-led labor-intensive industrialization, and ensuing social stability (Castells *et al.* 1990; Drakakis-Smith 1979).

Influential depictions of Hong Kong in the decades before the handover portrayed it as a city whose inhabitants eschewed political involvement (Lau and Kuan 1988: 93–103). However, politics, although not the politics of anti-colonialism as one would have expected (Tsai 2001), was a part of life in Hong Kong, and the early postwar years were not short of social and political conflict. A series of strikes over wages began in 1946; the years 1946–49 marked a period of high-intensity industrial conflict. Economic hardship as a result of the war with Japan partly explained the grievances among workers, but equally significant were political forces. It was a period of civil war in mainland China, with the nationalists and the communists contending for hegemony. Their impact on Hong Kong was evident in the formation of two politically oriented trade union councils, the pro-communist Federation of Trade Unions (established in 1947) and the pro-nationalist Trade Union Council (established in 1948). Disturbances broke out in Kowloon in March 1952 as a result of the Hong Kong government's decision not to allow a relief group on their way by train from China to visit and comfort squatter fire victims. A worker was shot dead during the confrontation and twelve people under arrest were later deported. Another incident was the so-called "Double Tenth Riots" (taking place, as the name indicates, on 10 October) in 1956. The outbreak of disorder was triggered by alleged damage to nationalist flags hung in resettlement estates and workers' quarters, leading to a large-scale attack on pro-communist communities.

Political actions in the post-war decade were, in Lee's words (1998: 158), "Chinese politics on Hong Kong soil" (see also Grantham 1965: 158–9). Political concerns expressed in these social and political conflicts were mainly ideological differences based upon larger political contentions between two rival regimes in mainland China and Taiwan, regimes representing alternative versions of what the Chinese nation should be. While these confrontations took place in Hong Kong, the issues at stake clearly lay elsewhere. But the fact that these confrontations took place in Hong Kong reveals that many in Hong Kong did indeed continue to sense very strongly that they "belonged to the Chinese nation."

Borrowed time, borrowed place

While the pro-communist and pro-nationalist groups were actively rallying support among local Hong Kong Chinese, many of the newly arrived migrants found themselves struggling to attain the means of subsistence and adjust to lives lived under British colonialism. These migrants had undergone a process of cultural as well as social dislocation. They were culturally dislocated in that the institutional arrangements of colonialism favored those who received English-language education. Most of the migrants understood that this institutional bias, even in a society that was almost entirely Chinese, could hardly be challenged under a colonial regime. But at the same time, they were well aware that this institutional bias was real enough to affect their own livelihood and the well-being of their children. Issues concerning Chinese culture and the status of the Chinese language were a matter of hidden pain among Chinese in Hong Kong; but in the 1950s, unlike later eras, most people in Hong Kong had no choice but to adjust and be subservient.

These migrants were socially dislocated. In his report to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Edvard Hambro observed that most of the immigrants experienced a "considerable shift of occupations" (Hambro 1955: 45): the large majority, particularly businessmen, professionals and the edu-cated, had to undergo the pain of downward social mobility (1955: 45–7). They encountered a sluggish labor market still recovering from the war; they also encountered the brutal fact that their previous working experience and creden-tials on the mainland were given only slight recognition in the new environment of Hong Kong. Many migrants had to start from scratch in Hong Kong, with their cultural capital downgraded, if not simply written off.

For an ordinary family, housing and livelihood were daily problems. The first post-war census (carried out in 1961) found that, despite much improvement in housing conditions as a result of governmental efforts at public resettlement since 1953, nearly half of Hong Kong's population (47.1 percent) still lived in cubicles inside private tenement flats, and 11.9 percent lived in rented bedspaces or on verandahs. Those living in temporary structures (including rooftop huts and squatters' makeshift dwellings) made up 21 percent of the population. In terms of public health, official statistics suggested that in the early 1950s "almost 95 percent of the population above the age of 14 years had already been infected by [tuberculosis]" (Hambro 1955: 62). In short, the 1950s were an era of material scarcity in Hong Kong, a time of struggle for basic livelihood. Many people who grew up in the 1950s vividly remember their encounters with over-seas and local welfare agencies through the distribution of relief materials (see, for example, the personal recollections of Chow 1997: 3–5, and Ng 2000: 188–90). For most people, survival was the major concern of the day.

The description of Hong Kong people in the early post-war decades as having a "refugee mentality" is best understood against this socio-economic and polit-ical background. The image of "Hong Kong as a lifeboat" (Hoadley 1970) cap-tured the political fear of the refugees. Being able to escape from a sea of

political turmoil in China, the migrants preferred to stay out of politics. As Ingrams observed:

> The Chinese in Hong Kong have certainly been in a position to reach the conclusion that good management without politics in Hong Kong is more profitable than politics and confusion in China…. The enormous migrant population has no interest in Hong Kong's ultimate welfare at all. These people come and go as it pays them.

> (1952: 244–5)

This lifeboat imagery highlights four interrelated aspects of the "refugee mentality." First, the "refugee mentality" was a conscious attempt to stay away from political tensions created by rivalry between the communist and nationalist regimes; it was a distinct attempt to avoid the complications of "belonging to a nation," given the venomously conflicting versions of "belonging to a nation" on offer in China as opposed to Taiwan. Second, it was an acceptance of the status quo in colonial Hong Kong. Compared with the threat of political instability and a life situation where individuals had little control over their own lives, as was the case on the mainland, the prospect of regaining their ability to find the means to "enjoy the fruits of their labor," though in an alien colonial environment, was indeed a comfort. Their perception of an unstable environment and an uncertain future in China explains why many of these newly arrived migrants put up with hardship in Hong Kong: simply put, the state in China could not be trusted, as the state in Hong Kong could, in the maintenance of a stable social order. Third, and closely related to the point stated above, this "refugee mentality" was a survival instinct. As wrote Hughes (1976: 129), "The Hong Kong mood … is one of masterly expedience and crisis-to-crisis adjustment and recovery. This is partly a gambler's mentality, partly fatalism." Hong Kong was, and perhaps still is, in Hughes's words, a "city of the present." People were described as adhering to a short-term horizon, rarely looking and planning ahead. The immediate reality always loomed large and to survive in an uncertain environment was always the most immediate concern.

Fourth, and as implied above, "the refugee mentality" involved a sense of transience and rootlessness. In the early post-war decades, few of the migrants had the idea that they would stay in Hong Kong permanently. As Han Suyin has written:

> Each man, despite his air of belonging, is a transient, claiming as his origin a village back in south China, refusing to belong to the Colony, maintaining his status of passerby even when he works here all his life, even when his children are born here, sometimes even when he is born here. This is the most permanent fact about the Colony: with few exceptions, those who come regard themselves as on the way to somewhere else.

> (Quoted in Hoadley 1973: 613)

To the migrants from the mainland, this sense of transience allowed them to stay aloof from the mundane reality of colonial rule – few of them ever bothered to question the legitimacy of British colonialism (cf. Lau 1982: 7). The fact that they chose to leave China to seek peace and stability in Hong Kong shaped this aloofness. That many of them actually stayed in Hong Kong for the rest of their lives was an unexpected outcome.

The "refugee mentality" of Hong Kong in the 1950s and 1960s is a precursor to the "market mentality" that came to characterize Hong Kong in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s and continuing today, as we saw last chapter. Both the "refugee mentality" of the 1950s and 1960s and the "market mentality" of later decades involved being at a remove from the politics of national loyalties, and in this sense they have a clear continuity. But while the later "market mentality" came to be based on affluence, the affluence of being a global producer and consumer, the "refugee mentality" was rooted in poverty, and the struggle for daily economic survival: keeping one's head down and staying out of the way of nationalist concerns as well as of the colonial regime. As we will see, it was among the children of this era, those born-in-Hong-Kong post-war baby-boomers who came into their teenage years in the late 1950s and early 1960s, that the "refugee mentality" first began its shift into a "market mentality," a mentality based not in a flight from poverty and national oppression but in affluence, confidence, and cosmopolitanism. For this new generation, Hong Kong became not a lifeboat but a home, a home that opened them to all the world, but left many uncomprehending of that sense of national belonging characteristic of all the rest of the world. However, this new generation would take a decade or more to begin fully to emerge.

The impact of demographics

According to the official statistics of the 1961 Census, less than half (47.7 percent) of the population was born in Hong Kong. But that figure went up to 53.8 percent in the 1966 by-census (Census and Statistics Department 1969: 22), indicating the emergence of a locally born generation in a migrant society. In fact, Hong Kong continued to experience waves of population influx from the mainland in the 1960s and 1970s. At a time when most people were still haunted by their experience of leaving their hometown in China and perhaps were still struggling to find their separated family members on the mainland, people in Hong Kong did not perceive themselves as locals and immigrants as aliens, as they later would. As recalled by Lo (1997), many Hong Kong residents went to points near the border to assist those refugees illegally entering Hong Kong during the "May exodus" in 1962: a huge influx of refugees from across the border, a consequence of the Great Leap Forward campaign on the mainland, which had brought about economic hardship and famine:

> Ordinary people and college students went to the areas near Fanling … [in the northern New Territories of Hong Kong] and, despite the presence of

armed police and the imposition of curfew, assisted many dying fellow Chinese. I was able to get away from the search carried out by a police heli-copter … and brought back many pieces of paper prepared by refugees bearing the names and addresses of their relatives living in Hong Kong.

<div align="right">(Lo 1997: 58)</div>

The dire condition of the refugees gained the sympathy of many in Hong Kong. The perceptions of Hong Kong residents towards the continuous inflow of refugees from the mainland reflected their identification with China, as did their insistence on seeing these incoming strangers as fellow Chinese rather than as aliens competing for scarce social resources, as they later would. Nonetheless, Hong Kong society in the early 1960s was far from being a homogeneous Chinese society. The divisions within the population were expressed in the concerns that the Commissioner of Census and Statistics had in planning the 1961 census:

> In everyday affairs we speak of "Chinese" and "non-Chinese," "Chinese" and "foreign," "Asian" and "European," "local" and "expatriate" but none of these terms is precise enough to lay down an unmistakable line in a society which does not draw such a line. And even if a line could be drawn between any two of these pairs of theoretical asymptotes, there would be little value in hiving off the "Chinese," "Asian" or "local" majority without also subdividing it into its main components. Much of the same difficulty arose about dividing the population by nationality, since so many of them have two nationalities or none. The solution was to drop the terms "race" and "nationality" and use instead scientifically conceived questions defined in terms of linguistics and geography. Everyone was asked his country of birth <u>and</u> his country of ancestral origin. Everyone except children under five and the dumb were asked what language they usually spoke, and whether they (additionally) spoke English, Cantonese, both or neither.
>
> <div align="right">(Hong Kong Government 1962: 15–16)</div>

With hindsight, it is interesting to observe that this classification – corresponding neatly with the notion of residence, and not citizenship – was adopted by the colonial administration in determining rights (for example, the right to access public housing). In a migrant society, with a continuous inflow of people through unobserved channels and an unspoken inclination to grant expatriates the rights of residence and of being treated as equals, or more often as superiors, it was the length of residence that really counted. With the exception of the original inhabitants, those native lineages in the New Territories who had been living in the area before the British occupation in 1898, the entire population in Hong Kong, including those long-established and often prosperous families that had been around since the nineteenth century, was composed of residents. The above quotation no doubt greatly understates the difference between being British and non-British in the colonial milieu. But it shows that Hong Kong in

the 1960s was not a melting pot: arriving migrants were not quickly assimilated into pre-established social institutions and ways of life. Furthermore, assimilation did not bring about the assignment of civil, social, and political rights of citizenship; the notion of citizenship did not exist. The idea of citizenship (in terms of full civil, social, and political rights) was a non-issue – the colonial state did not bother with it, and few people wondered if it was actually attainable. There was talk about assimilation (see, for example, Hong Kong Government 1962: 30). But more often, in the minds of the Chinese living there, Hong Kong was a shelter for temporary residence rather than a home that they could identify with.

The same document reminds us that, in terms of the cultural background of the population, there was nothing that could be taken for granted. The commissioner had to worry about which language to use in carrying out the census interviews:

> To get about in Hong Kong [Island] and Kowloon, the most useful language to speak was Cantonese. But there would certainly be a proportion of the households even in town and maybe a large proportion in parts of the New Territories where Cantonese was not understood – where even an enumerator who spoke both Cantonese and English would not get by. And there are many dialects of Cantonese, some very broad. Would an enumerator who spoke city Cantonese be able to put across his questions to the villagers of Yuen Long, who speak Nam Tau dialect, or to the Tanka boat people, and understand their answers?
>
> (Hong Kong Government 1962: 9)

Although the findings of the 1961 Census suggested that 79 percent of those aged five and over gave their usual language as Cantonese (Hong Kong Government 1962: 10), showing that Cantonese was becoming the dominant language in the colony, it was also evident that ethnicity remained significant in Hong Kong. On the one side, there was the English community, culturally as well as institutionally separated from the larger Chinese population. On the other side, there were communities of the people from Chiu Chau (Sparks 1976), the Fukienese (Guldin 1977), and the Shanghainese, all different ethnic groups from China, speaking different Chinese dialects These communities were later shattered by the resettlement process concomitant with urbanization and the growth of Hong Kong's public housing program, as well as by education and mass media creating a common Cantonese language in Hong Kong; these different ethnicities eventually became largely invisible, swept up in a common Hong Kong identity. But in the 1950s and 1960s and later, Hong Kong society had visible ethnic enclaves, reminding Chinese people both of the commonality of their Chinese identity and culture, and of the differences in their native places, dialects and ways of life.

It was the gradual emergence of the first post-war generation that shaped changes in the social horizons and popular consciousness of Hong Kong society. The impact of this young generation on post-war Hong Kong was most evident in the riots in 1966 and 1967, as we will now discuss.

The watershed: 1966–1967

In 1966 and 1967, Hong Kong was beset by riots, which were a watershed in the transformation of its society and politics. These riots sum up the changing contours of Hong Kong before and after the mid-1960s. The 1966 Kowloon disturbances were a series of demonstrations, marches, riots, and street violence triggered by a hunger strike in opposition to a fare increase by the Star Ferry in Tsim Sha Tsui (then the primary mode of transport between Hong Kong Island and Kowloon) in early April 1966. The direct cause of the disturbances lay in an escalation of events, from a much publicized opposition to the Star Ferry fare increase, to a hunger strike by one man, to an organized march ending in further demonstrations merging into riots. But the larger significance of these disturbances lies in the fact that they symbolized the emergence of a new local generation ready to express their hopes and frustrations, as their immigrant elders had not. As noted in a subsequent report on the disturbances,

> There is evidence of a growing interest in Hong Kong on the part of youth and a tendency to protest at a situation which their parents might tacitly accept…. With a new generation growing up who have never had experience outside Hong Kong, it is important to develop avenues for participation in the life of the community.
>
> (Commission of Inquiry 1967: 129, 126)

The disturbances symbolize the first major spontaneous attempt by the post-war baby-boomers to openly express their discontents. Many of them were critical of colonialism (see, for example, the autobiography of So Sau Chung, who started the hunger strike: So 1998). Their demands were diffuse; but what was evident in their demands was their general sense of uneasiness within the Hong Kong colonial world in which they had been born and raised.

In May 1967, while the colonial administration was still working on new programs to address issues brought up in the 1966 Kowloon riots, twenty-one men were arrested, allegedly for intimidating workers and for agitation, at a plastic flower factory in San Po Kong, an industrial area in Kowloon. This incident was soon followed by further clashes between communist supporters and the police, and riots broke out. Confrontations soon gave way to other forms of collective action, from work stoppages, strikes, and boycotts to terrorist attacks with bombs. The 1967 riots had clear and specific political objectives: their origins "lay in the Cultural Revolution in China" (Scott 1989: 96), and local communist supporters used them to challenge colonial rule. However, the participants in the confrontational actions in the early stage of the riots were by no means confined to local supporters of communist China. The subsequent development of these anti-colonial actions into terrorism brought about a split of opinion among the local population. In Scott's words:

> There can be little doubt that by December 1967 the communists had lost whatever public sympathy the labour disputes had initially generated.... Ironically, in the light of communist objectives, the end-result of the disturbances was to increase the support for, and the legitimacy of, the existing order. Faced with a choice between communism of the Cultural Revolution variety and the, as yet, unreformed colonial capitalist state, most people chose to side with the devil they knew.
>
> (1989: 104)

At the early stage of the 1967 riots, many were happy to be bystanders – while fearing the communists, they were also indifferent, if not hostile, to the colonial regime. It was only when terrorist attacks threatened not only the colonial establishment but also the livelihood of ordinary people who were uninvolved in politics that more and more people turned to support the government for the purpose of maintaining social order. Apart from their more immediate impact on the colony, it is in symbolizing a fading of the old political framework that the riots in the mid-1960s made their mark on Hong Kong's contemporary history. The 1966 disturbances and the 1967 riots – paradoxically the latter being the last of a series of organized political actions framed by the old political discourse and the former being the harbinger of a new age, of Hong Kong people protesting over Hong Kong matters – marked the end of an old era and the beginning of a new one. They marked a temporary farewell to politics played out within the framework of "Chinese politics" and the start of a phase where political demands were perceived as spontaneous, issue-driven, and non-ideological. Politics had now become localized, and in a very real sense this meant that Hong Kong as a real, enduring place had been born. The 1967 riots thus marked the conception, if not the birth, of a distinct Hong Kong identity (Tsang 2004: 183). At the same time, these riots also marked the emergence of a sense in which the cultural "other" was not the colonial order but the mainland Chinese order: China and Hong Kong had begun to be perceived in Hong Kong as belonging to different worlds.

   The disturbances of the mid-1960s led to the drawing up of a new political agenda, especially for the new generation. In her semi-autobiographical writing on Hong Kong society and history, Lo (1997: 62) recalls that most of her friends in the 1950s and 1960s had a negative evaluation of life in the colony. Their pessimism was connected with the downward social mobility experienced by a significant proportion of the population, as discussed above. Young people's search for identity and their growing social activism in the years immediately following the riots have to be seen in light of their perception of inequalities under colonialism and structural constraints on their personal career development. Unlike their parents, these young people were no longer content with the status quo. If they were to stay in Hong Kong after the 1967 riots, at a point at which many people believed that the colonial regime would fall or become submissive to China, the problems in front of them had to be dealt with. These were problems buttressed by the colonial system (an undemocratic regime ruled by bureaucrats, rife with corruption until reform in the 1970s) and the unfettered

capitalist market economy (the widening gap between rich and poor, and minimal protection of workers). These were the sources of grievance among the younger generation. The colonial government responded to the disturbances and riots in 1966 and 1967 by enacting a series of reforms, trying to pre-empt further political mobilization from undermining its governance. These reforms were largely directed at this first post-war generation, and opened a new page in the formation of Hong Kong identity, and a new stage in the ongoing saga of Hong Kong's relation to China.

Social movements in the 1970s: a local political agenda

Between 1968 and 1982 – the period between the riots discussed above and the commencement of Sino-British negotiations over Hong Kong's future – Hong Kong society underwent a major social and cultural transformation. While the mid-1960s was a time of frustrations and conflicts, by the late 1970s a sense of optimism had emerged. One common observation made by researchers on Hong Kong culture is that a distinct Hong Kong identity first emerged in the 1970s:

> By the late 1970s, the Chinese people in Hong Kong were feeling surer of themselves.... If the Hong Kong Chinese up to the 1970s were Chinese sojourners in Hong Kong, the generation of the 1970s [were] Hong Kong people of Chinese descent.... A strong sense that one might be culturally Chinese without necessarily accepting the Chinese regime on the mainland, and the realization that Hong Kong had achieved much higher levels of economic growth than China shaped the rhetoric of Hong Kong identity...
>
> (Faure 1997a: 103–4, 115)

The 1970s was a decade of social conflict and popular mobilization, as well as the emergence of a new political agenda. The paradox of the development of social movements in Hong Kong in the 1970s is that while these social movements brought up different claims and demands and posed them against the colonial government, the colonial administrative state effectively reframed these claims as matters of governmental responsiveness and administrative efficiency. The colonial administration recruited emerging young professionals and executives into the major decision-making bodies to replace some of the old elites (Tang 1973); it opened more channels for consultation and participation within the prescribed parameters by inviting more professionals and representatives of vested interests to join governmental committees. This strategy of "administrative absorption of politics" (King 1974) was part of the colonial practice of so-called "consultative democracy" or "government by consent." Local people, as long as their demands did not touch upon the essentials of colonial governance, were newly encouraged to express their opinions and the colonial government would act according to a "constructed social consensus." This new strategy was remarkably effective in creating a new sense of legitimacy of the colonial government; that government became seen, as never before, as intrinsically

linked to Hong Kong people's own desires for Hong Kong, despite the fact that the government remained manifestly politically undemocratic.

In this process of "administrative absorption," the claims and demands of Hong Kong people became reframed as matters of rights and entitlements, something very different from the perspective of "Hong Kong as a lifeboat" held by the earlier generation arriving in Hong Kong in the 1950s and 1960s. Hong Kong people, becoming more conscious of their social and civil rights, were no longer afraid to express their views and demands. But at the same time, through its responses to such popular claims and demands, the colonial administrative state was able to further develop its hegemony – the colonial state was an efficient administration which could meet the needs of the population and provide them with an institutional framework within which the Hong Kong Chinese could improve their livelihood.

The basis of this hegemony was the belief held by many people that as long as the administrative state was able to uphold law and order and the legal framework, and to attend to the basic needs of the local population (for instance, mass housing), local people were happy to be left alone, to freely pursue their own career paths and goals. The "administrative absorption of politics" enabled the development of the "market mentality" that came to characterize Hong Kong people in the 1970s through 1990s and today, by making state and government not matters of political loyalty of any kind but of administrative efficiency alone. It is ironic that the attempts by activists in the 1970s to challenge the colonial authority and to embarrass the colonial administration through anti-colonial rhetoric ended up unintentionally confirming the role of the administrative state. It is also ironic, and remarkable, that the "administrative absorption of politics," by de-emphasizing political loyalty and belonging, eventually helped to create a Hong Kong identity defined, for some, less by belonging to Hong Kong as a place than to belonging to the global market, as we will see.

Becoming affluent under colonialism

The emergence of Hong Kong identity was partly a result of demographic change, as we've discussed: the rise of a born-in-Hong-Kong generation. The post-war baby-boomers made their initial mark in the 1966 Kowloon disturbances, and then in the student movements of subsequent years. But in a larger sense, a local identity developed in the context of growing affluence in the colony. Indeed, without improvements in people's livelihoods, it was difficult to see how Hong Kong people could have changed their perception and begun to find their home and their identities in the global market of Hong Kong. There was a change in popular mood in the early 1970s, moving away from earlier pessimism to the perception of Hong Kong as a "land of opportunity" (Lui and Wong 1995). Summing up findings from social surveys carried out in the 1960s and 1970s, Wong (1992: 247) suggests that there was "an increasing identification with Hong Kong as a land of opportunity and for career development. More than half of the respondents in 1977, in contrast to 23 percent in 1967, opted to

stay in Hong Kong [in their future], despite opportunities elsewhere." This was a sense of Hong Kong as home based not in any deep loyalty to Hong Kong as a place, but rather a recognition that Hong Kong offered better prospects for the attainment of an affluent life than anywhere else. This is evidence of Hong Kong's emerging "market mentality" – as we will see next chapter, many in Hong Kong sought to emigrate in the 1980s and 1990s once these prospects changed. Nonetheless, given the social structural changes and demographic transitions in post-war Hong Kong (see Lui 1988; Salaff 1981), it is clear that the idea of "home in Hong Kong" was now for the first time being formed.

A glimpse of the popular mentality at that time can be found in an ethnographic study of the Chinese middle-class families in a private housing estate called Mei Foo Sun Chuen:

> Life in Hong Kong provides the access for individuals and their families to attain financial security, and the residents of Mei Foo represent a model for their Hong Kong brethren of how this security can be achieved. It is not that they are very wealthy, for most of them are not. It is rather the fact that most of them reached this stage of security and affluence via the long route: in flight from native homes in China across the border into Hong Kong, and up the ladder in Hong Kong from factory jobs and low-cost housing to white-collar jobs and a flat in Mei Foo. Their current lifestyle thus represents a greater security than that provided by the many isolated cases of greater financial success achieved in pre-revolutionary China or in the host territory of Singapore or Indonesia or South Viet Nam. The security offered in the Mei Foo model lies in the freedom it permits those who attain it to take some measure of control over the rest of their lives. Many will and already have become immigrants, but none will ever again be refugees.
>
> (Rosen 1976: 209)

The 1970s were an era of a growing economy, improving living standards, and increasing opportunities for social advancement. The expanding economy after the mid-1970s created opportunities for upward social mobility, especially through new openings for middle-class positions in professional, managerial and administrative occupations. It was the promise of this "Hong Kong dream" – that hard work plus a little bit of luck could bring great success – that gave the emergent Hong Kong identity the practical basis for the "market mentality" that sundered many Hong Kong people from the idea of "belonging to a nation" as the basis of one's life.

Local identity as reaction

Popular culture in Hong Kong had long been closely connected with culture in south China (Li 2003); there was a sense of continuity and connectedness between popular culture in the colony and across the border. However, as Hong Kong society developed in its own direction, so did its popular culture. A dis-

tinct Hong Kong local culture came into being in the mid-1970s. Television, installed in 90 percent of all local households by 1976 (Wong and Yu 1978: 3), was the most important medium in the creation of a shared culture. Cantonese, long the dominant dialect, was used by more than 90 percent of those twenty-four and younger in 1971 (Census and Statistics Department 1972: 34), and was thus almost the "official language" of Hong Kong. Cantonese pop songs were revitalized and developed a new life as popular music for a new generation of young people. So too were Cantonese movies, which had stopped production since the late 1960s, but which bounced back, partly through the production of cinema versions of popular local television programs and genres. Although in the mid-1970s not many could envisage the future strength of Hong Kong's popular cultural products, from movies to pop songs, television programmes to pop idols, its subsequent development, in Hong Kong and rapidly extending to Asian markets and abroad, was extraordinary.

But the more critical factor contributing to the formation of a Hong Kong identity was apparent threats from without. Hong Kong in the late 1970s was confronted by a wave of Vietnamese refugees, arriving in Hong Kong between January and June of 1979 at an average rate of 323 people per day (Census and Statistics Department 1982: 79).[3] These numbers were dwarfed, however, by another wave of migrants from across the border in the late 1970s, due to liberalization policies in China (Siu 1988: 1): "The inflow between 1978 and 1980 alone was nearly 400,000, comprising almost equal numbers of legal and illegal immigrants" (Census and Statistics Department 1982: 75). The massive influx of immigrants from across the border was found alarming both by the colonial government and by the local population. The government identified these unanticipated incoming migrants as an administrative problem: they upset the government's plan to eliminate all illegal squatters and quickly resettle the needy into public housing. Local people saw the immigrants as competitors for social welfare and services. Despite the fact that Hong Kong has long been a city of immigrants, and most of the locals were themselves migrants in earlier decades and had family members and relatives on the mainland, local people's attitude towards the new immigrants, both Vietnamese and Chinese, became increasingly unfriendly if not downright hostile (Ma 1999a: 66). The mainland Chinese immigrants, in particular, were no longer "our Chinese relatives following in our footsteps," but strangers to be scorned.

These newly arrived immigrants from the mainland were labelled "Ah Chan" (after a country-bumpkin-like character depicted in a popular television drama of the time, as discussed in Chapter 4). Hong Kong people, perhaps for the first time in the post-war decades, saw themselves as locals; there emerged a distinction between "we" (the locals) and "them" (the new immigrants), with the former seen as working hard to earn a decent living and the latter seen as coming to Hong Kong to reap the benefits of economic development. Unlike reactions to previous waves of migration from across the border, which were sympathetic and caring (see excerpts of newspaper reports in Faure 1997b: 349), Hong Kong people in the late 1970s had become defensive and self-protective. No longer, as in 1962, as we saw, would Hong Kong people be willing to go to

the border to help these illegal migrants by taking them to their relatives in Hong Kong (Lo 1997: 57–8); nor was there much willingness to help by extending basic welfare facilities.

This marked a significant change in local people's attitudes and expectations of the colonial state. Whereas, previously, those who fled the mainland's political turmoil did not see themselves as citizens of Hong Kong and thus would not expect the colonial state to provide them with the basics for survival, by the 1970s people in Hong Kong had learned to ask for and expect from the government basic welfare and public goods, such as government housing. This growing sense of entitlement rested upon a new and narrower definition of community. No longer did local people see themselves as transient refugees whose well-being rested upon the benevolence of the colonial government. Gradually, they developed a belief that they deserved more attention from the government. At the same time, there also arose the question of who deserved such attention. In making the distinction between the locals and the newly arrived, Hong Kong people began to draw a line to define who belonged and who did not belong to the local community (see Ku 2004).

Many Hong Kong people expressed unwillingness to accept these newcomers (Siu 1996: 1–2). They worried that the incoming population would bring about disruption to government public services, particularly public housing. They feared that they might lose their jobs to the newly arrived (especially since many of the immigrants were young men: Census and Statistics Department 1982: 75), and also believed that this incoming population was responsible for a rising rate of violent crime. From such fears, not all of them grounded, came a sense of resistance. When the colonial government decided to change its policy towards mainland immigrants in October 1980, cancelling the so-called touch-base policy, which had allowed illegal migrants from China to claim their right to become Hong Kong residents once they reached the urban areas of Hong Kong, the move was widely endorsed by the local population. For most of its history, the colonial government, because of a tradition of free movement for Chinese into a Chinese territory, did not practice strict control over the inflow of people from across the border. The new policy in 1980 meant that for the first time Hong Kong had firmly closed its doors to potential migrants from across the border. A boundary, political as well as social, was newly formed, keeping Chinese out of Hong Kong.

Into the 1980s

This era of the late 1970s also saw the launching of economic reform in China, the restoration of direct train services between Guangzhou and Hong Kong, and a rapid increase in Hong Kong people's visits to the mainland and their home-towns there. Hong Kong people in a sense "rediscovered the mainland," bearing a new sense of pride and superiority. They felt self-assured as to their own achievements, not simply because many of them had become comparatively rich but, more, because they had achieved this through their own efforts. For those

who came to Hong Kong as refugees in the 1950s and 1960s, they had not only bettered their own and their families' lot; beyond this, they had given their children the possibility of climbing up the socio-economic ladder far beyond where they themselves now stood. They did not live under political fear and oppression; nor did they need to worry about a change in their lives and livelihood because of political and ideological struggle over a new party line. They felt that they could stay away from the turmoil of Chinese politics and could earn a good living in colonial Hong Kong through their own hard work. Those who grew up in Hong Kong in the post-war decades witnessed Hong Kong's transformation into a colonial administration that could bring corruption under control, facilitate economic development and thus opportunities for social mobility, and run the government and the local community efficiently. This context reinforced many Hong Kong people's sense of local identity, and served to shape a new identification with Hong Kong as home, and a new distance from the sense of "belonging to the Chinese nation."

The development of Hong Kong society after the two riots in the mid-1960s was paradoxical. It began in an environment of social alienation, with a local political agenda critiquing colonialism. When local communities began to organize to fight for their own interests in the early 1970s, their strategy was to discredit the colonial government; they gained support because their actions exposed how bureaucratic, elitist, and corrupt the colonial regime really was. Yet, through such organized political efforts, local people gradually developed a sense of entitlement. They made their claims and the colonial government responded to those claims. A new perspective emerged: the colonial regime and the local community were no longer two separate entities, but were intrinsically bound. This new sense of community brought about a change in Hong Kong people's self-perception: the notion of being "refugees" faded, and with the fading away of the old identity came a self-awareness of being "local." The arrival of immigrants and the resumption of contacts with mainland China further reinforced this new identity. The locals, newly conscious of their Hong Kong identity and lifestyle, began to draw a line differentiating "we" from "they." Now they saw themselves as Hong Kong people; they withdrew, for the first time in Hong Kong's history, from China, and became immersed instead in their own Hong Kong identity, an identity embodying not the Chinese state but the global market.

It was exactly at this time that subtle political changes began to take shape. Hong Kong's Governor MacLehose visited China in 1979 and brought back the message from China that investors in Hong Kong had nothing to worry about concerning the colony's political future. On the surface, Hong Kong was calm, stable and prosperous. Underneath this, the future of Hong Kong had become an issue to be decided by diplomatic talks between Britain and China. When it became known in 1982 that Chinese leaders were serious about returning Hong Kong to Chinese sovereignty, Hong Kong people were shocked. They were unprepared and unwilling to accept such changes, signifying a return to the state and nation they had in effect seceded from, since these changes threatened the new Hong Kong identity that had just been born.

3   Rejoining the nation: Hong Kong, 1983–2006

Towards the end of the so-called "golden years" of the colonial administration (Welsh 1994), the decade of the 1970s, few foresaw the imminent question of Hong Kong's political future. This was the heyday of Hong Kong's economic ascendancy, and at a time when China was desperately seeking resources it was difficult to imagine why any of the three parties involved in sustaining the existing political equilibrium (China, Great Britain, and the colonial administration) would have sought to upset the status quo. True, the status quo was always delicate, resting upon a balance of economic and political calculations as well as broader political and strategic concerns of international politics in the context of the Cold War. Yet, it served the interests of all parties (Miners 1981).

Because this precarious balance had worked so well, with Hong Kong economically prosperous and politically stable, business interests, perhaps in the belief that this was the perfect time to secure a most favorable settlement of the colony's status, expressed their concerns about Hong Kong's future (Tsang 1997: 86). The land in the New Territories of Hong Kong, making up over 70 percent of Hong Kong's total area, had been leased to Great Britain in 1897 for a hundred years. With only eighteen more years before 1997 and the standard mortgage package offered by local banks lasting fifteen years, the business sector looked for some concrete reassurance of continuity in conducting business in Hong Kong. With China relying upon Hong Kong as a window to the outside world and a source of economic benefit, it was conjectured that Hong Kong would be offered a favorable deal to allow all parties to make the best of its peculiar status. It was under such circumstances that Hong Kong's Governor MacLehose visited Beijing in 1979.

MacLehose met Deng Xiaoping, and brought back the message that Deng had requested him "to ask investors in Hong Kong to put their hearts at ease" (quoted in Tsang 1997: 89). What MacLehose did not state in public was the other half of Deng's message, that China was determined to recover Hong Kong. Paradoxically, MacLehose's trip to Beijing was what actually kicked off serious diplomatic discussions about Hong Kong's future. MacLehose returned to Hong Kong from Guangzhou to inaugurate the restoration of direct train service between the two cities, which had been blocked for the past thirty years. With the help of Hong Kong, China had reopened its door to the world, and many in

Hong Kong thus perceived MacLehose's trip as a symbol of Hong Kong's triumph. The rebuilding of links with the mainland was accompanied by an upsurge in the number of Hong Kong people visiting their hometowns in China, bringing to their relatives in China daily necessities as well as gifts of electrical appliances. This "rediscovery" of their hometowns on the mainland reinforced a sense of superiority felt by many people in Hong Kong, as noted in the last chapter. They believed that China simply could not afford to change the status quo of the colony. The pragmatism of the new leadership in China would allow Hong Kong to enjoy room for maneuver in maintaining the status quo, they believed.

However, the actual results of MacLehose's Beijing visit were entirely different from this Hong Kong popular perception. Only when Margaret Thatcher visited Beijing in September 1982 and failed to deliver an upbeat message about Hong Kong's future – only then did people in Hong Kong began to realize this, and confidence cracked. Underlying this collapse in confidence lay the peculiarity of Hong Kong people's attitude towards the colonial regime and the Chinese nation. The earlier optimism was grounded upon a laying aside of all notions of nationalism and national identity, and a refusal to consider the moral issues involved in submitting to a colonial government. Instead there was a pragmatic calculation of how to bargain for the best deal in order to maintain the status quo of prosperity – the mentality of the market, as we have discussed. Mundane concerns and practical reasoning were more important than any call for national reunification to terminate the humiliations of imperialism and colonialism; most Hong Kong people gave no thought to such ideas.[1] MacLehose's visit to China symbolized the wishful thinking of Hong Kong people in seeking to deny or at least to delay the project of "belonging to a nation."

This chapter reports on the two and a half decades since MacLehose's visit: the political psychology of uneasiness and anxiety among people in Hong Kong in the years before and after 1997. The reversion process was never a straightforward issue for the local population. Unlike other countries that have undergone decolonization, national reunion was never seen as unproblematic in Hong Kong. In such a context, the "rediscovery" of national identity was a process of negotiation – not painless, not "natural," nor even necessarily "morally correct," as mainland and mainland-influenced politicians and critics strongly felt. We argue that one of the most significant sources of uneasiness and anxiety comes from the growing sense of local identity many Hong Kong people adhered to, an identity perhaps soon to be threatened and eclipsed by the reality of 1997, a reality they could not avoid but had to confront. And we argue that this potential eclipse of a local identity by a new national identity has to some extent involved a curbing of the discourse of the market by the newly ascending discourse of the state.

Confidence lost and partly regained

MacLehose's meeting with Deng, as noted above, was greeted with optimism in Hong Kong. The half-message brought back from Beijing by the governor was

seen as a statement that China would be happy to keep capitalist Hong Kong at its doorstep and to maintain the status quo beyond 1997 (Cheng 1984: 79–80). As cogently described by Roberti (1996: 25), "there was a touch of arrogance to this belief, which bordered on self-delusion." In the years that followed, Hong Kong people continued to perceive Hong Kong, its strengths and future, in this light. To them, Hong Kong was, after all, the "goose that laid the golden egg" (Tsang 1997: 98). Who would be so silly as to kill the goose? This emphasis on Hong Kong's practical economic value continued to shape local people's per-ception of their own society throughout the entire transition period. This was also the popular mood in Hong Kong when local people followed closely Mar-garet Thatcher's visit to Beijing in September 1982. In her meeting with Zhao Ziyang, the Chinese Prime Minister, Thatcher recalled,

> I said that Hong Kong was a unique example of successful Sino-British co-operation. . . . Confidence and prosperity depended on British administration. If our two Governments could agree on arrangements for the future adminis-tration of Hong Kong; if those arrangements would work and command con-fidence among the people of the Colony; and if they satisfied the British Parliament – we would then consider the question of sovereignty.
>
> (Thatcher 1995: 260)

This was a negotiation strategy aiming at exchanging "sovereignty over the island of Hong Kong in return for continued British administration of the entire Colony well into the future" (ibid.: 259). But to the Chinese leaders, Hong Kong and its sovereignty was a matter of national humiliation that had to be rectified, and they would not compromise on the question of nationalism.

After meeting Deng Xiaoping, on her way out of the Great Hall of the People, Margaret Thatcher slipped and fell. Local people in Hong Kong and the Hong Kong news media interpreted this symbolically. Despite their pre-meeting optimism, the British-proposed approach to Hong Kong's political future was rejected out of hand by the Chinese leaders. The communiqué issued by the Chinese and British governments stated that "[b]oth leaders made clear their respective positions on the subject. They agreed to enter talks through diplo-matic channels . . . with the common aim of maintaining the stability and pros-perity of Hong Kong" (quoted in Roberti 1996: 49). But such a statement could not comfort the locals in Hong Kong. On 27 September 1982, the day Thatcher stated her view of Hong Kong's status, the local stock market lost 10 percent of its value and the Hong Kong dollar fell significantly (Flowerdew 1998: 34). The impact of further hostile exchanges between Great Britain and China was clearly felt in the stock market and the value of the local currency throughout October (Scott 1989: 337). Diplomatic talks between the two governments continued, and became heated once again in the summer of 1983. In August, Chinese offi-cials made it very clear that there would be no separation between administra-tion and sovereignty in the arrangements for Hong Kong's future. When the fourth round of talks came to an end on 23 September 1983 and the key words

"useful and constructive" were found to be missing from the communiqué, the stock market and the local currency collapsed. As a measure to re-instate economic confidence, the Hong Kong dollar was pegged to the US dollar at the rate of HK\$7.80 in October.

The year 1984 continued to be a rough year for Hong Kong. In January, riots broke out in the midst of a taxi drivers' strike. Jardine Matheson, one of the major British companies in Hong Kong and a symbol of British colonization, announced that it would move its holding company to Bermuda. When Deng Xiaoping remarked that China would send its troops to Hong Kong after 1997, the stock market again plummeted. But the two governments did manage to come up with an agreement known as the Sino-British Joint Declaration in September, which was later formally signed by Zhao Ziyang and Margaret Thatcher in Beijing on 19 December 1984. Both governments agreed that sovereignty over Hong Kong would be transferred from Great Britain to the People's Republic of China on 1 July 1997. After ratification in May 1985, the agreement came into force and the period of transition began. Once the political future of Hong Kong had been "settled," confidence, at least economic confidence evidenced in property prices, began bouncing back in 1985, and the economy's rapid growth was restored (Lui 1995: 115).

This brief recounting of events in the early talks about Hong Kong's future is intended to illustrate the atmosphere of uncertainty and uneasiness among local people. Of course, there were diverse interests and expectations among Hong Kong people about the question of 1997. The spectrum of opinion ranged from a call for a renewal of the treaties and thus the continuation of colonial rule to the outright rejection of colonialism. But it seems clear that most people felt ambivalent about what lay ahead. Hidden fears of communist rule cropped up again and again in the course of negotiations over Hong Kong's future; indeed, the initial general reaction to China's insistence on resuming Hong Kong's sovereignty was one of fear. To those who came to Hong Kong during the post-war decades, whether to flee China's civil war or to escape the communist takeover or later political campaigns in the 1950s and 1960s in the hope of finding a free and prosperous life in Hong Kong, the prospect of a return to China did not look enticing. Many had risked their lives to migrate to Hong Kong illegally in order to find an alternative to life in China; reunification would thus defeat their entire life projects. They had fled the Chinese state to make their lives apart from its embrace, and now the state was coming to take them back.

The 1997 question fundamentally changed the expected teleological development of Hong Kong society, which, as we saw in the last chapter, had broken away from the old perspective of Hong Kong as a "borrowed place on borrowed time" to become a society with its own identity and way of life. Clearly, most local people hoped that Hong Kong could continue to maintain its current status forever. But now they were reminded that this was merely wishful thinking – Hong Kong was indeed a "borrowed place on borrowed time," and the status quo was, by definition, a state of transition. When time was up, Hong Kong was inescapably to be returned to China, regardless of what Hong Kong people themselves felt about the matter.

Indeed, despite early and scattered attempts to call for the continuation of the British administration beyond 1997 and various suggestions for keeping Hong Kong's existing conditions intact (from becoming independent to moving "Hong Kong" to a Pacific island of similar climate), the return to China was generally seen as inevitable. Independence had never been a serious option. Nor were many in Hong Kong convinced of the necessity of asking the British to continue their colonial rule. Not many Hong Kong people hated the British, but that did not imply that they embraced British colonialism. Rather, they resisted China – and specifically, the communist state in China, and the "belonging to the nation" that it offered.

Emigration, "political insurance," and consumer choice

From the very beginning of diplomatic talks over Hong Kong's future, the involvement of any Hong Kong representative was rejected by China. Throughout the negotiations, the role of the people in Hong Kong was marginalized, if not outright ruled out. But for the minority who could work out a personal coping strategy, many chose emigration, to countries such as Canada, Australia, the United States, and Singapore. According to official estimates, the number of emigrants rose from an average figure of around 20,000 per annum in the early 1980s to 30,000 in 1987 (Skeldon 1995: 57), then to 45,800 in 1988, 60,000 in 1990 and 66,000, over one percent of the total population, in 1992 (ibid.). Of course, there existed class differences in terms of who had resources for emigration. The emigrant population was mainly composed of "the best educated, well trained, and highly skilled" (Skeldon 1994: 31; see also Kwong 1990: 297–337, and Lui 1999). In the face of an uncertain political future, the middle class opted for an "exit," or more precisely, a "quasi-exit," since many of them returned to Hong Kong once they had secured "political insurance" for their families, so that they could continue to benefit from high Hong Kong salaries and profits, but also maintain the ability to leave Hong Kong in case things really turned sour after 1997. As succinctly summarized by Wilson, "Hong Kong executives naturally expect to continue running their business and making money [in Hong Kong] while they are going through the citizenship or naturalization process [elsewhere]" (Wilson 1990: 235; see also Salaff and Wong 1994, and Kuah 1996). These Hong Kong *émigrés* were masters of Ong's (1999) "flexible citizenship."

The strategy of emigration adopted by the middle class reflects an integral aspect of Hong Kong identity: its plasticity and instrumentalism. This emigration strategy reveals the "market mentality" adopted by the middle class, not only in handling matters related to people's personal lives (Lui and Wong 2003), but also in larger issues like choice of citizenship and the decision on whether to stay or leave in the face of political uncertainty. As noted above, many middle-class professionals and managers saw emigration more as an option of "political insurance" than an act of leaving Hong Kong permanently. It worked mainly for those in middle-class positions to assist them in securing the best of two worlds

– on the one hand, obtaining foreign citizenship reduced the political risks of being trapped in a communist territory after the return of the colony to China, and on the other hand, middle-class families could still make the best of the dynamic economy of Hong Kong and of the region. Behind the strategic planning of emigration there was a sense of instrumentalism: moral commitment to Hong Kong was not an issue for discussion, and calculated and strategic personal moves were emphasized. As Salaff and Wong noted of the affluent emigrants they interviewed:

> They fear politics and want to secure their property. Even if they are proud of China's political strength against the colonial authorities, they will not have to stay and suffer China's lack of legal guarantees. They are not in the forefront of societal change, which they feel is useless in Hong Kong now. But as individuals they work hard, [and] improve their business or family economies. Since they have the opportunity to be accepted overseas, they apply as insurance. But, increasingly their prosperity and even property is tied up in China. There are great opportunity costs to leaving.
>
> (1994: 220)

Many members of the middle class believed that they could protect their own personal careers from broader societal changes. Such a dissociation allowed many members of the middle class to think of returning to Hong Kong after completing the administrative requirements to obtain foreign passports, illustrating the instrumentalist orientation among the middle class.[2] This separation of the personal from the social, and economics from politics, made the "exit" decision a very complicated matter. As for those who lacked the resources to apply for emigration, particularly those lower down in the social hierarchy than middle-class professionals and managers, they did not consider themselves as having any options at all – "there is no place to go and we can only stay" was the standard answer given to questions about their perception of the political future of Hong Kong. There were, of course, people who had no reservations about Hong Kong's return to China. But even among publicly known patriotic figures, many possessed foreign passports or had plans for enabling family members to emigrate if the need arose.

It is interesting that the question of emigration was never an issue of public debate. There were no moral condemnations of those who chose to "exit." China was aware of the implications of massive emigration, particularly the departure of the well educated (Xu 1998: 241). But it seems that China deliberately avoided confronting the question of emigration. Equally interesting is that there was never any public discussion in Hong Kong about how one should morally respond to the 1997 question. From the initiation of diplomatic talks about Hong Kong's future to the very last day of the colonial administration, moral judgment of what was right or wrong in one's response to Hong Kong's future was suspended and bracketed. It was an individual's life choice; no overarching concerns of nationalism or of moral responsibility could be more important than

one's own preference, it was generally held. This, again, shows the prevalence of the discourse of the market over that of the state in shaping the unquestioned assumptions of many of Hong Kong's people in this era, particularly those of the educated middle class: whether or not to emigrate was not a matter of national duty and its abrogation, but merely one more consumer choice. Of course it was not a consumer choice in the sense that it was made lightly; it was never like choosing electronic goods or clothing, a choice that might be made on a whim. But it was indeed a consumer choice in the crucial respect that there were never any larger collective moral arguments set forth as to what one should or should not do; it was strictly a matter of individuals and their families making their own private decisions as to whether and where to go to proceed with their lives.

1989 and after: fears and adjustments

The Joint Declaration of 1984 helped restore confidence and order after a period of panic as the result of drastic diplomatic moves between China and Britain concerning Hong Kong's future; in the years following the Joint Declaration, Hong Kong's Basic Law began to be drafted, explicitly setting forth the framework for China's policies towards Hong Kong after 1 July 1997, and allowing Hong Kong, under the "one country, two systems" policy, a degree of autonomy. Nonetheless, this was a period of guarded optimism rather than enthusiasm about the coming reunion with the mother country. There were ongoing arguments over Hong Kong's future political arrangements (Cheung and Louie 1991: 11; Chui and Lai 1999: 14), and the promise of "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong"; and many in Hong Kong worried about the construction of a nuclear plant at Daya Bay, just over the border in China. An anti-Daya Bay campaign was launched after the nuclear accident at Chernobyl in April 1986, based on a distrust of China's ability to manage nuclear installations (Lai 2000). Many Hong Kong people continued to observe the drafting process of the Basic Law and social development in mainland China with a degree of skepticism. Then, in May–June 1989, they were drawn into the vortex of a political storm in China, culminating in the Tiananmen Square incident.

It was reported that more than a million people joined the rallies in Hong Kong protesting against the Chinese government's violent suppression of the student movement in Beijing in June 1989: some 20 percent of the population of Hong Kong taking to the streets. For many, the Tiananmen Square incident turned previously more remote worries about communist authoritarianism into very real fears. Emigration figures, as seen above, increased drastically in 1990 and in the years that immediately followed (Skeldon 1995). With hindsight, Hong Kong people's participation in the mass rallies to support the students in Beijing carried an important symbolic meaning – it was a rare expression of Hong Kong people's involvement in Chinese politics in the post-war decades, the first since the 1967 riots. As noted in Chapter 2, a key reason for different generations of migrants coming to Hong Kong was to stay away from Chinese politics and political rivalries. The emergence of a local political agenda in the

1970s was largely an outcome of a farewell to "Chinese politics on Hong Kong soil." Hong Kong people's political involvement following the Tiananmen incident in 1989 thus marked a new page in Hong Kong's political history: Hong Kong's political seclusion had come to an end. From that moment onwards, Hong Kong politics could hardly be separated from politics on the mainland. While those who protested over the indiscriminate killing of students did so from revulsion at the Chinese state and its acts, for many, their protests marked not a rejection of the Chinese nation but an embrace of the nation: their emotions were fuelled by their desire for an alternative, better Chinese nation than that proffered by the Chinese state

In fact, Beijing's political leaders asked Hong Kong and its people to stay away from Chinese politics – "river water should not interfere with well water." Hong Kong, because of its openness, its connections with worldwide political organizations of different persuasions, and people's support for democracy, was perceived as a potential source of political instability. This tension between China and Hong Kong over political openness, civil liberty, and democracy, was never settled, and continues to have an impact on the course of political development in the Hong Kong-China relationship.

The Tiananmen incident created a crisis of confidence in Hong Kong. It also reshaped international relations between China and Western countries. Great Britain was under pressure to give protection (such as granting full British citizenship) to the people of Hong Kong as fear of communist suppression of liberty and human rights was generated by the horror in Beijing in 1989. The British government eventually gave only 50,000 families the right of abode in the United Kingdom but went on to launch a massive infrastructural project, the Port and Airport Development Strategy, in the hope of boosting local confidence. These measures were met with hostile reactions from China, which assumed that the British were trying to drain Hong Kong's coffers before its return to China. Confrontation between Great Britain and China escalated, culminating in the appointment of a new governor, Chris Patten, to replace the more accommodating Governor Wilson in 1992.

In his first policy address to the Legislative Council in 1992, Patten outlined his proposal for political reforms that would "give the local people as much democratization as possible without breaching the terms of the Basic Law" (Tsang 1997: 185). These reforms sought to offer Hong Kong, in the last five years of colonial rule, a measure of the democracy that Great Britain had steadfastly denied Hong Kong during the first 150 years of its rule. Expectedly, Patten's proposal was greeted by fierce attack from China, which felt that the British were, in their final years in Hong Kong, planting seeds of dissension that would make Hong Kong ungovernable. This began an extended period of open confrontation between Britain and China over Hong Kong. And once again, we witness the instrumentalist approach characteristic of the "market mentality" adopted by a significant portion of Hong Kong people.

Talk over the future of Hong Kong in the 1980s took place in terms of the "goose that lays the golden egg" analogy mentioned earlier. Modernizing China

simply could not economically afford to kill the goose for ideological or political reasons, it was widely believed. Hong Kong was expected to have a degree of autonomy after the handover, and many expected Hong Kong to play a critical role in assisting China in its market reforms, leading China towards a more market-driven economy and a softening of political control. However, with the public debate in the early 1990s over Patten's controversial proposals for political reform, the "golden egg goose" argument was no longer cited. The emphasis on democracy, a means to protect Hong Kong from authoritarianism, was simply brushed aside by the business community. Instead of negotiating for greater autonomy, now they tried to avoid confronting China, and argued not about ensuring Hong Kong's autonomy but about the interdependence of Hong Kong and China.

It had always been the case that many wanted stability and tried to avoid rocking the boat. For a long time, this implied an avoidance approach, to prevent China from interfering. But by the 1990s this had changed. The new approach was about taking advantage of China's reforming economy – to antagonize China could be costly. In this socio-economic context, it was Hong Kong that had to rethink whether it could afford to make China angry, and many businesspeople in Hong Kong clearly felt that the answer was no. This signifies the discourse of the market becoming complicit with the discourse of the state – these Hong Kong businesspeople generally felt no new love for China, but realized that their future profits lay with China; based upon a cost-benefit calculation more than any sense of "love for country," they chose accommodation rather than confrontation. In this sense, the disparate discourses of state and market came to fit neatly together.

Behind this change in perception of Hong Kong–China interdependence was the massive relocation of local manufacturing industries, from Hong Kong to southern China in the early 1990s, especially the Pearl River Delta. Because of this massive relocation of manufacturing activities, the number of factories in Hong Kong fell from 50,606 in 1988 to 31,114 in 1995. Manufacturing employment fell correspondingly from 875,250 in 1987 to 386,106 people in 1995 (see Lui and Chiu 2001). The restructuring of Hong Kong into a business center for coordinating manufacturing and marketing activities hinged upon the continuation of economic reform in China and the access of local business to the resources of the hinterland. The same was true for the development of the Hong Kong economy in general. With the inflow of capital from China and the growth of business organizations with mainland Chinese backgrounds, it was increasingly difficult to see how Hong Kong could maintain its independent existence even in strictly economic terms. Although the annual candlelight vigil in memory of the Tiananmen incident continued to find mass support, the local atmosphere in Hong Kong changed gradually in the 1990s, with a new sense of "looking to the north"; this very much continues into the present, as we will see in Chapter 8.

This trend had long applied to the business community, which, as we have seen, was eager to capitalize on the economic opportunities offered by China.

But with the increase in business transactions involving Chinese capital and development projects across the border, more and more middle-class professionals and managers found themselves embedded in the growing Hong Kong–China economic nexus. By 2001, four years after the handover, 176,300 Hong Kong people were engaged as "managers and administrators" and "professionals and associate professionals" working in mainland China (Census and Statistics Department 2001: 53). With such changes in the economic relations between Hong Kong and China, many in Hong Kong increasingly saw confrontation with Beijing as undesirable; like the business community, they saw that their future economic well-being lay with China. While most of these people have continued to hold the Chinese state at arm's length, many of them have increasingly "learned to belong to a nation": not in the way the Chinese state would have them belong, but via an alternative market-based sense of belonging, as we will be discussing in later chapters.

The years approaching 1997 thus saw both tense relations between Great Britain and China over political matters, and a booming economy in Hong Kong, with property prices in 1997 doubling over those in 1992 (Rating and Valuation Department 2002: table 15). Fears and worries never really disappeared. But as discussed above, for the moment judgments of post-1997 developments were bracketed.

The day after

Inevitably, 1 July 1997 arrived. Few could have foreseen the dramatic shift in Hong Kong's fortunes that would take place thereafter, leading to extended economic recession; instead, prosperity and stability were in the air on the day of the handover. With China itself undergoing great economic changes and experiencing phenomenal economic growth, integration with the mainland was perceived more as an opportunity than a threat. However, beneath the buoyant economy and accompanying feelings of optimism, fears and worries in the hearts of ordinary people remained. Respondents to a survey carried out in June 1997 were asked this question: If they could control history, what kind of arrangement for Hong Kong's status would they choose? A month before the handover, 15 percent of respondents said they would choose for Hong Kong to remain a British colony and 10 percent a member of the British Commonwealth; 17 percent said that they choose for Hong Kong to become independent. On the other hand, 53 percent said they would prefer for Hong Kong to return to China (Hong Kong Transition Project 1998). These survey findings indicate that at the time of the handover, while a slim majority supported Hong Kong's return to China, a large minority preferred to keep their distance from the mainland.

It was in response to Hong Kong people's worries that Article 5 of Hong Kong's Basic Law was formulated as follows: "The socialist system and policies shall not be practised in the HKSAR, and the previous capitalist system and way of life shall remain unchanged for fifty years" (Basic Law 1990). The people of Hong Kong had been given the assurance that they could continue to enjoy their

autonomous way of life. This reassurance rested upon the premise that, other than Hong Kong formally becoming a part of China, all matters ranging from political affairs and economic issues to the most mundane aspects of everyday life would be handled in the same way as before the handover. This was an attempt to calm fears about the Chinese socialist system being imposed upon Hong Kong. It worked on the assumption that retaining Hong Kong's capitalist economy, introducing a new constitutional order through the enactment of the Basic Law, and keeping the spirit of "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong," would be adequate to pacify the restless Hong Kong population. What was missing in this grand design of "one country, two systems" was the view from below: how to construct social trust among Hong Kong people in the emerging structures of social and political governance of Hong Kong, especially given the fact that these were largely undemocratic. This failure to address the sources of the fear that many in Hong Kong held concerning their future underlay their ambivalence about Hong Kong's return to "the motherland."

These worries were expressed as cynicism and restlessness in the days immediately before and after the handover. On the eve of the handover, there was a celebration held in Central District in downtown Hong Kong organized by "The Hong Kong People's Coalition for the Alternative Handover." The organizers of this event were groups active in campaigns against sexual harassment, for human rights and workers' welfare, and other such causes. They criticized both the British and the Chinese governments for their failure to address problems of ordinary people's livelihood and to come to terms with the political demand for more democracy. This attempt to launch an alternative celebration of the handover illustrates the existence of subordinated and yet critical interpretations of Hong Kong's return to China apart from the official and organized commemoration of the change of sovereignty. The activists raised a simple but subversive question: "What are we celebrating?"

Indeed, what *did* the people of Hong Kong celebrate on 30 June and 1 July 1997? The end of colonialism and Hong Kong's return to its motherland, of course. But there were few signs of fervent patriotism in the streets of Hong Kong. In fact, people were surprisingly calm, showing little emotion about this eye-catching world media event. The holiday from 28 June to 2 July was more like a long weekend than a festival in celebration of the termination of colonial rule and renewal of national pride. While many did participate in the activities organized for the commemoration of Hong Kong's return to its motherland, many more went to teahouses and shopping malls instead. Heavy rain (which started on 30 June and lasted into July) interrupted parades and gatherings in many public places and provided a good excuse not to join in the celebrations. While the worldwide reporters who had converged on Hong Kong tended to seek excitement in the streets, it is fair to say that the general attitude towards the handover was more indifference than jubilation.[3]

Underlying many Hong Kong people's calmness in confronting the end of British colonial rule and the beginning of "one country, two systems" were the mixed feelings we have noted about Hong Kong's reunion with China.

Observers of the handover would not have failed to notice that Chris Patten's departure on the last day of his governorship and the British farewell ceremony moved many ordinary people in Hong Kong. How these people felt about the colonial regime is an open question; but it is clear that the departing British did not receive a hostile reaction from the local population. On the other hand, the appeal of nationalism evident in the mainland Chinese television series *Xianggang Cangsang* [The Vicissitudes of Hong Kong], broadcast in mainland China and on cable television in Hong Kong before the handover (Lui 1996), and in the official activities celebrating the change of sovereignty, failed to mobilize, ideologically and emotionally, most people of Hong Kong. There were plenty of rhetorical narratives about the end of the national humiliation of colonialism and the new national pride in "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong" in the midst of the reunion celebrations: this was the narrative of the commentary from the mainland. But there were few signs that most people in Hong Kong were much aroused by these narratives; not many Hong Kong people felt that they were being rescued from "national humiliation."

In the years before Hong Kong's formal return to China, nationalism was most apparent in Hong Kong in disputes over the Diaoyu Islands flaring up in 1996. The Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands are a few tiny dots of land lying north of Taiwan, between China and Japan. Sovereignty over the Islands had long been a matter of diplomatic controversy between China and Japan, and the fact that such controversies involved Japan always aroused nationalist sentiments – some in Hong Kong were roused into paroxysms of nationalistic anti-Japanese fury a few months before the handover (see Mathews 2001a). But there was a great contrast between the "Defend the Diaoyu Islands" campaigns and the 1 July reunion celebrations: the fervent nationalistic sentiments of the former did not carry over to the latter.

Perhaps this was because the Diaoyu Islands campaigns arose through activists working "from the bottom up," rather than being managed by authorities "from the top down." Perhaps it was also because the Diaoyu campaigns involved the assertion of a common cultural Chinese identity, unifying China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong against what was perceived as a common Japanese enemy, whereas the handover involved the assertion of a political Chinese identity, to which many in Hong Kong did not feel much affinity or enthusiasm.[4] In any case, while the Diaoyu Islands protests showed that fervent nationalism was indeed possible in Hong Kong, the handover showed that such nationalistic attitudes could not be assumed. We did not see people dancing in the streets on 30 June or 1 July. Nor did we witness spontaneous mass gatherings or carnivals in public places in celebration of the end of colonialism.[5] Most people were composed, showing little emotion during the reunion with their motherland; but beneath people's calmness during the handover, there was ambivalence, restlessness, and unexpressed anxiety. Time did not allow for further rethinking of the desirability and viability of the "one country, two systems" master plan. It was not that people wanted to turn the clock back: irrevocable changes had begun long before the first day of July 1997. But people still had unspoken worries.

In January 1998, the Hong Kong Transition Project asked its survey respondents about their attitude towards the celebration of China's National Day, on 1 October every year; 71 percent replied they were indifferent and 11 percent saw it as just another holiday. Only 14 percent of respondents said they felt either proud or excited (Hong Kong Transition Project 1998). Like the calmness Hong Kong people felt towards the handover itself, these findings illustrate Hong Kong people's mentality regarding nationalism and patriotism. Few, as noted above, celebrated Hong Kong's return to China. Many more, while recognizing Hong Kong as part of China, did not embrace the nation without reservations. After all, for decades, the Hong Kong way of life represented all that was not possible in China under socialism.

The same feeling of indifference was evident in the first anniversary of China's resumption of sovereignty. A report of an art exhibition for the anniversary celebration had the following caricature of a show of patriotism:

> It is stuffed with amazing kitsch: namely an extraordinary painting by Zhang Minjie titled *Sailing Home*, showing the good ship Hong Kong depicted as an aircraft carrier on which lots of people are doing celebratory aerobics with flags as they sail back to the welcoming motherland. It has to be seen to be believed
>
> (Finlay 1998)

This art exhibition entitled "Journey to Reunification" was poorly received, at least in terms of number of visitors:

> For most of my visit on a rainy weekday morning I was the only person strolling around the City Hall Exhibition Hall…. It seems Hong Kong people are just not interested, which is exactly why it is worth spending a few spare minutes at City Hall before the exhibition is packed back in its polythene wrappings … because this strange show is in itself part of history
>
> (Finlay 1998)

This story illustrates the indifferent if not scornful attitude many in Hong Kong have held towards mainland cultural products: the fusty socialist realism of the mainland painters, just like the earnest propagandistic work of mainland television and movie directors, was not "sophisticated" enough for middle-class Hong Kong consumers (Mathews 2001b), who have based their judgments on the discerning, discriminating values of the market rather than on any undiscriminating loyalty towards the state. And this story illustrates the reluctance many in Hong Kong have felt towards the embrace of their nation, the motherland.

From unspoken fears to protests in the street

For most people in Hong Kong, the year after the handover was a very long year indeed. The post-colonial era began with the historic moment of the ending of

British colonial rule and Hong Kong's return to China. But then the local economy began to feel the heat of the East Asian financial crisis, with a drop of 10.4 percent in the Hang Seng Index, Hong Kong's stock exchange, on 23 October and then another more drastic dive on 28 October 1997. The beginning of 1998 witnessed a rapid downturn in the Hong Kong economy, with a huge drop in property prices, a stock market rocked by economic flux, and rising unemployment. The airport fiasco – the chaotic opening of the new Hong Kong International Airport in July 1998, which was perceived as a sign of a political decision overriding rational planning and preparation – added another layer of bad news to this pile of woes.

It was not easy to gauge the changes in the initial years following the handover. The annual march and candlelight vigil to commemorate the Tiananmen incident in May and June 1998 continued to attract a large crowd (40,000 people showed up, claimed the organizers: Fenby 2000: 188). The People's Liberation Army, in many people's mind the symbol of Beijing's presence in Hong Kong, assumed a low profile, and was almost invisible in the everyday life of post-1997 Hong Kong. For casual observers, there were few signs of significant changes in social and political life in the new Special Administrative Region of China. But soon after the handover, triggered by the change in the economic climate, optimism evaporated and was replaced by rising discontent. Public opinion on the performance of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region government suggested a record low in its approval ratings after the opening of the new airport in July 1998 (Hong Kong Policy Research Institute 1998). The fears that the existing institutional arrangements in Hong Kong would be undermined by subtle changes – portrayed as the "mainlandization" of Hong Kong – lingered on. At the same time, rising discontent about the government's slow reaction to the troubled economy and its aloofness in addressing the livelihood issues of ordinary people added fuel to the frustrations many felt (Lau 1998; Gilley and Slater 1998: 12–15). Many in Hong Kong believed that they could not assume that things were as they used to be.

Theoretically, Hong Kong's prosperity and stability were more or less guaranteed through the management of local society according to the Basic Law, as earlier noted, whereby Hong Kong business could continue under a capitalist economy and Hong Kong would retain its political autonomy. This, however, was done without democratic reform, and indeed, Patten's earlier reforms were largely rolled back under Tung Chee-hwa, Hong Kong's first post-handover chief executive. Because of a need to accommodate China's political expectations, Hong Kong's political system has had to conform with the blueprint of the Basic Law. It has been assumed that by keeping the established executive-led political system intact, political harmony and stability will be maintained. Ordinary Hong Kong people have placed their hopes on a vibrant and robust civil society (as evidenced in the influence of the media and public opinion), a rational and efficient administrative bureaucracy (for ensuring effective delivery of government services and providing a built-in mechanism to balance the powerful and non-popularly elected chief executive[6]) and a solid legal system,

guaranteeing personal freedom and checking and balancing the semi-authoritarian SAR government (Jones 1999). But all of these have come under threat since 1997. The Hong Kong economy was in recession. The civil service came under attack, due to the government's own botched initiatives in promoting civil service reform by cutting costs and the staff of the administrative machinery. The autonomy of the legal system has also been challenged in several controversial cases.[7] Finally, as we will now discuss, the mass media have been perceived as falling under increasing pressure to conform to the government line. All of these developments have been seen as signs of the erosion of the institutional basis of Hong Kong's success.

In the years immediately after the handover, many people worried about the growing political influence of China in Hong Kong. Their anxiety was evident in a number of incidents concerning threats of political intervention from Beijing. There have been so many such threats that a full discussion of alleged moves of political intervention would fill many volumes. But in terms of popular reaction to such threats, the most illustrative case perhaps is the row concerning the autonomy of RTHK (Radio Television Hong Kong), the government broadcaster, which has long been independent, roughly along the lines of the BBC in Great Britain. The incident was started by Xu Simin, a well known Hong Kong businessman and a senior Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) delegate, who attacked RTHK in a sub-group meeting of the CPPCC in Beijing in March 1998. Xu criticized RTHK, saying that its weekly news round-up program, *Headliner*, was "weird" and reviled both the SAR government and the chief executive Tung Chee-hwa. He accused the station of expressing opinions that sabotaged the voter registration campaign the Hong Kong government was then engaged in (Choy and Yeung 1998a). He suggested that he had tried to convince the chief executive to "do something" about this matter.

Xu's criticism of RTHK represented the surfacing of the discontents felt by pro-China politicians about the institutional continuation of former colonial arrangements. It was no secret that many political leaders with a pro-China stance were critical of "unbalanced" coverage during previous Legislative Council elections. They complained about how they themselves were labeled, and placed in a disadvantageous position when competing with pro-democracy candidates. Xu's voicing of his criticisms while he was attending a political meeting in Beijing gave the impression that he saw this as an appropriate time to openly address such deeper and suppressed antagonism. Immediately after Xu's attack, Tung responded mildly: "There have been a lot of comments on RTHK. While freedom of speech is important, it is also important for government policies to be positively presented" (Choy and Yeung 1998a). This response was in marked contrast to the remarks made by Anson Chan Fang On-sang, the acting chief executive while Tung attended the National People's Congress in Beijing, and a figure widely viewed as being more pro-democracy in political orientation than Tung. Chan remarked: "To comment on a government department on the mainland will give the community here a very wrong impression that there is an attempt to invite the central government to interfere in the affairs of the SAR"

(Choy and Yeung 1998b). The difference between Tung's and Chan's styles of handling Xu's open attack on RTHK sparked rumors about conflicts surfacing between top civil servants and the chief executive. The mild response from Mr Tung fueled popular fears that the news media might be reined in and "disciplined" in the future, with a diminishment of media freedom.

Many in Hong Kong were aroused by the row and reacted quickly to the criticism of RTHK. Their responses revealed how the public feared a tightening of social and political control through censorship of the mass media. In a way, the open attack by a well known pro-China political figure on RTHK, which in the eyes of many people was a mild and sometimes overly balanced government broadcasting station, confirmed people's long-submerged fears about how tighter control would be imposed – a local leader in a meeting held in Beijing asking the official bureaucracy to step in. The incident died down after mainland officials expressed their respect for the "one country, two systems" principle and gave reassurances that they would not interfere in local affairs in the SAR; but whether this was a truce or a permanent peace still remains unclear. This argument about the role of RTHK demonstrates that there exists a degree of consensus in the local community about the parameters of freedom of expression. Xu's attack on RTHK was seen by many in Hong Kong as a hostile move jeopardizing Hong Kong's freedom of speech. The findings of a survey carried out by University of Hong Kong in June 1996 suggested that 47 percent of respondents were concerned that some political radio programs would not be aired after 1 July, and 52 percent of respondents were concerned that political programs on television would be dropped (Yeung 1998). Given such widespread concern about control of the mass media, Xu's action touched a sensitive nerve with the public.

The reassuring words from mainland top officials were insufficient to pacify the alarmed public. Mainland Chinese officials must have spoken the same words reported above thousands of times since the early 1980s. If these words did not succeed in giving Hong Kong people confidence in the 1980s, they would not work in 1998 either. However, other than backing RTHK's fight for editorial independence by voicing their concerns in the mass media, there was not much that ordinary people could do. They were eager to voice their opinions through the mass media. Yet, when there were unmistakable signals from above that the debate should come to an end, they nervously lowered their voices.

By 2000, the economic downturn triggered by financial meltdown in the region and a shaky stock market and property market began to have an impact on the livelihoods of ordinary people in Hong Kong. The failure to react promptly to these rising economic problems significantly lowered people's economic confidence and their evaluation of the HKSAR government's performance. Protests expressing the discontents of middle-class investors in stock and property showed that those who felt threatened by the changing economy were no longer confined to the displaced workers from the declining manufacturing sector. On 25 June 2000, 5,000 people in five separate petitions representing different interests, including those of doctors, social workers, and property owners,

staged rallies and protests in opposition to government initiatives. By 2002, opinion polls suggested that Hong Kong people were happier with the central government on the mainland (those finding its performance satisfactory rose from 34 percent in 1997 to 60 percent in 2002) than the Hong Kong SAR government (satisfaction fell from 66 percent in 1997 to 31 percent in 2002) (*Ming Pao* 2002a). This is the opposite of the pre-1997 perception, of trust in the Hong Kong government and mistrust of the mainland government. Yet, despite growing confidence and trust in the Beijing leaders, a sense of uneasiness persisted over their management of Hong Kong. The under-performance of the Hong Kong SAR government was seen as a symptom of "one country, two systems," and the problems inherent in this structure. There was growing discontent towards the SAR government, with Tung Chee-hwa increasingly targeted as incompetent. But the tension between Hong Kong and China, particularly in matters concerning autonomy and freedom, always lay under the surface of these tensions.

In spring 2003, the SARS epidemic threatened to sweep through Hong Kong; because of fear of contagion, Hong Kong residents were advised to wear surgical masks, turning the territory into a surreal world of people masked, muffled, and mouthless. Some 300 people died in Hong Kong. The SARS epidemic was caused in part by the secrecy of mainland bureaucrats, who did not transmit information about SARS to Hong Kong in a timely fashion; it was also exacerbated by the indecisiveness of the Hong Kong government. The SARS epidemic at least indirectly paved the way for the extraordinary protest march of 1 July 2003 (DeGolyer 2004), the sixth anniversary of Hong Kong's return to China, which changed the entire political scene of post-1997 Hong Kong. "500,000 people marching in the streets: the middle class roared angrily!" This was the headline of the *Hong Kong Economic Times* on the day following one of the most important political events in the history of Hong Kong (2003). The precipitating factor of this mass rally was public opposition to the adoption of Article 23 of the Basic Law, which enjoins Hong Kong to enact legislation against treason and subversion, which could potentially limit freedom of information in Hong Kong, making Hong Kong more like the mainland. Cleavages, tensions, and grievances in post-1997 Hong Kong were expressed in their most dramatic form in this demonstration, a demonstration peaceful and yet pointed. As DeGolyer has written, "In 1997, Beijing envisioned that Hong Kong would … be economically active but politically quiescent…. Beijing authorities have been stunned to see that … Hong Kong has instead become economically quiescent and politically active" (2004: 124).

In late spring 2004, several well known and highly popular radio hosts decided to stop broadcasting their political phone-in programs, hinting at threats to their personal safety (A. Ho 2004; *Spike* 2004). These radio hosts were perceived by many as "fighters for freedom and liberty in Hong Kong." Their success in finding support from the audience before and after 1997 hinged upon the popular demand for public "heroes" who dared to confront China and speak their minds. At a time whom democratization was only partial (and at which

those who were democratically elected could not govern)[8] and politicians were not trusted, people looked for public mass-media figures as a sort of replacement. Popular projection of hopes onto these public "heroes" was a symptom of underlying fears and worries. Partly in response to this controversy, 1 July 2004 saw a demonstration drawing a similar number of people to that of 1 July 2003. Due in part to the effects of these protests, in March 2005, Tung Chee-hwa resigned as chief executive of the Hong Kong SAR government without completing his term of office. But the political order was restored not from below but from above. Popular demands for political reform were heard but their possibility of becoming real was simply ruled out by Beijing, in reinterpreting the Basic Law to read that democratic election of the chief executive was not allowable.

Hong Kong's new chief executive, Donald Tsang, a throwback to the colonial era who had been knighted by Great Britain, was highly popular in opinion surveys, and would almost certainly have won any direct election, but he was not so elected. In fall 2005, Tsang set forth a modest electoral reform plan, but without any timetable for the eventual direct election of the chief executive; it was widely speculated that Tsang's proposals were all that Beijing would allow. On 4 December 2005, another demonstration, with some 100,000 participants, took place, demanding that Hong Kong's government set forth a clear path to full democracy in Hong Kong; shortly thereafter, the democratic legislators in Hong Kong's Legislative Council succeeded in blocking Tsang's proposed electoral reforms because they offered no timetable for democracy, leaving Hong Kong's political future at an impasse. As of this book's final revision, in fall 2006, many in the Hong Kong public remain more or less happy with Donald Tsang, but also desire full universal suffrage and direct elections. This desire is at present not strong enough to bring about mass protests – Hong Kong's economy is now booming, and Tsang is widely regarded as a competent leader – but fuels an undercurrent of ongoing discontent.

Hong Kong's emergence as a politically active society is remarkable but hardly surprising. Hong Kong has an affluent and educated populace, and mass media that readily criticize its political leaders, yet it cannot freely choose those leaders; in the absence of the ballot box, "taking it to the streets" is the only way citizens *en masse* can make their voices heard. Underlying this is the ongoing tension between "one country" and "two systems" – Hong Kong as a part of China and yet distinctly different from China. As we will see in the chapters to come, many in Hong Kong are indeed increasingly coming to accept that they are Chinese; they are indeed "learning to belong to a nation." But this learning to belong to the nation has not implied giving up skepticism: the nation, or at least the state that claims to represent the nation, has continued to be questioned. The ruling regime in China has never been taken as an unproblematic representative of the nation; and belonging to a nation continues to seem, for many, as less convincing than belonging to the global market. In this regard, the Hong Kong saga has continued, up until today and tomorrow.

4 Representing the nation in the Hong Kong mass media

In the last two chapters, we examined the nation in Hong Kong's recent history: the complex processes through which a Hong Kong apart from the Chinese nation was formed (Chapter 2) and how in recent years Hong Kong has been grappling with being a part of and yet still different from China (Chapter 3): belonging to the nation, yet keeping the nation at arm's length. Let us, in the following two chapters, examine how national identity has been instilled in Hong Kong people in recent past and present. Lie (2004: 236) has written that "the disciplinary power of the nation-state manifests itself in all media that shape individual consciousness throughout the lifecourse, from the nationalist curricula of schools to the mass media of movies and television." In this chapter we examine the mass media and how their portrayals of China have been shifting over the past several decades, from a negative evocation of the mainland to a positive one. In the chapter to follow, we examine education into national identity in Hong Kong schools. These two chapters examine the predominant means through which national identity is being instilled into Hong Kong people in the recent past and present.

Mass media and national identity considered cross-culturally

Many scholars have pointed out that mass media production and distribution are of paramount important in nation-building. Anderson (1991) attributes the formation of modern nations to the rise of print capitalism. With the invention of print technology, different reading publics emerged in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. By reading vernacular texts, individuals imagined themselves as members belonging to a virtual community of fellow readers with whom they shared the same imagined worlds, even though they never interacted with one other directly in their daily lives. It is by virtue of the rise of imagined print communities and their function of defining national boundaries (one thinks here of the English of Shakespeare, the Spanish of Cervantes, the French of Voltaire: see Anderson 1991: 18) that Anderson sees a link between the rise of mass media and the spread of nationalism.

This construction of imagined national communities through the media is all the more the case in our own era, when print media have become augmented if

not supplanted by movies and television and the internet in the mediated creation of senses of "belonging to a nation." Billig (1995) has written of how the mundane use of rhetoric such as "we" and "us," and representations of national symbols in the mass media, facilitate in a banal, taken-for-granted way the continual ongoing reproduction of national identity. In addition to the reinforcement of in-group membership, the media also play a prominent role in constituting national identity through the construction of "others." Schlesinger (1991), to take just one example, illustrates how framing political violence in Third-World countries as "terrorism" by the Western media has contributed to the strengthening of national identities among the citizens of Western countries.

Media can also foster national identity through the construction and depiction of collective memory. Analyzing two Canadian television programs, West (2002) has shown how the past is selected, reconstituted, and represented to meet the present political need of strengthening a sense of national identity among Canadians. Many Asian countries are acutely conscious of the capacity of television to foster national culture and identity. This may be done in the name of maintaining a traditional cultural heritage, but generally involves the implicit political consolidation of "the powers that be" in a given society. (See the analyses of Katz and Wedell 1977, Lent 1982, Reeves 1993, and Wheen 1985 for discussion of how this proceeds in a range of Asian societies.) Political consolidation can also be achieved through the cultivation of religious nationalism. Rajagopal (2001) analyzes how the national telecast of the Hindu religious epic *Ramayan* in the 1980s created an ideological ground for the launch of the Ram Janmabhumi movement, which has played a prominent role in the shaping of national and cultural identities in India over the past fifteen years. In the epic, the symbol of Ram, the central figure of the serial, was reworked via the Ram Janmabhumi movement to articulate cultural authenticity, national belonging and a renewed sense of national purpose and direction.

The mass media, however, are not necessarily effective in molding a sense of national identity. Discussing Malaysia, Karthigesu (1988) shows that those television programs directed towards nation-building are rated as unsatisfactory by many in the local audience. In a study of the relationship between television and national identity in Singapore, Heidt (1987) concludes that "rhetoric far exceeds evidence" in the assumption of the central role of television in creating national culture. Even in a country like Singapore, which stresses social planning, market imperatives work against the directives of the state, which can't fully control television programming. Collins (1990) reaches a similar conclusion in his discussion of Canadian television. What can be drawn from these studies is that the impact of the media on the formation and maintenance of national identities is highly contextual, and can't be generalized. The media work together with other socio-political factors under very specific historical conditions.

In Hong Kong, as we will explore in this chapter, sociopolitical factors in the 1970s and 1980s were conducive to the formation of a strong local and a weak national identity. After the sovereignty change in 1997, the media have followed the political imperative of working to instill a sense of national belonging among

Hong Kong people. However, this political imperative has been working against the three-decade-long stigmatization of mainlanders in the local media, resulting in complicated, ambivalent, and sometimes conflicting representations of the nation in popular discourses.

The state of Hong Kong's mass media today

In this chapter we explore a few representative dramas, documentaries, and public service announcements on Hong Kong television over several decades. Before proceeding to that analysis, however, let us briefly discuss the state of the Hong Kong mass media as a whole

Hong Kong, unlike China, has long had largely free mass media. Today, newspapers range from the Beijing-supported *Ta Kung Pao* and *Wen Wei Po* to the scurrilous and anti-China *Apple Daily*, one of the most popular newspaper in Hong Kong; other important newspapers include the establishment *Ming Pao*, and the English-language *South China Morning Post*, as well as the liberal *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, the most influential paper among local elites. These newspapers range across the political spectrum in their reporting, and many newspapers, other than those that are Beijing-supported, have columns side by side that are sympathetic to China and highly critical of China, and may offer, side by side, both mainland Chinese views and "Western" views of current events and their meanings. There are hundreds of magazines published in Hong Kong, some explicitly political, most apolitical, dealing with entertainment and celebrities. All in all, there are magazines in Hong Kong catering to every taste and political persuasion.

Despite this great breadth, it is clear that the mass media as a whole in Hong Kong have in recent years become more favorable to China. K. C. Chan, the chief editor of *The Hong Kong Economic Journal*, has given an explanation for this rooted in the profit motive:

> The influence of the all-embracing mainland market force is like the attraction of a gigantic magnet.… If news reflects social reality, then media agendas in Hong Kong have been changing on many issues…. Those who don't follow the mainstream are regarded as "dissidents"; in economic terms, these media dissidents will be punished by having their advertising withdrawn; in political terms, they will be marginalized by the mainland and the Hong Kong SAR governments.
>
> (K. C. Chan 2003: 33–4)

By this explanation, the Hong Kong mass media's turn to China is due less to the mandates of the state than to the pull and lure of the market. It is expensive and foolhardy to defy the Chinese state, since this will lead to one's company being blocked from the Chinese market: thus the Hong Kong discourse of the market and the Chinese discourse of the state are rendered congruent, albeit for different reasons. Not many Hong Kong mass media workers have become more

favourable to China because they feel a newfound love for country; rather, they follow the desires of their bosses in not jeopardizing their potential economic and political gain. Learning to "belong to a nation" is taking place less through a newfound love of the Chinese nation, as represented by its state, than through appreciation of the Chinese market in all its potential for profit.

This is linked to the ongoing concern over how much Hong Kong's own journalists and reporters and newscasters may practice self-censorship. Such self-censorship may be in response not simply to Chinese threats and jailings on the mainland,[1] but also to more subtle calculations; a reporter might think, "This newspaper needs its advertising, and my editor doesn't like it when I cause trouble…. I guess I won't report that story…" Such self-censorship has been widely discussed in Hong Kong (A. S. Y. Cheung 2003), and those who do not censor themselves run the risk of being censored by others. As was discussed in the last chapter, in 2004 several leading radio talk show hosts left the airwaves; they were extremely popular, and well known for their vitriolic anti-Chinese and anti-Hong Kong government views. Why they resigned remains murky, but it seems likely that a key reason they were pushed off the air was Hong Kong Commercial Radio's willingness to sacrifice its listening audience in order to reduce political pressures from China-linked advertisers and politicians.

Hong Kong's mass media remain comparatively free. Reporters without Borders, in its worldwide press freedom indexes (2002, 2003, 2004, 2005), found in 2002 that Hong Kong ranked eighteenth of 139 countries. In 2003, Hong Kong dropped to fifty-sixth; in 2004 it rose to thirty-fourth: higher than any other East Asian country; in 2005 it was thirty-ninth, lower than Japan and South Korea, but higher than the United States. There are ongoing concerns over the future of Hong Kong's mass media, and over whether they will lose their freedoms (Freedom House 2004). But at present, the Hong Kong mass media do indeed express a broad range of views – even though these views, with significant exceptions such as the newspaper *Apple Daily*, are becoming more accepting of and acceptable to China.

In this chapter, we focus particularly on television, the form of Hong Kong mass media that has arguably had the most ubiquitous presence in Hong Kong people's lives: the average family watches Hong Kong land-based television three hours per day (Hong Kong Broadcast Authority 2005). The two major land-based television stations in Hong Kong are TVB and ATV; both carry a Cantonese and an English channel, and carry a range of news programs as well as dramas and other programming. Broadcast television was introduced in 1967. Similar to the experience of many countries, the new medium achieved quick penetration, and became the predominant mass medium of Hong Kong. Of all the television programs on the air, dramatic serials have been among the most popular. In the 1970s and 1980s, prime-time dramas consistently attracted 2 million to 3 million Hong Kong viewers (half to two-thirds of the population). It was not unusual that the final episode of major serials achieved ratings of 60–70 percent, which meant they could empty streets and restaurants while they were shown. In recent years, new media outlets such as cable television and the

internet have proliferated, and just as in other developed societies, this has lessened the dominance of network television in Hong Kong; and yet, in the face of all these other media, network television remains Hong Kong's pre-eminent source of entertainment and information.

Other developments in television in Hong Kong include the increasing export of Hong Kong television programs to other East Asian countries, such as Taiwan and particularly China; there has been increasing dependence of commercial Hong Kong television stations on the mainland Chinese market for their present and anticipated future profits. This reliance is not direct, for the most part: mainland television stations in south China replace Hong Kong advertising with their own advertising, bringing only a small amount of money to Hong Kong stations; Hong Kong channels collaborate in production with mainland Chinese channels less for present profits than for the projected future. This anticipation of future profits has led to the unwillingness of network television to portray contemporary mainland Chinese in a negative light, as we will see in this chapter, despite the more critical opinions of the print media,[2] as well as of Hong Kong people as a whole (Ma 1999b: 119). In late August 2004, a Chinese government-backed mainland company bought 10 percent of ATV, Hong Kong's second largest television station, the first time that a mainland company had directly invested in a Hong Kong broadcaster (Luk 2004): this has had no apparent impact on programming, but is nonetheless a logical step in the increasing Hong Kong–mainland linkage in the mass media.

The foregoing may seem to portray a dark picture of the Hong Kong mass media and their diminishing freedoms. This is to some extent true, but is a partial view. One reason why the Hong Kong mass media are becoming more favorable to China is usually left unstated by outside commentators. The issue is not simply one of "brave heroes of media freedom silenced by a repressive communist dictatorship." That is true in some cases, but it is also true that Hong Kong people themselves are changing in their views. The Hong Kong mass media's greater acceptance of China – the Chinese nation, if not the Chinese state – reflects as well as creates this fact. This can't easily be seen in the print media, because of their diversity, the wide breadth of views expressed in print; chapters of this book quote from a range of newspaper articles covering recent issues from many of these points of view. This change in Hong Kong people's views can more easily be seen in the screen media, such as movies and especially network television. Of course, people on the street have their own views apart from what the dominant mass media may tell them; but the sheer ongoing popularity of Hong Kong television programming does indicate that what it broadcasts reflects as well as creates attitudes in Hong Kong. In this chapter, we focus on a few selected programs to demonstrate the changing image of the nation as represented on television. In the 1970s and the 1980s, the Chinese nation was not represented in grand historical narratives, but in the mediated portraits of individual characters of mainland migrants in Hong Kong; this has been true more recently as well. The cases selected in this chapter for analysis are stereotypes through which we can examine the imagination of the nation,

both negative and positive, among Hong Kong people. These cases are either very popular, or controversial; all of them are illustrative of the specifics of their time

The 1980s: suppressing the nation and stigmatizing mainlanders

In the years after the communist takeover of China in 1949, as discussed in Chapter 2, millions of refugees from China poured into Hong Kong. In the 1950s, the colony had nearly two million newcomers representing about two-thirds of the population. In the decades thereafter, Hong Kong rapidly changed from an entrepôt to an international financial centre. Looking back at the colonial years, the colonial government adopted a policy of economic *laissez-faire* and social non-intervention. Concerned primarily with sustaining economic and social order, the colonial administration sought to discourage any kind of identity politics among Hong Kong people. Schools and other government institutions, as discussed in the next chapter, did not set forth a history enabling Hong Kong people to feel national or political identification with China or with Hong Kong itself, and there was no coherent historical narrative set forth by schools through which the younger generation could make sense of its socio-historical world. The popular media in Hong Kong, as they developed, easily took up this vacant cultural space; the popular media, film and television in particular, became a cradle of indigenous cultural identity. The popular media in the 1970s absorbed Western ingredients, transformed Chinese cultural particulars, articulated local experiences, and crystallized a distinct Hong Kong way of life. This new Hong Kong identity was built, in part, by suppressing any sense of loyalty to the Chinese nation, and by stigmatizing mainlanders as outsiders lacking the positive values Hong Kong people attributed to themselves. The established residents of Hong Kong came to be called Hongkongers (*hèunggóngyàhn*), as we have seen, leaving their Chinese identity in shadow; new Chinese immigrants in the 1980s and thereafter came to be given the collective name "Ah Chan," a label carrying a derogatory sting. The name originated from a television drama in which a character nicknamed "Ah Chan" came to Hong Kong from China to rejoin his family.

The eighty-episode dramatic serial "The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly" (in English translation) was produced by TVB in 1979. When the serial was first released, "Ah Chan" quickly became a popular figure, and Hong Kong people came to use the name "Ah Chan" as the common name for mainland migrants. What the character did in the serial became the stereotype applied to mainland migrants as a whole: in effect, the serial constructed a group name, attached to that name a set of cultural images, and set in motion a stigmatizing process that has persisted for decades. The cultural imagery would not have been effective if it did not have a degree of truth to it; but once the imagery was set into play, it in effect created its own "truth," as a stereotype.

The serial is a story of a more or less typical Hong Kong family of the 1970s.

The parents are Chinese refugees who came to Hong Kong some decades ago. The elder son, Ching Wai, a university graduate, and his younger sister, a factory worker, have been brought up in Hong Kong. The opening episode quickly leaps into a conflict situation when the Chings receive a letter from China, telling them that their second son, Ching Chan, nicknamed Ah Chan, is on his way to Hong Kong. Ah Chan has been living in China since the family moved to Hong Kong without him. In the 1960s and 1970s, it was quite common that Chinese family members were separated. Some stayed on the mainland, and some migrated to Hong Kong to look for a better life. Like many mainland migrants, Ah Chan comes to rejoin the family after twenty years of separation. This turns out not to be a happy reunion, but a threat to the family.

In the serial, Ah Chan is akin to a clown, a comic figure, or a Shakespearean fool (Cheng 1990). Most of the mockery springs from his ignorance of the social norms and his violation of the sense of good taste among established Hongkongers. Ah Chan dozes off at work, stays in bed until late afternoon, and wants to get rich but is reluctant to make any effort. Ah Chan throws bottles out the windows of high-rise buildings, jumps the line while waiting to apply for an identity card in the immigration office,[3] and steals from the jewelry shop he is working in. Since he doesn't have a sound education, he is confined to low-paying jobs. The drama is about Ah Chan's failure and the success story of Ah Chan's brother, a graduate from Hong Kong University, who works his way up to become the chief executive of a big company.

The stigmatization of "Ah Chan" shows some common features with other kinds of insider/outsider configurations across the globe; immigrants and ethnic minorities in many societies are seen as "undisciplined," "lawless," "lacking self-restraint," and "uncivilized," as compared to established native residents, who are "disciplined," "law-abiding," and "civilized." But Ah Chan's stigmatization also shows something particular to Hong Kong: the newly emergent Hong Kong sense of proper public behavior, as linked to Hong Kong's emergence as a society of affluent, sophisticated consumers in the 1970s and 1980s. Watson, in a discussion of McDonald's in Hong Kong, writes of

> a general change in Hong Kong's public culture as a new generation of residents, the children of refugees, began to treat the territory as their home…. Many people credit McDonald's with being the first public institution in Hong Kong to enforce queuing, and thereby helping to create a more "civilized" social order.
>
> (Watson 1997: 93–4)

This change in Hong Kong's public culture marked it as a distinctly different society from its giant neighbour to the north, a difference that "Ah Chan" came to represent.

Indeed, "Ah Chan" came to be the prime symbol for mainland immigrants in general; this is how, as a group, they came to be seen by Hong Kong people. Prejudice against the new immigrants was recorded in a series of research

surveys carried out during 1979–82. Hong Kong people generally felt that the newcomers were responsible for a decrease in wages and an increase in violence. One survey (CUHK Student Union 1982) reported that 76 percent of respondents felt that the newcomers competed with locals for jobs; 40 percent felt the newcomers were responsible for violent crimes; 24 percent felt that they slowed down government public housing services; and 22 percent felt that the immigrants were responsible for petty crimes. This is very different from the earlier attitudes toward Chinese immigrants, as described in Chapter 2.

This new attitude of discrimination had real social consequences. In a study done in December 1980, it was found that 80 percent of the menial jobs in restaurants were given to new immigrants. They were also taking dangerous short-term work in construction sites. Out of 165 work-related deaths from January 1979 to August 1980, 70 percent were those of new immigrants (Lingnan College 1985). Not only were new immigrants getting the most undesirable jobs, they were also systematically paid less than were local workers (Siu 1986). Of course, a big reason why mainland immigrants were channeled into these jobs is that they tended to be poorly educated as compared to native Hong Kong residents, and were often not qualified for other jobs; some also suffered from a language barrier, not speaking Cantonese. But social prejudice in Hong Kong towards new mainland immigrants meant that even those who were qualified for better jobs generally did not get them.

The television serial did not create the negative sentiments against mainlanders; as the survey data show, these sentiments were already held by the general public in Hong Kong in the early 1980s. The effect of the serial was more on the construction of identity categories, which consolidated the antagonism into a relatively stable stereotype. A large proportion of the population in Hong Kong shared the same social memories of settlement and rapid economic development; this population also participated in the new daily ritual of television viewing, which provided a cultural space for confirming the emergent new Hong Kong cultural identity. But identity confirmation is a dual process: the building of in-group identity and pride may involve stigmatizing those who are seen as outside (Jenkins 1994; Hagendoorn 1993; Elias and Scotson 1994): in this case mainland Chinese. Most of the new "Hongkongese" had themselves come from China, the society whose members they now mocked and scorned; but this is how the new Hong Kong identity formed – by, in effect, seceding from the Chinese nation.

"The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly" wasn't the only mass media product mocking or demonizing mainland Chinese; mainlanders often appeared in negative, comic or villainous roles (Yung 1991). In films like "Bank-Buster" (1978) and "The Long Arm of the Law" (1984), mainlanders appeared as outlaws who threatened the law and order of Hong Kong. Underlying the processes of stereotyping outlined above, it seems clear that there was indeed an emergent Hong Kong that was very different from the mainland – a Hong Kong that, to put the matter at its simplest, was rich, capitalist, and market-driven, as opposed to a China that was poor, communist, and state-driven; this difference was what was

reflected, as well as created, in mass media depictions. The Hong Kong media were not monolithic in representing the nation; there were various movies that provided alternatives. For example, a very successful film entitled "Homecoming" (*Sishui Liunian*, 1984) depicted the mainland as a romanticized motherland for Hong Kong people. In the movie, a lonely Hong Kong businesswoman rediscovers her roots in her hometown in China. Rural life, childhood friends, and traditional ties were set in contrast with the dog-eat-dog commercial world of Hong Kong. This notion of China as a peaceful and happy rural alternative to soulless urban Hong Kong was distinctly different from the mainstream representation of China as a backward and uncivilized world: not as "our nation" but as an inferior other.

The 1990s: revulsion towards and return to the nation

After the signing of the1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration, which signified the inevitable return of the colony to China, television production became more affected by political calculations, and collective identities became portrayed by television culture in a more complicated way. The identity categories of mainlander and Hongkonger, as presented in television programming of the late 1970s and early 1980s, were relatively stable and distinct, but by the 1990s they had become unstable and contradictory. The earlier stigmatized mainlanders were to become the rulers of Hong Kong; the former "Ah Chans" were to be backed by mainland political and economic power far greater than any that Hongkongers had. In the decade leading to the change of sovereignty in 1997, Hong Kong people were claimed by mainland commentators and political figures to be inalienably Chinese. An ahistorical Chinese identity was often asserted, one that transcended the divergent paths of recent history. This new identity sought to unify mainlanders and Hongkongers in a common civilization and ethnicity, in order to foster patriotism and political commitment towards the nation and towards the state that claimed to represent it.

　　Hong Kong identity had emerged in the 1970s, as we saw in the last chapter, not because of nationalistic pressure but in the absence of such pressure. Political movements in China were largely prevented from influencing the colony, and the colonial government sought little political commitment from its colonial subjects. Hong Kong identity in the colonial years bore no nationalistic component, nor any political affiliation with a sovereign state; rather, this identity grew through the influence of the Hong Kong mass media, on the basis of increasing Hong Kong affluence and identification with the global market. However, in the 1990s, the approaching reversion of Hong Kong to China led to a nationalization process, and icons of the Chinese nation began to appear in the mass media in Hong Kong; yet, as we saw in the last chapter, misgivings clearly remained. Let us try to capture the ambiguities of this era by examining a television drama produced in the early 1990s in Hong Kong.

　　"Great Times" was a serial of forty episodes produced by TVB in 1992; the Chinese title, *Dashidai*, motivated the audience to look for signs of the times in

the drama,[4] despite the fact that the drama was in a sense removed from its time. In the run-up to 1997, political issues were prevalent in public debates, but there is no hint in any of the forty episodes of "Great Times" that Hong Kong has any problems related to politics. The story of the television drama spans the 1970s through the 1990s, and Hong Kong, as constructed in the program, is an apolitical society throughout these years. The Hong Kong stock market is the central arena of the drama. In reality, the Hong Kong stock market was very much affected by political debates during these years, but in the drama, the ups and downs of the stock market reflect no more than the personal struggles between the villains and the heroes of the story. The leading character, Fong, comes from a once-rich family; his father has been bankrupted and then killed by the leading villain, Ting Hian. Fong becomes a street idler in his twenties, but he suddenly realizes that he is talented in stock speculation and is destined to fulfill his potential in the stock market. Meanwhile, Ting's family deliberately or accidentally kills Fong's three sisters and his stepmother. Despite these tragedies, Fong manages to work his way up to become a billionaire, just like the myth that has been retold many times in Hong Kong, that "you can become rich if only you work hard and are smart enough." Finally Fong takes revenge on Ting's family by outsmarting them in the stock market.

Ma interviewed the executive producer, scriptwriter and station controller and found out that the initial versions of the script had obvious political overtones. In one version, the story began with an imagined stock market crash in 1997 (ironically, something that actually took place, as chronicled in the last chapter). However, these versions were eventually discarded, and in the television drama, the widespread antagonism between Hong Kong and the mainland was suppressed. The majority of the audience took the program as an apolitical story, but nonetheless some in the audience read political connotations into the program. While the Fongs are seen as typical Hongkongers, the Tings are seen by some as mainlanders. The executive producer said he was surprised by the letters he received from the audience commenting on the "meaning" of the characters. The most analytical was published in the "letters to the editor" column of a popular magazine (*Next* 1992: 18), reading the character of Ting Hian as an allusion to the Communist Party of China.

In the story, Fong's father is educated in the West. His leisure life is associated with sophisticated bars and with Western music. In contrast, Ting Hian is always found quoting traditional Chinese proverbs in the drama. All the names of Fong's family are common in Hong Kong, but the Tings have atypical names with negative connotations. All their names have the Chinese character Hian, which means "crab," a symbol of transgression. The character of Ting Hian to some extent parallels the stereotyped image of the communists in mainland China in the early 1990s: he is violent and corrupt, yet always claims himself as honorable and blameless. He kills and persecutes in the name of a false righteousness; he has patriarchal control over his sons, who comply even when Ting asks them to commit suicide.[5] The major reason why some audience members read the drama on a symbolic level is that in the years following Tiananmen

Square, there was widespread public sentiment against the takeover of Hong Kong by China. Although the overt political meanings of the drama had been removed, many indirect meanings remained, and were activated by the strong social desire among some in the audience to read politics into the drama, a desire fed at least indirectly by the symbolism of the drama. The producers of the drama sought to make it solely a contest of the market, with Hong Kong representatives winning out over those who were more "Chinese," having not only virtue but also greater talents in the market; but at least some in the audience sought to read this Hong Kong market drama as an allegory for the evils of the Chinese state and its menace to Hong Kong.

Despite the implications of the characters in "Great Times," by the early 1990s, the identity categories of mainlander and Hongkonger as presented in Hong Kong television had become less distinct. In the 1990s, the inexorably approaching change of sovereignty triggered complicated processes of what might be termed "the mediated re-sinicization of Hong Kong identity," involving the recollection, invention and rediscovery of historical and cultural ties between Hong Kong and China. Let us examine this re-sinicization process through an infotainment series entitled, in our translation of its Chinese title, "The Hong Kong Legend," produced by TVB in 1996–97. We select this documentary program instead of a drama not only because it vividly reflects the process of re-sinicization, but also because it illustrates how television represented Hong Kong in the key moment of political transition. "The Hong Kong Legend" was part of the upsurge of nostalgia in the Hong Kong popular media in the mid-1990s. The program, comprising thirty-nine hour-long episodes, was broadcast by TVB not on the fringes of the Hong Kong television schedule, but in prime time at 10:30 p.m. The program was launched in the summer of 1996 and ended in May 1997. We can use "The Hong Kong Legend" to examine how, at this crucial historical moment, television was involved in re-situating Hong Kong people as members of the Chinese nation.[6]

"The Hong Kong Legend" reconnects Hong Kong to China. The sharp Sino-Hong Kong identity border depicted in "The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly" in the late 1970s was now re-mapped by placing Hong Kong within the tides of continuous immigration from China (episode one). The previously invisible ethnic tie is made visible again, while the previous differentiation between Hongkongers and mainlanders is eclipsed. The motif of a "melting pot" is deployed (episode eight) to portray a harmonious mix of different groups of Chinese immigrants in Hong Kong. The history of migration from China to the territory is rediscovered as the lifeline of Hong Kong, providing the city with hardworking immigrants and the entrepreneurial skills of mainland merchants. The program also features traditional Chinese legends, festivals, and ritual practices (episodes nine, ten, and eleven), which are now replayed and highlighted to enhance the membership of Hong Kong within Chinese culture from time immemorial. The once de-sinicized Hong Kong is now re-sinicized televisually to become a full member of the Chinese nation, a child in the full embrace of "the motherland."

This remembering is accompanied by active forgetting. Rather than dealing comprehensively with the major historical moments of post-war Hong Kong, the first episode of "The Hong Kong Legend" avoids discussing significant moments of political turmoil. Popular street demonstrations in 1967, a watershed event often seen as marking the emergence of a Hong Kong political conscious-ness, as discussed in Chapter 2, are characterized in this documentary as rebel-lion against colonial rule. Yet the spillover of China's Cultural Revolution into the territory, the underlying and widely remembered cause of the resulting viol-ence, is conspicuously missing from the program. This episode reveals how sen-sitive the program is in its proffered ideology to changes in political power. From the 1990s onwards, China has had a strong political influence on local Hong Kong affairs. Under the shadow of China, the politically correct facets of collective memory can become, more or less, the public version of the collective past, and politically sensitive aspects of history may easily be suppressed. Of course, these politically sensitive aspects cannot be fully suppressed: as a free society, Hong Kong has multiple, competing versions of its own recent history. But on Hong Kong television in particular – which is watched by tens of mil-lions of mainland Chinese in Guangdong province as well as by Hong Kong people, and which has become increasingly beguiled by the promise of future profit in the mainland market – this suppression has indeed taken place.

The riots in 1967 were multifaceted, as we saw in Chapter 2, having indus-trial, social, cultural, and political dimensions. They were industrial because they were triggered by conflicts between factory workers and industrialists; the riots brought grave economic loss. They were social because they had their origins in the frustration of the population over an unjust colonial administra-tion. They were cultural because they signaled the rise of a local consciousness and an emerging indigenous cultural identity. They were also obviously polit-ical. It is widely remembered that the Cultural Revolution in China was the cause of the resulting violence, with local leftists seizing the opportunity to acti-vate nationalistic and anti-colonial sentiments, and protesters clutching Mao's "Little Red Book." In the program, archival film clips clearly show protesters clutching the "Little Red Book." However, neither the narrator nor the intervie-wees portrayed in "The Hong Kong Legend" mention the connection between local riots and political movements on the mainland. The audience of the program could see clearly the industrial, social, and cultural aspects of the riots, with the anti-colonial argument put in the forefront, but the political was left unexamined. As the British handed over power to China in 1997, the colonial government became an easy target for the program producers, while for China, the Cultural Revolution was still perceived as politically problematic, and thus largely untouchable. All in all, in "The Hong Kong Legend" the differentiation between mainlanders and Hongkongers is diluted and reshaped through these selective processes of remembering and forgetting. The discrepancy between the images of Maoist protesters and the apolitical narration is an obvious example of this, but this reshaping of historical memory through television occurs at various points throughout "The Hong Kong Legend."

This should not lead anyone to the conclusion that all Hong Kong mass media in the 1990s were producing "politically correct" histories of Hong Kong: clearly many were not. After the first episode of "The Hong Kong Legend" was released, its audience made itself heard in radio phone-in programs, and offered details of what they remembered but was not retold on the program. Ma did focus group interviews on "The Hong Kong Legend"; some interviewees talked at length about the historical incidents of the 1967 riots that were missing in the program (Ma 1999b). Critical reviews appeared in newspapers, accusing the program of political censorship (Lau 1996); one article accused "The Hong Kong Legend" of secreting ideological poison in order to make its audience forget about the past (Ho 1996). The Hong Kong media are neither monolithic nor operating in an authoritarian environment, and when there is a contradiction between televized and personal memory, people speak out. On television screens, there were other programs offering competing versions of the 1967 riots. The non-commercial broadcaster RTHK[7] produced television programs covering the history of the Cultural Revolution and the pro-democracy demonstration in 1989 in Hong Kong and China that were distinctly critical of China, and that were widely watched. Another documentary, 'The Vicissitudes of Hong Kong' (*Xianggang Cangsang*), produced by Beijing's China Central Television (CCTV) in 1996 and 1997, was distinctly nationalistic and anti-colonial; it was relayed to a Hong Kong audience via cable television. Thus, there were competing histories producing three different "electronic memories."

"Great Times" and "The Hong Kong Legend" show shifting identity categories, linked to the new nationalistic discourse of the 1990s. Since the 1980s, as the transfer of sovereignty of Hong Kong to China became a *fait accompli*, Hong Kong people's self-perception of their cultural identity evolved accordingly, with a general acceptance of the inevitability of Hong Kong's Chinese national identity. "Great Times" and "The Hong Kong Legend," as we have seen, presented or implied different views of mainland Chinese; but both in common suppressed politically incorrect viewpoints and lionized capitalism, in accordance with Hong Kong's socio-political situation, in which Hong Kong has increasingly been under the influence of Chinese politics and served, in economic terms, as a gateway between China and the West. These dramas, but especially "The Hong Kong Legend," represent the effort to make Hong Kong's market mentality congruent with Hong Kong's membership in the Chinese nation.

In the years before and after the handover, the contradictory Sino-Hong Kong identity boundary still very much persisted in everyday life in Hong Kong, but began to be resolved in media discourse: if not in newspapers, then certainly in television dramas. In recent years, both TVB and ATV have been marketing their television dramas in China, and for this reason, political issues are to be avoided. The fact that television dramas ceased to stigmatize mainlanders has thus been less a matter of state pressure, the pressure of the Chinese government upon Hong Kong, than of market forces: because these television stations seek profits from the mainland, they cannot afford to mock mainlanders, even though

this attitude has remained present among Hong Kong people. In any case, from the 1990s on, one could no longer see the unrestrained stigmatization of mainlanders in popular media as was commonly found in the 1970s and the 1980s.

Films in particular shifted, due largely to the dreams of their makers of penetrating the mainland market. Chinese immigrants took more desirable roles in films such as "Mr Coconut" (1989), "All for the Winner" (1990) and "Her Fatal Ways" (1990). An interesting case is the award-winning film "Comrades, Almost a Love Story" (1996), which romanticizes the story of mainland immigrants of the 1980s and represents Hong Kong as a city built by mainlanders rather than a city apart from China. A film entitled "Bodyguard from Beijing" (1995) even features movie star Jet Li as a veteran Beijing bodyguard protecting wealthy people in Hong Kong. While some popular movies featured mainland heroes who are modern, sophisticated and superior, some soap operas emphasized the virtuous characters of mainlanders associated with grand Chinese traditions. Television dramas featured traditional legends and stories, while many television documentaries reconnected the Hong Kong story with contemporary Chinese history and traditional culture. The motif of "Hong Kong as a member of the big Chinese family" emerged in television variety shows. In the visual mass media as a whole, the Sino-Hong Kong identity border was made blurry by placing Hong Kong within the panorama of Chinese history under the canopy of nationalism; this became the case in the 1990s, and continues today.

However, this re-sinicization has been complicated by fears and antagonisms: to some, the communists have still been seen as invaders, and the Sino-Hong Kong reunion is seen as an end to Hong Kong's way of life. Although film makers have been prevented for commercial reasons from addressing these antagonisms directly, a few have managed to do it indirectly. Films like "A Better Tomorrow III" (1989), "Song of the Exile" (1990), "Farewell China" (1990), "Chinese Torture Chamber Story" (1994) and "Made in Hong Kong" (1997) expressed during the 1990s this fear and anxiety in indirect or allegorical ways. In these films, Chinese authority figures were depicted as violent and oppressive. The film makers tended to avoid direct political critiques; by using the stories of communist oppression in Vietnam or the tyrants in Chinese history, the films allude to the authoritarian rule of communist China. Period television dramas, such as the long-running "Judge Pao" series, which was built around the story of a traditional legendary figure, featured stories of how justice is done only after all kinds of setbacks and tribulations. Judge Pao is a popular character who digs into the files of corrupt officials. In these films and television dramas, there were occasional scenes of tanks plowing into dissidents, re-depicting Tiananmen Square, and as in many other popular dramas, corruption and injustice were depicted or at least alluded to. These were political allegories resonating uneasily with the prevalent more positive political discourse of Hong Kong in the 1990s (Sek 1997). Belonging to China, one's motherland, was the motif most overtly expressed in Hong Kong television and films in the 1990s and today; but it is not hard to find a very different subtext.

Into the present: China becoming home?

Let us now look at some examples in films and television to demonstrate the complicated media representations between Hong Kong and China into the present. The Hong Kong media had long been exoticizing and othering the mainland, representing it as authoritarian, mysterious, evil, violent and contaminated, as we have seen. Most prevalent in the early 1990s, these representations were the echo of the 1989 Tiananmen incident and expressed the apprehension towards the 1997 sovereignty transfer. After 1997, these depictions of the mainland as a chaotic and uncivilized other have been largely replaced by the discourse of renationalization (Ma 2000); but traces of the earlier representations linger, and pop up frequently in media stories of illegal mainland immigrants, as well as of mainland disease and tainted foods infecting Hong Kong. In dramas, mainland tourists, gangsters, and prostitutes are still sometimes represented negatively, but these depictions are more rounded and multifaceted than those of the 1980s and early 1990s.

In 1999–2002, acclaimed non-mainstream film director Fruit Chan produced a series of films capturing the problematic interacting identities of Hongkonger and mainlander. In his films "Little Cheung" (1999), "Durian, Durian" (2000), and "Hong Kong Hollywood" (2002), mainlanders travel to Hong Kong and Hongkongers to the mainland, experiencing various relations of love-making, intermarrying, befriending, and betraying. In "Little Cheung," a small boy befriends a small girl who is an illegal immigrant in Hong Kong, the daughter of a crippled Hong Kong man and a mainland woman.[8] In "Durian, Durian," a country girl on the mainland visits Hong Kong and eventually becomes a sophisticated prostitute. She earns a large sum of money but has to lie about her Hong Kong story when she is back home in China. In "Hong Kong Hollywood," a mainland prostitute cheats a group of working-class Hong Kong men and becomes the street-wise heroine of the story.[9] This shifting of identity viewpoints was inconceivable in the media representations in the 1980s and early 1990s. While the characters in these movies fit into the imagination of a big national community, there remain conflicts and psychological barriers between Hong Kong and the mainland. Nonetheless, in mainstream commercial movies such as "One Night in Mongkok" (2004) and "Breaking News" (2004), gangsters from China are presented with a more humane face than in earlier decades. Robbers and killers they are, but they are depicted as reasonable people who are forced into the situations in which they find themselves. In contrast to the depiction of violent and senseless mainland gangsters in the 1980s (such as in "Long Arm of the Law"), these new film representations of mainland threats are more complicated and are tied up with a dense social network connecting Hong Kong and the Chinese nation.

In television dramas too, mainlanders have for the most part ceased to be represented in one-sided derogatory stereotypes. One illustrative example is a long-running situation comedy entitled "True Love," which has successfully created a popular character, "Auntie Nice," who came from the mainland in the

story but who became one of the most beloved television personalities in the late 1990s. In the second half of the 1990s, this program was broadcast every week-night for more than five years on TVB. In 2005, it was re-run every weekday at 6:00 p.m. Like Ah Chan, "Auntie Nice" comes from the mainland to reunite with her family in Hong Kong. In the beginning, she is mean, calculating, and in conflict with her mother and Hong Kong relatives. She brings her daughter with her, and pushes her daughter to marry a rich Hong Kong man so that they won't have to worry about money for the rest of their lives. These characteriza-tions are similar to that of Ah Chan, but as the story goes on, Auntie Nice changes. She is increasingly portrayed as tough but smart, sympathetic and, indeed, nice. She has become beloved by Hong Kong people and has been called Auntie Nice off-screen since then. In contrast with the early representa-tions of mainland characters, like Ah Chan, she doesn't have a mainland accent to her Cantonese. She seems just like Hong Kong people in the ways she talks and dresses. In fact, people tend to forget her mainland identity and think that she is part of the Hong Kong success story. This long-running sitcom is indica-tive of the conspicuous change of television representations of mainlanders from the 1980s to the 1990s. Ah Chan has been replaced by Auntie Nice, who is the nice auntie of the big Chinese family to which Hong Kong people belong. Into the 2000s, there has been no prominent mainland character in television dramas that measures up to the popularity of Ah Chan and Auntie Nice. This is because mainland characters are more or less normalized and no longer attract sociocultural attention and imagination in Hong Kong, as did such characters in previous eras.

These changes in the representations of mainlanders in television dramas should not be seen as forming a static picture. Current affairs programs on tele-vision and reports in newspapers and magazines continue to carry much cover-age of mainland China as a place where the social system is unjust and corrupt. Tensions between local Hong Kong people and mainland tourists and immi-grants can be seen in numerous journalistic reports. Indeed, to newspaper readers, "Ah Chan" may seem to live on, just as twenty-five years ago. News-paper reports in Hong Kong do very often fully adapt the narrative of "belong-ing to the nation," reporting breathlessly on the progress of Chinese space missions, for example, and proudly trumpeting Chinese economic and sporting triumphs. At the same time, they also continue to depict negative aspects of China – from the food laced with dangerous additives imported into Hong Kong from China to the pollution befouling Hong Kong skies produced by factories in Guangdong, the mainland province bordering Hong Kong. The *South China Morning Post*, in one day's typical issue, contains a story about Hong Kong residents of Shenzhen, the mainland Chinese city immediately adjacent to Hong Kong, being beaten up by security guards outside the apartment in which they live (Chow 2005), a story about fake doctors in Shenzhen leaving a Hong Kong man's wife to die in childbirth (Hu 2005), and a story about a Hong Kong designer "feeling the full force of mainland pirates ripping off his products" (Crawford 2005).[10]

Some of these reports are purely factual – China, after all, is far poorer than Hong Kong, and (as is also the case with, for example, the bordering countries of Mexico and the United States), incidents happen in the poorer society that would probably not be tolerated in the richer one. Other reports are probably exaggerated. With the opening of Hong Kong Disneyland in September 2005, Hong Kong Chinese-language newspapers and magazines had a field day depicting the scandalous behavior of mainlanders visiting the theme park. *Next* magazine, Hong Kong's most popular local weekly, had a cover story describing and depicting the terrible behavior of mainlanders in Disneyland (Wong *et al.* 2005): mainland men urinating on flowerbeds and mainland mothers holding up their small children to defecate in the washbasins of public toilets; mainlanders jumping queues and even harassing Mickey Mouse. Clearly, in these portrayals, the prejudicial spirit of "Ah Chan" lives on. The politically more timid medium of television dramas tends to be more sensitive to shifts in power, and tends to represent mainlanders and the Chinese nation much more positively than in the past; but this is only partially true in the Hong Kong mass media as a whole.

Let us conclude this chapter with an analysis of an extremely short piece of television programming: a public service announcement launched on the Chinese National Day on 1 October 2004 and televised daily in Hong Kong before the main evening news ever since then. It consists of a music video of the Chinese national anthem, produced by the government-appointed "Committee on the Promotion of Civic Education." Despite the fact that nationalism and national identity have frequently been invoked in post-1997 Hong Kong media, this is the first time that a public service announcement of explicit patriotic content has been televised on a daily basis. The broadcasting of the national anthem in other countries may be seen as comparatively natural and normal, as discussed in Chapter 1, but in Hong Kong, because the media have been for decades denationalized, this public service announcement has been very conspicuous and has aroused extensive public attention.

This forty-five-second announcement is a simple and direct audiovisual treatment of a carefully toned-down version of nationalism. The audio track is the Chinese national anthem, sung by the choir of an elite secondary school in Hong Kong. The tender voices of teenagers transform the strong and even militaristic tones of the Chinese anthem into what sounds like a soft and rejuvenating hymn. The visual starts with an aerial panoramic shot of the Great Wall, impressing the audience with this most prominent historical icon of the Chinese nation. It then zooms into a closer shot of children running cheerfully along the corridor at the top of the Great Wall. Subsequent shots feature children playing on a grass lawn, a teenage choir singing the national anthem, Hong Kong and Chinese youths teaming up, and smiling children hoisting the Chinese and Hong Kong flags. The motif of childhood and of a promising future underlies this spot, softening the anthem and giving it an easygoing and youthful appeal. There are popular icons appearing at points in the video, such as a well known Chinese astronaut and Chinese Olympic gold medalists. There are also shots of the People's Liberation Army performing *kung fu* and the national and local flags

being hoisted in front of Golden Bauhinia Square on the Hong Kong waterfront. The overlapping images of landmarks of mainland cities and Hong Kong are constructing a geographic imagination of a great nation of which Hong Kong is an integral part. In short, the brief film carefully blends historical icons (the Great Wall), popular icons (Olympic gold medalists for China), political icons (the PLA, national and local flags) and national and local landmarks to weave Hong Kong into the narrative of a great Chinese nation.

Ma interviewed the two producers of the film; they said that its message was consciously toned down to avoid a negative reaction from Hong Kong audiences. The standard musical arrangement of the national anthem was reworked to create a soft and appealing tune for easy identification. Despite this, however, initial reception of the film was controversial. Radio phone-in programs and newspaper columns accused the public service announcement of being no more than brainwashing and political propaganda. The Broadcast Authority received a dozen formal complains, and the media picked up the story and headlined it as high-handed indoctrination (see Chow and Ma, 2005).

Ma conducted several focus group interviews concerning this film, and the results indicate a more complicated picture. The five focus group interviews, of journalists, primary school students, teenagers, young adults, and mature adults, were conducted in separate sessions of two hours each. The journalists were inclined to take a more critical stand than the other groups; in fact, there were not that many complaints except among the journalists. Contrary to negative media portrayals, some local-born Hongkongers in the focus group even said they stood up in front of the television when they first watched the film. There were also clear generational differences, with those in their thirties and forties more resistant to the message of nationalism than those who were older and younger. This resistant generation of Hong Kongers was born in Hong Kong, as discussed in Chapter 2, and many have embraced a distinct Hong Kong identity as opposed to a Chinese identity: many of them don't know how to sing the Chinese national anthem. For them, the film triggers memories of the 4 June 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre and other incidents of political repression, while at the same time providing a new hope of a strong alternative Chinese nation. These informants have a relatively clear differentiation between the political and historical aspects of the nation: the former they disdain, but the latter they strongly identify with. For the younger generation, still children in the 1990s, the political and historical icons are less distinctive. The anthem is sometimes treated in a more playful manner by the younger generation. They are more familiar with the tune, and sometimes make up funny lyrics in place of the patriotic lyrics; but unlike their elders, they at least know the lyrics.

The mainstream media have thus more or less provided a steady drumbeat of nationalism over the past few years. Oppositional discourse in the mass media is still clearly present, but there is a standardizing discourse that urges Hong Kong people to take patriotism for granted. There is no longer a clear and stable boundary between the collective imagination of Hong Kong and the great Chinese nation. Conflicts there are, but these conflicts are re-imagined in the

media as transitory in the process of national integration – which may or may not prove actually to be the case, as the ongoing saga of Hong Kong will eventually reveal.

Conclusion

In this chapter, after an initial examination of the Hong Kong mass media as a whole, we have examined how Hong Kong television has been transformed in its portrayals of mainland Chinese. Whereas, in the 1980s, Hong Kong television dramas portrayed mainlanders as unsophisticated "Ah Chans," unable or unwilling to adjust to cosmopolitan Hong Kong, by the 1990s, there was more ambiguity: while television dramas such as "Great Times" portrayed, at least in some viewers' interpretations, Hong Kong goodness versus mainland evil, the documentary "Hong Kong Legend" depicted Hong Kong as an inviolable part of the greater Chinese national family. Most recently, "Auntie Nice" has in a sense been the mainland opposite of Ah Chan in television dramas, a sympathetic and wise character from the mainland; and a "sweetened" version of the Chinese national anthem has been featured prominently on television every night, albeit not without controversy. Hong Kong discourses of the nation have been multifarious in the Hong Kong mass media; but we can trace the changing configuration of this imagined community, from a clear Hong Kong–mainland separation in the late 1980s and suppressed anxiety over the inevitable reunification of Hong Kong with China in the 1990s to a complicated mixing and blending of perspectives in the 2000s, in which the Hong Kong–mainland barrier is forced open and an integrative national imagination is acknowledged but not fully embraced. The daily broadcast of the national anthem can be seen as an attempt to foster a more celebratory confirmation of the nation, albeit one that may or may not ultimately be successful.

What does this mean for "learning to belong to a nation"? In the 1970s and 1980s there was no need to belong to a nation. Ah Chan was, in a sense, a media symbol of Hong Kong's psychological secession from China. This signified a total rejection of the discourse of the state and immersion in the discourse of the market: indeed, we might say that Ah Chan was laughed at because of his lack of sophistication in the ways of the market. The 1990s saw conflicting versions of belonging to a nation, with Fong vanquishing the symbolic mainlander Ting through his success in the stock market, but "The Hong Kong Legend" emphasizing that "we are indeed all one Chinese family." Today, the latter message has won out in the dominant mass media of network television: Mainlanders are "nice," and the national anthem of China is the anthem of all Hongkongers, the media proclaim. However, there are many discordant media voices in Hong Kong, particularly in newspapers and magazines. Because television and film seek a mainland audience, their representations cannot simply be read as a transparent representation of Hong Kong people's changing feelings towards the nation, but as a calculated commercial decision as well: the positive portrait of China and the Chinese that they convey seems due less to love for the nation

than love for the nation's market in all its potential profits. If these representations were entirely apart from Hong Kong people's feelings, no one would watch them; but at the same time, they by no means fully reflect the complex reality of how Hong Kong people actually comprehend the huge society to the north that is both their home and yet foreign. This comprehension is more complex, as we will see in the chapters to come.

5 Hong Kong schools and the teaching of national identity

Mass media and schooling are the two most obvious and important societal institutions shaping senses of national identity. Last chapter we examined how the mass media, particularly television, have presented Hong Kong people in recent years with progressively more favorable images of Chinese people and of China as a country. In this chapter, based on interviews by Mathews and his students with thirty-eight secondary school, primary school, and preschool teachers, as well as eleven researchers in civic education, and some hundred students recalling their own education in the years 2002–05, we explore how Hong Kong schools have been teaching students about national identity.[1]

Education has been widely regarded as a key to instilling a sense of national identity. The nineteenth-century Italian nationalist Mazzini stated that "without National Education, from which alone a national conscience can issue, a Nation has no moral existence" (as quoted in Lie 2004: 117). More recently, Hobsbawm has written that, in the context of the formation of European states, "schooling … was the most powerful weapon for forming … nations" (1977: 120). Weber has written of how, in a France whose rural population were still largely unaware that they were French in the late nineteenth century, a unified school system finally and painstakingly succeeded in instilling a sense of national identity (1976). Smith discusses (1983: 9–36) how the Meiji rulers in late nineteenth-century Japan realized that an emotional attachment to national identity could most efficiently be promulgated through primary schools; "the aim of education increasingly became to produce loyal and obedient subjects" well schooled in "the new religion of patriotism" (1983: 31). Today, the power of schooling has perhaps diminished as compared to a hundred or two hundred years ago, despite its contemporary universality in the developed world, because of the ubiquity of the mass media. Nonetheless, schooling retains extraordinary importance in shaping national identity; for understanding emerging senses of national identity in Hong Kong, an examination of schooling is essential.

We begin the chapter with a discussion of education into national identity considered cross-culturally. We then examine the formal structures and curriculum of Hong Kong education over recent history, consider the place of civic education, and examine how the curriculum has been changing in recent years. Then, using the words of teachers and students, we explore how education into

national identity is actually conducted "on the ground" in Hong Kong schools. In the final section, we examine how teachers and students feel about their new education into national identity, focusing on uncritical versus critical love of country, and on the debate over what it means to love one's country. It is important to bear in mind that the snapshot of Hong Kong education into national identity provided by this chapter takes place in a limited time frame, of 2002–05, with teachers sometimes recalling earlier experiences as well. Because Hong Kong's education into national identity is changing and expanding rapidly, this snapshot may be all but unrecognizable fifteen years from now – perhaps, by then, Hong Kong education into national identity will have come to be a taken-for-granted, natural part of education, as it is in most other countries. However, as this chapter shows, this has not happened yet.

Schooling in national identity considered cross-culturally

Countries across the globe educate children into national identity, but how much impact school education into national identity has on children's lives remains unclear. The average child today watches thousands of hours of television before ever attending school, and throughout schooling the hours spent watching television may rival the number of hours spent in school; thus the mass media, as discussed in the last chapter, may be more important in shaping students' sense of national belonging than is schooling. Indeed, according to surveys conducted by Fairbrother (2003: 94), Hong Kong students feel that the mass media have had more influence on their attitudes towards the nation than either schooling or family. This is reflected in interviews with civic education teachers; as one teacher told Mathews, "We're living in Hong Kong. When you turn on the TV, you know a lot more than just … what's taught in class." Despite this, however, schooling remains pivotal in instilling national identity. Because different mass media have an array of different effects, and because schooling is designed not to entertain, as are most mass media, but to educate in carefully planned ways, schooling may serve as the single most powerful force in creating a common sense of national identity in young people.

Virtually all countries instruct their young people as to national identity in the school curriculum; but these curriculums greatly differ in the degree of national control exerted over local school curriculums. In societies such as Japan and France, there is a centralized national curriculum, guaranteeing that students will experience largely the same training into national identity. In other societies, such as the United States, the curriculum varies from state to state and district to district. Hong Kong is more or less in the middle, between these two poles, with a common broad set of teaching guidelines set forth by the government, and a common set of key examinations in secondary school, but with considerable latitude from school to school as to how instruction actually takes place.

Despite this difference from country to country, education into national identity seems to follow a more or less common pattern throughout the developed world. In elementary school, students are taught the fundamental elements of

respect for flag and national anthem, as well as the basic myths of national history. In secondary school, training in national history is intensified, for the sake of examinations, often becoming more distinctly factual in nature. In university, more critical instruction may take place, that may sometimes instill a degree of skepticism as to one's earlier training (as in the case in both Hong Kong and China, according to Fairbrother 2003: 174).

However, it is surprisingly difficult to know exactly what national education consists of in different societies. There is extensive writing on civic education cross-culturally (for example, Torney-Purta *et al.* 1999; Kennedy 1997; Cogan *et al.* 2002), defined broadly as "the formation through the process of schooling of the knowledge, skills, values, and dispositions of citizens" (Cogan *et al.* 2002: 4); more recently, citizenship education has emerged as a central focus of research. However, there is little to be found on cross-cultural education into national identity (which may be defined, for our purposes, as "the formation through schooling of the sense that one intrinsically belongs to one's country").

The reason for this seems clear. Civic and citizenship education tends in many countries to involve instruction in participatory democracy and ethnic sensitivity, among other areas beloved by liberal academics; but education into national identity is more controversial. One essay by an educational expert claims that "the teaching of national identity is likely to undermine the educational aims of autonomy and democratic citizenship" (Enslin 1999: 100). Indeed, activities imposed upon young students such as the singing of the national anthem or recitation of a pledge of allegiance represent the subliminal instilling of national identity, with civic education taking place only on the basis of such subliminal values. Almost all nations do this, but it is difficult to find much discussion of the merits or demerits of such training, particularly once they are instituted and become seen as "normal" and "natural." Only in societies such as Japan, in which a policy of displaying the national flag and playing the national anthem at school graduations has been instituted in the last few years against the heated opposition of those who see these as symbols of Japan's World War II aggression, is such an issue readily debated (Otsu 2002: 74–5). Elsewhere in the world, such inculcation into national identity is usually not critically examined.[2]

Hong Kong resembles Japan in the sense that debates over how national identity should be taught are indeed taking place; but at the same time, there is general acceptance that Hong Kong is "naturally" a part of China. In Hong Kong today, there is debate over, for example, how much schools should emphasize the flag and anthem and other symbols of national identity. Some politicians lament that schools are not performing flag-raising ceremonies enough (Yeung and Kwok 2004; Leung 2002), and advocate that such ceremonies be conducted daily or weekly, instead of only a few times a year (generally on 1 October, China's National Day, and on 1 July, the anniversary of Hong Kong's return to China), as they are at present in most schools. Others argue that such patriotic training is unnecessary: "Loving one's country is natural. No promotion and coercion are needed" (Eu *et al.* 2005). Underlying these debates, however, few in Hong Kong today ever seem to ask whether the nation is worth belonging to;

this is simply a given. It is an almost entirely unquestioned premise that it is right and natural that Hong Kong's people now feel in their hearts that they are Chinese.[3]

The meaning of "Chinese" is, however, ambiguous, referring at once to ethnicity and nationality; there is a difference between feeling a sense of belonging to one's ethnicity and culture and feeling a sense of belonging to one's state and government. A survey by the Hong Kong government's Committee on the Promotion of Civic Education (Connolly 2005) found that while 73 percent of Hong Kong respondents felt "proud of being Chinese," 72 percent felt that "some affairs happening in China make me feel ashamed." This may be interpreted in this way: the pride that the large majority in Hong Kong feel about being Chinese involves belonging to a land and people and civilization; the shame that many feel refers to the Chinese state today, a dictatorship that has made China much wealthier but that represses personal freedoms and is plagued by corruption. The Chinese government claims to represent China's land, people, and history, but many in Hong Kong do not fully accept that claim. This is shown by another survey (Au and Cheung 2004), showing that half of university students surveyed feel love for their country, while half don't: 70 percent of the half of respondents who claimed to love their country said they loved Chinese culture, and 68 percent the Chinese people; but only 14 percent claimed love for the Chinese government, and just 3 percent claimed love for the Communist Party.

This is why so many schools in Hong Kong have been slow to implement flag-raising ceremonies and other national rituals: despite widespread feelings of pride in being Chinese, there is no mandate for fervent expressions of loyalty towards the current Chinese state. As we will discuss later in this chapter, the teachers and administrators we interviewed generally felt reluctant to instill uncritically patriotic sentiments in their students; and education into national identity in Hong Kong, although steadily increasing year by year, remains much less prominent today than in countries such as the United States and mainland China. One reason for this is ideological, as just discussed. However, there is also a very practical reason why patriotic education is not yet strongly emphasized in Hong Kong: it conflicts with the examination system, and as a teacher maintained, "In Hong Kong schools, what is not on the examination is not important." To better understand this situation, let us examine the structures of education in Hong Kong, and the place of civic education within those structures.

The Hong Kong education system and national identity

The Hong Kong education system in its structure largely follows the British system; this was the case decades before the handover, and continues today. The great majority of schools in Hong Kong are not government schools, but are government-aided; they tend to be religious (most often Christian) or from charitable organizations or trade groups (Adamson and Li 2004). The first nine years

of schooling are compulsory, and further education generally depends upon passing public examinations: first the Hong Kong Certificate of Education examination, then, two years later, the Advanced Level examination, which largely determines whether students will be able to continue their education at university. (Some 18 percent of Hong Kong secondary school students now go on to universities in Hong Kong: a smaller number go overseas for university study; others enroll in sub-degree programs in Hong Kong.) The curriculum is set by the Hong Kong government's Education and Manpower Bureau, as advised by its Curriculum and Development Council, and is thus centralized, in accordance with examinations. There is considerable curricular freedom within schools, but all schools must focus upon the core academic subjects tested in the examinations, that largely determine students' futures and to some extent schools' own futures.[4]

This is key to why civic education in schools has proceeded only to a partial degree. Fairbrother notes how, before 1997, "teachers were primarily concerned, even burdened, with teaching subjects that were publicly examined, and additional civic education was not seen as a priority" (2003: 45). The situation today seems little changed; as one education researcher told us, "There are lots of new courses in secondary school concerned with civic education; national identity is one of the elements of such courses…. Universities in Hong Kong don't consider these courses as prerequisites, so they're not taken that seriously." As another researcher said, "Civic education is the least important subject in the eyes of both students and teachers."

This is apparent in the recent history of civic education in Hong Kong, which Morris has outlined (2002: 46–54, 1997: 107–25). In the period 1945–65, the colonial government, having tenuous legitimacy, kept the curriculum largely depoliticized. Civic education classes scrupulously avoided discussion of contemporary issues, since both the communists in China and the nationalists in Taiwan (after 1949) disdained colonial rule and had the potential to destabilize it. National identity, whether Chinese or British, was distinctly avoided, and civic identity was taught very much in the abstract, as entailing citizens' commitment to the status quo. Between 1966 (when the Star Ferry riots took place, as discussed in Chapter 2) and 1984 (when Hong Kong's return to China was decided), civic education attempted, more than before, to instill a sense in students of belonging to Hong Kong. However, it continued to be depoliticized, partly because of the desire not to offend mainland China, but even more because schools competed to attract students who sought to study subjects that would enable them to pass the examinations. Morris characterizes this as control not by the state but by the market: the competition of schools for students (2002: 48).

Only after 1984 "did the culture and contemporary politics of Hong Kong become valid items for inclusion in the school curriculum" (Morris 2002: 50); but this was controversial. Some in Hong Kong sought to make Hong Kong students proper citizens of China, while others sought to make them aware of their place, within "one country, two systems," as Hongkongers. As Tse has written

(2004a: 185), while some educators argued for "strengthening nationalistic and patriotic education in schools … [and] inculcating the younger generation with national identity, pride and loyalty," others sought "more emphasis on the role of civic education as democratic education and accorded priority to the notions of democracy and human rights." The 1996 *Guidelines on Civic Education*, as Lee has noted (1999: 320), linked civic identity to national identity for the first time in Hong Kong, and emphasized the importance of instruction in national identity. After the handover, Hong Kong's chief executive, Tung Chee-hwa, spoke specifically about the need to make Hong Kong Chinese (Morris 2002: 51–2), and advocated civic education so that youth "would have national pride as Chinese and be willing at all times to contribute to the well-being not just of Hong Kong but also the entire Chinese nation" (Tse 2004a: 189).

The school curriculum has changed accordingly: in the years after 1997, as Tse has summarized (2004a: 189, 2004b: 68–9), civic education was reintroduced as a school subject (although not a compulsory one, and one today taught only by a minority of schools). School syllabuses and curriculum guidelines were revised to emphasize students' Chinese identity; Chinese history was strengthened as a subject; Putonghua (Mandarin Chinese) instruction was instituted; English was downplayed as a medium of instruction. These changes have for the most part been not dramatic but incremental; but with each passing year, education into national identity becomes a larger part of the curriculum. In 2004, a new set of curriculum changes was announced. Kindergarten students were to be the target of the program "I love China," aiming to develop "a sense of belonging to the country, a respectful attitude to the national flag and national anthem" and to encourage students "to cherish and observe the traditional Chinese culture" (China.org.cn 2004). In the primary school curriculum, within the subject known as General Studies, a new strand entitled "national identity and Chinese culture" has been added throughout the six years of primary education; in the secondary school curriculum, the new subject of Liberal Studies features several new units dealing with national education (China.org.cn 2004).

Textbooks at both secondary and primary school levels now focus on China much more than in the past, in a wide range of subjects. While there are various competing publishers, all in common have practiced a degree of self-censorship in portraying China in a positive light (Lo 2004: 170). Secondary schools, teaching in a wide range of subjects, have switched from emphasis on Europe to emphasis on "the mother country as a model" across the curriculum. To quote a teacher of geography: "The appearance of maps of China has increased to the extent that you can find them in almost every unit in the textbooks of every form.… It wasn't like that a few years ago." It seems that in Hong Kong today, "nationalistic education … [has] been given higher priority than educational concerns for democracy, human rights, rule of law, global education and critical thinking" (Tse 2004a: 189):

> Obviously the major purpose of the state project [in Hong Kong education today] is to create unquestioning political commitment and strengthen social

> order through the promotion of a unifying Chinese identity and values to the
> exclusion of a distinctive Hong Kong cultural identity and individual rights.
>
> (Tse 2004b: 61)

However, it is not easy for the government to do this, both because of what actu-
ally goes on in the classroom apart from the plans of curriculum makers, as we
will shortly see, and because of the nature of Hong Kong as a society.

The Education and Manpower Bureau, the government department
responsible for education in Hong Kong, is not able to function in an autocratic
way. While outside observers may sometimes assume that the government
(which, after all, is not a democracy) unilaterally mandates a new educational
policy and teachers have no choice but to carry it out, this is not the way things
work in Hong Kong. As an educational researcher told us, "EMB receives criti-
cism every time they promote a new program … sometimes avalanches of resis-
tance…. When there is criticism, EMB amends and steps back…. Yet the
discontent is mostly constructed and dramatized by the mass media." EMB does
indeed try to work on the basis of community consensus, but of course, the
community has many incommensurable voices. In November 2004, Secretary of
Education and Manpower Arthur Li was asked by a pro-democratic lawmaker
whether a new program for kindergarteners, "I love China," would teach kinder-
garteners "to distinguish between 'I love China' and 'I love the Communist
Party of China,'" (LCQ 20: 2004); his negative response was critically reported
in newspapers (Yau 2004). A few months later, he was asked by a pro-China
lawmaker why Hong Kong was not more actively promoting national identity in
its schools, leading him to affirm, among other things, that selected Hong Kong
youth would be chosen to participate in a Military Summer Camp with Chinese
People's Liberation Army Forces (LCQ 6: 2005). To some extent, anyway, he,
and the Education and Manpower Bureau as a whole, must placate both sides.

There are two unique aspects to educational practice in Hong Kong, one
relating to language of instruction, and the other to the way history is taught.
Despite the fact that students are overwhelmingly Chinese, and speak Cantonese
as their native language, English has until recently been the language of instruc-
tion from secondary school on (or in any case, the language of textbooks if not
necessarily of classroom usage: Vickers 2003: 46). This situation was often
decried, but remained, largely because parents and their children alike came to
see English not as a colonial language, but as the language of world business,
that they must master in order to have a bright future. In 1998, Tung Chee Hwa
set forth a new policy, requiring all but some 25 percent of secondary schools to
use Cantonese instead of English as the language of instruction. This was acade-
mically sound, since students learn best in their own language, but socially divi-
sive, since it ran the risk of enshrining a two-class system of schools, with only
the academically top class allowed to have general course instruction in English.
Many parents were infuriated, and Tung later backtracked, allowing the schools
targeted for mother-tongue education to revert back to English in later grades if
they so chose.

While recent research has shown that those who study in Cantonese get better examination results in all subjects but English (*South China Morning Post* 2004), "it is a fact of life that parents prefer an English education for their children … It will be a futile exercise to [try to] convince parents otherwise" (Cheng 2005). It is now often said that students in Hong Kong need to be biliterate – Chinese and English – and trilingual: Cantonese, Mandarin, and English (since Cantonese is a distinctly different oral language from Mandarin).[5] One recent policy suggestion has been to make Mandarin the language of education; but while Mandarin has become increasingly popular in Hong Kong, this policy, if enacted, would no doubt set off another firestorm of protest, and would probably "be seen as another act of enforced patriotism" (*South China Morning Post* 2003). Indeed, as one Chinese-language newspaper columnist proclaimed, "You, as government officials … want the next generation to learn Mandarin…. We, as parents, oppose you: we want the next generation to speak mouthfuls of English!" (M. L. Ho 2001). [6]

A second unique aspect of Hong Kong education lies in the way history is taught. In Hong Kong, history is not a single subject, but is divided in two: History (i.e., world history, which until recently has in large part meant European history), taught in English, and Chinese History, taught in Chinese. Vickers (2003) has discussed "the politics of history as a school subject in Hong Kong" over the past four decades. The division between History and Chinese History was a product of the 1950s, he writes, stemming from the political lack of legitimacy of the colonial government, which was afraid of ideologies of the communist mainland being taught to students. It thus obligingly collaborated with conservative Chinese educators in Hong Kong to allow a Chinese History curriculum emphasizing didactic teaching about a depoliticized Chinese culture (Vickers 2003: 52–3); this was in contrast to the History curriculum, which focused much more on critical thinking. Chinese History has been criticized for teaching students to blindly identify themselves with a monolithic, timeless Chineseness, but by most accounts the mode of instruction, encouraging the memorization of names and dates, mitigates any such effect. History, on the other hand, has taught critical thinking, but about a part of the world that for many students was exotic, if not irrelevant.

Hong Kong's own history was for decades not taught, before recently emerging, not without contention, as a part of History, as opposed to Chinese History. This is significant in a symbolic sense: Hong Kong in its historical treatment is thereby aligned with the critical history of the West as taught in Hong Kong rather than with the rote learning of Chinese history as taught in Hong Kong. However, this points out the difficulties in using history in the school curriculum as a means to teach national identity in Hong Kong: Which history? Whose history?

The teaching of history has clearly shifted since the handover, not least in its vocabulary. From before the handover, publishers of textbooks prudently switched to politically correct terminology – for example, "mainland China" became "Inland China" and "Taiwan" became "Taiwan province" (Lo 2004: 170). In the new HKCEE world history syllabus unveiled in 2004, Hong Kong's

earlier status as a colony is denied; the four competing textbooks that cover this syllabus tend to use the term "colony" only in quotation marks (W. Yeung 2004). As a secondary school teacher said to us, "How should I teach my students? If students write that 'Hong Kong was a colony' on their examinations, is that a mistake?" Events such as the Tiananmen Square incident of 1989 are discussed, but neglect to mention the Chinese military's use of force in killing hundreds of protesting students (L. Yeung 2004). While most older students know full well what happened in Tiananmen Square – each year on 4 June there continue to be vigils in Hong Kong drawing tens of thousands of people memorializing those killed at Tiananmen Square, protests widely covered in mass media – it seems that they will not learn it from their school texts.

The foregoing has described the large-scale structures of education in Hong Kong, but we cannot fully understand from this how education into national identity actually takes place. Instead, we must examine how teachers and students describe the teaching and learning of national identity in the classroom.

How national identity is actually taught in Hong Kong schools

The most effective way to teach national identity, one practiced by countries across the globe, is to teach it uncritically at an early age. Through flag raisings, anthem singings, pledges of allegiance, history told as heroic myth, and other such training, a taken-for-granted love for country can be formed, that serves as a bedrock that subsequent, more critical, training may never shake. In Hong Kong today, even almost a decade after the handover, many secondary school students have been exposed to national education only recently; they lack any previously inculcated taken-for-granted basis of love. However, for their younger brothers and sisters the situation may be different. The Hong Kong government seems to base its preschool training on the idea that "if you teach them early enough to love their country, that sense will remain with them," and in this, they are probably correct.

We have mentioned the "I love China" campaign for kindergarteners organized by the government for implementation in 2005; the government had earlier distributed to all kindergarten teachers a CD containing the Chinese national anthem to be played for their students. As one kindergarten teacher told us:

> When the children first heard the national anthem in class … they were excited and laughed aloud. Compared to the soft, light songs they usually learned, it was totally new to them; they rarely listen to songs that are so strong and impassioned…. I taught them the proper way to behave when listening to the national anthem, that they should stand and be serious. They could do this after practicing a few times.

This teacher explained the significance of flag and country as follows: "I tell my students that Hong Kong is like a baby and China is like her mother. The baby

needs to go back to its mother. That's why Hong Kong is part of China." Still, she said, "the idea of a country that they belong to escapes them…. It's too difficult; it's too abstract." Indeed, national identity is not much emphasized within civic education in preschool: as another kindergarten teacher said, "the curriculum is more about how to be a good citizen, such as being honest and being considerate of others." Nonetheless, in their civic education these children learn that the Chinese national anthem and flag and country are serious in a way that little else is in their experience: they do not have to stand at attention during other classroom activities. In this sense, the national anthem may represent an initiation in schooling into that which is sacred.

The regimen of examinations in Hong Kong schools begins from primary school on, and several primary school teachers we spoke with said that they didn't have time to teach about national identity, given all the other requirements of the curriculum. Teaching the national anthem and about the national flag are mandated, as is Chinese history. But while a few schools raise the flag every day, many more do so twice a year; while some schools emphasize education into national identity, many others do the community-accepted minimum. This difference is partly explicable in terms of principals' and teachers' own attitudes towards their country. A primary two (second grade) teacher told us, "I tell my students that they have a country now and they should love it"; but a primary four (fourth grade) teacher said, "I'll ask students to read more about their country, and know more news about their country. But I'll avoid saying 'love'…. You can't say to students, 'Hey, please love your country!'" The level of instruction into national identity seems minimal in most primary schools. As one teacher told us, "Civic education now … is just nurturing people to have a sense of belonging to their country…. It's not brainwashing…. We're just talking about how we are all Chinese and China is our country. The teaching is really mild."

This seems true; and yet even this relatively mild instruction into national identity can throw teachers and students into confusion. One primary school teacher reported how, when students were drawing the national flag, "some asked me if they were allowed not to follow the exact colors; I said fine…. They then colored it beautifully, using their own creativity": as if one's flag is a matter of one's own preference, to be made mauve or pink as one chooses. More seriously, one of the most proudly Chinese of all the teachers we interviewed, a woman in charge of formulating civic education policies for her primary school, was troubled by the Chinese national anthem: "I can't love the song because it talks about hurting others…. This totally contradicts my Christian faith. The song is really bothering me: it's so violent!" Many national anthems are violent – consider "the bombs bursting in air" of the United States' "Star-spangled Banner" – and the Chinese national anthem, whose lyrics are about repelling the Japanese invaders of World War II, is no exception. But of course few citizens ever question or even notice this violence, except in Hong Kong, where teachers like this woman do not take symbols of national identity for granted but call them into question *vis-à-vis* their other deeply held values.

Secondary school in particular in Hong Kong is a time of intense academic pressure. A secondary school teacher wondered why national identity was not yet a subject for examinations: "Why hasn't there been a change in the examination system, to ask about national identity? I don't know – I think it's strange that they don't ask about it." In fact, most liberal societies don't directly ask about national identity in their examinations, focusing on more objective topics;[7] but the teacher's point seems valid in the Hong Kong context: unless examined, national identity will not be taken seriously, by teachers and students alike. Within the tested curriculum, national identity can be taught most directly in Chinese language and Chinese history classes, we were told; but some teachers of these subjects questioned whether even examinations could help inculcate national identity: "I teach Chinese Language and Literature…. Some of the passages in the text deal with love for the country … but since students only focus on examinations, they don't think about national identity but only about their trouble in studying." But perhaps subliminally, such passages may indeed have a significant effect.

Aside from the practical difficulties of teaching national identity in an examination-oriented curriculum, there are also political difficulties. As a researcher into educational policy told us:

> The guidelines of the Education and Manpower Bureau for Chinese history have many aspects of China that teachers should teach, including communism. However, the teachers make an effort to avoid controversy…. They don't touch sensitive political issues; they don't ask the students to think about why they should love a dictatorship. Instead they focus on the cultural aspects of China. China has a long history and many things they should be proud of – that's what they tell the students. They don't tell students about China today.

Chinese History is becoming progressively more up-to-date in the Hong Kong curriculum, but overtly political elements are not yet on examinations (and were they to be on examinations, there would be an outcry); thus teachers can afford to neglect them. Some do not neglect them: we spoke with one secondary school teacher who insisted on teaching contemporary Chinese history by bringing her class newspaper and magazine articles about the more tragic aspects of recent Chinese history, including the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution, and Tiananmen Square. She said, "I don't directly tell students, 'These are the bad things the Chinese government did' – I just present the facts." Another teacher reported how the Tiananmen Square incident was a definite focus in his class, emphasizing the terrible injustices the Chinese government inflicted on its citizens. But these teachers were exceptions among those we interviewed; most seemed burdened enough by the demands of teaching and the pressures of oncoming examinations not to create potential extra trouble for themselves.

Aside from the formal, tested curriculum, there are also the untested aspects of the curriculum – flag raising, anthem singing, and trips to mainland China –

that may also be effective in shaping students' senses of national identity. How much schools actually engage in flag raising is difficult to know, because the issue is such a political football. According to one 2004 survey of Hong Kong schools carried out by a pro-Beijing group, only 45 percent held any flag raising ceremonies during the school year (Yeung and Kwok 2004); but they no doubt have their reasons for perhaps underestimating how much flag-raising actually takes place. Our own, informal surveys of students reveal that virtually all of their schools have a flag-raising ceremony at least once a year, and more often two to three times a year – although this remains notably infrequent compared to the patriotic invocations, whether flag raisings or pledges of allegiance, in schools in countries such as mainland China or the United States.

Some teachers, students, and researchers we've spoken with indicate that students remain not very strongly affected by the flag. A researcher working on a project for instilling national identity in schools said: "Until recently, teachers found that most students don't have the sense to respect the flag, and may chat or joke when the flag is being raised…. But recently it's been changing. At least now they can endure the long ceremony and stand still." One teacher told us that during flag-raising ceremonies "We teach that students should respect China's flag just as they should respect any nation's flag." But with each passing year, the sense of the nation seems to be settling further in. In another teacher's words: "There's something special in our school this year. From now on, we don't just listen, but sing the national anthem. Students felt unnatural at first when they had to sing it, but they complied…. Their feelings are changing." However, this teacher still contrasted students in Hong Kong to those from other countries:

> When Americans, for example, see their national flag, they react immediately, without hesitation. They respond from the bottom of their hearts. But if you look at Hong Kong people, the national anthem may only remind you of those TV dramas in the past where they've turned all the lyrics into jokes. And even if you find some primary school students, when they hear the national anthem, the most they can tell you is that they can identity the song. But do you think they can react like those kids in America? Have you seen them turning serious … the instant they hear the anthem? Not at all …

Nonetheless, it seems clear that there is a progression of feeling taking place, with the national anthem year by year becoming students' *own* anthem.

There are also school visits to the Chinese mainland, visits extolled by educators and mass media seeking to encourage identification with the mainland (Leung 2002). One researcher discussed the difference between the Hong Kong students who visited rich areas of China and those who visited poor areas. "For those who visited poor areas, they feel they have to help China because 'we're all Chinese.' For those who visited richer areas, they … let go of their stereotypes; some see China as now better than Hong Kong." This researcher asked parents of students who visited richer areas how they felt about their children's

trip, and found that "they were … disappointed. They wanted the kids to have some hardship in mainland China, so that they could know how lucky they were living in Hong Kong. They were surprised by the high technology of the mainland schools." This sums up a critical aspect of Hong Kong attitudes towards China: If China is seen as poor, then Hong Kong people can feel secure in a sense of common nationhood within which they can maintain a feeling of superiority; if China is rich, then it can be admired, but even more, it may be seen as threatening.

The comparison of Hong Kong with China through these visits was widespread. Another teacher said, "When you ask students … most of them found that China isn't as poor as they think; they lose their stereotypes. But when I went to Shanghai, students highlighted their bad experiences in China. And teachers too complained about the poor hotels and traffic: they reinforce students' bad image." It is difficult to judge the extent to which such comments reflect the actual situation, and how much they reflect many Hong Kong people's "defensive superiority complex": a complex that is definitely eroding, as we've seen in earlier chapters, but that still remains. On many of these school trips, activities are planned that involve mainland and Hong Kong students working together; but the outcome of such activities can lead not to feelings of commonality but of difference, we were often told, with Hong Kong students not intermingling with mainland students, but remaining separate. Sometimes this was a matter of language: the Mandarin of Hong Kong students, used to speaking in Cantonese, was far inferior to that of the mainland students, and so the Hong Kong students felt shy about speaking in front of their fellow Chinese. But the difference was also a matter of culture. As one indignant teacher told us, "The mainland students talk about their society and country, but our Hong Kong students only think about shopping and playing." This teacher wanted to teach his Hong Kong students about Chinese history by taking them to an array of museums, but they showed no interest, preferring instead to hunt for souvenirs.

In interviewing university students, we have sometimes found a dramatic split in their recollections of secondary school trips to China. In one not atypical interview with two students, the first said that because of his trips to China, his love for his country had grown: "I know that I have an identity to face the world now." The second said that when she traveled to China, she came to feel not love for her country but revulsion: "There are many slogans saying that communism is best. I found those very strange." These students did not argue about their country, and told me that students almost never argued. Simply, whether one loved one's country or not was not a collective duty but a matter of personal taste, like one's choice of consumer goods in the market. While it seems clear that school trips to China increase students' knowledge of China, the extent to which these trips increase love for China remains an open question. But then, what exactly does it mean to "love China"?

What kind of "love for the country" should be taught in Hong Kong schools?

Hong Kong people as a whole are changing in their acceptance of education into national identity. This is most clearly shown through a comparison of responses to a survey conducted in 1998 and again in 2005 (Hong Kong Transition Project 2005: 19). In 1998, 73 percent of Hong Kong respondents felt that the political history of the People's Republic of China should be taught in Hong Kong schools; 43 percent felt that there should be patriotic school plays or lessons, and 20 percent felt that the flag should be raised and the national anthem sung every day in school. In 2005, these percentages were 75 percent, 50 percent, and 31 percent respectively.[8] Thus, by 2005, half of Hong Kong respondents supported patriotic instruction in schools, and almost a third of respondents sought daily flag and national anthem ceremonies – although close to 40 percent, a plurality, opposed this daily display. There is somewhat more fragmentary evidence that students themselves are coming to "love their country" to a greater extent than in the past. One survey (*Ming Pao* 2002b) found that 40 percent of first-year secondary school students said they loved China, as did less than 30 percent of more senior students; another survey found that 62 percent of secondary school students said they loved China, up from just 54 percent the year before (*Hong Kong Economic Times* 2004). A degree of skepticism may be called for – mass media reports in Hong Kong seem to readily shift between proclamations of young people's newfound patriotism and excoriations of young people for their lack of patriotism. Nonetheless, a shift is undoubtedly taking place.

One potential barrier to this shift is the teachers themselves; when we asked them to speak personally, most disavowed loving their country, at least in its contemporary form. In one teacher's words, echoing many more, "Yes, I love my country, but not the Communist Party" – many teachers expressed love for the Chinese "race" or tradition, but almost none we interviewed, even from "pro-China" schools, expressed love for the Chinese state today. This was expressed as ambivalence among many teachers: as one said, "Do I love my country? … Well, what exactly do you mean by 'love my country'?" His ambivalence stemmed from his uncertainty over whether "country" referred to nation and tradition, which he did love, or current state, which he did not.

In part, this ambivalence is explicable in terms of a generational shift. These teachers grew up in a colonial era that shaped their view of country; thus how can they convincingly portray their love of country to their students? (These teachers also are of an age to remember vividly the Tiananmen Square incident.) As one student told us, "My Chinese History teacher said that she loved the days when British ruled Hong Kong…. How can she teach us Chinese History?" As another said, "My teacher in Chinese literature always complained that students don't love their country, but actually she doesn't really love the country…. She was born in Hong Kong and was influenced by the British government, so she can't feel love for China, she told me." These students felt skeptical about instruction into national identity by teachers they saw as being, to some extent,

hypocrites. Following their argument, it may be decades before teachers in Hong Kong untainted by colonialism may sufficiently love their country to be able to teach their students such a thing.

The problem, however, is not simply teachers, but students themselves, we were told, who may be uninterested in patriotic education: "Whenever we talk about the political aspects of China, students lose interest, and actually find it boring. We get the same comment every year," said a teacher in a "pro-China" school. To at least some extent, teachers and students alike need to be receptive to the teaching of national identity before any such teaching can stick. Most observers of Hong Kong education agree that a sense of national identity does need to be taught and learned in Hong Kong schools – Hong Kong now belongs to a nation, like almost everywhere else in the world, and this new situation needs to be reflected in the education students receive. However, where critics and observers very much disagree is over what kind of training this should consist of. We spoke with a researcher working for a program to promote national identity in schools:

> We organized a workshop last year, and a teacher raised the question, "Should we tell the students to identify with a dictatorship?" … We don't want the students to blindly identify with the country. When they identify with the country, they should think about why they should do so.… There's been an argument recently inside my group investigating the instilling of national identity in schools. The argument was over whether it's indoctrination for students to learn to love their country, to love China. I personally don't think it is indoctrination. When they are born, they are living in China, not anywhere else; and so we want to introduce China to them. In my view, they can love or hate China; I just don't want to indoctrinate them.

In fact, education into national identity necessarily involves indoctrination: when students learn to sing their national anthem or to stand before their flag, they are clearly being indoctrinated, immersed in propaganda. However, on the basis of such indoctrination, they may be taught in different ways: asked to wholeheartedly accept their country and all it does ("You should be happy to sacrifice yourself for your country whatever it asks of you") or instructed to be more detached and critical ("This country is not always right in its actions; as a citizen you have a responsibility to critically examine what it does"). It is fair to say that China in its education into national identity is closer to the former pole, while Western liberal democracies are closer to the latter pole. Hong Kong has yet to decide how to approach this issue. Vickers (2003: 234) writes that "the return of Hong Kong to Chinese rule has brought with it the expectation on the part of pro-Beijing elements that history will be used to promote an uncritical state-centred patriotism among local people." However, the teachers we interviewed disavowed any such heavy-handed instruction.[9] In one secondary school teacher's words:

> Students in our school are independent. It's not like you can tell them want
> to think…. Even if teachers say a hundred times "you should love your
> country," the students judge for themselves. You can't force students to
> love China…. Hong Kong is a pluralistic society. People have freedom in
> what they think

Even those teachers who are strongly in favor of developing a sense of Chinese
national identity in Hong Kong felt that this cannot be done through exhortation
alone; students must be trained to see both the positive and the negative aspects
of China, and make their own judgments accordingly. As a secondary school
teacher of civic education told us:

> The methods I've used to increase students' sense of national identity
> include introducing positive aspects of China … things that can make stu-
> dents proud of their country. But at the same time that we stress the positive
> things, we also stress the importance of reflective thinking. We should
> object to things that are wrong. We should learn to question, to be skeptical.

In another civic education teacher's words: "Yes, I expect that there will be
progress in shaping students' senses of national identity. But objectively, I think
that our country has to do better…"

China is indeed "doing better" in Hong Kong eyes today. Most older students
in Hong Kong are aware that mainland economic initiatives have kept the Hong
Kong economy afloat in its recent years of economic downturn; they are aware
that mainland tourists, now some half of all visitors to Hong Kong, make up an
important economic lifeline; they may watch the television dramas described in
Chapter 4, showing mainlanders in a far more favorable light than the programs
their parents or elder brothers and sisters once watched; and they are aware
through their schooling of the glories of Chinese civilization. But most students
are also aware of China's current problems: its Communist Party, its lack of rule
of law and of human rights, the widespread prevalence of corruption, and the
continuing poverty of many of its people. Almost every teacher we interviewed
emphasized the importance of teaching students to think critically about their
country; accordingly, students may calculate whether or not they should love
their country, adding and subtracting in their minds the various above-men-
tioned factors. They may use the model of the market ("you should choose for
yourself what you like, according to your own personal preferences") rather than
the model of the state ("you should love your country because it is your country
that you belong to") – this is how they teach "national identity" to their students.

We have discussed at points throughout this book the market orientation
through which many in Hong Kong view China, seeing love of their country not
as a sacred duty but as a personal consumer choice. To take a further example of
this market mentality, a newspaper article (*Ming Pao* 2002c) quotes a secondary
student as describing his fellow students as "utilitarian when talking about
nationalism. When they talk about the good side of the country, they feel proud

and claim themselves as Chinese. But when they talk about the dark side of the country … they emphasize their Hong Kong identity." Mainland Chinese authorities, looking at Hong Kong's people's love for their country, may have good reason to feel that critical patriotism is only "sunshine patriotism": patriotism felt at times of triumph but not at other times. Hong Kong students and teachers, still immersed in the discourse of the market, do not yet know what love of country really means, they may with some justification feel.

Hong Kong is continuously changing, as we've seen in this and other chapters. Today Hong Kong people are indeed increasingly willing to see themselves as Chinese, something that is only natural, since Hong Kong has returned to China after 150 years of colonialism. But the underlying issue remains: what is the relation of the Chinese state to the Chinese nation and people? A teacher we interviewed spoke of this issue with perceptiveness: "Is loving China equivalent to loving the Communist Party? I think these two should be separate, but in reality they can't be separated." Because the Chinese state teaches Chinese people to love the Chinese nation, the relation between state and nation is obscured: the state wants citizens to believe that it represents the nation, but does it? But on the other hand, can the nation be imagined apart from the current state, since that state has shaped the current Chinese nation? The relation of state to nation is the "hot potato" that still cannot be touched in Hong Kong education today: to say that the state represents the nation goes against the views of the majority of Hong Kong people, but to say that the state does not represent the nation is politically unacceptable. Thus Hong Kong education into national identity remains suspended in an ambiguous middle, extolling "love of country," but unable or unwilling to specify what exactly "country" means.

6 Hong Kong people's changing comprehensions of national identity

We have discussed in the last two chapters how Hong Kong senses of national identity are being molded by the mass media and by the educational system in Hong Kong; but we have yet to fully examine how Hong Kong people comprehend their new national identities. This and the following two chapters examine Hong Kong people's perceptions of their new national identity, first in terms of a number of broad surveys as well as focused interviews of a few Hong Kong people at large (this chapter), then in terms of how Hong Kong university students understand their national identities as compared to university students from mainland China and the United States (Chapter 7), and then through an examination of Hong Kong people's interactions in south China, in the country that is their new national home (Chapter 8). These three chapters enable us to understand in different yet interlocking ways how senses of national identity are being shaped in Hong Kong today.

In this chapter, we examine the changing perceptions of the Chinese nation among Hong Kong people during the years of transition after Hong Kong was returned to China in 1997. As we saw in Chapter 4, television has shifted from an earlier emphasis on the gap between a modern Hong Kong and a primitive China to a new emphasis on a strong and powerful Chinese nation, for which Hong Kong is no more than a special administrative region with a colonial past. As we saw in Chapter 5, schools have begun increasingly to stress Hong Kong's Chineseness, and its new belonging to a nation, both through the formal curriculum and through flag-raising ceremonies and visits to the mainland. What we do not yet fully understand, however, is the extent to which Hong Kong people are incorporating these new portrayals of the Chinese nation and Hong Kong's place within it into their own perceptions of who they are. This chapter explores the processes through which Hong Kong people are coming to feel they are Chinese.

Based on six sets of surveys conducted in 1996–2002, with additional data from 2006, with all surveys designed and conducted by Ma and his colleague Anthony Fung, this chapter focuses on the evolving senses of national identity among Hong Kong people.[1] In the first part of the chapter we explore the ways in which Hong Kong people identify themselves as Hongkongese, as Chinese, or as something in between; and we explore the various attributes Hong Kong

people ascribe to "Hongkongese" and "Chinese" identities, to better understand the complexities of the constructions of "self" and "other," or for some today, "smaller self" and "larger self." We also examine how Hong Kong people feel about prominent icons of cultural and national identity in China and in Hong Kong, such as the Great Wall and the People's Liberation Army. In the last part of the chapter, we turn from statistical surveys to interviews, in order to more fully trace out the complexities of how a more or less representative sample of Hong Kong people describe their identities.

What we will find in this chapter is that while the senses of identity of Hong Kong people have remained relatively stable before and after 1997, as have too the cultural dimensions of national identity, the political dimension has shown considerable change. Before the handover, Hong Kong people often said that Chinese national and military icons triggered a feeling of unease, but this has gradually decreased. At the same time, however, Hong Kong people's sense of difference from the mainland, particularly in terms of political values, remains marked. Our interviews show an even more complicated picture. People who call themselves Chinese might criticize the Chinese government; those who call themselves Hongkongers might talk enthusiastically about their weekend shopping trips to southern China. In short, "learning to belong to a nation" is not a straightforward process; rather it is refracted through individuals' personal histories and attitudes into complex and intermingling layers of acceptance and rejection.

Before exploring these themes, let us briefly review Hong Kong identity *vis-à-vis* China over the past decades. Hong Kong identity, as we've seen in Chapter 2, emerged in the 1970s without any nationalistic imperative: there was no emphasis that one *should* belong to a nation. Political movements in China were largely prevented from influencing the colony (although they occasionally did, as in the 1967 riots), and the colonial government sought no political commitment from its subjects. By the late 1970s, Chinese nationalism was beyond the cultural frame of reference for the large majority of local Hongkongers, with the exception of small groups of pro-communist and pro-Taiwan activists. Thus Hong Kong developed an indigenous cultural identity, which was affiliated with a territory, a way of life, and a general identification with a commonly accepted set of values. This Hong Kong identity had no nationalistic component, nor did it have a political affiliation with any sovereign state: certainly not Great Britain, and for most, not China either.

The state that Hong Kong people might have been most attached to was China, but because many in Hong Kong had fled China, this did not come about; and indeed, Chinese identity was stigmatized or ignored in the 1980s. This was readily apparent in the mass media, as we saw in Chapter 4, and in schooling as well, as we saw in Chapter 5. Today, popular movies may feature mainland heroes who are modern, sophisticated, and superior to local Hongkongers, and some soap operas emphasize the virtuous character of mainlanders associated with the Chinese tradition. However, the question that remains is this: How much has this shift in media discourse in recent years come to be echoed in how Hong Kong people think about China, and feel about "belonging to a nation"?

The differentiation between mainlanders and Hong Kongers

The large majority of Hong Kong people are themselves immigrants from China or descendants of recent immigrants; while many fled political chaos in China, many have also held a deep sense of kinship with their fellow Chinese on the mainland, as discussed in Chapter 2. But as was also discussed, from the late 1970s on, many Hong Kong people began psychologically to distance themselves from mainland Chinese. The cognitive distance between Hongkongese and Chinese became an important indicator of indigenous cultural identity: the greater the distance between Hong Kong people's self-image and their image of Chinese, the stronger their sense of belonging to the localized culture of Hong Kong became. Previous research on Hong Kong identity by local researchers, as outlined in Chapter 1, has portrayed a useful picture of the dual nature of Hong Kong/Chinese identity (e.g. Wong 1996; Lau 1997, 2000; Mathews 1997, 2001b). In recent years, these two categories have become blurred, with the middle categories of "Hongkongese but also Chinese" and "Chinese but also Hongkongese" becoming increasingly important (Lee and Chan 2005). What needs further explanation is what "Hongkongese" and "Chinese" mean as identities, as we will explore in the pages to come; but first let us offer our own surveys of identity (see Table 1):

Respondents of our six surveys between 1996 and 2006 show a relatively stable pattern of identification, with some 20–30 percent saying that they are Hongkongese and a broadly similar percentage saying that they are Chinese.[2] The figures from 1997 were exceptional, with a high percentage of 32 percent saying that they were Chinese, a percentage no doubt related to the 1997 return of Hong Kong to China and the high profile of the reunification ceremony; but the percentage claiming Chinese identity thereafter declined, diminishing to a low of 18.6 in the 2006 survey.

What has happened instead, a trend apparent in many of these years but particularly in the 2006 survey, is that both Hongkongese and Chinese identities are giving way to the mixed identities of "Hongkongese but also Chinese" and "Chinese but also Hongkongese." The most prominent category of identification has been the category "Hongkongese but also Chinese," claimed by 38.1 percent in 2006. The category "Chinese but also Hongkongese" was claimed by 21.2

Table 1 Self-proclaimed cultural identity of interviewees, 1996–2006 (%)

Cultural identity	1996	1997	1998	1999	2002	2006
Hongkongese	25.2	23.2	28.8	22.8	24.8	21.5
Hongkongese but also Chinese	32.9	31.8	30.0	35.8	36.0	38.1
Chinese but also Hongkongese	14.7	11.6	15.6	17.0	14.5	21.2
Chinese	25.7	32.1	24.5	23.5	23.6	18.6
Other	1.5	1.3	1.1	0.9	1.1	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(No of respondents)	(769)	(302)	(527)	(533)	(500)	(1007)

percent of respondents; thus almost 60 percent of respondents of the 2006 survey claimed a double identification, as both Hongkongese and Chinese. At the same time, the percentages of those claiming to be Hongkongese/ Hongkongese but also Chinese, as opposed to those claiming to be Chinese/Chinese but also Hongkongese, are almost exactly the same in 2006 as in 1996: 58.1 versus 40.4 percent in 1996, and 59.6 versus 39.8 in 2006. In this sense, we do not see any clear shift of identity away from Hongkongese identity and towards Chinese identity.

From a worldwide standpoint this shift towards a double identity seems unsurprising, as we discussed in Chapter 1; after all, many Shanghainese have no trouble claiming that they are both Shanghainese and Chinese, just as Parisians are also French and Londoners also English. But the situation in Hong Kong has been different: Hong Kong identity has in many respects been opposed to Chinese identity. This double identity in Hong Kong is a recognition of a common cultural tradition as well as a new political reality linking Hong Kong to China, but it is also an expression of tension. In a Hong Kong context, an identity claimed as "Hongkongese but also Chinese" may indicate for some, "Yes, we're Chinese now, but more important, we're Hongkongese, not like those Chinese over the border …"

Scholars of cultural identity (Calhoun 1994; Hall and du Gay 1996; Jenkins 1996: 90–118) have discussed how the concept of "other" has been deployed to draw a line of inclusion and exclusion in identity politics. This has certainly been true in Hong Kong. In our surveys conducted between 1996 and 2002 – we return to our 2006 survey later in this chapter – we operationalized the concept of "other" by mapping the identity distance between Hongkongers and mainland Chinese. The first part of the survey, exploring Hong Kong and Chinese identity as under- stood by Hong Kong people, measures these identities in terms of sixteen values (increased to twenty-two in 1999 and 2002) on a five-point scale (1 strongly agree, 2 agree, 3 neutral, 4 disagree, 5 strongly disagree). Hong Kong people were asked to what extent these different values belong to Hong Kong people and to what extent they belong to mainland Chinese people. From the difference in perceived values, we can explore, in Table 2, Hong Kong people's cognitive distance between the image of "Chinese" and of "Hongkongers":

Hong Kong people tend to have a good evaluation of their local identity, these surveys reveal; they associate themselves with the positive values listed in the survey. Since the mid-score is 3.0, those scores below 3.0 indicate a positive evaluation, while those above represent a negative evaluation. Evaluating them- selves, Hong Kong people have tended to score lower than the mid-score on most items, except on the qualities of "humble" and "patriotic." In general, Hong Kong people perceive themselves as "practical," "adaptable," "clever," "ambitious," "valuing freedom," and "Westernized." These items have scores around 1.5 to 2.2, a quite positive evaluation. In contrast, Hong Kong people are less positive in their evaluation of mainland Chinese. In general, they think that mainland Chinese are less disciplined, less outspoken, value freedom less, and are less "Westernized" than Hong Kong people.

Table 2 Hongkongers' perception of differences between Hongkongers and mainland Chinese (%)

Character trait	1996			1997			1998			1999			2002		
	HK	Mainland	Difference	HK	Mainland	Difference	HK	Mainland	Difference	HK	Mainland	Difference	HK	Mainland	Difference
1 Ethical	2.69	3.22	−0.53	2.73	3.21	−0.48	2.91	3.30	−0.39	2.85	3.32	−0.47	2.71	3.38	−0.67
2 Friendly	2.50	3.03	−0.53	2.46	3.12	−0.66	2.63	3.11	−0.48	2.63	3.12	−0.49	2.62	3.18	−0.56
3 "Civilized"	2.30	2.99	−0.69	2.38	3.01	−0.63	2.46	3.08	−0.62	2.54	3.08	−0.54	2.50	3.04	−0.54
4 Humble	3.11	3.16	−0.05	3.16	3.13	−0.03	3.12	3.14	−0.02	3.16	3.18	−0.02	3.14	3.14	0.00
5 Optimistic	2.47	2.80	−0.33	2.38	2.84	−0.46	2.57	2.83	−0.26	2.55	2.78	−0.23	3.04	2.63	+0.41
6 Self−discipline	2.49	3.52	−1.03	2.37	3.49	−1.12	2.63	3.45	−0.82	2.66	3.54	−0.88	2.53	3.42	−0.89
7 Sympathetic	2.13	3.13	−0.10	2.23	3.15	−0.92	2.32	3.12	−0.80	2.31	3.24	−0.93	2.30	3.19	−0.89
8 Tolerant	2.55	2.60	−0.05	2.28	2.48	−0.20	2.47	2.64	−0.17	2.48	2.63	−0.15	2.49	2.67	−0.18
9 Ambitious	1.93	2.81	−0.98	2.00	2.68	−0.68	2.15	2.77	−0.62	2.26	2.61	−0.35	2.43	2.42	+0.01
10 Adaptable	1.79	2.60	−0.81	1.82	2.84	−1.02	1.89	2.73	−0.84	1.90	2.73	−0.83	2.08	2.74	−0.66
11 Clever	1.87	2.69	−0.82	1.99	2.76	−0.77	2.06	2.85	−0.79	2.13	2.82	−0.69	2.15	2.84	−0.69
12 Practical	1.75	2.29	−0.54	1.91	2.31	−0.40	1.91	2.38	−0.47	1.84	2.25	−0.41	1.90	2.26	−0.36
13 Outspoken	2.61	3.54	−0.93	2.52	3.62	−1.10	2.60	3.49	−0.89	2.42	3.40	−0.98	2.44	3.33	−0.89
14 "Westernized"	2.09	3.56	−1.47	2.13	3.81	−1.68	2.10	3.53	−1.43	2.13	3.48	−1.35	2.07	3.30	−1.23
15 Independent in thinking										2.37	3.02	−0.65	2.34	2.87	−0.53
16 Valuing freedom										1.76	2.36	−0.60	1.78	2.42	−0.64
17 Open−minded										2.14	2.92	−0.78	2.15	2.90	−0.75
18 Valuing privacy										2.07	3.05	−0.98	1.90	3.05	−1.15
19 Valuing equality										2.03	3.11	−1.08	1.90	3.00	−1.10
20 Valuing free speech										1.82	3.11	−1.29	1.78	3.00	−1.22
21 Valuing press freedom										1.82	3.23	−1.41	1.80	3.10	−1.30
22 Patriotic	2.78	2.43	+0.35	2.83	2.39	+0.44	3.04	2.49	+0.55	2.98	2.46	+0.52	3.09	2.27	+0.82

The contrasting values of "patriotic" that Hong Kong people ascribe to themselves and to mainland Chinese are particularly interesting. In all five surveys over the years 1996–2002, there is a persistently clear difference (+0.35 to +0.82) between Hong Kong's perception of mainlanders and their own self-perception of being "patriotic." It is notable that the gap in perceptions of being "patriotic" grew larger over the course of the five surveys, more than doubling over their span – suggesting that the pressure that mainland and Hong Kong leaders have been exerting on Hong Kong people to become more patriotic towards China, as well as mass-media emphasis on Hong Kong's Chinese national identity, may instead be increasing the gap that many Hong Kong people feel between themselves and mainland Chinese.

Through the most recent survey in 2002, Hong Kong people have still held a distinct local identity, judging from these marked statistical differences in the attributes they ascribe to themselves as opposed to those they ascribe to mainland Chinese. However, for at least some characteristics, the identity distance between Hongkongers versus mainlanders is narrowing: Hong Kong people by 2002 have come to see mainlanders as just as ambitious as Hong Kong people, a marked difference from six years earlier. Another marked difference is that in the 2002 survey Hongkongers saw, for the first time, mainland Chinese as being more optimistic than themselves, reflecting Hong Kong's economic downturn as opposed to the rising economy of mainland China. The attraction of a great Chinese national market is for Hongkongers an easy exit from widespread pessimism in Hong Kong due to its declining economy in the initial years after 1997. This attraction to the Chinese national market clearly does not mean, for Hong Kong people, growing attraction to the Chinese state; but it may signify an alternative route to Hong Kong people's "learning to belong to a nation."

In the 1999 and 2002 survey, we added a few new items to tap the rising concern among Hong Kong people over political reform: the decolonization and re-sinicization processes since the 1990s have led many Hong Kong people to demand democracy. On items such as "valuing free speech," "valuing press freedom," "valuing privacy," and "valuing equality," there is a very large gap indeed between Hong Kong people's self-perceptions and their perceptions of mainlanders, as there is too in such attributes as "outspoken" and "Westernized"; Hong Kong people remain very sensitive to the contrast between the authoritarian Chinese state and free and pluralistic Hong Kong society. On the other hand, there is to some extent a convergence in such values as "ambitious," "adaptable," "practical," and "clever" over the six-year course of these surveys: in these senses, Hong Kong people are indeed being absorbed into the big Chinese nation. All this indicates a complicated negotiation by Hong Kong people of their national and local identity. Despite the emphasis in much of the mass media on Hong Kong as a seamless part of China, there does remain a visible and distinctive Sino-Hong Kong identity border. Interpreting these values, we may say that Hong Kong perceptions of Hong Kong–mainland differences are narrowing in terms of economic values – those of the market – but are still very conspicuous in terms of political values: those of the state. Hong Kong

people see themselves as similar to mainlanders in terms of the market – just as Hong Kong has had a "market mentality" for several decades, so too increasingly does the mainland, a frontier of capitalist values, as Hong Kong people well recognize – but as very different from mainlanders in terms of the state: Hong Kong people value the attributes of freedom that Hong Kong allows but that the Chinese state does not, and see themselves as distinctly different from mainland Chinese in this respect.

Let us end this section on a methodological note, to examine the assumptions of this survey. The design of the survey, with its dichotomous framework of Hongkonger versus mainlander, was the product of the 1990s; but this framework seems a little detached from the reality of the 2000s, when Hong Kong has been facing the political reality of integrating with a pluralized mainland China. Ma's research assistant, who did the telephone interviews in the 2002 survey, faced occasional challenges from interviewees who questioned the framework of the Hong Kong–mainland binary distinction. They commented, "Mainland Chinese are diverse, how can you ask a general question about the image of mainland Chinese?" When asked about their impression of mainlanders, some respondents asked the interviewer to clarify and elaborate: "Who are you referring to? Mainland intellectuals, government officials, rural people, or the urban rich?" This questioning is part of the changing map of a much more diversified national imagination, which will be the focus of Chapter 8.

Identity, icons, and emotions

Hong Kong people do continue to have a strong cultural identity with a distinctive ethos, one that they perceive is fundamentally different from that of mainland Chinese. However, as we saw in Chapter 4, much of Hong Kong's mass media has increasingly emphasized Hong Kong's Chineseness. Since the early 1990s, as the transfer of sovereignty of Hong Kong back to China became a *fait accompli*, the media have been flooded with icons and images of China, mixing and blending with existing Hong Kong icons. The adoption of and resistance to this new Chinese national identity are reflected in responses to various cultural and national icons.

People's senses of the nation tend to be built around icons and symbols, which are emotional anchors of identification. National identification is not only an attitudinal or cognitive process; it clearly has an emotional aspect that binds individuals into a collectivity. Scheff (1994) points out that discussions of national and cultural identity – for instance, Anderson's concept of "imagined community" (1983) – mostly focus on the cognitive, saying little about feelings and emotions, which are important components of national and cultural identity. In this part of the survey, we selected icons of national sovereignty that have frequently appeared in the media, particularly on television, and asked Hong Kong people about their emotional reactions towards these icons. These icons, grouped in categories of cultural, national, and military, include the Great Wall of China, the People's Liberation Army, Public Security (police) in China, the

national flag, the national anthem, the Great Hall of the People, and the Emblem of the Special Administrative Region (Hong Kong SAR). We asked Hong Kong respondents over the decade 1996–2006 about their feelings of pride, affection, and unease towards these icons: respondents could choose more than one, or none at all. Respondents were asked to answer on a five-point scale, with 1 representing no feeling and 5 representing strong feeling. The results are shown in Table 3.

The Great Wall, which has a strong presence in Chinese history, is the most illustrative cultural and historical icon among all those listed. Throughout the ten years covered by the survey period, Hong Kong people persistently show high respect and affection for this national icon. In the five surveys, 73–9 percent of respondents say that they have pride in the Great Wall, and 50–9 percent say that they feel affection towards the Great Wall – the percentage of identification with the Great Wall is far greater than for any of the other seven icons of China. This implies that most Hong Kong people strongly identify with the cultural and historical aspect of the national collectivity – although it also shows that a minority of Hong Kong people have no positive emotional attachment towards what is the single most important historical symbol of Chinese identity.

Mandarin is the Chinese national language, but Hong Kong people usually speak Cantonese in their everyday life. Mandarin-speaking people were considered outsiders in the 1980s and 1990s, when local Hong Kong cultural identification was strong.[3] Before 1997, mainland immigrants with a Mandarin accent reported being treated as inferiors by Hong Kong people. Since the mid-1990s, however, many Hong Kong people have become more receptive to Mandarin as the national language, and reports of discrimination have diminished. The ability to speak the national language has become a career requirement, as well as, to some extent today, a cultural and political mandate. The figures of the survey show that there has been a significant increase in the sense of pride in the Chinese national language: from 18.6 percent in 1996 to 34 percent in 2006. In one of the fourteen interviews later discussed, one informant, Ms Dong, expressed this change of cultural sentiment in personal terms. She came to Hong Kong from Beijing when she was twenty-two and had been living in Hong Kong for thirteen years at the time of the interview. In order to avoid being stigmatized as a mainlander, she tried her very best to "erase" her Beijing accent and blend into the Cantonese-speaking community when she first arrived. After 1997, she gradually began to feel that Mandarin had become a competitive asset rather than a stigma. She is now a sales executive at the Hong Kong International Airport and finds that she earns respect for being able to speak fluent Mandarin. "For the first time I feel proud of my mainland origin," she exclaimed. The shift in social sentiments concerning the national language is one of a number of indicators of the gradual process of cultural nationalization in Hong Kong.

The above cultural aspects of nationalization are quite acceptable to most Hong Kong people, but other aspects have not been so acceptable. Military icons such as the People's Liberation Army and Public Security in China symbolize

Table 3 Hong Kong people's perception toward icons of China and Hong Kong. Percentage of respondents giving 4 or 5 points on a 5-point scale

Icons	Pride						Affection						Unease					
	1996	1997	1998	1999	2002	2006	1996	1997	1998	1999	2002	2006	1996	1997	1998	1999	2002	2006
Chinese cultural																		
Great Wall	77.9	78.8	74.0	78.5	79.3	73.3	59.4	56.0	50.3	54.1	54.1	53.6	1.3	0.3	1.3	1.7	1.2	1.6
Mandarin language	18.6	21.3	19.9	28.0	25.2	34.0	29.6	32.1	28.0	33.0	34.9	33.0	3.4	2.6	2.8	1.7	3.6	1.8
Bank of China	29.6	29.6	23.6	28.9	32.1	29.3	21.8	23.8	17.3	21.4	27.0	21.5	2.6	0.7	1.8	2.2	1.8	2.9
Chinese national																		
National Flag	30.6	30.1	24.9	29.9	31.1	47.6	32.4	34.1	26.0	29.8	32.3	42.6	6.6	4.7	4.6	2.8	4.4	3.8
National Anthem	39.1	40.1	28.3	36.0	38.1	48.2	39.3	40.1	29.6	35.7	40.2	44.7	4.4	3.6	4.6	3.0	4.0	5.3
Great Hall of the People	21.3	26.2	17.5	23.7	25.4	27.8	16.9	18.3	11.2	15.4	20.8	21.1	6.6	3.0	2.1	3.5	3.0	3.7
Chinese military																		
People's Liberation Army	10.0	13.6	13.7	16.5	18.9	28.8	7.0	9.6	11.6	13.2	15.8	20.5	30.3	10.9	9.3	8.5	10.9	7.5
Public security (police)	3.0	2.7	4.4	4.5	7.2	6.7	2.7	3.7	4.2	4.3	5.3	5.9	38.9	24.8	19.7	20.7	18.9	24.5
Hong Kong																		
Emblem of the SAR	12.0	29.2	16.3	18.3	19.3	29.2	15.3	26.2	18.8	20.2	28.2	33.0	6.1	5.0	4.2	3.4	2.8	3.3
Night view of Victoria Harbor	72.5	72.5	59.3	62.3	63.5	64.3	76.1	76.3	66.0	67.8	69.8	65.7	1.0	0.3	2.0	1.5	1.4	1.5
Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank building	30.9	32.3	29.9	29.2	34.0	34.9	36.7	36.6	29.1	32.0	33.6	32.7	1.4	1.7	1.4	1.0	1.6	1.1

national sovereignty, and appeared prominently in the discourse of national reunion before and after the handover. But these are the two icons about which Hong Kong people felt most uncomfortable at that time, according to our surveys in 1996, with 30.3 percent of respondents saying that they had an uneasy feeling towards the former and 38.9 percent towards the latter. Military icons tend to represent the state more than the nation. In times of stability, the military may be seen as symbolizing both the power of the state and the greatness of the nation. But in Hong Kong, the discrepancies between identification with the nation and with the state are sharp, as we've seen, and Hong Kong people have tended to feel a sense of belonging to the former but not to the latter.

This, however, has been significantly changing. In the 1990s, negative sentiments were most intense following the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989. These sentiments lingered on in the 1990s, but by now have been for many in Hong Kong replaced by a friendlier image of the PLA, one that has been carefully cultivated by the ruling Communist Party. Their public relations exercises include open days of the PLA camps in Hong Kong, public performances featuring singing and dancing male and female soldiers, and national rituals performed by well disciplined troops. Accordingly, the percentage of respondents feeling unease toward the PLA dropped from 30.3 percent in 1996 to just 7.5 percent in 2006; percentages of respondents feeling pride went from 10 percent in 1996 to 28.8 percent in 2006, and affection from 7.0 in 1996 to 20.5 in 2006. However, Public Security, perhaps because of the many accounts of Hong Kong businesspeople being detained in China, continues to arouse far more unease than pride or affection among Hong Kong people, not just in 1996 but in 2006 as well: 24.5 percent of Hong Kong respondents in 2006 felt unease towards Public Security in China with only 6.7 percent feeling pride and 5.9 percent affection.

National icons include the national flag, the national anthem, and the Great Hall of the People in Beijing – three icons associated with the Chinese government. One of the most notable shifts that we see between 2002 and 2006 has been the growth in pride and affection towards the national flag and national anthem. Between 1996 and 2002, the percentages feeling pride or affection were quite stable; but then between 2002 and 2006, the percentages feeling pride in the flag zoomed from 31.1 to 47.6 percent, and affection 32.3 to 42.6 percent; the percentages feeling pride in the national anthem climbed in this period from 38.1 to 48.2 percent. It appears that the Hong Kong government's video of the flag and national anthem shown on television every night, as described in Chapter 4, and the increasing attention to the national flag and anthem in school curricula, as described in Chapter 5, are having a marked effect – although a majority of respondents still do not feel pride or affection towards the national flag and national anthem. The Great Hall of the People, the imposing Beijing building where the National People's Congress meets, has yet to evoke the same degree of positive feeling from Hong Kong people as the national flag and anthem, despite heavy media exposure in Hong Kong. All in all, although Hong Kong attitudes are in a process of transformation, Hong Kong people apparently

continue to feel more positive towards the Chinese nation in cultural and histor-ical terms than towards the regime that they or their ancestors once fled.

Our interviews, as we will shortly discuss, showed a complex mix of enthusi-asm and ambivalence towards these national icons. Some informants say they have been momentarily moved by the televized national anthem during soccer games and sport competitions. One says he had the experience of standing up in front of the television at home when the Chinese national flag was hoisted and the anthem sung during a televized soccer game. What is interesting about this particular informant is that he was born and educated in Hong Kong in the colo-nial years and does not show any pro-China or pro-British political inclination. He, like most other interviewees, is hesitant in saying that he is proud of the above national icons, but in this instance, anyway, his pride did clearly show.

In our interviews, informants were shown a picture of the flag-raising cere-mony that takes place in Hong Kong's Golden Bauhinia Square every morning,[4] and were asked to comment. There were some interesting reactions, such as "I'm not patriotic, what can I say? It's a bit embarrassing to say 'I love my country'!" "People may be moved [by the ceremony], but the word 'moved' is too sentimen-tal." "Yes, I am a bit … moved sometimes, but you know what? I'm a rational guy … Being moved is just a momentary thing." "That ceremony is funny. It is a show for [mainland] tourists … Hong Kong people are just too busy." These reactions illustrate how many Hong Kong people do not feel an emotional reac-tion to national and military icons: they feel embarrassed by expressions of love for country, preferring reason, coolness, and distance over emotional closeness. Such emphasis on emotional distance is not necessarily characteristic of Hong Kong attitudes in general, as can be seen, for example, in the histrionics of Can-tonese popular love songs. Rather, this attitude of emotional distance relates to China, the national state. "Love for country" may be thought of as a passionate emotion for many people in the world; certainly for many mainland Chinese, as well as many Americans, this love is not reasoned but rather felt, and felt deeply. Most Hong Kong people tend not to feel this way, as the above examples show us; it is as if they view the country with the cool rationality of the businessperson assessing a product. This is "the market mentality" of many Hong Kong people, used here to keep one's country at arm's length.

We also considered respondents' feelings towards a few Hong Kong cultural icons; with these we see a similar pattern of strong cultural but somewhat weaker political identification. In the 1996 survey, people in general had neither unease nor affection and pride towards the SAR emblem, signifying that Hong Kong is a Special Administrative Region of China. The level of identification has significantly increased particularly in the 2006 survey, but remains compara-tively low, at 29.2 percent feeling pride and 33 percent feeling affection. In the interviews, we collected comments about the SAR emblem such as "It's ugly." "The color is odd." "I like the [British] crown more." Hong Kong people do have a strong emotional attachment to local cultural icons such as the night view of Victoria Harbor, the world-famous shot gracing tourist guides, and, to a lesser extent, the headquarters of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank (HSBC)

building. The level of pride for the local cultural icon of the night view of Victoria Harbor (some 60–70 percent) rivals that of the national cultural icon, the Great Wall (some 70–80 percent) – although it has somewhat decreased during the years of the survey, perhaps because of increasing Hong Kong air pollution in recent years. We see something even more striking when we compare the 2002 level of pride for the national flag (31.1 percent) to that of the local Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank building (34 percent). The national flag is the very symbol of the state but in 2002 commanded only the same level of emotional identification as did a local landmark: a symbol of international and postmodern architecture, local connectedness with the global economy, and a market system originating from colonial power. An icon of the market in Hong Kong, in short, gained as much emotional allegiance as the primary icon of the state. The 2006 survey, as earlier noted, shows a marked increase in pride and affection for the national flag and national anthem – in this most recent survey the flag and anthem have vaulted ahead of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank building in inspiring pride and affection, apparently indicating the growing influence of the discourse of the state in Hong Kong today.

The survey results as a whole give us a complicated but discernible picture of the nationalization process. Hong Kong people in general have mixed feelings towards cultural, military, and national icons of China; they highly identify with cultural and historical symbols but remain somewhat reluctant to accept political and military symbols of the nation. This, however, may be significantly changing, if the 2006 survey is any guide.

We have, however, other 2006 survey data that cast a somewhat more layered light on the process of "learning to belong to a nation" in Hong Kong. We also asked our respondents about their feelings of pride/affection/unease towards four entities that, in a more abstract sense, constitute China: the Chinese people, the Chinese market, the Chinese government, and the Chinese Communist Party. What we found is shown in Table 4. These results show that Hong Kong people's positive emotions are highest towards the Chinese people, a distinct second towards the Chinese market, and a close third towards the Chinese government; the Communist Party is viewed distinctly negatively, with more respondents feeling unease than pride or affection. These findings may be read as implying that while the Chinese people are the major source of positive emotion towards China felt by over half the Hong Kong people surveyed, the Chinese people may be seen as represented by the Chinese market or by the Chinese state and government. The latter define the more conventional sense of "belonging to a nation," since the state is commonly thought of as representing "the people"; but the Chinese government is essentially linked to the Communist Party, with all its negative associations, and so the market may perhaps serve as an alternative path to such belonging. To convincingly demonstrate this, more evidence is needed, which the chapters to come explore.

We also asked our respondents, on a ten-point scale, to compare how much they love Hong Kong, the Chinese nation, and the Communist Party. These results show that Hong Kong people's love for Hong Kong significantly

Table 4 Hongkongers' perceptions towards aspects of China (%)

Aspect	Pride	Affection	Unease
The Chinese people (*zhonghua minzu*)	55.2	53.4	3.0
The Chinese government	25.7	21.5	9.2
The Communist Party	10.4	8.3	24.0
The Chinese market	30.9	19.9	6.1

Table 5 Hong Kong people's sense of love for Hong Kong, the Chinese nation, and the Communist Party: average score

Love for:	
Hong Kong	7.52
The Chinese nation	6.49
Communist Party	2.91

outshines their love for the Chinese nation; this parallels the statistics on cultural identity that we examined above, with emphasis on Hong Kong exceeding emphasis on China as the basis for identity. Clearly, however, the Chinese nation inspires significant positive feelings, as the Communist Party does not; the meaning of China for respondents is clearly different from that which the Communist Party seeks to set forth.

Let us now turn from surveys to personal histories and experiences, to gain a fuller understanding of how a new national identity is being negotiated in Hong Kong in a variety of complicated and ambiguous ways.

Personal histories and the nation

In changing societies like Hong Kong, there are various narratives of the nation set forth in the mass media as well as in schooling that people can use in explaining their personal histories. As discussed in Chapter 4, the earlier dominant narrative was that of a modern Hong Kong versus a primitive and authoritarian China; this has been gradually replaced by a new narrative of a once colonial Hong Kong returning to a great and rising Chinese nation. However, this new narrative has its own contradictions and complications. The cultivation of nationalism and the call for patriotism in Hong Kong mass media have powerful undercurrents, such as stories of human rights violations, interference with press freedom, and corruption scandals in China, that counter the formation of a sense of "belonging to nation" among Hong Kong people. From the 500 respondents of the 2002 survey, we selected fourteen interviewees with diverse backgrounds to talk about their personal histories and perceptions of Hong Kong and China. These interviewees were selected to represent the range of Hong Kong attitudes towards China revealed in our surveys. Generalizing from these interviews, we have identified four different ways in which Hong Kong people

have responded to their new belonging to a nation: antagonism, pragmatic re-nationalization, liberalized nationalism, and reactivated patriotism. These are analytic categories, and individual Hongkongers may have mixed modes of nationalistic sentiments; but let us analyze each of them in turn.

Antagonism

Out of the fourteen interviewees, three feel distinct antagonism towards China, seeing mainlanders as outsiders and the mainland as a foreign land. Ms Wong (a pseudonym, as are all names of informants) is a divorcee in her thirties. She is a prison guard and doesn't visit mainland China. "Mainlanders are uncivilized; they are dirty." "There are lots of beggars [in mainland China]; they rob you and grab your legs. They are scary." All her life she has been living in a village at Yuen Long, away from the central city areas of Hong Kong, and just a few miles from the mainland border. "Men in the village go to the mainland to look for wives and mistresses; nine out of ten Hong Kong men fool around there." "Mainland women are cheap, they fish for Hong Kong men." As a prison guard she has extensive contact with mainland prisoners (some 30 percent of prisoners in Hong Kong are mainlanders arrested while temporarily in Hong Kong) who, in her words, "are lazy, damned lazy." Although she doesn't show any loyalty to the colonial government, she does think that Hong Kong under British rule was better.

Ms Leung is a widow in her early fifties. She was born in Hong Kong and is a true believer in the so-called "Hong Kong spirit" of earning a decent living by working hard. As a single mother, she has been supporting her family, working as a low-paid worker in various factories all her life. She doesn't like mainlanders and would never think of retiring in the mainland, even though such a choice would make economic sense for a woman of her income, since expenses tend to be several times cheaper on the mainland than in Hong Kong. When talking about national icons, she says she likes the British crown a lot and thinks that the Chinese national flag and the SAR emblem are a bit strange-looking. Another interviewee, Mr Chan, is a university student in his early twenties. Like the other two interviewees in this group, he strongly adheres to the British colonial legacy of the rule of law, free speech, and bureaucratic rationality, attributes he sees as lacking in China; and indeed, he doesn't like mainlanders in general. He thinks the national flag is ugly and going to the mainland is "risking your life."

These three interviewees represent those who continue to perceive a sharp Hong Kong/mainland differentiation; they see mainland China as a primitive, authoritarian, and even evil place. This de-nationalized discourse cannot accommodate the fact that Hong Kong and the mainland are now coming increasingly together on various social, cultural, and economic fronts. One reason why these three informants still uphold this de-nationalized discourse is that they all have limited mainland experience, whether as a cause or a consequence of their negative views towards China. While two of these interviewees have less mobile

social positions, and relatively limited and restrictive everyday experiences, the third, the university student Mr Chan, has a more cosmopolitan outlook. Like a number of students and a number of Hong Kong middle-class people, the focus of his yearning is not China but societies such as Japan and Europe: the "modern world" to which, in his view, these societies as well as Hong Kong belong, but to which China emphatically does not. This attitude towards China has faded in Hong Kong as compared to its heyday in the early 1990s, as discussed in the last chapter, but it does clearly continue among a minority of Hong Kong people.

Pragmatic nationalism

Six of the fourteen interviewees expressed what can be called "pragmatic nationalism." They selectively use the new discourse of re-nationalization, adopting the language of nationalism not as a moral duty but as a functional necessity. Mr Lee, now in his early fifties, is a former manager of the MTR (Metropolitan Transit Railway: Hong Kong's subway) Corporation, working there for more than twenty years. "MTR was great. The welfare was great. They took care of my entire family. MTR runs an efficient system mainly because of the British experts." He very much values the British system of doing things and the colonial government's ability to manage a modern and efficient city. However, he also repositions himself as a member of the Chinese nation. "We local-born Hong Kongers were not treated as British citizens. The British sold us out. Now we have a [Chinese] nation. Having a nation is very important. I don't need [the British] to pity us. Now we are nice and decent Chinese. We have a nation after 1997; for better or for worse, we have our own nation. We are no longer refugees." Nonetheless, he still talks enthusiastically about the British system, such as the rule of law, effective anti-corruption measures, and modern management. He has bought a home on the mainland for his retirement because property prices there are low. He stays there for some months of the year, but he always come back to Hong Kong for medical services because "Hong Kong has a quality guarantee" – in his view, Hong Kong medical services can be trusted, as medical services on the mainland cannot.

Ms Fung is an immigration officer in her late thirties. She has been serving on the Hong Kong–mainland border for many years and has extensive first-hand experience with the transborder population flow. "You can't make a sharp distinction between Hongkongers and mainlanders nowadays. Many Hong Kong men have families in the mainland and rush to work in Hong Kong every morning. You have teenagers rush to Shenzhen discos and bars every night." "In those [colonial] days, British travelers were very arrogant. I hated them. They thought they had privilege because Hong Kong was a colony." "Now we can choose to be a Chinese. We have a nation." But she, like others in this group, doesn't show any strong nationalist sentiment. She says, "The flag-raising ceremony in Hong Kong is strange and funny." "There are some good things the British left us."

These interviewees show their nationalist sentiments in a flexible fashion; several of the people in this category have extensive contact with mainlanders,

and are exploiting new career and market opportunities on the mainland, but at the same time, they show a certain degree of ambivalence. "You may not think that China is a great place, but it is good to have a nation, to back you up," says Mr Yip, a middle-aged businessman. Another interviewee, Mr So, a hair stylist, says, "Freedom is the most precious thing in Hong Kong. The mainland is too restrictive; you can't speak your own mind. But I like to go back to the mainland with friends to eat lychee. It's cheap and good. And I work there part-time as a hair stylist, too." In this group, the interviewee who is the most flexible and pragmatic in exploiting national identity is an engineer, Mr Lam. He was born and educated in Hong Kong, migrated to Canada in his early twenties, and is now in his early thirties. He is working in a Hong Kong company, which requires him to visit China frequently. He doesn't identify with Hong Kong, China, or Canada wholeheartedly. He thinks China is huge and it is difficult to say whether he likes mainlanders or not. "My friends from Beijing University are nice and knowledgeable. But those workers from rural areas are rude. They won't move a finger unless you kick them, like kicking a dog." "I don't trust mainland newspapers, I read Hong Kong newspapers." "I feel like a king in China." "Canada is more carefree." "The Hong Kong SAR logo (emblem) is ugly." He is what Ong has labeled (1999) a "flexible citizen."

This group of interviewees has a range of mobile social experiences in Hong Kong and in China. The previous discourse of de-nationalized antagonism to China is too detached from the unfolding social reality for them to feel comfortable with. However, strong nationalism is too official and rigid for them to adhere to. Instead, they mix and match various discourses about the Chinese nation to fit their own career objectives and personal agendas. Their brand of nationalism is pragmatic, flexible, and situational; it is a market-based brand of nationalism, the discourse of the state as filtered through the discourse of the market.

Liberalized nationalism

There is a group of Hong Kongers who have a fuller perception of the nation than local-born Hong Kong people. They are those who migrated to Hong Kong from the mainland in different eras.[5] Growing up under the rule of the strong Chinese communist state, these Hongkongers have had to reformulate their national identity and adjust to life in the capitalist society of Hong Kong. Many of those who migrated to the colony in the 1980s or 1990s had to suppress their mainland identity because of the strong discrimination against mainlanders. The return of Hong Kong to China in 1997 reactivated their national identity. To them, the discourse of nationalization is more complicated because they have had to consider Hong Kong's new national identity in light of both their previous personal experiences of nationalism on the mainland and their more recent experience of the liberal society of Hong Kong.

As introduced earlier, Ms Dong came to Hong Kong twenty-some years ago, when she was thirteen. She tried her best to hide her Beijing accent before, but

now she is proud to speak the national language. "My mainland background gives me an extra competitive edge. I feel great now because I speak fluent Putonghua." She thinks that Hong Kong people are not very patriotic and need to love their country more. But she is very proud of Hong Kong's internationalism as well. "Hong Kong has given me a boarder vision, an international perspective," she says. Secondary school student Mr Yang came to Hong Kong when he was fourteen.[6] He was eighteen at the time of the interview and had been studying in a Hong Kong secondary school for four years. "The education system of Hong Kong has opened up my mind. Hong Kong is a place for me to think independently. On the mainland, political issues are very sensitive, nationalistic ideas are strong, people on the mainland are less flexible than Hong Kong people." "I like the statue of the goddess of justice in front of the Legislative Council in Hong Kong. There is a cloth covering her eyes. A fair society is very important." He is very much impressed by the liberalism and pluralism in Hong Kong, but he is also critical of the weak sense of the nation among young people in Hong Kong. "People here are very disrespectful in national ceremonies. In China, everyone rises in flag-raising ceremonies. Here, people don't stand up straight, they don't salute, they eat and talk…" Like Ms Dong, he thinks Hong Kong people should love their country more; he does not reflect upon the fact that the attributes he criticizes China for are the reasons why some Hong Kong people do not love their country.

Ms Lu is a new immigrant who came to Hong Kong to join her husband four years ago. For her, the idea of a rich Hong Kong and primitive China doesn't fit reality. "We live in Sham Shui Po [a poor urban area in Kowloon]. I was asked about my price on the street as if I was a hooker; there are rats and stray dogs everywhere." "When my mainland relatives come to Hong Kong, I don't want them to visit me. I don't even have a chair for them to sit on." "I have been living in Hong Kong for four years. My husband is unemployed. I stay home every day, but I bring my kids back to my mainland home every holiday. They like it there. It's more spacious. And we always bring back to Hong Kong big bags of vegetables and stuff." She shares with her mainland relatives the patriotic feeling cultivated in her upbringing on the mainland. She says that the national flag is beautiful and that the national anthem moves her very much. However, a few years in Hong Kong have also given her the chance to learn about liberal values such as equal opportunities and social rights. "For human rights, foreign countries are better than Hong Kong, and Hong Kong is better than the mainland." "Hong Kong social workers have taught me how to protest and fight for my rights. They told me that I should speak up for my own interest." "Hong Kong is good because the system is fair. Here you have rights, and the rule of law." "Hong Kong people like to queue up [unlike the mainland, where this is not generally practiced]; even when you die, you have to queue for a slot to be cremated. This is good."

This group of Hongkongers is more receptive to the discourse of re-nationalization, in that they grew up in a nationalized society, China, and see the new nationalism in Hong Kong today as to some extent a return to the values with

which they grew up. However, they are also very aware of the liberal and demo-
cratic values of Hong Kong society. Their transborder experiences heighten their
sensitivity and awareness of the social, cultural, and political differences of the
two different systems. Because of their upbringing in China, they tend to think
that Hong Kong people should be more patriotic, even though they seem well
aware of the attributes of Hong Kong that China today lacks.

Reactivated patriotism

The final group is small but dramatic. Two of the fourteen interviewees can be
considered patriots. During the colonial years, patriotism was very much sup-
pressed, and the general public saw it as taboo. Pro-China groups, leftists, and
those with strong ties with the mainland political system were marginalized by
the Hong Kong colonial government and stigmatized by the mainstream media
as political fanatics who threatened social stability. After 1997, the new dis-
course of nationalization reactivated these suppressed sentiments and the exhor-
tations of patriots have suddenly become highly visible in the media and in
social life.

Mr Tam is a union representative of a leftist group, now in his sixties. He is
very eloquent in criticizing British colonial rule: "In the 1960s, the British pros-
ecuted us and exploited the workers. We were demonstrating against the unjust
colonial system. They [the colonial government] were oppressing Hong Kong
people and hurting the pride of the [Chinese] nation. They were cruel. They beat
workers up…" "We are Chinese. Returning to the nation is a great and joyful
thing. My wife and I went to the border to welcome the People's Liberation
Army [on 1 July 1997]. Nobody instructed us to do this; we went there by our-
selves…"[7] "The British left us with nothing good. I don't have any feelings for
them. The Chinese nation is our roots…. I will contribute to the well-being of
the nation in whatever way I can…" Mr Lau, a businessman in his late forties,
has been affiliated with China since the 1970s. He did business and traveled a lot
in China when he was young. He was born in Hong Kong, but has been quite
patriotic all along. "I love my country. When I was a student many years ago,
my eyes got watery when I saw the national flag and heard the national anthem."
He found it difficult to express his patriotism in the past, but after 1997, he feels
free to talk about his love for country. For Hongkongers such as these two men,
the discourse of re-nationalization empowers them to speak their minds, as they
could not in the past, and publicly express their aspirations for China as the
country to which they belong and love.

We cannot claim that these fourteen people represent more than a very rough
chronicling of the different discourses of "belonging to a nation" in Hong Kong
today; the number of people fitting each discourse in this small set of interviews
is not meant to exactly represent the prevalence of these discourses in Hong
Kong as a whole. Nonetheless, these informants do serve to illustrate the range
of different attitudes towards belonging to a nation that are to be found in Hong
Kong today: from complete disregard for the nation, to flexible, situational

accommodation with the nation, to (for those born on the mainland) a return to the discourse of "loving one's country," albeit with appreciation for Hong Kong as "not one's country," to a reassertion of a love for nation long suppressed. These are the major discourses of "belonging to a nation" found in Hong Kong today.

Conclusion

In this chapter, by analyzing survey results and interviews, we have tried to map out Hong Kong people's reactions to their belonging to a nation. In the few years before and after 1997, as we've seen, the perceived differences between Hongkongers and mainlanders have become less prominent in the economic realm, but have remained substantial in the political ream: the identities of Hongkongese and Chinese, in Hong Kong people's views, have come closer to each other in term of capitalistic values but are still far apart in terms of democratic values.

Identity politics often involves the struggle of multiple, sometimes contradictory identities. This chapter has differentiated a set of multiple identities which are in shifting metamorphosis. Hong Kong people have a *historical Chinese identity* (Wang 1991) that is past-oriented and feeds on the pride in a more or less abstract and remote "great tradition" of Chinese civilization (e.g., the Great Wall, and traditional Chinese ethos). The people of Hong Kong also have a strong *cultural identity* – a flexible and inclusive identity which absorbs Chinese, and non-Chinese, elements as related to a set of loosely defined ways of life attached to the Hong Kong community. Hong Kong people are also now offered a new *national identity*: legal, military and political identification in relation to the sovereign state, as can be seen through cognitive and emotional recognition of popular icons. In this chapter we first mapped out in quantitative surveys how these identities interact with one another. We then further explored them through interviews. As seen in the above analysis, some local people may hold to the earlier de-nationalized discourse, seeing mainlanders as backward and uncivilized. Those who have more extensive experience with mainlanders may be more pragmatic in adopting the new nationalized discourse to their own advantages. They do not fully subscribe to the ideology of strong nationalism because they still have a strong personal history in the liberal city of Hong Kong. Another group is those who came to Hong Kong from the mainland. These Hongkongers are more nationalistic but are also sensitive to modern and democratic values. The last group is pro-China Hongkongers who were marginalized in the colonial days; the discourse of re-nationalization after 1997 has activated and legitimized their previously suppressed patriotic sentiments.

Hong Kong gives us a chance to study the nationalization processes, in which everyday experiences, perceptions, and emotions are repackaged into the discourse of "belonging to a nation" with various degree of success. We've seen in this chapter that cultural and historical aspects of identity are easily nationalized; while political and military aspects, which are directly related to the ruling state,

are relatively difficult to be naturalized and nationalized among Hong Kong people. Much of this difference is due to China and its contemporary situation, as a society with a long and illustrious civilization, and a contemporary dictatorship that while economically performing well, remains difficult to love in many Hong Kong people's eyes. Much of this is also due to the nature of belonging to any country today: it is far easier to love the nation as an abstract entity than it is to love the state, the ruling body that claims to be the nation but that may be illegitimate in many people's eyes – in this case, in Hong Kong if not in China itself.

Let us in the next chapter examine in more detail the complexities and ambiguities of "belonging to a nation" by considering the words of Hong Kong university students, in interaction with American and mainland Chinese students. What can their words, and the underlying discourses of national identity that they use, teach us about "belonging to a nation" in Hong Kong today?

7 How American, Chinese, and Hong Kong university students understand "belonging to a nation"

In the last chapter we examined the range of Hong Kong attitudes at large towards belonging to a nation; in this chapter, we consider in more depth the underlying logic of belonging to a nation through one particular group: Hong Kong university students, as compared to mainland Chinese and American students in Hong Kong, students coming from the most powerful and among the most nationalistic countries in the world. By analyzing the views of these three groups, we can see how the senses of "belonging to a nation" now developing in Hong Kong may both parallel and diverge from those held in these other societies; we can thereby come to better understand the particular and peculiar nature of "belonging to a nation" as it is developing in Hong Kong.

University students may seem atypical, an elite group in society. This may be all the more true for American and Chinese students, who were, after all, in Hong Kong rather than in their home societies. Nonetheless, these Americans, Chinese, and Hong Kong students have all been exposed to common discourses of national identity along with their fellow citizens in their societies, and these national discourses readily reveal themselves in students' words, as we will see in this chapter. For this reason, we argue that these students can be seen as more or less representative of their different societies in their views of "belonging to a nation." Although we lack the space to demonstrate this fully, all of the views expressed in this chapter can clearly be found in the mass media of these students' different societies.

In the years 2001–05, Mathews interviewed 115 students in all: twenty-two mainland Chinese exchange students, twenty-three American exchange students, sixty-two Hong Kong students, and eight students from other countries (in order to provide a means of comparison) at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Some of these interviews were conducted with Hong Kong students alone, but many were conducted in groups of three from different societies – most often, an American exchange student, a mainland Chinese student, and a Hong Kong Chinese student – so that we could see how they answered questions differently, and argued with one another.[1] We asked students questions such as these: "Do you love your country? Why? Why not? … What does your country mean to you? … Is loving your country a matter of civic duty or of individual choice? Is it OK not to love your country? … Is loving your country conditional or

unconditional? If your country does something bad, might you no longer love it? … Is belonging to your country like being in a family? A religion? A club? Or what, exactly? … When you say that you love your country, what do you love? Its land? Its people? Its history? Its culture? Its government? … Would you be willing to die for your country? Would you be willing to die for your country even if you felt that your country was wrong? … Where and how did you learn to love your country? Is it natural to love your country, do you think, or have you been brainwashed?" By analyzing the different ways in which these students of different nationalities mull over questions such as these, we attempt in this chapter to tease out the underlying discursive meanings of belonging to a nation in Hong Kong and beyond.[2]

Love for country, Hong Kong-style

The most striking and obvious difference between many Hong Kong students and their mainland Chinese and American counterparts concerns "loving one's country."

All the mainland Chinese we interviewed said, "I love my country." The majority expressed some degree of reservation towards their government or the Communist Party (in a male student's words, "I'd fight for my country, but no, I wouldn't fight for the party"), and some expressed outright disdain for these entities. However, the country was unassailable: "Of course I love my country, China. I'm Chinese" … "It's my identity; I was born in China, so I must love my country." The majority of the Americans we interviewed said, "I love my country," and all but one of those who didn't, said, "I like my country"; their fervor was somewhat less than that of the mainland Chinese, but their pride in the Unites States was readily apparent. The global reputation of the United States, during the period of these interviews, was plummeting, due to the Iraq war, and this was reflected in some liberal American students' words: "You know how you love something, but you don't really like it much? I get this feeling for my country." But with a single, highly unusual, exception no American said, "I don't care at all about my country."

The large majority of Hong Kong students, on the other hand, offered more or less hesitant answers when asked if they loved their country. In one student's words: "Do I love my country? I'm not sure. I don't know what the question means, really." Many students expressed embarrassment when they made such statements – as one said, "Of course I'm embarrassed, because I'm supposed to love my country, but I don't feel much of anything…. I wonder if it's strange not to love my country?" In another's words, "I should love China because I'm Chinese, but emotionally, I can't find any love for the motherland…. I should love China, but I see all its demerits, so I can't." These students were perplexed in not feeling the love they felt they should feel.

Other students did express love, but of a hesitant sort: "I think I love my country, but I'm not really sure." "I love China, somehow…. When I hear news about China, that they did something bad, I don't feel very proud. But I think

that I must love China, because I'm Chinese." Sometimes this expression of love was offered in conditional, situational terms: "I love my country when it wins medals in the Olympics…. I love my country when it does good things, but not when it does bad things. Then I don't love it." This is conditional love for country – the "sunshine patriotism" mentioned in Chapter 5. Some students made explicit the division between Chinese culture and Chinese politics: "Culturally I love China, but not politically" … "I love the traditions of China, the language and literature and heritage. But I don't like the political aspects, the government of China." This parallels the views expressed by some of the mainland students; but only a small number of Hong Kong students said without any ambiguity or qualifications, "I love my country," as did virtually all the mainland students. These Hong Kong students seem somewhat more skeptical towards their country than the people portrayed in last chapter's interviews – after all, university students are supposed to be skeptical. But what is striking is that the attitude towards the nation that they expressed was in such stark contrast to that expressed by the Chinese and American students in common.

This is one obvious distinction between the Hong Kong students and their Chinese and American counterparts: the hesitant nature of Hong Kong students' love for country. Another distinction is the degree of variation to be found in views of one's country. While the Americans and Chinese differed among themselves in their views of their government, their expressions of love for their country were generally similar, as if they were almost all reading from the same script. Among Hong Kong students there was wide variation. The majority of Hong Kong students – some two-thirds of those we interviewed – were in what might be thought of as "the ambivalent middle," expressing, as we've seen, hesitant love or guilty non-love for their country, or else differentiating between love for culture and non-love for state. However, the minority covered the spectrum of attitudes, from disgust at and dismissal of one's country to total heart-smitten love. A small minority of Hong Kong students, more female than male, expressed total disdain for their country, denying that they belonged to it. In one's words, "I really cannot love China. I can't control my feelings, I really don't like it at all…. China is so dirty, so horrible! Why should I belong to that?" In another's words: "What has the Chinese government done for me? Nothing. I would be ashamed to say that I'm Chinese!" At the other extreme, a few Hong Kong students – more male than female – expressed a love for their country that outshone even that of the most patriotic American students, and rivaled that of the most patriotic Chinese. In one's words, "Of course I love my country! All Hong Kong people should love their motherland!" In another's words, "Before the handover, I had no country to die for … but now I do. I'd be happy to die for my country in a war…. A love for country means that when it calls on you, you fight and maybe die." Only one of the Americans (expressing disdain for his country) and two of the mainland Chinese students (expressing total love for country) made such fervent statements.

These views broadly parallel the discourses of identity presented in the last part of the last chapter. There is the discourse of superior Hong Kong/inferior

China prominent in Hong Kong in the 1980s and 1990s, as we saw in earlier chapters, and still extant today China, for all of its extraordinary economic growth, remains today economically a developing country ("Third World," in the parlance some students used) while Hong Kong is indisputably developed;[3] China is a dictatorship that remains closed in the information it allows in, with a lack of rule of law and a paucity of human rights; Hong Kong, while not a democracy, nonetheless is one of the most open societies in the world, with a staunch rule of law, and human rights. These objective differences, as well as the ongoing legacy of several decades of prejudice against mainlanders, underlie the views of those students who feel disdain for China. There is also the discourse coming from the mainland and now adopted by some in Hong Kong, of the territory deprived by colonialism of its natural national home, and only now able to return home, to the country from which it had been stolen. This discourse too has its validity. Hong Kong people over the past fifty years have been discouraged or prohibited from acting in accord with their country, as we saw particularly in Chapter 2; only now is that no longer the case, enabling some Hong Kong people to fully and freely celebrate that they are Chinese, as do the fervently patriotic students quoted above. Most students are in the middle. They may adopt combinations of both of the above discourses, as well as the "pragmatic nationalism" discussed in Chapter 6, and the discourse of China as worthy culture/unworthy government.

We have seen two major differences between Hong Kong students and American and mainland Chinese students: many Hong Kong students remain reluctant to fully love their country, and there is a wide diversity of views towards the country among Hong Kong students. These differences seem largely due to the lack of comprehensive schooling into "belonging to a nation" in Hong Kong. Almost every American student we interviewed could instantly recite the American pledge of allegiance; most reported having recited it every school day of their primary school years. Mainland Chinese students usually experienced weekly flag-raising ceremonies and singing of the Chinese national anthem: all knew the words as part of themselves. Beyond this, American students and mainland Chinese students have both been extensively exposed to their country's history through regular comprehensive classes. National history was taught to students in a more critical way in the United States than in China, where students reported being directly exhorted to "love their country" (this difference may partially account for why mainland students exhibited a stronger degree of "love for the country" than American students), but was taught thoroughly in both countries. Most Hong Kong students, on the other hand, were not so socialized. While most Hong Kong students today have learned to stand solemnly before the flag and to sing the Chinese national anthem, their exposure to such ceremonies of the nation has generally been minimal, no more than a few times a year, as we saw in Chapter 5. While students in Hong Kong do study Chinese history, it is, for the students we interviewed, a history that stopped well before the present, and involves primarily memorization of dates, thus robbing it of much potential for instilling a sense of national identity. All

this may be gradually changing in Hong Kong, but it has not changed yet. In the absence of such comprehensive schooling, Hong Kong students are free at present to improvise their own senses of national identity or its lack. Their breadth of views reflects the array of different discourses of identity that we have described, an array available only on the fringes of Chinese and American thinking about one's country, but that now are all a part of the Hong Kong mainstream.

Why do some students so fervently express a sense of "belonging to their country" and others not? One factor, as discussed also in Chapter 6, is being born and raised on the mainland. Of the sixty-two Hong Kong students interviewed, thirteen were born in China and came to Hong Kong at some point before they began secondary school. Some of these students were noticeably more patriotic than those students who had been born and raised in Hong Kong, in that they had been to some extent trained to have a sense of national belonging in their early years of schooling. Underlying this is a more intangible factor: the sense of home and what it means. Those students who expressed total love for their country also expressed a deep need for a homeland: "You have to have a country that you belong to. If you didn't have a country, it would be like having no home": a state that they felt Hong Kong had been in before its return to China. Other Hong Kong students, however, felt no such need. In one's words, "Why do I need a country? I've had a home all my life: Hong Kong." In another's words, "I don't need a country to belong to; I belong to the world."

The hesitation of many Hong Kong students to love their country, as well as the enormous gap in Hong Kong students' views, with some totally in love with their country and others unable to comprehend such love, seems in some sense reminiscent of adolescents' views towards romance. In early adolescence, some young people fall head-over-heels in love, and are completely intoxicated by their new feelings, while others feel only indifference, like the twelve-year-old boy who says, "Who needs girls? I sure don't!" These Hong Kong students may in a sense be seen as adolescents in their new feelings towards their country, a stage of uncertainty that American and mainland Chinese students, in common well indoctrinated, do not experience. Whether Hong Kong students are thus immature in their attitudes towards their country as compared to the more mature Americans and Chinese, or whether, on the other hand, Hong Kong students have yet to be blinded by the propaganda of the nation, as have their Chinese and American counterparts, is an open question, one that we will be discussing in the final chapter of this book.

Ethnic and civic concepts of "belonging to the nation" in Hong Kong

We have emphasized above how the mainland Chinese students and American students resemble one another in their strong senses of belonging to their nation, as opposed to the weaker senses of many Hong Kong students. However, in how they comprehend their national identity, mainland Chinese and American

students seem distinctly different from one another, with Hong Kong students in the middle. This involves whether belonging to the nation is thought of as belonging to one's ethnicity, or rather, adhering to civic principle. Anthony Smith, as discussed in Chapter 1, has distinguished between ethnic and civic conceptions of the nation (1991: 11). The latter, characterized by such countries as the United States, involve choice, while the former, characterized by countries such as Japan and, to a slightly lesser extent, China, involve not choice but birth (although, as we discussed in Chapter 1, both forms of national belonging are present to an extent in every society). This was clearly seen among the people we interviewed.

Mainland Chinese students all used the metaphor of family and of blood relations to describe their relationship to their country. In one's words, "I love my country because … it's like your parents. Maybe you don't always agree with them, but you love them because they are your parents. Your country is the same way: it is your family, so of course you love it." In another's words, "We have to love our country because we're all related …" In still another's words, "I love my mother, I love my country. I don't like to use the world 'country'; I prefer 'motherland.'"

Three consequences emerge from this formulation of nation as family or as mother. First, this love, as expressed by all the mainland Chinese students we spoke with, is unconditional; in a student's words, "You don't love your mother because she does nice things for you; you love her because she is your mother." Second, this love is seen not as a choice but as a duty: just as only someone severely scarred or morally depraved would not love her own mother, so too for country: "All Chinese should love their country. If they don't, then there's something wrong with them." Third, this love is felt not as a love for the government, but rather for the country itself – the people of China with whom one is purportedly linked by blood. As noted above, many of the mainland students expressed reservations about the Chinese government, but all expressed love for their country: the country, apart from the government, is what is unconditionally deserving of love in their view.

A problem with this view is that it is the government that, through schooling and the mass media, shapes citizens to love their country; thus, is love for the country no more than government propaganda? But the mainland students were unwilling to wrestle with this, saying only, in one student's words, "Yes, it's true that the government made the textbooks. But my motherland is not the government. I can think critically about the government, but I completely, emotionally love my motherland." A major element of this love is the sense of humiliation that these students were imbued with, over what China has suffered at the hands of foreign powers. As another student said, "Since we were young, we were taught about Japan, England, the United States – what they did to China: they were liars, they did many bad things. We must overcome all this, and make China great in the world." One Chinese student came to Mathews's office in tears several weeks after her interview with a Hong Kong and American student – she said that she had repeated to her fellow mainland Chinese

students some of the skeptical arguments she had heard in the interview from her fellow students, and found herself accused of being unpatriotic: "They don't believe that there's any difference between the government and the country. Now they think I've changed; now they won't talk to me."

On two occasions, Mathews brought students from Taiwan into these interviews, which also created interesting problems. Chinese students were taken aback when these Taiwanese students said that they were Taiwanese and not Chinese – the Chinese students complained that "they're denying their identity as Chinese!"[4] In turn, the Chinese students did not know how to respond when the Taiwanese students asked why they should belong to a communist dictatorship. Ethnic commonality, the Taiwanese students were saying, is insufficient to form a basis for a common national identity (see McCrone 1998: 169); the Taiwanese students sought to belong to a nation that they felt was worthy of their love, unlike China today.

The American students did not usually use a familial metaphor in describing their relation to their country. They most often described their feeling for their country as akin to belonging not to a family but to a club (or, on one student's formulation, a "brotherhood" akin to a club), membership to which they adhered not from birth but from committed choice. In one student's words, "If an American hated his country, I guess that would be OK; but why would he be in America if he didn't want to belong to it?" These students' love – or "liking" – for their country was conditional, based on what "America" does rather than what it is: "My love for America is based on its performance. It's a matter of what it provides for its citizens…. If my country were bad, I wouldn't love it. If it hadn't really given anything to me, what duty would I have to give to it?" In another student's words, "I like America because of what it's allowed me to do, and the opportunities it has provided…. I think it's the best country to live in in the world, and that's why I have a strong liking towards it." Not all Americans were conditional in their love – one student said, "If America went crazy and nuked every country in the world, I'd still love it because it's my home" – but most were indeed conditional, loving the United States for the principles it embodied, and, at least in theory, prepared to abandon their love if it abandoned those principles. Indeed, the Iraq war and the presidency of George W. Bush caused several American students in 2005 to say that they no longer loved the United States as much as they once did.

A primary reason for the American emphasis on civic principle rather than ethnicity as the unifying basis for the nation is that Americans are manifestly not all of the same ethnic background, and thus do not "share the same blood"; thus the basis for unifying the nation must be civic principle. A negative consequence of this is that Americans of different ethnicities may not feel the same way about belonging to the United States. This was particularly apparent among some of the Asian-Americans (comprising 40 percent of the American students we interviewed), who expressed greater reservations about being American than Caucasian students. In one's words, "I don't say I'm American. I'm Asian-American…. Maybe I'm not a 'real American'…. When we're in

America, we're kind of divided…. I guess I love my country. But when you look at all the atrocities Americans have done to other peoples, you wonder, 'Is America really so great?'" But this view was held by some of the Caucasian-Americans as well: "I know too much about the founding fathers, about what they really felt, and it just kind of erased any confidence that I can have in my country."

For other American students, it was this very ability to be so critical of their country that led them to feel love for their country. In one student's words, "I love my country because I have the freedom not to love my country if I so choose…. I think you should always be critical of your country"; in another student's words, "It's all right not to love your country because that freedom is what makes us a country." A positive consequence of the civic conception of the nation is that the people who do feel a love for their country do so from a personal commitment. In one student's words,

> No one's making you live in America; you choose to live there. When the "Star-spangled Banner" is playing and you're singing along, everyone there with you has made that same choice. You feel that everyone singing with you has those same values of a homeland and a country.

Thus we see one set of values of national belonging based on unconditional love of one's family, and another on conditional love for one's polity. Hong Kong students, interestingly, expressed both these values.[5] Some Hong Kong students spoke very much like mainland Chinese students, in emphasizing their country as their parents or family. In one's words, "My country is like a family, because in a family, you can disagree with other members, but no matter how bad the situation is, you're still family, you'll still love them…. You can't quit the fact that you're Chinese." Hong Kong newspaper reports often reflect this view; as one columnist has written,

> I have slowly accepted the idea of a country that I belong to, five years after the handover. A country is just like parents. You might not agree with what they do or say, and sometimes you don't want to listen to their "instructions" but you still respect and love them.

<div align="right">(Chow 2002)</div>

But many Hong Kong students were more skeptical. In one's words: "If China is like family, it's like … my grandmother in mainland China whom I almost never see…. It's just some relative, no special feeling; I don't hate them, but I really don't care very much." In another's words, "China is like a relative that I don't see very much. It's not really very related to me."

Other students acknowledged a close ethnic bond, but denied the link between Chineseness as ethnicity and China as a country, or at least as a state and government.[6] "I am Chinese in a cultural sense, but not Chinese if you're talking about loving the government." This student, adopting the discourse

earlier mentioned of "loving the culture/not loving the state," acknowledged that Chinese ethnicity was familial, but believed that the Chinese state was illegitimate in claiming to represent this Chineseness; in another student's words, "I belong to a family of Chinese, but the Communist Party is not my mother."

Another rhetorical strategy adopted by a few students was to acknowledge that the country may be like one's parents, but to question whether country or parents deserve unconditional love: "For me, to love my parents, I must have reasons…. If my parents treat me well, I'll love them. If they don't, I won't…. My country is the same. If there are no good reasons, there's no need to love your country." As another student said, "If your parents don't treat you well, and bring you up properly, then you don't have to love them. The same is true for country." What we see here is Hong Kong students acknowledging, in their characterization of country as family, the ethnic basis of the country, but at the same time being unwilling to give that ethnic basis their unconditional love, in their insistence that it must perform well. They thus seem to combine the American and mainland Chinese conceptions of belonging to the nation, in a way that reflects Hong Kong's place "between East and West, China and the world," as proclaimed by so many tourist brochures and magazine features. This also reflects the ambiguity with which many Hong Kong people view China today: as their ethnic home and motherland, and yet as a state and government that continue to be more or less alien to them.

This tension between national identity as based in ethnicity and as based in civic principle has been readily apparent in Hong Kong in recent years. Tung Chee-hwa, Hong Kong's first post-handover chief executive, said to Western reporters after 1 July 1997, "You don't understand [the feelings of Hong Kong people about the handover]. You are not Chinese" (Mirsky 1998), and has been criticized for this: if an American or British political leader were to make a statement such as "You wouldn't understand our feelings because you're not white," there would be rioting in the streets. Tung's ethnic-based sense of the nation was unacceptable to these Westerners and also to many Hong Kong people, who assumed that all nations must be civic-based. However, other Hong Kong people welcomed such claims, as indicating that Hong Kong was finally free of its colonial mentality, to once again belong to its ethnic home.

This debate continues today on many fronts, and boils down to the nature of Hong Kong as a society. Is Hong Kong fundamentally Chinese, ultimately the legitimate home of only those who are Chinese? Or is Hong Kong a world city, encouraging energetic and talented people from across the world to feel it to be their home? The chairman of the Hong Kong Committee for the Promotion of Civic Education was quoted as saying, "We … want [Hong Kong] people to know that they are Chinese" (C. Yeung 2005). In countering this view, a prominent columnist wrote, "Hong Kong is more than just a Chinese city. It is a cosmopolitan, international city…. There must be room for all locals, not just locals who are Chinese" (Ching 2005). These different views, one based in an ethnic conception of society, the other in a civic conception, imply different visions of Hong Kong's future. The Hong Kong students we interviewed may

not have been fully aware of these different conceptions, but they were at least implicitly aware of their implications. This may be why their words, as quoted above, glided between these different conceptions – they seemed to seek neither to deny Hong Kong's ethnic Chineseness nor to deny its international character, but to have both.

There is another sense as well in which Hong Kong students both affirm their Chineseness and keep it at arm's length. In Chapter 4, we discussed how the Hong Kong mass media have shifted in their portrayal of mainland Chinese over the past fifteen years, from depicting them with derision to depicting them with respect and affection; in the next chapter, we will see how more and more Hong Kong people are interacting with mainland Chinese in a variety of different ways, enabling them to understand the diversities and complexities of mainland Chinese more deeply. All of this is true; and yet among some Hong Kong students, it is not hard to find, beneath an abstract sense of love for China, a distinct feeling of disdain. As one student said, "I love China.... I feel completely Chinese…. But when I see someone spitting on the street in Hong Kong, I think "daaihluhkyàhn" (mainlander: a derisive term for mainland Chinese). I don't like that behavior: it's so disgusting." This student's sense of love for Chineseness does not extend to love for actual Chinese from across the border. They are seen not as fellow Chinese brothers and sisters, but as uncouth, even uncivilized. The underlying attitude is "Yes, we're all Chinese; but we're not Chinese like those mainlanders," an attitude apparent both in my interviews and in surveys of students (see *Ming Pao* 2003).

This will no doubt give way bit by bit, but it has not happened yet, as we have seen. Exchange students from the Chinese University of Hong Kong seek to go to the United States, Canada, Europe, and Japan; not many desire to go to mainland Chinese universities. Dating takes place far more between Hong Kong female students and American, European, or Japanese male students than between Hong Kong female students and Chinese male students (Siu 2006), as a male mainland student complained bitterly to us. Some Hong Kong students we interviewed claimed that they could understand their fellow Chinese better than they could understand foreigners, because of their common culture; but in their actual behavior not many Hong Kong students acted as if this were the case. Some Hong Kong students spoke as if their Chinese ethnic identity was their primary identity, but this is not how many seemed to live their lives.

The discourses of state and market in Hong Kong's "belonging to the nation"

We have discussed the schooling into "belonging to a nation" of American and mainland Chinese students. All of these students were well versed in the national symbols of their countries; but how much they internalized those symbols was another matter. As one American student said, "You note that when you asked us to say the pledge of allegiance, our voices were monotonous…. It never appeared to us to have any meaning. It's just slurring the words

together." And yet, as other American students have indicated, it did have power: "Probably everyone thinks that the pledge of allegiance is propaganda at one time or another, but the people who think that very seriously probably don't adequately appreciate the benefits they reap from being American." Even Americans who don't ever consciously pause to consider the pledge of allegiance's words have probably been subliminally shaped by those words, which may linger below the threshold of full consciousness, shaping the emotional responses of Americans beholding national symbols such as the flag.

The mainland Chinese students too had varying degrees of commitment to their national symbols, and varying interpretations of national symbols. While some students said that the Chinese flag was a symbol of the Chinese Communist Party, and thus worthy of a degree of skepticism, others insisted that this was not the case: "The Chinese flag is red not because of communism, but because of the blood of the Chinese people … the heroes who died for China, for their country." This statement, however counterfactual it may be, represents the triumph of the state in enabling its primary symbol to be seen as transcending the state, to represent the country, a much more powerful source of legitimacy. Of course this national training is not absolute; these students' love for their country is to some extent volitional, their nation's propaganda as filtered through their own critical minds. And yet it clearly is highly effective in molding them to be patriotic members of their country.

This is not yet the case in Hong Kong, where the majority of students and people at large today have not yet been so molded, as we have discussed. The Hong Kong students we interviewed sometimes reacted with surprise or shock at the patriotism expressed by Chinese and American students.[7] This was sometimes a particular reaction against mainland Chinese students' expressions of patriotism. In one Hong Kong student's words: "China has all these billboards and slogans telling you to love your country. I want to be patriotic, but not like China!" More often, however, this was a reaction against patriotism in general – against the national molding of Chinese students and American students in common. In one interview, Mathews asked an American student to recite the pledge of allegiance; as he did so, a look of horror filled the Hong Kong student's face: "What are you saying?" she exclaimed. She had assumed that the United States would not stoop to such direct propaganda as "more backward" China, and was amazed to find herself proven wrong. At another interview, a Hong Kong student brightly said, "Yes, I love my countries, Great Britain and China…. I think that everyone should love their country, even if it's more than one!" The American and especially the mainland Chinese students were shocked, and asked him if he could love more than one mother; and he in turn was taken aback: "Why do I have to love only one?"[8] These misunderstandings were comic, but showed that the Hong Kong students do not yet fully understand what belonging to a nation, any nation, conventionally means in the world today.

One of the most revealing segments of these interviews occurred when Hong Kong students were asked how they felt about the patriotism of their American

and Chinese fellow interviewees. Some Hong Kong students, after hearing mainland Chinese and American students proclaim their love for their country, said (to quote one of several examples): "I envy them. They have a home they belong to." Other Hong Kong students, after hearing similar expressions of love, said (to quote one of several examples): "I pity them … They've listened to so much propaganda." We thus see the same pattern we earlier saw, of some students longing for a country to love and lamenting that they can't so love, given their colonial baggage, and others dismissing love for country as a delusion. A particularly articulate student elaborated on this view:

> When I see people in China or America expressing reverence for their country, I feel amazed at the work the country has done – how it's made people feel grateful to their country, feel that they should love their country…. I feel that those people have been tricked by their country.

But then this student continued: "If American and Chinese are tricked into loving their country, so are Hong Kong people: tricked not to love the country but to love the economy." If American and Chinese are deluded by the discourse of the state, Hong Kong people are deluded by the discourse of the market, this student is saying.

As we discussed in Chapter 1, almost everyone in the world adheres to both of these discourses. American and mainland Chinese students may in common believe that they should love their country and its culture and be willing to die for their country, but they also believe in the worldwide market: that they should be able to buy, do, or be anything in the world that they desire. Hong Kong people are an exception – most Hong Kong people live within the market, but many do not yet emotionally live within the state. Students who proclaimed their Hong Kong identity tended to base that identity not on the dream of belonging to a Hong Kong separate from China but rather on belonging to a global market that included but transcended China. As next chapter explores, for many in Hong Kong today this global market now may be arrived at through the great national market of China; many of these Hong Kong students were well aware of this as they fashioned their career plans. However, this did not lead most of them to feel any affinity for the Chinese state. As one earlier quoted student said, "I'm Hongkongese…. I don't need a country to belong to; I belong to the world."

Not all students claimed their identity as Hongkongers in this way; as one student said, after hearing this interpretation, "I love Hong Kong, not the world; that's why I'm a Hongkonger." Indeed, belonging to Hong Kong is a complex matter. Lau (2000: 260) found, in a survey conducted before the handover, that those who proclaim their primary identity as Hongkongese were those who were most likely to say that they are willing to leave Hong Kong – implying that Hong Kong identity involves belonging not to a particular place but to the global market. This has of late been a matter of contention. One survey (Hong Kong Transition Project 2005: 18) supports Lau's earlier survey, finding a clear

correlation between holding an identity as Hongkongese rather than Chinese and being willing to leave Hong Kong if unsuitable changes take place (with 56 percent of self-identified "Hongkongese" but just 42 percent of self-identified "Chinese" saying that they would be willing to leave). However, another survey (Chan 2005) finds that "the higher the sense of belonging to Hong Kong, the higher one's national pride." This difference may in part be a product of the questions asked; to ask if one belongs to Hong Kong is different from asking if one feels one's identity to be Hongkongese. Underlying this is politics – pro-China forces in Hong Kong clearly seek to link love of Hong Kong to love of China, in fostering love of country in Hong Kong, and Chan's survey was carried out in the context of a forum devoted to fostering national education. In any case, to the extent that Hong Kong identity does indeed involve belonging to the global market more than to the national state, the greater willingness of those who claim this identity to leave Hong Kong if Chinese control becomes onerous seems readily explicable.

The market consciousness of Hong Kong people is apparent in how some Hong Kong students seem to think of choosing their country: in one Hong Kong student's words, "I want to find a country that can arouse my curiosity in the future. If I can find some advantages in that country, I'll belong to that country." Any country will do, if it can provide a good life, this student is saying – an ideology far from the ideals proffered by the Chinese state, and far from the United States as well, which enables love for country to be based on committed choice, but not the radically free consumer choice claimed by some of these Hong Kong students.[9] In another student's words, "belonging to nation is like shopping in a supermarket: after all, people invest money in order to get passports from different countries." Mainland students sometimes criticize Hong Kong students for their "situational love of their country," as earlier noted. One student described how "Chinese students love [NBA basketball player] Yao Ming because they love China, but Hong Kong students … are interested in him only because … they like basketball." A newspaper article describes how, when Beijing won the right to hold the 2008 Olympics, a Hongkonger who "holds a foreign passport and despises the backwardness of the mainland … upon hearing of Beijing's success began loudly singing 'I am Chinese'!" (M. Ho 2001). If China wins, it is loved, but if it loses, turn elsewhere. This represents the application of principles of the market rather than of the state to love of China: love your country not for itself, but only if it wins.

This market attitude is shown by the 2006 survey presented in the last chapter, which reveals that China is admired more for its market than for its government or especially for its Communist Party. This is also shown by how many Hong Kong students judged the symbols of the Chinese state by the critical standards of the market. Consider the particular Hong Kong reaction to national symbols such as the Chinese flag. Some of the Hong Kong students we interviewed disdained the Chinese flag as "out-of-date" and "unfashionable," as in this conversation with several students:

INTERVIEWER: When you see the Chinese flag, how do you feel?

STUDENT: I think the design of the flag is a little bit simple, it's a little bit old-fashioned.

STUDENT: I have the same feeling. Every time I see it, I think, "Can you change the flag?"

STUDENT: Every time I see the flag I think of Chairman Mao, and people marching around with little caps on their heads ...

STUDENT: Yes, the design is really poor. There's too much red ...

Other Hong Kong students were angered when words such as the above were reported to them: "When people say that the flag and the national song are 'old-fashioned' – it's a country, not fashion! We're talking about our country!" Indeed, it would never occur to most Americans or mainland Chinese to think of their country's flag in terms of fashion. (Consider how bizarre it would sound for an American to say, "I really don't like the American flag. Mauve and purple would be far better than red, white, and blue. And those stars: put them in the middle, with the stripes spreading outwards! That would look much better!") Only in Hong Kong is it commonly heard that the flag is "old-fashioned" (see Mathews 2001b: 304), in that many Hong Kong students do not yet understand what it means to belong to the state, but only to the market.

The same kind of critical commentary can be heard in Hong Kong concerning the Chinese national anthem. As one student said, "We learned the Chinese national song not in a civics class but in our music lesson. The music teacher said, 'the theory, the tone is wrong.'" Here too, the symbol of the state is critically evaluated rather than accepted as representing one's home. Some Hong Kong students spoke of the national anthem as ideologically foreign to them ("It's a song for the Communist Party. I don't think it's appropriate as our national anthem."), while others spoke of the national anthem as indeed representing them ("When I hear it, I think of the terrible suffering the Chinese people went through in World War II at the hands of the Japanese."). These comments, although opposite in meaning, are both couched in terms of the state and its symbols. More radical are the Hong Kong market-based comments – in one student's words, "It sounds so old.... like an old movie ..." In another's words: "It sounds so old-fashioned ... so mainland-style." Such comments indicate refusal to value the symbols of the state on their own terms. What comments such as these mean is that some Hong Kong students, having not yet been shaped by the state, judge the state and its symbols on the basis of their having been shaped by the market, following the ideal of being not a naïve and trusting patriot, but rather an acute, calculating and canny purchaser. This marks Hong Kong as exceptional in the world; unlike people almost everywhere else, who take for granted the contradictory discourses of state and market, some Hong Kong people continue to see the discourse of the state as alien to them in their market-based mentality.

As we have seen in chapter after chapter of this book, however, Hong Kong is changing – the state is gaining momentum in Hong Kong, and the discourse of

the state may eventually become as taken-for-granted in Hong Kong as it is in China and in the United States. This chapter demonstrates that in the years 2001–05 this had not happened yet in the minds of Hong Kong students; but twenty or thirty years hence very much remains to be seen.

Conclusion: whither Hong Kong education into "belonging to a nation"?

This chapter has made three broad points about how Hong Kong students today differ from mainland Chinese and American students in their senses of "belonging to the nation." First, while Chinese and American students take largely for granted that they belong to a nation, and should love or at least "really like" their country, many Hong Kong students – although there is a wide range of views, as we've seen – are hesitant in feeling such love. This reflects not simply distrust of the Chinese government but also the fact that Hong Kong students still don't fully understand what it means to "belong to a nation." Second, while Chinese students define the nation in ethnic terms, seeing the nation as family deserving their unconditional love, and American students define the nation in civic terms, seeing the nation as deserving of love only on the basis of its performance, Hong Kong students are in the middle: some claim that the Chinese state does not represent the family of Chinese, while others accept the metaphor of nation as family, but argue that it does not deserve to be loved if it does not behave properly towards its citizens. In this way, Hong Kong students interestingly combine Chinese ethnic concepts and American civic concepts of the nation. Third, while American and Chinese students conceive of the state on its own discursive terms, apart from the mentality of the market, many Hong Kong students judge the symbols of the Chinese state in terms of the market, seeing the Chinese flag and national anthem as "old-fashioned" and thus unworthy; this infuriates other Hong Kong students, who insist that the country is not a matter of fashion – the state should not be judged by the principles of the market. This judgment of symbols of the state by the criteria of the market is particularly apparent in Hong Kong, which unlike most other societies in the world, does not yet "naturally" accept the discourse of the state – although this is increasingly disputed, and may be increasingly changing.

These differences are quite significant, we think, but their ultimate significance remains unclear. There is considerable evidence from interviews that this is a transitional phase, but there is also evidence that today's disagreements will continue in years to come. One student told us, "I'm not sure about my country. I've had different experiences under the British government and after the handover, so where is my country?" This student's future children will presumably know where their country is; or will they? We asked two Hong Kong students how they would feel if fifteen years hence they found their children singing the Chinese national anthem. One said, "That's great: that means she's found her roots, not like us today." The other student said, "No, that would be crazy! … I

want my child to have nothing to do with China!" If these words are any guide, today's disagreements will continue into future generations.

It may be that, as national education progresses, Hong Kong students will eventually become as patriotic as Chinese or Americans. This is especially likely to happen if Hong Kong schools, as well as the mass media, emphasize with growing sophistication that Hong Kong people indeed belong to China. It may well be that in twenty or thirty years, the findings reported on in this chapter and in this book, will have become a thing of the past; Hong Kong students will have become almost as committed to their country as mainland Chinese students, albeit, perhaps, with a slight remaining degree of skepticism, due to the continuing features of Western education in Hong Kong. However, it is also quite possible that this will not take place. One reason is particular: the sense of many Hong Kong students that Hong Kong is ineradicably different from the mainland, a sense that will continue to create a wall between their own minds and the discourses of the Chinese state. A second reason is more general. It may be that these Hong Kong students, in their hesitation towards loving their country, do not represent a still colonial past in a present world of national belonging, but rather a globalized future, in which identity comes to be based more in the world market than in the national state. With this, we proceed to this book's next chapter, exploring those Hong Kong people who now live within China, their national state.

8   Hong Kong people encountering the nation in south China

In the preceding two chapters, we have considered how Hong Kong people have both accepted and resisted their new national identity; but we have not yet considered Hong Kong people's ongoing personal encounters with China, their country. This chapter explores how various ordinary people in Hong Kong are today redrawing cultural boundaries in their everyday lives *vis-à-vis* people in mainland China.

Ideas of the nation today often carry a top-down image of a state exercising power, claiming sovereignty, mobilizing common myths, building up military power, legislating rights and duties, energizing the economy, producing cultural consent, and consolidating national pride and political loyalty (see Gellner 1997; McCrone 1998). However, the nation is a matter not only of the top-down exercise of power by the state, but also of the bottom-up creation and re-creation of the nation in the everyday life of its citizens (Billig 1995); this is what we see in the ordinary relations between the people of Hong Kong and China today. Once de-nationalized in the colonial years, Hong Kong has been subjected to conspicuous campaigns of re-nationalization after 1997, as we've seen in Chapters 4 and 5. Campaigns promoting national identity, such as political ceremonies, patriotic education, and rewriting the historical canon in mass media portrayals and school textbooks, are highly visible in Hong Kong today. But in this chapter, we will focus instead on the micro-politics of how some Hong Kong people acquire a sense of their nation while traveling, doing business, and meeting friends in mainland China. We will trace these less visible but no less powerful re-nationalization processes in everyday encounters, in which the nation takes shape through the redrawing of psychological boundaries between Hong Kong and Chinese people in daily life.

The blurring boundary between Hong Kong and China

As we saw in Chapter 2, Hong Kong developed a strong local identity in the 1970s, one that was distinctly different from that of mainland China. In order to maintain political and economic stability, both the colonial and the Chinese governments refrained from attempting to mobilize strong nationalistic sentiments in the territory (Luk 1995; Sinn 1995), and it was the media that took up the role

of creating a collective Hong Kong identity, one formulated in cultural rather than political terms, as we saw in Chapter 4. This new "imagined community" was sustained by the great difference in ways of life in the colony as opposed to the mainland in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Hongkongers and mainland Chinese developed very different lifestyles, daily routines, career patterns, aspirations, and values. Although there were frequent exchanges between Hong Kong and China after the open-door policy in the 1970s, the worlds of daily life in which people lived were still conspicuously different across the China–Hong Kong border (Ma 1999a). These differences can be described within the broad categories of state and market. Hong Kong had a weak state and a strong market, exhibiting a highly consumerist lifestyle, while lives on the mainland were marked by a highly visible state and a deficient market. Hong Kong politics were absorbed into colonial "managerialism" (King 1974; Law 1998), while mainland politics were turned into frequent "revolutions" and destructive campaigns fomented by the state. In Hong Kong, colonial politics were conspicuously absent because of the implementation of elaborate sets of administrative procedures. On the mainland, the state was conspicuously present because of the frequent campaigns to consolidate the power of the ruling Communist Party. Hong Kong people over the past four decades – at least until the past decade of Hong Kong's reunification with China – have lived primarily within the discourse of the market, while mainland Chinese – at least until the past decade of economic boom, and changing Chinese values – have lived primarily within the discourse of the state.

These differences formed the social and psychological boundary of a Hong Kong community seen as distinct from the mainland (Ma and Fung 1999). Frequent encounters between Hong Kong people and mainlanders strengthened rather than diluted this boundary because those cultural differences became so obvious to the eyes of both. Mainland immigrants in Hong Kong were conspicuous in the way they looked, behaved, and spoke; and when local Hong Kong people went back to China, they usually experienced a strong sense of difference. The military presence, the heightened political sensitivity, the ubiquitous national symbols, the less modernized cities, and the deficient consumer market on the mainland were readily apparent to cross-border travelers in the 1980s and 1990s (Ma 2001). These bits and pieces of everyday experience were dramatized in Hong Kong movies and television programs, as we saw in Chapter 4, depicting none too subtly the differences between Hong Kong people and mainland Chinese: mainland Chinese were stereotyped as soldiers-turned-gangsters, corrupt officials, irrational patriots, uncivilized immigrants, and country bumpkins. In the 1980s and into the 1990s, Hong Kong's mass media were dominated by representations of a modern and de-nationalized Hong Kong and a less modern and nationalistic mainland. These oversimplified but vivid media representations of the other side of the border were not just fictitious: indeed, they were constantly reinforced by fresh cross-border experiences of Hong Kong people during this period.

Since the 1990s, and especially since 1997, there has emerged a much greater complexity as to how Hong Kong people envision the Chinese mainland. This

change has been brought about through various processes: the initiatives of the Hong Kong government in launching projects to promote nationalism; the weakening of the Hong Kong economy in the years immediately after the handover and strengthening of the mainland economy; more favorable but also more variegated portrayals of mainland Chinese in the mass media, as we saw in Chapter 4; and most important, the increasingly extensive linkages between Hongkongers and mainlanders in their everyday lives.

In a long-term project on Hong Kong and mainland cultural exchange, Ma has interviewed close to 100 Hong Kong and mainland Chinese on various aspects of lifestyle differences between Hong Kong and mainland China, including their experiences of crossing the border in different eras. For Hongkongers, the popular memory of crossing the China–Hong Kong border in the 1970s and 1980s was clouded with the unpleasant experience of immigration and customs checks, difficult transportation, and political censorship – some publications were forbidden to be carried across the border into China (as is still the case today, but to a considerably lesser degree). These unpleasant experiences reinforced the image of mainland China as a foreign country very different from Hong Kong. Although there were strong family ties and cultural affiliations between Hong Kong people and their mainland Chinese kin, these popular memories paradoxically helped to maintain a politically sensitive psychological boundary: "even though we share a language and are kin, they're not like us." Crossing the border made Hong Kong Chinese feel like they were suddenly subjected to the control of a powerful state, as was not the case in Hong Kong. When they were asked about their experiences of crossing the border in the 1970s and the 1980s some of our informants recalled vividly the harsh gaze of Chinese immigration and security officers.[1]

However, in recent years the physical border between the mainland and Hong Kong has become less political and more administrative, and the cultural and psychological boundary between Hong Kong and the mainland has been weakening because of more frequent cross-border travel. In the past ten years, there has been a massive increase in the frequency of mainland Chinese traveling to Hong Kong and Hong Kong residents traveling to mainland China, as table 6 shows. In the mid-1990s, there were roughly 2 million visits made by mainland Chinese to Hong Kong and 25 million visits made by Hong Kong people to mainland China. The number of mainland visitors increased from 6.8 million in 2002 to 8.5 million in 2003 to 12.2 million in 2004, with increasing numbers of mainland visitors allowed by China to come to Hong Kong on individual travel permits. At the same time, the number of Hong Kong visits to the mainland soared to almost 60 million by 2004. As this last figure reveals, traveling to China has become an everyday experience for many in Hong Kong, as is shown, for example, by the massive crowds of Hong Kong shoppers to be found just over the border in Shenzhen every weekend in search of bargain prices.[2]

In this chapter, we will examine the impact of this opening up of the mainland–Hong Kong boundary on the popular imagination of the nation among Hong Kong people – a process not fully controlled by any government but more

Table 6 Travelers between Hong Kong and China, 1994–2004

Year	Mainland Chinese traveling to Hong Kong	Hong Kong residents traveling to China
1994	1,943,678	24,798,140
1995	2,243,245	26,439,711
1996	2,311,184	28,792,061
1997	2,297,128	33,677,567
1998	2,597,442	39,140,463
1999	3,083,859	45,175,166
2000	3,785,845	50,083,105
2001	4,448,583	52,002,944
2002	6,825,199	55,648,363
2003	8,467,211	52,555,615
2004	12,245,900	59,675,547

Source: Hong Kong Tourism Board (1998, 1999, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005).

by the day-to-day life experiences of people. We derive our observations from an ethnographic project in which Ma regularly visited a factory and a bar in south China (with he and his assistants working as factory workers and waiters), where interactions between Hongkongers and mainlanders are frequent.[3] From these research sites, Ma and his assistants branched out to other social networks for interviews and participant observation. Through this ethnographic data, we can glimpse the Chinese nation as it is newly imagined in the minds of Hong Kong Chinese working and consuming in south China, as well as of mainland Chinese interacting with Hong Kong people. We will discuss Hong Kong's bottom-up nationalization in terms of four aspects of everyday experience: national spatiality, social diversity, ethnic connections, and the national market.

It must be remembered that only a minority of Hong Kong people spend extensive amounts of time on the mainland, as do the people described in this chapter; these people cannot be said to represent Hong Kong people as a whole. However, the people portrayed in this chapter do clearly depict the complex processes by which Hong Kong people are coming to recomprehend mainland China; in this, they may represent a sort of "advance guard" of Hong Kong people as a whole.

National spatiality

The site of analysis of this chapter is what might be called "the liminal zone of national space" in south China: the zone in which Hong Kong people work and travel across the Hong Kong–China border. Here the Chinese state is actively promoting itself: the Chinese state is telling visiting Hong Kong people that they are indeed Chinese, through slogans, mass media and various other forms of display, but Hong Kong people may respond less to those direct exhortations of the nation than to their own, more informal and unprogrammed, experiences. We can, in effect, trace the footsteps of Hong Kong people walking into this

liminal zone, and examine national spatiality "in the making." Following Le-febvre (2003), we can see the construction of national space by looking into everyday routines.

In the 1990s, Hong Kong people's identity was bounded within a relatively small territory: essentially, the 400 or so square miles comprising Hong Kong. People worked and lived within that territory and considered China a foreign land; this was in one sense a strange imagining, since most Hong Kong people have family ties with mainland Chinese, but made sense given the different paths and relative lack of communication between the two societies in recent decades. Hong Kong has well developed mass transportation and highway systems, and it is easy to travel from one end of the territory to the other within an hour or at most an hour and a half. However, over the past few years, as more and more Hong Kong people travel and work on the mainland, a vastly larger mental map of a national territory has been emerging.

Mr Leung (a pseudonym, as are all names of informants in this chapter) is a Hong Kong businessman who owns a 500-employee toy factory in Dongguan in Guangdong Province, the southern Chinese province adjacent to Hong Kong. He has been visiting his factory twice a week since the mid-1990s. A typical trip begins at 7:30 a.m. Leung drives from his home in Shatin, in the New Territories of Hong Kong, and leaves his car at a car park near the Hong Kong–China border,[4] takes a train ride to the border, goes through Immigration, and meets his driver at Shenzhen, the Chinese city immediately across the border from Hong Kong. The driver, driving at 140 km per hr on the highway, takes Leung to the Chinese city of Dongguan, where he stops by a Hong Kong-style teahouse and has his Hong Kong-style breakfast.[5] Leung begins his work at around 10:00 a.m. In China, he does a lot of travel in his private car to meet officials, business part-ners, and suppliers, and to make shipping arrangements. In the early stages of fieldwork, Ma worked closely with Leung and met some of his friends, who are also Hong Kong businesspeople and factory owners at Dongguan. All of them travel in a similar pattern, with a private driver serving them wherever they go. Leung had been an aircraft maintenance engineer in Hong Kong for ten years before he quit and started a small electronics company in the 1990s. Later, his company was refashioned into a toy manufacturing company. Now, he still has a small office in Hong Kong, but most of the production and packaging is done in China. Although he still considers Hong Kong his home base, the spatial map of his daily activities has undergone drastic changes. Instead of a closed circuit of city travel when he was an engineer in Hong Kong, now he has a travel network that sprawls over a vast territory in southern China, expanding through his everyday routine his image of the nation.

Mr Fung, a restaurant owner, is more direct in talking about a change in his spatial imagination. In the 1990s, he was the chief executive of a famous chain restaurant in Hong Kong. He made a lot of money and emigrated to Canada with his family in 1997. In 2000, he left his family in Canada and started a new chain restaurant in Guangzhou. I (Ma) met Mr Fung at one of his restaurants in Guangzhou in spring 2003. While showing me around his restaurant, he could

name many of his customers, who were mostly Hong Kong professionals and executives working in China. During the interview, his wife called from Canada and he cheerfully talked about what he was doing that day. He holds a Canadian passport, but he is a self-proclaimed Hongkonger. Despite this, however, when I asked about his "Hong Kong-style teahouse," he reacted quite strongly and corrected me by claiming that his restaurant is a modern Chinese restaurant with different styles of food – Peking style, Shanghai style, Thai, and Vietnamese. "A Hong Kong-style tea house is too cheap!" he said. When I asked whether he was based in Guangzhou now rather than in Hong Kong, since he did not reside in Hong Kong, he said, "You're really outdated. Working in Guangzhou is like working in Yuen Long [a city in northern Hong Kong].… It only takes two hours to go back to Hong Kong from Guangzhou. It makes no sense for me to talk about whether I'm based in Guangzhou or not. Today I'm here; tomorrow I'll be in Hong Kong. Next year, I may be in Shanghai."

Aside from business elites like Mr Leung and Mr Fung, who have private means of travel in China, other managers and workers rely on various forms of public transport, such as trains, buses, taxis, and domestic planes. After the initial stage of the research, when I (Ma) traveled with Mr Leung and his family, I started to rely more on public transport and went to the factory by long-distance minibuses and sometimes coaches. I also took short-distance taxi or motorcycle rides in Dongguan and Shenzhen. On those trips there were many Hong Kong travelers like me, carrying briefcases and rucksacks and rushing in and out of long-distance buses and trains. As a Hongkonger with a very strong local identity, these new ways of travel have given me a very different sense of the nation; travel on the ground in China has allowed me to visualize a large and concrete national territory. Outside the windows of buses and coaches, there are vast stretches of land, geographic features stretching to the horizon. These broad landscapes are very different from compact, mountainous, and densely populated Hong Kong.

Macro,[6] a bar owner in his thirties, went to live in Shenzhen from Hong Kong in 2001. He co-owns a small Shenzhen bar and serves as waiter, disc jockey, and sometimes bartender. He said, "I jump on a bus or mini-van whenever I feel like it. It costs very little for me to go from the west to the east tip of Shenzhen. I jump on a long-distance bus and within an hour I can be in a Guangzhou bar. I like hanging around in bars and talking to strangers, especially girls. Inland flights are cheap. I'll take a few days off and go to the bars in Shanghai when I'm free. Yes, I'm single and free! China is much bigger than Hong Kong."

Another informant we met is a Hong Kong media worker, Ms Lee. She was raised in Guangzhou and studied in a university in Hong Kong, after migrating to the territory in her teenage years. She has extensive connections both in Hong Kong and in Guangzhou. Working previously as a journalist and freelance writer, and now as a sales executive, Ms Lee travels a lot and is knowledgeable about media and fashion trends both in mainland China and in Hong Kong. "Now I'm responsible for training salespeople in our chain stores in Shanghai and Guangzhou," Lee says. "I have to stay in these cities at least once a month,"

a circumstance that has changed her career and her physical and psychological horizons, she maintains. None of my Hong Kong informants ever explicitly articulated the official discourse of patriotism set forth in China, and some are very critical of the Chinese government. However, their spatial imagination of a big nation and a big country has become a taken-for-granted part of their every-day conversations and experiences. This is the new "national imagination" gradually emerging among some Hong Kong people today.

National diversity

In past decades, the binary opposition of a strong and authoritarian China state *vis-à-vis* a modern and market-led Hong Kong colony was kept alive in Hong Kong by vivid mass-media representations of mainlanders, as we discussed in Chapter 4. However, for those Hong Kong people who live in or make frequent visits to China, mainlanders have come to be seen as much more diversified, and cannot easily be fit into the stereotypes that dominated the Hong Kong media in the past, and that to a lesser extent are visible today as well. In this section, we will describe the different types of mainlanders as seen through the eyes of my Hong Kong informants.

In the factory where I did fieldwork, the largest group of mainlanders is factory workers. They are mostly unskilled migrants from rural areas of China. They seem more or less to fit into the stereotype of mainland "country bumpkins," long a popular image in Hong Kong. They think highly of all things coming from Hong Kong – some may ask a Hongkonger whether he or she is a friend of a movie star like Andy Lau or Jacky Cheung, because they think that there are many movie stars walking the streets of Hong Kong.

Many Hong Kong people look down upon these migrant workers. One morning when I was having breakfast at a Hong Kong-style teahouse at Dongguan, a Hong Kong boss dropped a fork on the floor. A waiter standing did nothing. The Hong Kong boss lost his temper and shouted at the waiter, "Why didn't you bring me another fork? You mainland bumpkins are so stupid! You wouldn't stand a chance in Hong Kong!"[7] Interactions such as this were quite common in Hong Kong television dramas and movies in the 1980s and the 1990s, but have recently become less common in the Hong Kong media; however, as this example shows, they continue to take place in actual life. Such incidents illustrate the continuing arrogant attitude that many in Hong Kong still feel towards at least some mainland Chinese: "Yes, we belong to one country now, but still, we're much better than you mainlanders…" The wealth of many Hong Kong businesspeople, and the fact that they dominate much of southern Guangdong province's economy – with Hong Kong owners and Chinese workers being the dominant pattern – reveals the economic inequality underlying claims of "one country." China may now politically control Hong Kong, but southern Guangdong remains to at least some extent an economic colony of Hong Kong: this knowledge fuels the arrogance of Hongkongers such as the boss depicted above.

However, there is also a rising middle class in China, a group until recently less familiar to many in Hong Kong. These young white-collar workers have taken up well-paid jobs in the expanding Chinese economy, although their income remains lower than that of Hongkongers in comparable jobs. In the factory, there were a few mainland accountants, managers, and supervisors who were hardworking, knowledgeable, and ambitious. In the bar where we served as waiters, the customers included many mainland journalists, designers, advertising people, fashion retailers, lawyers, and businesspeople. When compared with members of this new Chinese middle class, Hong Kong people are by no means "superior" in how they dress, converse, and spend money. At the higher end of this emerging social group are professionals who have social, cultural, and economic capital far greater than the average Hongkonger. These are relatively few; Guangdong as a whole remains far poorer than Hong Kong, with a *per capita* income less than 8 percent of Hong Kong's.[8] But at least some people in Guangdong province are considerably more affluent than many of their Hong Kong counterparts.

Let us mention two illustrative cases of people Ma met during fieldwork. Mr Lam is a high-powered lawyer in Guangzhou. A few years ago he was offered Hong Kong citizenship and also a chance to emigrate to Canada, but he declined. Now he pays frequent visits to Hong Kong to buy golf clubs and electronic products. He resides in a luxurious flat in the heart of Guangzhou and tours all the big golf courses in south China during the weekend. "Life is better in Guangzhou than in Hong Kong. China is a great nation and a great market. Why should I leave?" He didn't care whether I (Ma) was a reporter or a professor from Hong Kong and gave me "red pocket money" of RMB\$1,500 after my interview with him, reflecting the frequent mainland practice of wealthy interviewees rewarding those who interview them.[9] Mr Lo is a designer-turned-entrepreneur who owns an array of discos, bars, and restaurants in Shenzhen. We did our fieldwork in one of his bars and interviewed him several times. As mentioned earlier, his bar serves a mix of mainland and Hong Kong customers. He is well connected to officials in China and movie stars in Hong Kong and Taiwan. He drinks red wine, smokes cigars, owns a yacht in Hong Kong and a big resort farm in south China, and appears in the lifestyle features of various mainland newspapers and popular magazines. Hong Kong people who work in China will surely meet or hear stories about newly rich people such as him.

Aside from migrant workers, middle-class professionals and the urban new rich, Hong Kong people may also come into contact with young cultural elites in China. This social group may be small in number, but its members are opinion shapers. While migrant workers are still attracted by Hong Kong popular culture, these new cultural elites are more critical towards Hong Kong. They think that Hong Kong popular music is poor, its print media superficial and its mainstream culture too commercial. In a gathering at a small restaurant in south China, famous mainland photographers and journalists met with Hong Kong photographers. After an elaborate feast, different photographers showed their works by projecting high-resolution slides on the wall; they talked about their

work and invited the audience to give comments. While mainland photojournalists presented astonishing slide shows about China's homosexual community, prostitutes, and drug addicts, a Hong Kong photographer presented a show on how to feed a baby cat and another Hong Kong journalist, drunk at the time of the presentation, showed a long winding series of passport photos of 9/11 victims. Passport photos and cats are not necessarily artistically inferior, but at that gathering the mainland photographers had the obvious upper hand: they were more rigorous, professional, and socially involved.

In our extensive interviews with various groups of people in southern China there is a very clear class division in mainland attitudes towards Hong Kong. Poor migrant workers are excited by Hong Kong popular culture, while the rising middle class and cultural elites have a much stronger sense of pride in Chinese culture and detachment toward or even contempt for Hong Kong popular culture. These attitudes go beyond popular culture, to reflect attitudes towards Hong Kong as a whole. For the poor in south China, Hong Kong remains today a land of dreams, while for the middle-class mainland professionals and the new rich, Hong Kong is more typically a target of competitions than of admiration – even though some may "protest too much" in their scorn, perhaps masking an ongoing sense of insecurity. In their negative attitudes towards Hong Kong, these up-and-coming Chinese are more than a little reminiscent of up-and-coming Hongkongers' attitudes towards "mainland bumpkins" in the 1970s and 1980s.

Another site we studied illustrates the multifaceted nature of encounters between Hong Kong people and mainlanders. Our research team visited a few big residential estates several times and stayed there for a few days each time. These luxurious mainland villas target both Hong Kong and mainland residents as potential home buyers; they are much cheaper then those in Hong Kong but are quite expensive by mainland standards. Some Hong Kong people who cannot afford to buy a flat in Hong Kong may buy a quite comfortable flat on the mainland. Other Hong Kong buyers may want to acquire mainland properties for vacation use or future retirement. During our stays in these villas, there were many Hong Kong people there; a property developer even promoted a nearby development by describing it as a "little Hong Kong." The activities of these weekend residents are, in their own words, to "eat, play, sleep, and eat again" (Ng 2003).

In these estates, Hong Kong people interact regularly with mainland workers who serve as waiters, caretakers, and hawkers in nearby markets, and who may be seen as "bumpkins" by Hong Kong people. On the other hand, however, since these property owners are mostly from the Hong Kong middle or lower-middle class, many of them can afford to buy only medium-sized flats. The mainland's new rich usually own the most luxurious houses. Their big houses, flowery gardens, and deluxe clubhouses stand conspicuously in the middle of the community, dwarfing the residences of their Hong Kong neighbors. The mainland professionals, executives, and entrepreneurs who live in such houses may in turn look down upon their Hong Kong neighbors as "bumpkins."[10]

As we have seen, in residential areas, workplaces, shopping malls,

restaurants, and bars in China, Hong Kong people interact with a great variety of mainlanders who cannot fit into the earlier stereotype of a modern Hong Kong versus a less modern China. "The nation" appears in these Hongkongers' minds not as in the official Chinese discourse of a great country triumphing over past historical humiliation at the hands of the West and Japan, nor as the Western image of a repressive state grinding down its people; instead, the nation appears in their everyday interaction with various social groups, which combine to foster the imagination of a huge Chinese nation with great social diversity. It may appear normal and natural to readers that a country as large as China should appear diverse. But China in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s was indeed poor, and did indeed show little diversity in its population; this image continued to be portrayed in the stereotypes of mainlanders in Hong Kong mass media in the 1980s and 1990s. Today, in a newly capitalist China, this is clearly no longer the case; the images of corrupt Chinese officials and policemen are still strong (and still reflect a part of contemporary Chinese reality), but Hong Kong people, learning through their daily life experiences in China, are beginning to have a more complicated understanding of the diversity of the nation.

The nation and the extended family

Most Hong Kong Chinese have family ties in mainland China. These family ties were downplayed during Hong Kong's three formative decades from the 1970s to the 1990s, when Hong Kong developed into a highly modernized capitalist city. Many Hong Kong people perceived themselves in those decades as belonging to a de-nationalized community with a locally and territorially bounded identity, as well as, increasingly, a global identity. Historical and familial connections with the mainland were selectively de-emphasized during this period.

However, since the 1990s these suppressed family networks have been re-emerging. In my (Ma's) field work in Dongguan and Shenzhen, I found that many Hong Kong factory owners employed some of their mainland relatives to take up key supervisory positions. Mrs Leung, the wife of factory boss Mr Leung, co-owns another big toy factory with some two thousand workers. The management circle comprises seven family members, all of them longtime Hong Kong residents. The eldest brother has made a new home in Donguan. The other brothers and sisters commute from Hong Kong to the factory several times a week. In my second visit to the factory, Mrs Leung took me with her to all of her activities on that working day. In the morning, she introduced me to some of her subordinates who migrated to Dongguan from her hometown of Chaozhou. Unskilled relatives usually work on the production line, while those relatives with higher education take care of more demanding clerical jobs. Of course there are many competent employees who are not from the extended family network but are able to take up key positions through their own merits; but relatives do play a significant role, reemphasizing the familial linkages between Hong Kong and China, as well as, in this case, the ongoing business dominance of Hong Kong over south China.[11]

At around noon, four cars took the bosses and guests to a restaurant. Drivers made a second trip to take relatives and minor managers to lunch. Other workers and "line captains" eat in the factory canteen. The eldest brother and his mistress arrived at the restaurant in their own car driven by another private driver. In fact, she has also employed an extended network of relatives from her hometown in rural south China to work in the factory. After lunch, Mrs Leung took me to a small store at the front gate of the factory. It is a shanty selling cigarettes and instant noodles. We sat on a wooden bench outside the store and each had a small cup of ice cream. The store owner is Mrs Leung's uncle, who is grateful to Mrs Leung for giving him such a good site, where workers come regularly to buy his merchandise. During our brief stay, there were often a dozen friends, relatives, and workers hanging around the store, smoking cigarettes, chatting, and gossiping. In the late afternoon, the eldest brother took me to a luxurious Taiwan-style coffee house, telling me his story of being jailed – some local officials had wanted to get some easy money from this Hong Kong factory. It was a rich relative who bought him out of jail.[12]

After this tea break, Mrs Leung brought me to yet another tea gathering. We went into a medium-size store that trades both rice and industrial petroleum. The owner, a man in his thirties, is also a relative from Chaozhou. He worked in the factory for a few years and started his own store several miles from the factory. The connections with nearby suppliers and factories he cultivated as a purchaser in Mrs Leung's factory have become valuable networks for him to run his own business. Inside the store, we had a long tea session involving an elaborate brewing ritual, over which family disputes were settled between the store owner and a few of Mrs Leung's other relatives. Within and beyond Mrs Leung's factory are dense familial, social and business networks, which connect the Hong Kong side of the family with their mainland counterparts. These networks are supported by familial and ethnic affiliations, self and collective interest, traditional values, and modern business management skills. Relatives from both sides are contributing their social resources to make the business a success (see Kwok and So 1995).

The oldest brother in the Leung family has a mainland mistress (known in Cantonese as "second wife": *yihnáaih*); he has made a new home in Dongguan to be with his mainland mistress, a second home along with the home in Hong Kong that houses his Hong Kong wife and children. It has become a remarkably common practice for Hong Kong men to have mainland mistresses (see Lang and Smart 2002; Tam 1996), with the reverse – mainland men having Hong Kong mistresses – virtually unheard of. This is a reflection in the personal realm of Hong Kong's dominance over southern China in the economic realm: these men (who are often middle or lower-middle class in Hong Kong, although not in this case) may easily have the financial wherewithal to support a second household in China, as they could not in Hong Kong. Ma could not talk with this man about his private familial arrangements, but it is worth bearing in mind that his is by no means an isolated case.

In our fieldwork, we came into contact with and interviewed a number of local Dongguan residents. Many of them have relatives in Hong Kong; some are

themselves former Hong Kong residents who have migrated back to Dongguan. Mr Man is an illustrative case. Born and raised in Dongguan, Man went to Hong Kong in the late 1970s with many of his relatives. They were given legal status of abode under the touch-base policy, as earlier discussed. As a construction worker in Hong Kong, he was able to earn a good living in the 1980s and 1990s, when the property market was vibrant. However, it became difficult to find sufficient work after the collapse of the property market in 1997. Like many middle-aged working-class men, Man found it hard to earn a living and find a wife in Hong Kong. In 1999, he married a mainland woman and built a three-story house in his hometown of Dongguan. The ground floor and second floor are rented to locals, while he and his family live on the third floor. Since the cost of living is lower in Dongguan, he now considers Dongguan his permanent home and travels only once a month to Hong Kong for a few days if jobs are available. "Dongguan is a better and more affordable place to live. Many of my relatives are here," he said. In fact, for a construction worker like Man, having a Hong Kong identity or a Chinese identity doesn't matter so much. His major concern is to make a living and raise a family. He had stayed and worked in Hong Kong for twenty years for economic reasons alone. As the Hong Kong economy deteriorated in recent years, Man exploited his previous family connections in China and reestablished himself in Dongguan.

There are certainly innumerable other cases that can illustrate the extensive ethnic and familial ties between Hong Kong and south China (see So 2002), but the limited cases presented above are enough to show that the once relatively stable and self-contained imagined community of Hong Kong has recently been expanding. For those people whose arena of everyday life has moved into China, their Hong Kong identity has not been merged into a clear national identity, but has been connected to a larger web of familial, ethnic, and regional collectivities. The imagined community of Hong Kong is based on a common way of life of a modernized city, while this emerging regional imagination is based both on a distinct regional culture and on various clusters of familial and cultural connections. South China, with its distinctive weather and geographic features, has long fostered a unique way of life different from northern regions of China. Because of its geographic proximity to the outside world, this area has historically been one of the wealthiest regions in China; it has long been the hub for domesticating new and foreign ideas. This is not the place to go into detail about south China's regional culture (see Gong 1999); but clearly Hong Kong is historically, culturally and geographically part of this Pearl River Delta area. This regional collectivity is not national; but the rediscovery and reactivation of these networks is vital to the formation of the imagination of a "home country" far larger than Hong Kong alone.

The national market

In recent years, most Hong Kong people have traveled to mainland China less because they seek to "know their home country" than for reasons of consumption and business development. "The nation" enters into the popular imagination

in Hong Kong much less as the interpellation of the state than as the push and pull of the market. In the 1980s and 1990s, a key discursive component of Hong Kong identity was economic success. The belief in the vibrant Hong Kong economy and the unfailing capitalist system was the cornerstone of collective pride. However, after the Asian economic crisis in 1997 and the subsequent prolonged economic downturn of the Hong Kong economy, the opening up of the mainland Chinese market has become an attraction for Hong Kong people: a way to make a better living in the present, and the locus of their future hopes (Lin 1997). The attraction of China, for these Hong Kong people, is not love for the nation but rather the lure of the market: the discourse of the state is supplanted by the discourse of the market, and this, we believe, may represent a new form of "belonging to a nation," as we will later explore.

In 2003, the HKSAR government proposed a new initiative to quicken the merger between the Hong Kong economy and the Pearl River Delta economy on the mainland.[13] This new incentive has served to further the extent to which the national market has come into the vision of Hong Kong businesspeople, job seekers and consumers alike. For consumers, the mainland – and particularly Shenzhen, abutting Hong Kong – has become a shopping paradise, offering services and products at very attractive prices. One can often hear the comment that good mainland restaurants offer cheaper prices and better service than those in Hong Kong. Restaurant owners say they have a constant supply of cheap young migrant workers, flooding into Shenzhen and other south China cities from less developed rural areas of China. Thus, in most mid-size restaurants, they can afford to have several waiters and waitresses serving a single table at any time of the day or evening. In the bar where we did our fieldwork, the head manager is able to pick from a large pool of young people, and hires only men and women who are good-looking. In Dongguan, we were introduced to a middle-aged Hong Kong woman who is the boss of a big factory. She took us to a big restaurant where she dines every weekend. There, five of us were occupying a big hall with a live band entertaining us while we were having our dinner. This Hong Kong woman said: "In Hong Kong, live bands are no good. Here, if you are willing to pay, you can be served like kings and queens. And in fact, it is rather affordable."

In the previous section, we discussed how Hong Kong people are linked to China by kinship; here, we emphasize how Hong Kong people are linked to China through consumption. These two categories overlap; many Hong Kong people go back to China to visit their relatives as well as to shop in newly constructed malls, in order to exploit the Hong Kong/China price differential. These two categories also have obvious differences. Those who are linked to China by kinship are more deeply involved in family and business ties; they may engage in family rituals on the mainland, such as marriages and rites of ancestor worship, and may seek to retire and to relocate their homes on the mainland. Their cross-border experiences are interwoven with the lives of their mainland relatives. On the other hand, those linked to China through consumption are from the general public of Hong Kong, with diverse social backgrounds; their visits to China are more random and idiosyncratic.

There are, for example, some Hong Kong young people who rent flats and stay in Shenzhen during weekends. Fred, a Hong Kong man in his late twenties, emigrated to Canada in the mid-1990s and returned to Hong Kong in 1998. He owns a computer company in Canada and is able to run the company by e-mail, phone and fax. Since 1999, he has been staying in Shenzhen for long periods, becoming a bar regular. He may be an extreme case, but there is a group of Hong Kong young men who share the common practice of "fooling around" in China, along with those, often older men, as we earlier saw, who seek long-term mistresses. Fred said, "In the bars of Shenzhen, you can meet girls from all over the country. Those from Shanghai are whiter and taller; those from rural areas are nice. In Kong Hong, you can only meet girls with a bad attitude." This gendered, indeed patriarchal understanding of the mainland as a playground for Hong Kong men is common in Hong Kong; there is a gendered imagining of the nation among Hong Kong men as "a virgin land for men to exploit," and exploit they do. It is, of course, the economic capital of Hong Kong men such as Fred and Macro, whom we earlier saw, that enables them to make the poorer mainland serve as their romantic and sexual playground.

Hong Kong itself is part of the new national market of China. Workers in the Dongguan factory and the Shenzhen bar still think highly of Hong Kong, and Hong Kong goods, ranging from electronics to jeans to shampoo, continue to be seen as products of higher quality than those made in mainland China. During our stay, we befriended quite a number of local mainland Chinese, and had to entertain very frequent requests from them to buy various items from Hong Kong. The list included foreign cookbooks for chefs, shampoo for women, the latest models of trendy mobile phones for young waiters, western CDs for the disc jockey at the disco bar,[14] and various electronic items such as digital cameras and laptop computers. We brought them the items and they paid us in cash. For some items, the prices in Hong Kong are lower and the quality as well as availability is much better. All in all, Hong Kong remains a beacon of consumption in south China; but it seems clear that among many of my informants, both from Hong Kong and from the mainland, there is an emerging imagination of a large consumer market in which Hong Kong is a small but important part of that greater whole which is China.

Besides consumption, production and selling to the national market are also vital for the Hong Kong businesspeople who venture into south China. Factory owner Mr Leung has exploited the cheap labor in Dongguan to produce toys for Western markets. The new products he is now developing include an electronic device that allows restaurant customers to call the waiter and check the bill by clicking a button placed at the dining table. He cautions that although the China market is huge, it is an extremely difficult market for a mid-size company like his. Pirating of product designs, low profit margins, and fierce competition are some of the problems he is facing. Since he is quite determined to develop the national market for his products despite the difficulties involved, I asked him whether this has something to do with patriotism. He replied abruptly: "I love my country, but my country doesn't love me! They won't do a thing to protect our business interests!"

"The country," as embodied in acts of local officials, Leung experienced in a prohibitive and even vicious sense – he was fined arbitrarily several times, and his brother-in-law, as mentioned earlier, was put in jail without a trial. He has a very strong sense of insecurity in China and is very critical towards mainland officials. Nevertheless, the huge national market remains a key target for his company. Selling his own brand of Hong Kong-style products all over China is not only a personal ambition but also a huge corporate opportunity. The nation here clearly appears not in a direct patriotic sense, but in the strategic planning of the company to exploit the emerging national market. "Belonging to a nation" is for Leung a matter of belonging to a lucrative national market; but by exploiting that market he is also aiding consumers, and, by some interpretations anyway, indeed serving his country.

Let us end this section by talking about an interesting interview in which the interviewee asked me (Ma) about the possibility of starting a new business with her. Ms Chen was formerly a pilot in the Chinese Air Force; she now works for a government-owned airline and has recently bought a luxurious flat in Shenzhen. The planned interview was about how she decorates her flat (I was seeking to investigate the Hong Kong–China linkages of "taste"), but the conversation abruptly turned to the subject of business ventures. Saying that it was a much anticipated decision to leave the government unit and start her own business like many of her peers, Ms Chen proposed to work with me on a very "lucrative" project of producing and retailing chartered water purifiers. She pulled out some documents from her bag and explained how it was a sure-win project. "I am well connected to people in high places in all the major cities of the country!" she explained. Endorsed by a professor from Hong Kong, the product would have a high prestige in the mainland market. Her plan was to start a joint-venture company in Hong Kong and build a factory in Shenzhen. She could take care of all the official arrangements in China and secure the chartered retailing right in all major cities in China. In her analysis, many newly emergent middle-class families fancy a modern and environmentally friendly home. A chartered water purifier produced and distributed by a Hong Kong company would be a much sought after item for modern Chinese homes. It was indeed a quite sophisticated plan. Honestly speaking, I found myself wavering, secretly entertaining the idea of making big money in this rising national market.

Factory owner Mr Leung later told me that this kind of business proposal is not uncommon in China. Ms Chen was eager to walk in the footsteps of her friends who have left the government and made their fortunes in the national market. In her plan, recruiting a Hong Kong partner is worthwhile because Hong Kong, as part of the great nation, is valued as a symbol of good quality, more than is mainland China. Combining the cultural capital of a Hong Kong professor and her own social capital (her "connections" [*guanxi*] in the military), she believed her project could be translated into considerable economic gain. This conversation was revealing in the sense that after years of patriotic discipline in the army, Ms Chen was talking enthusiastically about the nation not in terms of the state and its glory but the market and its potential for profit. The nation in

this sense is not a collective that demands personal sacrifice, but a realm of opportunities for the personal pursuit of wealth and "the good life." If, in Chapter 1's analysis, Hong Kong has been equated with the discourse of the market and China with the discourse of the state, we here see China too now viewed as a vast field for the pursuit of wealth through the market. But, as we have earlier intimated, the discourse of the market too may serve as a means of "belonging to a nation" – even if this form of belonging may be very different from that envisaged by the Chinese state.

Conclusion

In examining how the cultural imaginations of some Hong Kong people are expanding because of their experiences in south China, this chapter explores how national identity may be fostered not through a "top down" approach – government-promulgated discourses about the greatness of the nation – but through the "bottom up" experiences of ordinary people's everyday lives. To the once de-nationalized community of Hong Kong, emotionally loaded patriotic discourses are active and effective only on brief occasions of dramatic international conflicts or contests, and generally don't work very well. However, the nation, in a more indirect sense, powerfully reveals itself in the changing routines of everyday life. As more and more Hong Kong people travel to and live and do business in mainland China, the idea of a territorially cocooned Hong Kong has given way before the fragmented yet concrete notion of the nation. This version of the nation is significantly different from the national identity that the Hong Kong government has attempted, through mass media and schooling, to instill in Hong Kong people; it is also very different from the national identity that the mainland Chinese government seeks to foster through its exhortations. This version of the nation held by the Hong Kong sojourners in China is less abstract and official, more empirical and everyday; this is the version of the nation that is most effectively causing Hong Kong people to revise their concept of China and identify themselves with China.

This analysis has depicted only a tiny fragment of the panorama of emerging life worlds in south China. This analysis is of a sensitive zone in south China, in which can be seen the changing Hong Kong notion of the nation in a unique moment of historical transformation. In this zone, the "nation" enters into the popular imagination of northbound Hong Kong people as a huge national territory, a collective of a great diversity of people, an embodiment of familial networks, and a huge consumer market. These ideas of the nation help breach the mental walls defending Hong Kong against Chineseness, and offer a new perception of what it means to be Chinese. The people of Hong Kong and south China are producing a regional hybridized culture that is gradually overcoming the sharp boundaries once drawn by many Hong Kong people *vis-à-vis* their Chinese neighbors; the binary of Hong Kong/China is being replaced by pluralized points of reference (north, south, urban, rural China) under the catch-all discourse of market-driven post-socialist China. This emerging national

imagination is very different from the official discourse of patriotism; it is regional, hybridized, market-driven, gendered, and often very critical of the unrestrained power of the Chinese state. This is indeed Hong Kong people's "learning to belong to a nation"; but it is not the same nation that the Chinese state seeks to promulgate.

Indeed, this chapter hints at an alternative notion of "learning to belong to a nation" taking shape among some Hong Kong people. We discussed in Chapter 1 how people throughout the world are shaped by two dominant discourses, the discourse of the state and the discourse of the market, the former holding that one must cherish and defend one's own particular culture, society, and nation, and the latter holding that one can buy and be anything in the world that one desires. Most people in the world adhere to both these discourses, despite the fact that they are contradictory; but many Hong Kong people have adhered solely to the discourse of the market in recent decades. In the decade following Hong Kong's return to China, the discourse of the state has powerfully entered Hong Kong life, but many in Hong Kong have refused to fully accept it, continuing to adhere to the discourse of the market, as we've seen. However, might there be an alternative means of "belonging to a nation" other than that offered by the discourse of the state? This chapter, adding to preceding chapters, has offered the idea that "belonging to a nation" may be accomplished not just through the discourse of the state, but also through the discourse of the market – a fundamentally new form of "belonging to a nation." Let us now, in this book's final chapter, explore what such a new form of belonging entails and implies.

9 Hong Kong's market-based national identity

Harbinger of a global future?

Let us briefly review where we have been in this book. The book's introductory chapter discussed how many Hong Kong people, unlike people elsewhere, have not had a sense of belonging to a nation. It asked why people throughout the world feel that they belong to a nation – a recent development in history – and why Hong Kong people, perhaps uniquely, have felt that they did not belong to a nation. It also examined the discourses of state and market, and how most people in the world have been shaped by both of these discourses, but how many Hong Kong people have been shaped only by the discourse of the market, giving some of them a particular incomprehension as to what it means to "belong to a nation."

Chapter 2 discussed the history of Hong Kong from the early post-war period through 1983: how many Hong Kong people changed in these years from feeling closely attached to China and its people to come to instead embrace, in the 1970s, their own separate identity as Hongkongers apart from China. Chapter 3 discussed how, in 1982, it suddenly became apparent that Hong Kong was indeed to be returned to China; it described the subsequent course of political reunification over the past two decades, from the Tiananmen Square incident, to the efforts at political reform in the early 1990s, to the handover itself, to the massive public protests of 1 July 2003 and 2004, and how these events have expressed and reflected the ambiguity and unease felt by many in Hong Kong over their new embrace by China.

Chapter 4 examined mass media in Hong Kong over the past thirty years, and the shift, at least on television, from mainland Chinese being portrayed as alien bumpkins to being portrayed as warm and sympathetic human beings – a shift in the portrayal of mainlanders from "other" to "self," and a shift in the portrayal of China from foreign country to one's own country of which one is enjoined to be proud. Chapter 5 considered education into national belonging in Hong Kong's schools, and the shift from depoliticized, de-nationalized civic education to the beginnings of national education, teaching students to "love their country" – although the gap between state and culture remains profound, making the ultimate outcome of this education unclear. Chapter 6 considered, through a battery of statistical surveys as well as interviews, the varieties of national identity in Hong Kong today; it found that while many symbols of China are becoming more

positively viewed in Hong Kong today, significant gaps remain between Hong Kong and the mainland. It also found in its interviews a range of Hong Kong attitudes towards China, from wholesale rejection of Chineseness, to pragmatic acceptance, to a full-throated nationalism long repressed during the colonial years.

Chapter 7 analyzed "belonging to a nation" among Chinese, American, and Hong Kong university students, and delineated the differences between these groups, with Hong Kong students often remaining outliers, in not yet under-standing the "belonging to a nation" that is taken as wholly natural by the Americans and mainland Chinese in common. Some Hong Kong students, not fully understanding the "belonging to a nation" experienced by Americans and main-land Chinese, evaluate the symbols of the state in terms of the discourse of the market, and find those symbols wanting. Chapter 8 examined Hongkongers in mainland China, in their daily lives and interactions, and explored the new ver-sions of "belonging to a nation" that this served to create within their minds: not the nation as set forth by the Chinese state, but a different version of the nation, based in the spatial vastness of China, in revitalized kinship ties across the Hong Kong–China border, and in the allure of China as a national market – an allure that may lead signal the emergence of a new form of "belonging to a nation" now being pioneered in Hong Kong, as we will discuss in this chapter.

These chapters as a whole give a comprehensive picture of how Hong Kong has unlearned and is again learning how to "belong to a nation." In this final, concluding chapter, we return to some of the larger questions of what it means to belong to a nation posed in our initial chapter, and addressed in passing in all the chapters since. This concluding chapter considers the broadest implications of Hong Kong's estrangement from and as yet unfulfilled reunification with the Chinese nation.

The particular circumstances of Hong Kong

Much of what we have discussed in this book is unique to Hong Kong. In most colonized societies that have become independent over the past sixty years, the pattern has been one of rejecting the colonizer and celebrating one's own new-found independence. This has not been the case in Hong Kong, as we saw in Chapters 2 and 3. In Hong Kong, although there was indeed resistance to the British occasionally expressed in earlier eras, in the post-war era, and particu-larly during the 1967 riots, Great Britain became broadly accepted by many although not by all for providing an effective and reasonably clean government under the circumstances, and cloaking its power within an array of administra-tive procedures that promoted "fairness." At the same time, China, Hong Kong's obvious homeland, became distinctly foreign to Hong Kong: a society from which many in Hong Kong had fled, and which now was a communist dictator-ship. It seems that a majority of people in Hong Kong in the 1980s and early 1990s sought not freedom from the colonizer and a return to the motherland, but rather freedom to continue living under the status quo and to not return to the

motherland. This legacy remains today – this is why, despite the increasing cultural *rapprochement* of Hong Kong and China, many in Hong Kong remain unwilling to fully immerse themselves in the Chinese nation, at least not in that nation as defined by the Chinese state.

This Hong Kong reluctance to embrace China has been in large part a matter of practical self-interest – despite the fact that they were of Chinese ethnicity, and in this sense indeed belonged to the Chinese nation to the north, many in Hong Kong, with their parents' or their own personal experiences of confiscation of property or political purges under socialist authoritarianism, have felt that their hard-earned prosperity could be safeguarded more effectively by the British colonial government than by Beijing. This was clearly the case when China was unambiguously communist, but remained true later as well: while China in the early 1980s had begun to embrace capitalism, and by the 1990s had become the world's fastest-growing economy, it has remained rife with corruption and lacking in the rule of law.

Some in Hong Kong have rejected China's national embrace primarily for political reasons: they have espoused democracy over dictatorship, and have been repelled by China's censorship and lack of human rights. But many more have rejected China's national embrace for economic reasons. Hong Kong became extraordinarily wealthy in the 1980s and 1990s, moving to the top cohort of developed nations in *per capita* income; while China too began rapidly developing in the 1990s, it remained a full order of magnitude poorer than Hong Kong. In terms of comparative *per capita* income, Hong Kong's rejoining China in 1997 resembles Los Angeles being asked to rejoin Mexico after 150 years as an American colony.[1] There have been rough parallels to this elsewhere in the world: for example, when an impoverished and politically spent East Germany was merged into an affluent and politically triumphant West Germany, as might eventually happen with North Korea and South Korea as well. Certainly Hong Kong has resembled these societies in a personal sense: the family linkages of Hong Kong people across the Chinese border described in Chapter 8 have their obvious German and Korean parallels. But in a larger economic and political sense, Hong Kong differs from these societies: in the case of Hong Kong, a small, economically vibrant society has been taken over by a much less affluent society that is a vast political and economic behemoth, containing a fifth of the world's people.

The major reason why this process has been relatively successful is that China continues to grow economically to such an extraordinary degree: the allure of China's great national market is what has made the handover of Hong Kong to China a positive development for many in Hong Kong, as Chapters 3 and 8 both discuss. Indeed, following the lure of the Chinese national market has in recent years become a matter of practical self-interest for Hong Kong people. Many Hong Kong people have felt, in the years before and after the handover, considerable attraction towards the Chinese nation as represented in tradition, as Chapter 6 emphasized, but little towards the Chinese nation as represented by the Chinese state today. In the decades before the handover, many Hong Kong people were alienated from China; and the British colonizer sought to

de-emphasize the nation for the sake of its own legitimacy, as we have discussed. Hong Kong people, between a colonizer that sought to distance itself from any responsibility to provide its own national identity to its colonial subjects – as is typical of many colonizing powers – and a home country that in its communism and authoritarianism seemed distinctly unattractive, was left with no nation to belong to, but only Hong Kong itself. The legacy of this situation remains apparent in the attitudes of many in Hong Kong today.

Despite this, as we've seen, Hong Kong – unlike its parallel city-society, Singapore, which has shaped in many of its citizens a clear sense of national identity (see Koh 2005) – never itself emerged as a locus of nationalist loyalty. The reason for this is clear. Until the 1970s, many in Hong Kong held to a "refugee mentality," "on their way to somewhere else," as Chapter 2 tells us; they sought to make Hong Kong a stepping stone on the way to Canada or Australia or Singapore or Great Britain or the United States or other places throughout the world in order to find refuge from an environment overwhelmed by economic hardship and political turmoil. This refugee mentality subsequently gave way to a new emphasis on "Hong Kong as home"; but within just a few short years Hong Kong's return to China was decided. Thus, the idea of "Hong Kong as home" never had a real chance to develop – it vanished before it could ever really emerge. In several of this book's chapters (Chapters 1 and 6), surveys of identity have been discussed, contrasting "Hong Kong identity" with "Chinese identity"; but these surveys emerged only in the 1980s, after a separate Hong Kong identity had, in a sense, already been given its death warrant (see Abbas 1997 for one treatment of this): Hong Kong was to be part of China. In Chapter 1, we discussed how no Hong Kong "patriot" had ever been willing to die for Hong Kong, and how those who expressed their Hong Kong identity were, in the 1990s, those who were most willing to leave Hong Kong – an attitude that remains strong today, according to some surveys if not others, as we saw in Chapter 7. Hong Kong has not been the prime locus of many of its residents' loyalty. Instead, that locus of loyalty has been these residents' own families within the global market

In the absence of a sense of nation among many in Hong Kong, and of loyalty to any specific society, money, in the broadest sense of the term, became Hong Kong's *raison d'être*, it has often been claimed, not without a degree of truth – money and family were all that could be relied upon. Hong Kong people, we argued in Chapter 1, unshaped by the discourse of the state, became heavily shaped by the discourse of the market. We have seen evidence of this market mentality throughout the book. There was the Hong Kong colonial government's "administrative absorption of politics" (King 1974) in the years following the 1967 riots, as discussed in Chapter 2, effectively removing political contention over the nation from the public realm and paving the way for the emergence of an unrestrained market mentality among Hong Kong people; this led, by the late 1980s and early 1990s, to the view that emigration was a personal choice, removed from any moral or national considerations, as discussed in Chapter 3, and also to the attitude of many Hong Kong people in the 1990s

that they should avoid confrontation with Beijing because of personal "cost–benefit calculation" rather than a sense of "loving the country." More recently, as discussed in Chapter 4, Hong Kong television stations have favorably depicted mainland Chinese characters not, apparently, for patriotic reasons but in order to cultivate the Chinese market. Hong Kong people in recent years, as one of Chapter 6's surveys shows us, have until recently identified as much with the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank Building as with the Chinese flag, their own national flag today. They may adapt, as some of this chapter's interviews showed us, a pragmatic, situational, flexible nationalism: a nationalism based on the values of the market that may lead to loyalty to the nation but probably not to the state as it now stands. In Chapter 7, we saw how Hong Kong students see loving their nation not as a matter of civic duty so much as an individual choice; and we saw how some Hong Kong students view the Chinese flag as unfashionable and of bad design – not as the symbol of the nation but simply as an unfashionable product to be spurned. Chapter 8 depicted this pragmatic nationalism of Hongkongers in China, who see China not as a state to be loyal to but as a market to make a profit in and to consume from.

It thus seems that in Hong Kong today, even though the discourse of the state is being trumpeted as never before, there remains a marked lack of comprehension as to "belonging to a nation." This is not only a matter of many Hong Kong people being disaffected towards China; more, it is a fundamental misunderstanding as to what it means to belong to any nation. Chapter 4, on the mass media, and Chapter 5 on education, showed that affection towards Chinese people and love for China, one's country, is indeed being emphasized in Hong Kong today. However, these and other chapters give reasons for believing that the message is not yet fully striking home – many Hong Kong people do not yet really understand what it means to fully belong to one's country, one's nation as spoken for by one's state. This may be changing, especially as children receive training into national belonging that their parents may never have received – a change in education that as a survey reported in Chapter 5 reveals (Hong Kong Transition Project 2005: 19) is largely approved by Hong Kong people. One of Chapter 6's surveys reveals that close to half of Hong Kong people in 2006 have come to feel a sense of pride in the Chinese national flag, as was not the case in earlier years. This may also be changing as many Hong Kong people, propelled by the attraction of the great national market, become increasingly immersed in China, and accept the nation as their home – a new, pragmatic form of national belonging derived not from the discourse of the state but from the discourse of the market, but that nonetheless may in effect converge with the discourse of the state. "Learning to belong to a nation" is indeed taking place in Hong Kong today – but it seems fair to say that it has not fully entered the hearts of Hong Kong people as a whole. That the Hong Kong SAR government has to work so hard on Hong Kong's people to get them to "learn to belong to a nation" is highly telling.

The specific historical circumstances of Hong Kong have shaped Hong Kong people to not yet fully understand what it means to belong to a nation. These

circumstances have been unique to Hong Kong – there are very particular reasons why Hong Kong has not learned to belong to a nation, reasons that apply only to Hong Kong. But the fact of not fully belonging to a nation, of not fully understanding the sense of belonging to a nation, transcends Hong Kong, in having something to say to all of us, as we will now discuss.

The problematic nature of learning to belong to a nation

The simplest broad lesson of this book is that learning to belong to a nation is by no means unproblematic. There is of course a crucial difference between a cognitive sense of belonging to a nation, and an emotional sense of belonging to a nation. All Hong Kong people of sound mind over the age of five are aware that Hong Kong now is a part of China: they themselves indeed belong to a nation. However, only some – apparently a minority, as we've seen at various points in the preceding chapters – have fully accepted this fact emotionally, and made the emotional commitment to one's nation that in most societies seems to accompany this cognitive knowledge. In societies such as the United States and China, "belonging to one's country" means not just holding one's country's passport, but also having an affective feeling towards one's country; it is perhaps only a slight exaggeration to say that "belonging to one's country" in effect means, for most people, "loving one's country."

This may be less true in less nationalistic countries. Interviews by Mathews with citizens of Holland, Norway, Germany, and Japan, among other countries, reveal that they don't often say "I love my country" but make milder, more culturally rooted statements: "I really like how people live in Norway," or even "I couldn't live without Japanese food." Cross-national statistical surveys (Inglehart *et al.* 2004) show a wide variation among different countries as to senses of national identity, as we saw in Chapter 1. All in all, it seems plausible to argue that the United States and China are the most nationalistic large countries in the world, and the equation of "belonging to country" and "love for country" that may characterize them may be less true in these other countries. And yet citizens of these other countries too do not tend to speak of their countries in an emotionally neutral way: for at least some of those we interviewed from these societies "belonging" did indeed seem to connote "love."

In Hong Kong this emotional feeling is certainly not lacking in some areas, as Chapter 6 showed us: almost 80 percent of Hong Kong respondents feel a sense of pride towards the Great Wall, the paramount symbol of China, one of the chapter's surveys reveals. But that basic unquestioned love for country that is taken for granted in most societies today is not yet the case in Hong Kong. Chapter 6's survey also shows that many have an ambivalence towards China today: even after the large upsurge in feelings of pride and/or affection towards the national flag and the national anthem shown in the 2006 survey, fewer than half of respondents say they hold such emotions. A survey of university students cited in Chapter 5 (Au and Cheung 2004) showed that half of students surveyed felt love for country and half felt indifference. We have found no comparable

figures for the population of Hong Kong at large – interestingly, and perhaps revealingly, Hong Kong pollsters don't seem to ask the question of whether or not respondents love their country. It does seem clear, however, that love for country in Hong Kong is not taken for granted but is distinctly a matter of opinion – it is up for grabs, a choice more than a duty. It is, in Hong Kong today if not necessarily tomorrow, quite plausible not to love one's country.

In many societies in the world today it is definitely not plausible not to love one's country, largely because training in love for country takes place at an early age, before one can critically contest that training, and is offered by teachers and other adults who fundamentally believe in the basic rightness of loving one's country. There is thus never any chance to challenge that love. In Hong Kong, neither of these conditions has been the case. Exhortations and training into loving one's country have largely taken place towards those older children and adults who have not previously been trained to love their country. Persuasion into such love may be difficult, since dissenting voices can readily be heard in the mass media and everyday life; those who teach may themselves not be fully convinced of the necessity or importance of loving one's country, as we saw from various teachers and students' comments in Chapter 5. Few Americans or Mexicans or French say, "You shouldn't love your country" – such voices are almost unheard, and unheard of – but those voices in Hong Kong, while much diminished as opposed to fifteen years ago, can indeed be heard on radio and television and in classrooms and seen in newspapers and magazines. Loving one's country can't simply be taken for granted, since the alternative of non-love – or at least keeping a distance from the nation's embrace – can be ascertained. The reality of this situation is apparent in the interviews reported in Chapter 7, with American and Chinese students often united in their sense of love for their different countries, as against a thoroughly uncomprehending Hong Kong student.

The difficulties in creating an emotional sense of belonging to one's country are illustrated by two of the volumes mentioned in Chapter 5, those of Eugen Weber and Robert J. Smith. Weber's *Peasants into Frenchmen* (1976) depicts the long process through which French identity was instilled in those many inhabitants of France in the fifty years before World War I who had no concept of such an identity. Despite the fact that the French Revolution signalled the birth of the modern idea of the nation, almost eighty years later, in the 1860s, many rural dwellers still had no idea that they were French (1976: 110). This transformation in identity did not take place until the last decades of the nineteenth century. As Weber writes, "Patriotic feelings on the national level, far from instinctive, had to be learned…. A vast program of indoctrination was plainly called for to persuade people that the fatherland extended beyond its evident limits to something vast and intangible called France" (1976: 114, 334). This indoctrination involved the teaching of a common French language, the universal distribution by the state of national maps to schools, and instruction in such national catechism as "The fatherland is not your village, your province, it is all of France." (1976: 333).

In a different historical context, Smith (1983: 9–36) discusses the processes through which Japanese national identity was inculcated. He examines how the Meiji rulers realized in the late 1880s that an emotional attachment to national identity could most efficiently be promulgated through children's daily recitation of "The Imperial Rescript on Education," a document attesting that the biological family was also the family of the nation, under the emperor, the father of the nation. The eventual success of this strategy is evident in the apparent wholeheartedness with which Japanese fought and killed for their country in World War II, a half-century later (although now much they actually believed in these exhortations remains an open question in Japan and elsewhere: Smith 1983: 36; Ohnuki-Tierney 2002). These are just two of a number of books that describe how teaching a populace to "learn to belong to a nation" is no easy matter, but involves intense effort; but that effort, if sustained, can indeed lead to a love for country that becomes wholly taken for granted, a love for country that many willingly sacrifice their lives for.

Hong Kong today is in a somewhat similar situation to France and Japan in the late nineteenth century, in not yet wholeheartedly belonging to a nation. But unlike those societies, Hong Kong has been exposed to capitalism and globalization, the information explosion and skepticism of our current age; thus the processes that molded those societies' senses of national identity may or may not prove to be effective in Hong Kong.

Education into national identity, as mentioned above, is best done at an early age. We saw in Chapter 6 how those Hongkongers who grew up on the mainland may have a much stronger sense of belonging to the nation than those who grew up in Hong Kong. Students in Hong Kong, in our experience, show a gap between those who came to live in Hong Kong at age three or four and those who came to Hong Kong at age ten or twelve; the former tend to be no different from Hong Kong students in their national feelings, whereas the latter are on average more patriotic than those who grew up in Hong Kong, and tend often to be similar to mainland Chinese students in their views. The early years of education seem to be of pivotal importance in instilling national feeling, feeling that may then remain to at least some extent throughout one's life.

The findings of Chapter 7 support this. We have seen how a pivotal element in the national training of Chinese and American students was the early and repeated exposure to national flag and anthem and pledges of allegiance; later, more critical instruction in subjects such as history (at least in the United States) often does not seem to much shake this early indoctrination. The many individual differences in young people from these two different societies are largely – although by no means entirely – eclipsed in their senses of "belonging to a nation," through the intense training into national belonging to which Americans and Chinese have been subjected in common. Hong Kong Chinese have yet to be fully subjected to this, as we saw in Chapter 5. In Hong Kong, as we discussed in Chapter 4, the mass media are increasingly portraying the mainland as Hong Kong people's home, and this may be becoming taken for granted bit by bit; certainly the idea that mainlanders are "backward" is an idea that is

progressively fading, although it still occasionally appears in the mass media. But the idea of China as one's beloved country has yet to fully take root, despite the Chinese national anthem played on television every night, and despite a degree of training in schools (albeit minimal training compared to China and the United States). Education into national identity in Hong Kong schools is indeed beginning, but only in a fragile way.

Judging from both the tentativeness of such education, and the lack of taken-for-granted unanimity in mass media, it seems clear that conditions are not yet ripe for Hong Kong people as a whole to unambiguously feel that they belong to their nation. This is most apparent when the so-called "Hong Kong way of life" confronts Chinese nationalism and the nationalistic perspective, as we have seen in Chapter 3. Resistance to the imposition of a nationalistic perspective, whether about disagreement over the pace of democratization or revisions in textbooks regarding Hong Kon–China relations, continues to be strong and tenacious. As Chapter 8 showed us in its portrayal of Hong Kong people sojourning in mainland China, there is indeed a sense of national belonging being developed in Hong Kong, but it is significantly different than that which the mainland government seeks to foster. In Hong Kong today, "learning to belong to a nation" is a process that remains incomplete, and that involves a learning that may be distinctly different from what the Chinese state envisions – involving not allegiance to the state as opposed to the market, but allegiance to the state through the market.

Loving one's nation, loving one's state

There is, of course, a crucial difference between loving one's country and loving one's current government – between loving the nation and loving the state. Many Americans, Japanese, Mexican, or French may say, "I detest my country's current government." However, almost none of these people would say, "I hate my country," or even "I don't care about my country." These words are for most citizens of these countries not only taboo, but virtually unthinkable. This is because the state, or a succession of states, has succeeded in establishing the premise that underlying the state, which may be questioned and denounced, there is the nation, which cannot easily be questioned or denounced. In Hong Kong too this has happened to a large degree: a large majority of Hong Kong people feel a significant sense of pride in Chinese traditional symbols, as we have seen, and by implication, in themselves being Chinese. But few claim to love the current Chinese state. It is this sense of the illegitimacy of the current Chinese state – and the fact that this state was not chosen by most Hong Kong people, but rather once fled and then once again forced upon them – that is key to understanding Hong Kong people's uneasy sense of Hong Kong's "belonging to a nation" today.

In this context, we must consider the importance of democracy, in legitimizing the tie of state to nation. In a democracy, one's government has generally been chosen by a plurality of the voters, and may be removed from power by

those voters; this fact means that while a government may completely lose favor, that loss of favor will not threaten the underlying legitimacy of the nation, since the government will sooner or later be removed, but national institutions will remain. It is difficult to imagine an American president more reviled by many Americans than George W. Bush (or, by a very different group of Americans, Bill Clinton); yet very few of those Americans will say, "I despise my country."[2] The problem with the Chinese state is that it lacks this institutionalized mechanism for its government's removal; it is not a democracy but a dictatorship, and thus it cannot be removed, except through revolution or fundamental reform.

The claim of the state to represent the nation is thus more credible in a democracy than in a dictatorship like China's. If China were a democracy, then it would be less problematic for many in Hong Kong to love their country. Indeed, if China were a democracy, there probably would have been no need to write this book, since the problem of "belonging to a nation" would have been largely although not entirely solved (solved in that the Chinese government would have earned popularly sanctioned legitimacy; unsolved in that the large gap in affluence between Hong Kong and China would presumably remain). Without democracy, education into loving one's nation becomes patriotic education, a contradiction if education is about critical thinking and patriotism is about prioritizing the state's ideological promotion of the nation over other concerns. And without democracy, the nation is hollow, since the state that claims it represents the nation is not representing the interests of the majority through legitimate channels and is not protecting the well-being of the people under the umbrella of citizenship and human rights. Because China is not a democracy, it remains illegitimate in many Hong Kong people's eyes, and belonging to a nation led by such a state remains problematic. The massive Hong Kong protests of 1 July 2003 and 1 July 2004 discussed in Chapter 3 implicitly or explicitly sought democracy in Hong Kong, as if to claim that Hong Kong is not China, and to seek to unify society and government in a way that China disallows.

In Hong Kong, it is thus relatively easy to love the Chinese nation of the Great Wall, Confucius, Chinese tradition and literature and ethnicity, but not the state, the communist government that claims to represent the Chinese nation: this is the current situation of "learning to belong to a nation" in Hong Kong. This is what we have seen throughout this book. Chapter 4 revealed that while Hong Kong people today are happy to accept a television character like "Auntie Nice" as one of their own – a mainlander becoming indistinguishable from a Hongkonger – some continue to have distinct misgivings about the playing of the Chinese national anthem on Hong Kong television, even in a toned-down form. Chapter 5 discussed how the Hong Kong school curriculum can easily teach students to have pride in the Chinese past but shies away from dealing with the Chinese political present. Chapter 6 showed that Hong Kong people increasingly feel that mainland Chinese and Hong Kong people are becoming similar in their characters, except in the crucial matter of political values and patriotism, where there remains a gap.

Chapter 7 showed that while some Hong Kong students embrace their Chineseness, they do not embrace the Chinese state's attempt to define this Chineseness for them – their ethnic Chineseness does not extend to love for the Chinese state. Chapter 8 showed that Hong Kong people in China are increasingly aware of the complexities of China, abandoning older stereotypes and seeing themselves as linked to their fellow Chinese in south China, but they remain detached from the versions of national identity set forth by the Chinese state. All of these chapters show how many Hong Kong people today have little difficulty accepting the Chinese nation – the Chineseness of past and present to which most people in Hong Kong feel that they themselves belong – but have a fundamental reluctance to accept the Chinese state: the current Chinese government and its claim to legitimately represent Chineseness.

The above discussion is quite true; and yet it does leave aside a critical subset of the Hong Kong population – those who accept neither state nor nation as the locus of their loyalty. Half of Hong Kong university students, as we've seen, claim to feel no love for country, neither nation nor state; these views resonate to at least some extent within the Hong Kong population as a whole, although to what extent is impossible to gauge.

All this seems to reflect the discourse of the market taking precedence over the discourse of the state, as we earlier discussed. The discourse of the market is often cool and critical, reflecting the canniness of the careful consumer and the calculations of the astute businessman. It also allows for maintaining distance, becoming emotionally detached and bracketing oneself from overriding moral concerns. The discourse of the state, in its exhortations of love and sacrifice for one's country, is often more emotional. Seeing the country through the discourse of the market leads the nation and the state to be apprehended less through emotion than through critical reason: a far less hospitable ground for the development of love for country. As long as the discourse of the market reigns paramount in many Hong Kong people's minds, nation may be viewed more favorably than state, but both may be kept, to some degree, at arm's length: neither will be able to fully inspire the uncritical love felt for their country by many in China and the United States in common. But it may be, as we will now discuss, that the discourse of the market may lead to a new form of "belonging to one's nation," if not necessarily "loving one's nation," a different form than that fostered by the discourse of the state. It may be that Hong Kong is a pioneer in the world in fostering this new form of "belonging to a nation."

Hong Kong and the morality of "belonging to a nation"

In the first chapter of this book, we asked why people worldwide belong to a nation. Our answer was that states today do an extraordinary job of promulgating and propagandizing the naturalness of belonging to a nation,[3] but that this alone does not explain it; more, individuals gain a deep sense of security from belonging to a nation, one that may be almost religious in nature. This explains why so many individuals seem willing to "die for their country" in time of war,

regardless of the rightness or wrongness of the cause for which they die – the well over 100 million people who were killed in wars in the twentieth century were for the most part willingly fighting, dying, and killing for their countries. This may represent an extreme – after all, most people who "belong to a country" do not die and kill for it and may not be willing to die or kill for it – but it is perhaps worth briefly asking, in the closing pages of this book: Is belonging to a nation a good thing? This question relates directly to the situation of Hong Kong, which is now in the process of deciding whether or not to belong to a nation; but it of course transcends Hong Kong.

In a noted 1984 essay, the philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre asks, "Is patriotism a virtue?" (MacIntyre 2002). Patriotism, he points out, is particular and personal – it involves loyalty to one's own particular country, with citizens of different countries having feelings of patriotism only towards the country they happen to belong to. However, morality tends to be conceived of as impersonal: "It is to judge as any rational person would judge, independently of his or her interests, affections, and social position. And to act morally is to act in accordance with such impersonal judgments" (2002: 45). The view of morality as impersonal and patriotism as personal and particular is thus contradictory: one cannot be both patriotic and moral, on this view. MacIntyre lays out the complexities of this contradiction, coming down in favor of neither side; but other authors in a collection of essays examining the implications of MacIntyre's argument (Primoratz 2002) do clearly make judgments. Nathanson (2002: 87–104) comes out in favor of "moderate patriotism," arguing that citizens are justified in their patriotism, but only if their country earns their loyalty through its values and behavior: "Whether people ought to be patriotic depends on the qualities of their particular nations and governments. If nations lack the qualities that make them merit loyalty and devotion, then patriotism with respect to them is an inappropriate attitude" (2002: 102). Gomberg disagrees, arguing that "patriotism is like racism" (2002: 105–12); Goodin (2002: 141–65) asks, "What is so special about our fellow countrymen?" arguing, essentially, nothing: "In the present world system, it is often – perhaps ordinarily – wrong to give priority to the claims of our compatriots" (2002: 158). Primoratz (2002: 187–99) asks if patriotism is "morally allowed, required, or valuable?" arguing that it is no more than morally allowed: "it is not a moral virtue" (2002: 197). The essays of the moral philosophers in this book for the most part portray patriotism in a distinctly weak light; loving one's nation is not logically supportable, in their view. Other works by moral and political philosophers (for example Nathanson 1993), while not wholly dismissive of all forms of patriotism, are similarly skeptical of patriotism as a whole. It is remarkable that these philosophers, themselves growing up within the discourse of the state, are able to sufficiently detach themselves from this discourse to see its logical flaws; but that they are able to do so reveals the acute logical weakness of this discourse. These essays ask, "Why should one love one's country?" and most can offer no convincing reason why one should.

Other, more American-centered explorations of patriotism are more favorable to the idea of "loving one's country." Martha C. Nussbaum (1996) offers a

spirited argument in favor of cosmopolitanism over patriotism, which is then critiqued and criticized by an array of noted scholars (Cohen 1996). Their arguments are varied but tend to offer the common idea that cosmopolitanism is too thin a gruel to live on. Gertrude Himmelfarb writes that "Nussbaum speaks of the 'substantive universal values of justice and right'…. But where can we find those substantive, universal, common values?" (1996: 74–5) – only in the concrete world of nations, she argues. Michael McConnell argues that "patriotism and cosmopolitanism are not at odds. Human affections begin close to home; wider circles of affection grow out of, and are dependent upon, the closer and more natural ties" (1996: 79). In other words, cosmopolitanism grows only from familialism and perhaps patriotism. Charles Taylor argues that "we cannot do without patriotism in the modern world" (1996: 119). Modern democratic states, he argues, can function only on the basis of strong identification of citizens with their societies; only on that basis can cosmopolitanism truly emerge. Michael Walzer writes that "I am not a citizen of the world…. I am not even aware that there is a world such that one could be a citizen of" (1996: 125). All in all, these writers claim that cosmopolitanism cannot viably exist in today's world, since all universal sentiments can grow only from the national and local worlds more tangibly and immediately around one. We must belong to and love our nation, they seem to say, because no larger human entity exists to which we can plausibly give our love.

These two books contradict each other, with many contributors to Primoratz's book arguing that patriotism in its particularity is insufficient before the imperatives of universal morality, and many contributors to Cohen's book arguing that cosmopolitanism in its abstraction is insufficient in contrast to the more grounded love of country that is patriotism. But these very different books do set forth a basis of universal moral principles, or of cosmopolitanism as regarding all people in the world as one's fellow citizens; these are high ideals that may not be realizable in actual life, many of their contributions in common argue.

This is where Hong Kong comes in: Hong Kong, in the market mentality held by many of its people, offers a grounded alternative to patriotism and love of country that is not nearly so abstract or noble as universal morality or cosmopolitanism. For many in Hong Kong, global identity is based not on abstruse moral principles, but on the concreteness of the global market. This is the world of capitalism transcending national borders; this requires no reading of Kant or Tolstoy as to universal values transcending the nation, nor any superhuman moral effort to see all the world's people as one's brothers and sisters. Cosmopolitanism, in its pragmatic and practical Hong Kong variant, involves no more than looking out for oneself and one's family within the rules of the global market. This Hong Kong cosmopolitanism depends on no high ideals, but involves simply dependence on family, canniness as to business, considerable hard work, trust in the rule of law, and a degree of skepticism as to what the state may tell one.

This argument is that Hong Kong, in its adherence to the discourse of the market, offers an alternative to the discourse of the state; the market mentality of

many of Hong Kong's people may cause them to view their country with a rational, critical, distanced eye that in effect prevents them from fully "belonging to a nation" in the way that most other people in the world belong to a nation. However, it may be that for many in Hong Kong this market mentality will come increasingly to serve not simply as an alternative to "belonging to a nation," but also as an alternative *path* to "belonging to a nation." This is what Chapters 6 and 8, in particular, show us. The "pragmatic nationalists" portrayed in the concluding pages of Chapter 6, and the Hong Kong sojourners in south China depicted in Chapter 8 often seem to feel a significant sense of "belonging to the nation" but it is a belonging that is accompanied by self-interested calculation, as we have seen, and by a degree of skepticism as well.

We thus may see a new form of "belonging to a nation," one based not in the discourse of the state but in the discourse of the market. A market-based sense of national identity is characterized by individual choice, and self-interest paralleling national interest; it is "the patriotism of the rational," or to put it more unkindly, "the patriotism of the selfish." It is based not on the individual's sacrifice of self to country, but rather on the individual's investment of loyalty to country for one's own benefit; it is based, in an inversion of John F. Kennedy's famous words, on asking "not what you can do for your country" but rather on "what your country can do for you." Because it involves individual, voluntaristic choice, it is closer to the civic than to the ethnic pole of national identity, and is in this sense more characteristic of highly globalized societies such as Hong Kong (Jones and Smith 2001: 106). But it involves much more than civic identity alone. After all, civic conceptions of national identity, as discussed in Chapters 1 and 7, involve a chosen deep commitment to one's country, and the potential sacrifice of one's own self-interest for the sake of country; but market-based conceptions of national identity more often involve a naked calculation of self-interest: "I will love my country to the extent that it promotes that which I myself desire; but if it doesn't, why bother?"

All love for country is in an abstract sense based in self-interest, one might argue. One may gain from love of country a sense of belonging and meaning that makes one's life seem significant and meaningful. However, senses of national belonging based on the mentality of the market involve a far more concrete and, indeed, naked calculation of profit and loss: one feels loyalty to one's country to the extent that it brings direct benefit to oneself and one's concerns. The accusations occasionally brought against Hong Kong people that their love for country is only situational, a matter of "sunshine patriotism," are exactly a reflection of this market-based sense of belonging to a nation.

This new attitude towards "belonging to a nation" is akin to the "flexible citizenship" analyzed by Ong (1999), as discussed in Chapter 1. It also resonates with McCrone's discussion (1998: 138, 187) of how national identity today (what he calls "neo-nationalism") is no longer fixed and homogeneous, but shifting, plural, and situational, one of an array of complex allegiances individuals may hold. However, a key difference between these conceptions and national identity as held in Hong Kong is that in Hong Kong national identity is shifting

and flexible only to a certain degree. The dominant national identity for Hong Kong people today is Chinese; for most people, except for that significant minority who have familial links to other nations, there is little picking and choosing of national identities – although there is indeed considerable picking and choosing over how much to emphasize one's Hong Kong identity and how much to emphasize one's Chinese identity in different situations. The issue is one of how much to embrace Chinese national identity and how much to keep it at arm's length. The market mentality of Hong Kong people today involves a belonging to country that enables one to keep the country at arm's length; it is, in a sense, a belonging to country without fully belonging to country, in terms of giving one's country one's full emotional commitment.

Those who love China today – and we think here particularly of many of the mainland students in Hong Kong whom we have encountered – may see this Hong Kong attitude as philistine and self-serving, worthy only of contempt. In one mainland Chinese student's words (as said to Mathews), "You're supposed to love your country, but Hong Kong people don't … [Hong Kong people's attitude towards their country] is like marrying someone because he's rich, instead of because you love him." On the other hand, those who see China today as a dictatorship suppressing freedom – and we think of a few of our Hong Kong students, as well as of, for example, the editorial page of the *New York Times* – may see this attitude as a voice of freedom against a coercive state: "Why love a country that suppresses human rights and jails dissidents?" these students may say.

We who write this book recognize the validity of both these points of view. There is indeed something crass about many Hong Kong people's "belonging to a nation for the sake of profit" today, but there also is something fundamentally unlovable about the Chinese state that claims to represent the Chinese nation. But let us examine this issue more fundamentally. The Hong Kong market-based sense of belonging to a nation leads us to consider the state and the market as moral bases upon which to live. Both the discourse of the state and the discourse of the market are flawed as moral bases; the state may embody chauvinism, while the market may embody greed. We who write this book are deeply wary of the market, and certainly do not see the global market as a panacea for the world's ills. The kinds of calculative and strategic moves driven by the discourse of the market are problematic at times of crisis, when commitment and joint effort are what really matter. Indeed, a world governed only by the discourse of the market would be a terrifying place; there must be the checks and balances provided by civil society, and other such correctives.

However, in terms of belonging to a nation, it may be that the market is more benign than the state: the market may involve fleecing people of their wealth but usually not killing them, as so often over the past century states have seemed to require. Many Americans and mainland Chinese and citizens of other countries we have interviewed dismiss the possibility that they will engage in war for the sake of their nation: "I love my country, but I would never kill anyone for my country. That's crazy." But over and over again this century, we have seen cases in which rational people have become irrational, besotted with love of country

and willing to kill others for the sake of country. Would Hong Kong people be any different?[4] Some mainland Chinese we have spoken with believe that a war to bring Taiwan back to the mainland would be plausible and legitimate; few Hong Kong people yet say this, but might this attitude be coming? At a forum on national education in Hong Kong, one of us (Mathews) commented that the Japanese soldiers who committed the Nanjing massacre, perhaps killing hundreds of thousands of Chinese in the World War II incident documented powerfully but inaccurately by Chang (1997), loved their country too much; would Hong Kong people's love for China be any different? It would be totally different, he was assured – the Japanese were particularly perverse, as Chinese could never be. But looking at atrocities in times of conflict, from Nanjing and Auschwitz to Mylai, Tienanmen Square, and Abu Ghraib, it seems that no society is immune. It would be naïve to believe that Hong Kong people, if they learn to belong to and love the nation as most people elsewhere in the world do, would behave any differently.

But if we are correct in our sense that a new mode of "belonging to a nation" is emerging in Hong Kong, then people might indeed behave differently. There is no doubt that Hong Kong people are "learning to belong to a nation"; but as we have suggested, many Hong Kong people may be learning to belong to a nation in a distinctly new fashion – a belonging to a nation based on the discourse of the market that may not partake of some of the worst excesses of belonging as based on the discourse of the state.

Of course, just as the contradictory discourses of state and market coexist comfortably in the minds of people elsewhere in the world, so too, perhaps, this may come to pass in Hong Kong. People the world over live by both the discourse of the market and by the discourse of the state, as we discussed in Chapter 1, never seeing the contradiction in these discourses but utilizing each of them in different areas of their lives – following the discourse of the market when they go shopping, for example, and the discourse of the state when they salute the flag. But people in Hong Kong, because they have not been born and bred under the state and its socialization, but have been asked to embrace the state as thinking, rational beings, may be different.

Maybe Hong Kong people really have stumbled by accident into a new way of "belonging to the nation": a belonging to nation, and a love for nation, distinctly tempered with critical reason, a form of belonging to a nation that is not merely a passing phase but that will be an enduring alternative form of belonging. One intriguing bit of evidence to this effect lies in Hong Kong Chief Executive Donald Tsang's words. His predecessor, Tung Chee-hwa, frequently spoke of Hong Kong people's need to love China, using the standard discourse of the state; this is one reason why he was reviled. In contrast, Tsang has spoken of a very different form of belonging to a nation:

> [Hong Kong's] economic globalisation [is] … now no longer at odds with its integration into the mainland, Mr Tsang said, urging Hongkongers to close "the gulf in our hearts" between Hong Kong and the mainland's

economic development. "Only when we find a clear position for ourselves in the mainland's development can we define ourselves in the global economy," he said.

(Kwong 2006)

Tsang is here speaking of national identity as based in the discourse of the market: Hong Kong's belonging to a nation is an economic strategy, he is saying, not a matter of loving one's country but of creating a key market niche in the development of that country: "the gulf in our hearts" is not a gulf over loving the country but participating in the economy.

There may be other places in the world where there are senses of belonging to a nation somewhat parallel to that which we believe is emerging in Hong Kong. One thinks of Germany and Japan, societies so shocked by what the state and nation did in World War II that nationalism and patriotism have never since fully emerged among much of their populations, although the reckonings of history in the two societies have been quite different (see Buruma 1994). Many Hong Kong people have similarly repudiated their state–but it has not been their state, but that of the society next door, the elephant from which Hong Kong is but a flea dangling from its stomach. Because many Hong Kong people have not, until very recently, seen China as their own state and nation, their repudiation of nationalism and patriotism has taken a different form from that in Germany and Japan; very few in Hong Kong have felt guilt over the Chinese government's behaviour, for it has not been their government. This is why, although the lack of national feeling in Germany, Japan, and Hong Kong is similar, a particular form of market-based belonging to a nation is emerging in Hong Kong that is apparently not present in those two societies: it is, from all we have been able to ascertain, unique to Hong Kong as a dominant mode by which a population belongs to a nation. What we will now explore, in the final section of this book, is the larger significance of this new form of belonging.

Hong Kong and the future of the nation

In Chapter 7, we saw how some Hong Kong students envied Chinese and American students for being able to "naturally" belong to a nation, while other students felt not envy but pity; they felt that Chinese and American students in common had been subjected to a form of propaganda that they themselves had escaped. What is the significance of these opposing views? Many Hong Kong people, as we have seen, still lack that sense of the nation that most others in the world possess as their birthright; but what does this mean? Do Hong Kong people, in their continuing hesitation towards loving their country, represent a colonial past, coming only very lately to that world of nations and love of nation that the rest of the world has learned to take for granted? Or might Hong Kong people in their ongoing adherence to the discourse of the market over that of the state, and belonging to a nation in terms of the discourse of the market, represent

less a colonial past than a globalized future? Are Hong Kong people today relics of an earlier age or harbingers of an age to come?

Both these positions seem plausible. On one interpretation, the fact that Hong Kong people have not fully embraced their return to China is due to Hong Kong's colonial past, preventing them from belonging to their true national home. We have see considerable evidence for this view in the preceding chapters, from Hong Kong people's unusual lack of resentment towards their colonizers, as discussed in Chapter 3, to Hong Kong people's habit of taking Western names, as if to deny their own Chineseness, to some Hong Kong people's ongoing scorn towards mainlanders, as seen in Chapter 6 and elsewhere, to the teachers who can't fully teach national identity to their students because they themselves grew up in a colonial era that continues to shape their minds, as we saw in Chapter 5. A mainland scholar now teaching in the United States spoke to Mathews about the "Stockholm syndrome" that he felt Hong Kong people still suffered from – they had internalized the attitude of their colonizers, he believed, despite the fact that those colonizers had exploited and oppressed them: this is why they do not yet fully love their country almost a decade after the return of Hong Kong to its motherland. Many in Hong Kong would disagree, but who can say that there is not at least a grain of truth in this view? The "Westernized" quality in which Hong Kong people seem to feel pride (see Chapter 6's Table 2) may relate to the continuing colonization of Hong Kong people's minds: why can't Hong Kong people feel more pride in their own culture, ethnicity, and nation? True, the Chinese state may be less than fully admirable, but why can't Hong Kong people feel more pride in their own Chinese nation?

There is, however, another interpretation: the skeptical attitude that many Hong Kong people continue to maintain towards belonging to a nation may reflect less obsolete colonialism than onrushing globalization. Analysts such as Harvey (1989) and Jameson (1991), as mentioned in Chapter 1, have examined the power of capital to erode all boundaries, a process that to these analysts seems inexorable. If this book's argument is correct that in Hong Kong, more than elsewhere, the market has been discursively paramount over the state, then those in Hong Kong who hold the nation at arm's length, belonging to it only in terms of its "market value," may reflect not the past but the future: a world where the global market increasingly erodes the autonomy of states, and the loyalty of citizens to those states. Perhaps as Hong Kong is today, so the world as a whole tomorrow. Hong Kong may be a precursor of the rest of the world, a society that has been rendered free, through historical circumstance and the pull of the global market, of loyalty to nation, as may, by fits and starts, the rest of the world in its wake. Perhaps the new form of belonging to a nation now emerging in Hong Kong, a belonging based on cool and critical calculation and self-interest rather than passionate, potentially self-sacrificing love, will eventually take over the world.

The fate of national identity in the world of the future is a matter of considerable dispute. Lie (2004: 243) argues that "by the end of the twentieth century …

patriotic and militaristic nationalism was clearly in decline; the very assertion of national pride came to be seen as somewhat archaic." More extremely, Appadurai (1996: 19) asserts that "the nation-state … is on its last legs" before the onrush of globalization. Smith (1991: 176), on the other hand, claims that the nation "is likely to continue to command humanity's allegiances for a long time to come." Hannerz argues (1996) that there are increasing numbers of people for whom the nation no longer works as well as it once did, people who may ask the provocative question Hannerz poses, "What can your nation do for you that a good credit card cannot do?" (1996: 88). He concludes that the nation will continue into the future only because no obvious alternative to it has yet arisen. Hong Kong can be added to these analyses. It may be that – despite 11 September 2001 and its effects – over the long term the state, across the world, is becoming discursively eclipsed by the market. Hong Kong may represent the first society in recent world history to secede from the discourse of the state to embrace the discourse of the market in its "learning to belong to a nation."

But the irony of this hypothesis, if it is true, is that Hong Kong and the world as a whole may be discursively moving in opposite directions, with the world moving from state to market, and Hong Kong from market to state. Perhaps Hong Kong, in recent decades representing the future, is now, in its growing immersion into national identity as defined by the Chinese state, becoming the past. A number of mass media reports in recent years have described Hong Kong as being on a downhill slide; most famously, *Fortune* proclaimed in a 1995 cover story "The Death of Hong Kong" (Kraar 1995), saying that after 1 July 1997 Hong Kong's days as a capitalist paradise would be over: mainland China would wittingly or unwittingly destroy it. This, clearly, has not happened. In a purely economic sense, Hong Kong's financial downturn in the years after the handover has ended, and Hong Kong is prospering as much as it ever has. In a political sense, Hong Kong has overcome a number of threats with its freedom of speech and rule of law largely intact. Indeed, not many in the mid-1990s imagined that Hong Kong ten years later would enjoy the affluence, freedom, and vitality that it does today. In a more abstract sense, however, Hong Kong is indeed changing, as this book has shown. Hong Kong people are indeed slowly but surely learning to belong to and love their nation.

The future of Hong Kong's "learning to belong to a nation" very much remains to be seen, as this book, in all the particulars of its chapters, makes clear: will Hong Kong in coming decades come to fully embrace this learning or will it continue to resist? This depends on developments in China as much as in Hong Kong itself: if China continues to grow economically, and, perhaps more important, if it grows increasingly open in the political rights it allows, even becoming democratic, then Hong Kong's eventual "natural" allegiance to China is inevitable. But if China falters in its economic growth, and if it continues to repress its citizens in what they can know and express, and to breed cynicism in its citizens as to how much they can trust the impartial workings of the rule of law, then many Hong Kong people will continue to hold the Chinese nation at arm's length, regardless of the exhortations of "love for country" that the

Chinese and Hong Kong governments set forth upon Hong Kong. Hong Kong people may indeed come to love Chinese civilization and history all the more, but not the Chinese nation as represented by the Chinese state: they will belong to a nation in terms of the market.

The future of Hong Kong's belonging to a nation thus remains uncertain. In the face of such uncertainty, Hong Kong's present continues to have something important to teach: a rational skepticism about "belonging to a nation," and indeed, we have suggested, a new form of belonging to a nation. The nation in today's world is inevitable, but the way in which the nation is belonged to is not. We have expressed our uneasiness about the values of the market – it certainly is no panacea, as we have said. And yet, despite this, we believe that if the rest of the world were more like Hong Kong in its attitude towards belonging to a nation, the world would be a better place.

Notes

1 The significance of Hong Kong

1 We will later discuss these terms more fully, but to begin with some preliminary defi-
nitions: "Nation" we define as "the people within a society and their collective senti-
ments"; "state" we think of as "the administrative apparatus controlling and leading
the nation." "Country" (*gwokgà*) is the term most popularly used by our informants.
We too often use the term "country" when we are reflecting standard popular usage,
and in this context treat "nation" and "country" as synonymous; but it should be
remembered that "country" in popular usage may sometimes be used to connote that
"nation" and "state" are naturally conjoined, which they are not.

2 Anthropologists have devoted considerable energy in recent years to showing that the
categories of "man" and "woman" too are not unambiguously natural but are cultural
constructs; see Geertz (1983) and Caplan (1987). Nonetheless, the point remains:
most people in the world today – although not the Turks in Germany, nor the Uyghurs
or Tibetans in China, or members of many other ethnic minorities – view nationality
as just as "natural" a category as their sex.

3 This ambiguity has also been apparent in passports. In the decade before the hand-
over, Hong Kong residents were eligible to obtain British National (Overseas) pass-
ports, documents that would not, however, enable them to live in Great Britain.
Today, residents can obtain the HKSAR passport for Chinese nationals, but still must
pass border controls when going into mainland China, and thus in effect are treated
not as Chinese but as foreigners.

4 As we will discuss in Chapter 4, Hong Kong has a range of mass media expressing
different views: contrary to the commonly held assumptions of some who live outside
Hong Kong, Hong Kong's press remains quite free.

5 National identity is in at least some respects not so salient. As compared to gender iden-
tity, which, at least at a subconscious level, is almost always present in people's minds
(consider, for example, the acute embarrassment people feel upon accidentally entering
the "wrong" restroom), national identity may be out of mind much of the time when one
interacts with one's fellow citizens in everyday life. On the other hand, however, very
few people would be willing to die for their gender or their social class or occupation,
as many people appear to be willing to die for their family or, especially (since it has
been so often called for over the past two centuries) for their country.

6 There is a highly developed and contentious literature on nationalism and national
identity, theorizing on the basis of historical evidence as to definitions of terms such
as "nation," "state," and "nationalism." We largely steer clear of this literature,
because our interest lies primarily in explicating Hong Kong rather than in engaging
in extended theoretical debate; those who wish to engage more deeply in this litera-
ture might begin by consulting Hutchinson and Smith (1994), Oommen (1997), and
James (2006), as well as the books cited in our discussion.

7 "Minority nationalities" are those fifty-five official non-Han Chinese ethnic groups that have been accepted by the Chinese government as part of the Chinese nation, making up some 7 percent of the Chinese population.

8 This is an issue of controversy. Connor (1994: 45) argues that all national identity is ethnic – "a nation is a self-aware ethnic group" – implying that American national identity is fundamentally based on "whiteness," despite American efforts at creating a multiethnic society. Many minority Americans would agree with this view, as Mathews has found in interviews with Asian-Americans and African-Americans. Nonetheless, there is a fundamental difference between the relation of ethnicity to nationality in Japan and China as opposed to the United States; to a significant extent anyway, it seems that national identity in the United States has transcended ethnicity.

9 Even at the height of Hong Kong fears over its return to China following the Tiananmen Square incident, Great Britain was willing to grant full right of abode to only 50,000 Hong Kong households (Chan 1997: 25), a tiny fraction of Hong Kong's population, leading to the oft-voiced perception that "Great Britain betrayed Hong Kong" (Roberti 1996).

10 Some 95 percent of Hong Kong's population is ethnic Chinese. The largest fraction of the remaining 5 percent consists of Filipina and Indonesian maids for middle-class and upper-class Hong Kong families; Americans, Europeans and Japanese make up less than 2 percent of Hong Kong's population, but tend to occupy relatively prestigious positions in society. The issue is complicated by the fact that hundreds of thousands of affluent Hong Kong Chinese have American, Canadian, British, Australian or other states' passports; they are ethnically Chinese but, in a sense, "civically suspect."

11 Gellner (1997: 25) has written of how the two major principles of political legitimacy for states in the industrialized world are (1) economic growth, and (2) nationalism. Hong Kong's post-war British rulers, unable to foster the latter principle, focused wholly on the former.

12 Of course many Hong Kong people are not consistent, just like many people elsewhere in the world, adhering to each of these discourses at different moments and never noticing the contradiction.

2 Fleeing the nation, creating a local home, 1943–1983

1 Research on Hong Kong's social and economic history (for example, Carroll 2005, Hamashita 1997a, b, and Tsai 1993) has clearly shown the significance of pre-existing China-centered and overseas Chinese networks in shaping Hong Kong's growth. Hong Kong's success in tapping into those networks for economic growth was one of the most critical factors in shaping its socio-economic development from the 1850s on.

2 It must be emphasized that while a distinct Hong Kong identity was most obviously emergent in the last few decades of the colonial era, it was not found in post-war Hong Kong alone. For instance, Carroll (2005) discusses the Hong Kong Chinese identity of Ho Kai, a prominent Chinese leader in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Hong Kong. But what we find among Hong Kong people from the late 1960s and early 1970s onwards is very different from the pre-war local identity. The Hong Kong identity under discussion in the following sections is overwhelming and penetrative. It gave the people of Hong Kong a new point of anchorage, seeing themselves as possessing a distinct local culture, and seeing China as "the other." This was not the case for earlier forms of Hong Kong Chinese identity.

3 The numbers of these Vietnamese "boat people" fleeing to Hong Kong dropped significantly after the Geneva Conference in 1979. At the First Geneva Conference on Indochinese Refugees in July 1979, the United States, together with the United Kingdom, Australia, France, and Canada, reached agreement on becoming countries of resettlement. On the one hand, first-asylum countries agreed to continue receiving

refugees, and on the other, the communist Vietnamese government promised to stop illegal departures and to establish an Orderly Departure Program (ODP) under the auspices of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

3 Rejoining the nation: Hong Kong, 1983–2006

1 Student activists did bring up such moral issues. They organized a petition drive and issued an open letter to Mrs Thatcher insisting on the termination of colonial rule by 1997, and denouncing the three unequal treaties that initially brought Hong Kong under British colonialism (see Choy *et al.* 1998). But theirs were clearly minority voices in Hong Kong.

2 A survey carried out by the Institute of Human Resources Management suggested that "for every 100 people who left jobs to emigrate during 1995, another 60 came back to Hong Kong and were recruited." Most of these returnees came back "from Canada and Australia where the economies were not as buoyant" (Schloss 1996). On the returnees, see Census and Statistics Department (2000).

3 On the eve of the first anniversary of Hong Kong's return to China, people recalled their memory of the 1997 handover. In an interview with the *Hong Kong Economic Times*, Mr Shum, who left Hong Kong for Canada and came back to Hong Kong before July 1997 to sell souvenirs of the handover, suggested that "the local market showed little interest in the handover. My products were sold mainly in Stanley market and the Peak, places for tourists. However, after 1 July, the number of tourists dropped and our sales fell accordingly" (*Hong Kong Economic Times* 1998).

4 On the distinction between "cultural China" and "political China," see Mathews 1997. This article remarks on contradictions in Hong Kong's cultural identity and Hong Kong people's nationalist sentiments (Mathews 1997: 8): "At the Tiananmen demonstration, Hong Kong as *apart* from China was emphasized: Hong Kong as a free and democratic place that will resist the Chinese government's tyranny. At the tribute to David Chan [who drowned in a protest trip to the Diaoyu Islands], Hong Kong as *a part* of China was emphasized: Hong Kong and China unified in their Chineseness against a "militaristic" Japan. The different emphasis at these two demonstrations exemplifies in a nutshell the conflicting currents within contemporary Hong Kong identity at present."

5 Of course one may argue that the reception of the People's Liberation Army in the New Territories in the very early morning of 1 July 1997, whereby thousands of Hong Kong people were on hand to greet the army of their motherland, was an indicator of popular patriotism. But it is also true that most local people saw the organized activities welcoming the arrival of the People's Liberation Army as an example of mobilized and staged patriotism. The reception was indeed largely although not entirely staged.

6 The Chief Executive is elected by an election committee composed of 800 members from various sectors of society, predominantly pro-Beijing. The design of this system is intended to ensure Beijing of its firm control over the appointment of an "appropriate" Chief Executive.

7 Beijing reinterpreted the Basic Law twice after 1997, causing widespread dismay in Hong Kong. First, the National People's Congress Standing Committee, at the request of the Hong Kong SAR government, reinterpreted the Basic Law in order to deal with the right of abode of Hong Kong residents' offspring in mainland China in June 1999. Such a reinterpretation overrode the ruling of the Hong Kong SAR Court of Final Appeal earlier that year. Due to ambiguities in the Basic Law, the arrival of Hong Kong residents' China-born offspring was seen by the Hong Kong SAR government as a threat to social and economic order. The second reinterpretation of the Basic Law was Beijing's strategic move to pre-empt popular demands for further democratization (namely fully open and popular elections of the Chief Executive and seats in the Legis-

lative Council). China was not prepared to accommodate the popular demands for political reform expressed in the mass rallies in 2003 and 2004.

8 Election to seats in the legislature has been designed so that pro-democracy advocates' chances of obtaining a majority are highly unlikely. It is not only that they are handicapped by a system of proportional representation, ensuring that less popular candidates can also gain legislative seats; beyond this, their influence is counterbalanced by members of the legislature coming from the so-called functional constituencies, who are elected by a small number of voters who are of members of different professional groups. For these reasons, advocates of democracy are largely reduced to voicing out opposing ideas in the chamber. For details, see Cheng (2001).

4 Representing the nation in the Hong Kong mass media

1 China occasionally arrests and jails ethnic Chinese journalists and academics who report things it doesn't like, accusing them of being spies for Taiwan, among other crimes, and sometimes sentencing them to long prison terms. The victims include Zhao Yan, working for the *New York Times*, and Ching Cheong, working for the *Singapore Straits-Times*.

2 Many Hong Kong newspapers are distributed only in Hong Kong, and focus on their Hong Kong market; this is why *Apple Daily* can be profitable despite its anti-mainland China stance. However, the *Oriental Daily News*, Hong Kong's most profitable newspaper, is distributed on the mainland, and avoids criticizing China, not least for the sake of its advertising revenue

3 Even now, jumping lines is seen as a prime marker of "mainland" behavior in Hong Kong.

4 The Chinese title *Dashidai* literally means "great times." The serial was entitled in English by TVB as "The Greed of Man," but the literal translation from the Chinese better captures the title's connotations.

5 In an interview, executive producer K. F. Wei told Ma that the inspiration of this suicide-cum-homicide scene in the drama came from the soldiers firing on protesting students in the 4 June crackdown at Tiananmen Square in 1989.

6 Since Ma was invited to be the presenter of the program before eventually bowing out, he was able to closely observe the production process. See Ma (1999b).

7 Radio Television Hong Kong (RTHK), as mentioned in the last chapter, is a broadcasting organization funded by the Hong Kong government, but editorially independent. It has a full-blown radio broadcasting operation, operating seven stations, but does not have its own television channel; its limited television programs are broadcast on the two commercial broadcasters ATV and TVB.

8 Mainland children with either father or mother as Hong Kong citizens at time of birth have the right of abode in Hong Kong. However, there is a limited quota of 150 immigrants from China per day who are granted the right to settle in Hong Kong; those who are eligible must generally wait for years before their entry is granted. They may visit Hong Kong on a "two-way permit," but if they overstay, they will be deported and may lose their future right of abode in Hong Kong.

9 The fact that these mainland heroines are prostitutes reflects that prostitution in Hong Kong has become increasingly dominated by mainland women. This is the result of the enormous gap in wealth between Hong Kong and China; a young, less educated mainland woman coming to Hong Kong may have few other means of making a living in the territory.

10 This criticism of China should not be attributed to the fact that this newspaper is written in English. A majority of the *South China Morning Post*'s readers are Hong Kong Chinese.

5 Hong Kong schools and the teaching of national identity

1 Interviews were conducted in Cantonese and in English, lasting one to two hours; they were transcribed, from which this chapters' quotations are taken. Research for this chapter and for Chapter 7 was funded through Direct Grant 0202701, the Chinese University of Hong Kong

2 In the United States, there has been controversy over the phrase "one nation under God" in the pledge of allegiance. But this has been an argument over a particular phrase in the pledge of allegiance, not over the validity of the pledge of allegiance itself, which seems sacrosanct.

3 In fact Hong Kong is not entirely Chinese; some 5 percent of Hong Kong's population are non-ethnic Chinese. Many of these non-ethnic Chinese have lived in Hong Kong much or all of their lives: Hong Kong is their home. Can these people love China, and become "Chinese" in terms of their national identity? This question has yet to be fully addressed.

4 The Advanced Level examinations cover a range of subjects, including Chinese Language and Culture, and Use of English (for all students), Mathematics, Physics, Biology, and Chemistry (for science students), Chinese Literature, Chinese History, History, and Geography (for arts students), and Business Studies (for commercial students). Schools' reputations depend in large part upon how well their students perform in these examinations.

5 Cantonese is sometimes considered a dialect of Mandarin, the spoken language of Beijing, but orally it is indeed a distinctly different language: the two are for the most part mutually unintelligible. The written language also differs, albeit to a much lesser degree: mainland China uses simplified Chinese characters, as Hong Kong does not, and mainland Chinese are sometimes baffled by the idiomatic uses of Chinese characters in Hong Kong newspapers.

6 The complexity of the language issue in Hong Kong is shown by events at our own university, the Chinese University of Hong Kong. One would have supposed that with increasing numbers of mainland students attending the Chinese University – now only a small percentage of the total student number, but with an increasingly larger presence projected for the future – that Mandarin Chinese would become more prevalent as a language of classroom instruction. In fact, mainland students prefer English as their language of instruction – as a mainland student said to Mathews, "if I wanted to study in Mandarin, I would have studied in Beijing" – and the Chinese University now has switched from Cantonese to English as the language of instruction for many required courses, in large part in order to meet the needs of future mainland students. This has infuriated some local students, who came to the Chinese University so that they could study in Cantonese rather than in English, the language of instruction of all other Hong Kong universities, leading to student demonstrations decrying "internationalization."

7 To take just one example, if in the United States the writing section of the SAT asked, "Why do you love your country?" or even "Explain the pledge of allegiance," there would no doubt be an outcry. In China, a more centrally controlled society, many teachers do regularly exhort their students to love their country, we are told, but the topic of national identity is not featured in national examinations, which are academic in focus.

8 We may compare these to statistics concerning Hong Kong's National Day, on 1 October. In 1998, as reported in Chapter 3, 71 percent of respondents said they were indifferent and 11 percent saw it as "just another holiday," with 14 percent of respondents saying they felt either proud or excited (Hong Kong Transition Project 1998). In 2005, 57 percent claimed indifference, 20 percent felt it was "just another holiday," and 20 percent felt either proud or excited (Hong Kong Transition Project 2005). The statistics concerning national education and attitudes towards National Day indicate in common that Hong Kong senses of "belonging to a nation" are indeed increasing, albeit incrementally.

9 This view of the importance of teaching national identity in a critical way was emphasized in a June 2005 International Symposium on National Education in Hong Kong entitled "Know your Roots and Identities," organized by the Hong Kong Committee on the Promotion of Civic Identities, a government-supported think tank. The Hong Kong speakers in this symposium stressed the importance of criticizing the state as well as supporting it, and to at least some extent acknowledged the dangers as well as the benefits of loving one's country. The critical national education they advocated paralleled the views of several international speakers, and was in stark contrast to that of the mainland Chinese speaker.

6 Hong Kong people's changing comprehensions of national identity

1 Random sample surveys were conducted by the School of Journalism and Communication at the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2002, and 2006 with a respective sample size of 769, 302, 527, 533, 500, and 1,007 (RGC Grant CUHK 315/95H; CUHK Direct Grant 2020674). The 1997 survey, designed as a follow-up of the 1996 survey, had a smaller sample size of 302 respondents who were selected from the pool of 796 respondents in the 1996 survey. In the 2002 survey, fourteen representative respondents were selected and interviewed to tap into the micro-negotiations involved in the processes of nationalization, as reported later in this chapter.

2 Comparable data can be found in other series of surveys, such as those of the Hong Kong Transition Project (2006) and the HKU Pop Site (2006).

3 However, one report from this era found that "Hong Kong Cantonese-speaking subjects often referred to Putonghua [Mandarin] as their mother tongue and expressed shame and incompleteness if they were unable to communicate in it" (Pierson 1992: 195).

4 A flag-raising ceremony in Hong Kong takes place daily at the Golden Bauhinia Square, next to the Convention and Exhibition Centre, where the handover ceremony was staged in 1997. The audience attending this ceremony often tends to be mainland tourists more than Hong Kong residents.

5 In the census reports of 1991, 1996, and 2001, the percentage of Hong Kong residents whose place of birth is mainland China is respectively 34 percent, 35 percent, and 33 percent (Census and Statistics Department 2001).

6 A Hong Kong student who read this chapter said, "Mr Yang and Ms Lu aren't Hongkongers, they're mainlanders. Why are they in this book?" How long a mainland immigrant must live in Hong Kong before being recognized as a "Hongkonger" remains an open question (some in Hong Kong say that a mainlander can never become a "Hongkonger" as long as their Cantonese retains an accent and as long as they can't adopt a Hong Kong fashion sense); but in any case, this student's remark is interesting for what it reveals about the ongoing unwillingness of many in Hong Kong to accept mainland immigrants as their fellow Hongkongers.

7 As earlier noted, there was skeptical commentary in Hong Kong after the handover as to whether the throngs waiting to greet the People's Liberation Army at the border on 1 July 1997 were really there of their own free will, or were rather ordered to be there by bosses and officials.

7 How American, Chinese, and Hong Kong university students understand "belonging to a nation"

1 Some of these students were Mathews's students in different classes, but not for classes that discussed national identity, at least not prior to interviews – these students were not repeating back his ideas, but giving their own. Interviews took place over one to two hours, and except for those among Hong Kong students, which occasionally

ventured into Cantonese, were conducted in English. Interviews were recorded and transcribed; quotations in this chapter are from these transcriptions.

2 Unlike Chapter 6, this chapter does not use random sampling, but rather ethnographic interviewing. In ethnographic interviewing, what informants say is deemed more important than who they are; the discourses used in their speech are analyzed in depth, rather than the statistical patterns of responses, which would mean little, given the comparatively small number of informants. For statistical analysis that broadly parallels the findings of this chapter, see the Hong Kong Transition Project (2006) and the HKU Pop Site (2006). These students are not identified by social background or other factors because these factors bore no clear relationship to the different views that students expressed.

3 According to the World Bank (2005), Hong Kong's adjusted (purchasing power parity, PPP) *per capita* income in 2004 was US\$31,510, slightly higher than that of Germany, France, Great Britain or Japan; China's adjusted (PPP) *per capita* income was US\$5,530, equivalent to those of Peru, Swaziland, or El Salvador.

4 In one of these interviews, when the Chinese student, frustrated by the Taiwanese student's assertion that he was not Chinese, advocated that China should invade Taiwan and was cursed at by the Taiwanese student, Mathews had to intervene to avoid what might shortly have become a fistfight.

5 Hong Kong civic education today, one authority has written, involves "the assertion and reinforcement of ethno-cultural nationalism…. The alternative discourse of civic or multicultural nationalism has been marginalized or excluded" (Tse 2004b: 55). That these Hong Kong students were often skeptical of assertions of ethnic nationalism may represent their resistance to such civic education, as we saw in the last chapter. It may also be that because such education was being introduced only when they were in secondary school, its full power was not brought to bear on them, as it will be on Hong Kong students in future years.

6 The Hong Kong mass media, especially those emphasizing Hong Kong's links to China, regularly reinforce the sense that Chinese ethnicity and the Chinese country are one and the same. To take just one example, an article makes the following statement: "After the handover, Hong Kong's biggest crisis … is a lack of the concept of the nation and ethnic feeling among Hong Kong people" (Leung 2001). This conflation of ethnicity and nation seems less a matter of conscious propagandizing than a taken-for-granted assumption shared by writer and readers in common.

7 A story reported in a Hong Kong newspaper (Lee 2003) wryly mocks this state of affairs. A Hongkonger travels to the United States and is questioned at the immigration counter: "What country are you from?" "China." "What's the full name of China?" "I don't know." "Sing the Chinese national anthem." "I don't know it." The immigration official, puzzled, calls for a senior official, and is told, "So this person is Chinese but doesn't know the name of his country and can't sing the national anthem? He must be from Hong Kong!"

8 Of course, those who have dual citizenship sometimes do love two countries; this situation is by no means unheard of beyond Hong Kong's bounds. But both China and the United States do not allow such dual citizenship

9 The discourse of the state in the United States, as is not the case in China, parallels the discourse of the market in many respects, not least in its emphasis on choice rather than birth as the key to being a citizen. However, it is notable that the American students felt that even if loving one's country is a personal choice, one *should* love one's country. This was quite different from the Hong Kong students whose words I quote in this section, for whom loving a country seems to be a matter of choice alone, with no moral strings attached. This very much echoes our discussion of the morality of immigration from Hong Kong, as discussed in Chapter 3: in both cases one's choice is strictly personal, with no consideration of matters of civic duty.

8 Hong Kong people encountering the nation in south China

1 Immigration into Hong Kong from the mainland became tightly controlled in 1980 when the so-called "touch-base" policy was abolished, as discussed in Chapter 2. Under this policy, Chinese immigrants were granted permission to stay in Hong Kong once they reached the downtown area of Kowloon.

2 To put these figures into perspective, Hong Kong has a population of almost 7 million people. Thus, on average, each Hong Kong person went to the mainland eight and a half times in 2004.

3 For more of the findings of this project, see Ma and Cheng (2005) and Ma (2006).

4 As of this writing, most Hong Kong citizens need to file on foot past immigration controls upon leaving Hong Kong for China or upon re-entry. Only a very limited number of ordinary people can drive their cars across the border.

5 Hong Kong-style teahouses (offering freshly brewed milk tea and fusion fast food of various sorts, among other foods and drinks) have long been a symbol of local Hong Kong culture (S. Leung 2003).

6 It is common for Hong Kong Chinese to adopt a Western name. Some do so for practical reasons such as easy communication in schools and workplaces. Others, especially teenagers, think that it is trendy to have a Western name. These names are often unusual: "Macro" (a pseudonym for a not dissimilar style of name) is by no means particularly "flashy" among Hong Kong names.

7 This verbal assault took place in Cantonese. Throughout much of south China, Cantonese and English are considered to be superior languages to Mandarin, the common language of the mainland.

8 Hong Kong's annual *per capita* income was US$26,810 in 2004 (World Bank 2005) while Guangdong's was US$1,747 (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2004). Because prices are far lower in Guangdong than in Hong Kong, this direct comparison of *per capita* income is somewhat artificial; in terms of purchasing power parity, *per capita* income in Hong Kong is perhaps four times higher than that of southern China.

9 Paid journalism is a common practice in China: journalists attending press conferences and interviewing celebrities, executives, or managers may receive money from those they interview (Zhao 1998).

10 We saw in Chapter 4 how "Ah Chan" has been a derogatory term used by some Hong Kong people since the 1980s to stigmatize mainlanders as "bumpkins." In more recent years, a popular term mainland Chinese have used to mock Hong Kong people is "Kong Chan"–"Hong Kong bumpkins."

11 This dominance has eroded in a larger sense; during Hong Kong's recent economic downturn, the Hong Kong government often went cap in hand to the Beijing government to ask for economic favors of various sorts. However, at the level of individual entrepreneurs, the typical pattern of Hong Kong owners/managers and mainland subordinates remains very strong in Guangdong Province.

12 These incidents have reportedly become less frequent in recent years; but in Ma's limited ethnographic visits in two factories from 2001 to 2003, he heard of two similar incidents.

13 This is the Mainland Hong Kong Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement, abbreviated as CEPA. See the Hong Kong Trade and Industry Department (2006) website: www.tid.gov.hk/english/cepa/fulltext.html.

14 People in China have access to most mainstream media products in the West (for example, DVDs, VCDs and CDs of popular songs and movies). However, alternative media, such as various forms of cutting-edge music, are difficult to obtain.

9   Hong Kong's market-based national identity

1   When Mathews, alongside Lui, untactfully set forth this example at an academic con-
ference attended by both Hong Kong and mainland Chinese academics based in China
and overseas, the response was predictably schizophrenic: many of the Hongkongers in
the audience erupted in wry laughter, while the mainland academics, based both in
China and in the United States, were angrily silent. Subsequently, several offered
heated critiques: why can't Hong Kong people overcome their capitalist selfishness to
love the motherland, and (more implicitly) how can Hong Kong Chinese scholars
allow a foreigner to make such comments?

2   It is, however, worth noting the many stories of American liberals enquiring about
emigration to Canada after George W. Bush's 2004 re-election. How many really emi-
grated remains unclear – one suspects that the number is finally quite small – but these
stories do indicate that democracy is not necessarily successful in binding nation and
state in legitimacy, in that an electorate's perceived bad choice may lead some citizens
to despair not just of the elected government, but also of the citizenry that chose that
government. Democracy makes the state's legitimacy easier to sustain by cloaking it in
the nation, but is no panacea, in that a bad state is thereby rendered the fault of the
nation; one cannot easily say in a democracy that "the nation is good but the state is
bad," as many in Hong Kong feel about China today.

3   Anderson (1991: 145) notes the power of the term "naturalization" ("wonderful word!"
he calls it) in indicating the acquiring of citizenship in a country. Needless to say, there
is nothing natural at all about this process.

4   Hong Kong has been distinctly nation-crazed at least once in recent years, as discussed
in Chapter 3. In 1996, Hong Kong experienced a wave of protests over the Japanese
occupation of the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands, a chain of islands in the South China Sea
claimed by both China and Japan (Mathews 2001a). During these protests, we were
shocked to see some normally non-nationalistic Hong Kong students suddenly swept
up in anti-Japanese fervor, furiously excoriating Japan and Japanese people in the
name of China.

References

Abbas, A. (1997) *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance*, Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Adamson, B. and Li, S. P. (2004) "Primary and Secondary Schooling," in M. Bray and R. Koo (eds) *Education and Society in Hong Kong and Macao: Comparative Perspectives on Continuity and Change*, Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre.

Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn, London: Verso.

Appadurai, A. (1996) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Au, W. L. and Cheung, Y. Y. (2004) "Daaihhohksàng ngoigwok gùnmihm dòyeuhngfa" [Diversity in how University Students feel Love for their Country], *U-Beat*, April.

Basic Law (1990) Hong Kong SAR Government. http://www.info.gov.hk/basic_law/fulltext/index.htm.

Billig, M. (1995) *Banal Nationalism*, London: Sage.

Bloom, W. (1990) *Personal Identity, National Identity, and International Relations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Buruma, I. (1994) *The Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan*, New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux.

Calhoun, C. (ed.) (1994) *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Caplan, P. (ed.) (1987) *The Cultural Construction of Sexuality*, London: Routledge.

Carroll, J. M. (2005) *Edge of Empires: Chinese Elites and British Colonials in Hong Kong*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Castells, M., Goh, L. and Kwok, R. (1990) *The Shek Kip Mei Syndrome: Economic Development and Public Housing in Hong Kong and Singapore*, London: Pion.

Census and Statistics Department (1969) *Hong Kong Statistics, 1947–1967*, Hong Kong: Government Printer.

—— (1972) *Hong Kong Population and Housing Census, 1971 Main Report*, Hong Kong: Government Printer.

—— (1982) *1981 Population Census: Main Report: Analysis*, Hong Kong: Government Printer.

—— (2000) "Returnees to Hong Kong," *Special Topics Report 25: Social Data Collected via the General Household Survey*, Hong Kong: Government Printer.

—— (2001) "Hong Kong Residents Working in the Mainland of China," *Special Topics Report 30: Social Data Collected via the General Household Survey*, Hong Kong: Government Printer.

Chan, J. C. W. (2005) "Biennial Opinion Survey on National Identity," paper presented at "International Symposium on National Identity," Hong Kong, 7 June.

Chan, K. C. (1993) "History," in P. K. Choi and L. S. Ho (eds) *The Other Hong Kong Report*, Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.

Chan, K. C. (2003) "Gāuchat hauh dīk yìhnleuhn hùnghàahn" [Freedom of Speech after 1997], in P. Lee (ed.) *Hèunggóng chyùhnmùīh sànsaigéi* [New Perspectives on Hong Kong Media], Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.

Chan, K. M. (2004) "Góngyàhn sàn fahn làai geui" [The Ambivalence of Hong Kong Identity], *Ming Pao*, 13 July.

Chan, M. K. (1997) "Global Implications of Hong Kong's Retrocession to Chinese Sovereignty," in G. Postiglione and J. Tang (eds) *Hong Kong's Reunion with China: Global Dimensions*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Chan, W. M. (2004) "Góngyàhn fùng juhk háau" [The Archeology of Hong Kong Customs], *Ming Pao*, 18 October.

Chang, I. (1997) *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II*, New York: Basic Books.

Cheng, A. (2005) "Reform in Whose Interest?" *South China Morning Post*, 19 February.

Cheng, J. Y. S. (ed.) (1984) *Hong Kong: In Search of a Future*, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

Cheng, J. Y. S. (2001) "The Constitutional, Political, and Legal Order of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region," in J. Y. S. Cheng (ed.) *Political Development in the HKSAR*, Hong Kong: Contemporary China Research Project, City University of Hong Kong.

Cheng, Y. (1990) "Bātchūk jīhaak" [Uninvited Guests], in *Hèunggóng dihnyíng dīk jùnggwok mahklohk* [The China Factor in Hong Kong Cinema], Hong Kong: Urban Council.

Cheung, A. (2004) "From the Heart, not from an Anthem," *South China Morning Post*, 11 October.

Cheung, A. B. L. and Louie, K. S. (1991) *Social Conflicts in Hong Kong, 1975–1986: Trends and Implications*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia Pacific Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Cheung, A. S. Y. (2003) *Self-censorship and the Struggle for Press Freedom in Hong Kong*, The Hague: Kluwer Law International.

Cheung, G. (2002) "Why it's Less the Mainland than the Motherland Now," *South China Morning Post*, 11 October.

Cheung, J. (2002) "We're Chinese and Proud of It," *South China Morning Post*, 18 September.

China.org.cn (2004) "Hong Kong Enhances National Identity: Official," http://service.china.org.cn/link/wcm/Show_Text?info_id=111203&p_qry=national%20and%20education%20and%20HK.

Ching, F. (2005) "Make Every Hongkonger Feel at Home," Observer Column, *South China Morning Post*, 22 March.

Chow, C. Y. (2005) "HK Homeowners in Protest Clash," *South China Morning Post*, 16 October.

Chow, N. W. S. (1997) *Ginjing hèunggóng ngsahpnìhn* [Eye-Witness Account of Hong Kong in the Past Fifty Years], Hong Kong: Ming Pao Publications.

Chow, P. H. and Ma, K. W. (2005) *Ngoigwok jingjih sámcháh* [Examining Patriotism], Hong Kong: Subculture Press.

Chow, V. (2002) "Karaoke Generation," *South China Morning Post*, 12 August.

Choy, C. K. *et al.* (eds) (1998) *Buhnyihk seuiyuht* [Years of Rebellion], Hong Kong: Youth Literary Book Store.

Choy, L. and Yeung, C. (1998a) "Tung Sparks RTHK Autonomy Fears," *South China Morning Post*, 5 March.

—— (1998b) "RTHK Row 'Invites Mainland Meddling'," *South China Morning Post*, 6 March.

Chui, W. T. and Lai, O. K. (1999) "Social Mobilization amidst Social Political Turbulence," Occasional Paper 96, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Chung, K. W. (2002) "*Ngoigwok jyú mòuhlaaih beiwuhsó*" [Patriotism is the Refuge of a Scoundrel], *Apple Daily*, 30 October.

Chung, S. P. Y. (1998) *Chinese Business Groups in Hong Kong and Political Changes in South China, 1900–1925*, New York: St Martin's Press.

Cogan, J. J., Morris, P. and Print, M. (2002) *Civic Education in the Asia-Pacific Region*, New York: RoutledgeFalmer.

Cohen, J. (ed.) (1996) *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*, Boston MA: Beacon Press.

Collins R. (1990) *Culture, Communication and National Identity: the Case of Canadian Television*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Commission of Inquiry (1967) "Kowloon Disturbances 1966: Report of Commission of Inquiry," Hong Kong: Government Printer.

Connolly, N. (2005) "Survey Reveals Concerns Over Loss of Freedoms Since 1997," *South China Morning Post*, 2 June.

Connor, W. (1994) "A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group, is a . . ." in J. Hutchinson and A. Smith (eds) *Nationalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Crawford, B. (2005) "Lamp Maker takes a Dim View of Pirates," *South China Morning Post*, 16 October.

CUHK Student Union (1982) *New Immigrants*, Hong Kong: CUHK Student Union.

DeGolyer, M. (2004) "How the Stunning Outbreak of Disease led to a Stunning Outbreak of Dissent," in C. Loh and Civic Exchange (eds) *At the Epicentre: Hong Kong and the SARS Outbreak*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Dijkink, G. (1996) *National Identity and Geopolitical Visions: Maps of Pride and Pain*, London: Routledge.

Dittmer, L. and Kim, S. S. (1993) "In Search of a Theory of National Identity," in L. Dittmer and S. Kim (eds) *China's Quest for National Identity*, Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.

Drakakis-Smith, D. (1979) *High Society: Housing Provision in Metropolitan Hong Kong 1954 to 1979*, Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong.

Dunn, J. (1993) *Western Political Theory in the Face of the Future*, 2nd edn, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Elias, N. and Scotson, J. L. (1994) *The Established and the Outsiders*, London: Sage.

Enslin, P. (1999) "The Place of National Identity in the Aims of Education," in R. Marples (ed.) *The Aims of Education*, London: Routledge.

Eriksen, T. H. (2002) *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives*, 2nd edn, London: Pluto.

Eu, A., Leong, A. and Tam, M. (2005) "Sèuih bāt ngoigwok? Sèuih yìu gaauyuhk?" [Who Doesn't Love Their Country? Who Needs Education?], *Oriental Daily News*, 22 May.

Fairbrother, G. P. (2003) *Toward Critical Patriotism: Student Resistance to Political Education in Hong Kong and China*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Faure, D. (1997a) "Reflections on Being Chinese in Hong Kong," in J. Brown and R. Foot (eds) *Hong Kong's Transitions, 1942–1997*, London: Macmillan Press.

_____ (ed.) (1997b) *A Documentary History of Hong Kong: Society*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Fenby, J. (2000) *Dealing with the Dragon: A Year in the New Hong Kong*, London: Little Brown.

Finlay, V. (1998) "Surreal Signposts in History," *South China Morning Post*, 14 June.

Flowerdew, J. (1998) *The Final Years of British Hong Kong*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

Fok, K. C. (1990) *Lectures on Hong Kong History: Hong Kong's Role in Modern Chinese History*, Hong Kong: Commercial Press.

Freedom House (2004) "Freedom House Warns of Threats to Hong Kong Media Rights," http://www.freedomhouse.org/media/pressrel/052404.htm.

Geertz, C. (1983) "Common Sense as a Cultural System," in *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*, New York: Basic Books.

Gellner, E. (1983) *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell.

—— (1997) *Nationalism*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Gilley, B. and Slater, J. (1998) "Now the Hard Part," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 11 June.

Gomberg, P. (2002) "Patriotism is like Racism," in I. Primoratz (ed.) *Patriotism*, Amherst NY: Humanity Books.

Gong, B. H. (1999) *Gongfu wenhua yuanliu* [A Cultural History of Guangdong], Guangzhou: Guangdong Higher Education Press.

Goodin, R. E. (2002) "What is so Special about our Fellow Countrymen?" in I. Primoratz (ed.) *Patriotism*, Amherst NY: Humanity Books.

Grantham, A. (1965) *Via Ports: From Hong Kong to Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Guldin, G. E. (1977) "Little Fujian (Fukien): Subneighbourhood and Community in North Point, Hong Kong," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 17: 112–29.

Hagendoorn, L. (1993) "Ethnic Categorisation and Outgroup Exclusion: Cultural Values and Social Stereotypes," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16: 26–51.

Hale, E. E. (1905) *The Man Without a Country*, Chicago: Orville Brewer.

Hall, S. and Gay, P. du (eds) (1996) *Questions of Cultural Identity*, London: Sage.

Hamashita, T. (1997a) "The Intra-regional System in East Asia in Modern Times," in P. Katzenstein and T. Shiraishi (eds) *Network Power*, Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.

_____. (1997b) *Hèunggóng daaihsihyéh* [Hong Kong in Macro Perspective], Hong Kong: Commercial Press.

Hambro, E. (1955) *The Problem of Chinese Refugees in Hong Kong*, Leyden: Sijthoff.

Hannerz, U. (1996) "The Withering Away of the Nation?" in *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*, London: Routledge.

Harvey, D. (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Heidt, E. U. (1987) *Mass Media, Cultural Tradition, and National Identity: The Case of Singapore and its TV Programmes*, Saarbrucken: Breitenbach.

Himmelfarb, G. (1996) "The Illusions of Cosmopolitanism," in J. Cohen (ed.) *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*, Boston MA: Beacon Press.

HKU Pop Site (2006) http://hkupop.hku.hk.

Ho, A. (2004) "The Taming of the Airwaves," *Spike*, May 28–June 3.

Ho, D. K. L. (2004) "Citizenship as a Form of Governance: a Historical Overview," in A. S. Ku and N. Pun (eds) *Remaking Citizenship in Hong Kong: Community, Nation, and the Global City*, London: RoutledgeCurzon.

Ho, L. M. (1996) "Gáaiduhk dihnsih gáyisīīk dīk duhksou" [Reading False and Poisonous Ideology on Television], *Sing Tao Daily*, 19 August.

Ho, M. (2001) "Jìupàaih ngoigwok" [Trademark Patriotism], *Hong Kong Daily News*, 22 July.

Ho, M. L. (2001) "Yingmàhn gaauyuhk kong guhng?" [Is English-Language Education against the Communists?], *Hong Kong Daily News*, 13 June.

Hoadley, J. S. (1970) "Hong Kong is the Lifeboat: Notes on Political Culture and Socialization," *Journal of Oriental Studies* 8: 206–18.

—— (1973) "Political Participation of Hong Kong Chinese: Patterns and Trends," *Asian Survey* 13: 604–16.

Hobsbawm, E. J. (1977) *The Age of Capital, 1848–1875*, London: Abacus.

Hong Kong Broadcast Authority (2005) Broadcast Services Survey. http://www.hkba.hk/en/doc/bss2005_eng.pdf.

Hong Kong Economic Times (1998) "Wùihgwài jàunìhn fàangauhjeung" [Looking back at "Past Debts" on the Anniversary of the Handover], 23 June.

—— (2003) "500,000 yahn séunggàai: jungcháan nouhhǒu" [500,000 People Marching in the Streets: the Middle Class Roared Angrily], 2 July.

—— (2004) "6 sihng hohksaang yihng 'ngoigwok' gaauheui nihnjang" [Increasing Numbers of Students Feel "Love of Country" with 60 percent this Year], 2 October.

Hong Kong Government (1957) "A Problem of People," *Hong Kong Annual Report, 1956*, Hong Kong: Government Printer.

—— (1962) "Review: The Big Count – Census 1961," *Hong Kong Annual Report, 1961*, Hong Kong: Government Printer.

Hong Kong Policy Research Institute (1998) "Góngfú gaushi chousì gaubatlíuh Màhnsàm" [Government Economic Measures fail to gain Support from the People], *Hong Kong Economic Times*, 20 July.

Hong Kong Tourism Board (1998, 1999, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005) "A Statistical Review of Tourism.."

Hong Kong Trade and Industry Department. "Mainland and Hong Kong Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement" (CEPA) (2006) www.tdc.gov.hk/english/cepa/fulltext.html.

Hong Kong Transition Project (1998) "Tomorrow has not Died – New Year, New Sovereign, New System: New Attitudes?" www.hkbu.edu.hk/~hktp.

—— (2002) "Accountability and Article 23," http://www.hkbu.edu.hk/~hktp.

—— (2005) "Hong Kong Constitutional Reform: What do the People Want?" http://www.hkbu.edu.hk/~hktp commissioned by Civic Exchange.

—— (2006) "Parties, Policies and Political Reform in Hong Kong" http://www.hkbu.edu.hk/~hktp commissioned by National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.

Hu, F. Y. (2005) "Dicing with Death in Shenzhen Sham Clinics," *South China Morning Post*, 16 October.

Hughes, R. (1976) *Borrowed Place Borrowed Time: Hong Kong and its Many Faces*, rev. edn, London: Andre Deutsch.

Hutchinson, J., and Smith, A. D. (eds) (1994) *Nationalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Inglehart, R., Basáñez, M., Diex-Medrano, J., Halman, L. and Luijkx, R. (eds) (2004)

Human Beliefs and Values: A Cross-cultural Sourcebook Based on the 1999–2002 Values Surveys, Mexico City: Siglo XXI. Electronic reproduction, Boulder CO: Net Library.

Ingrams, H. (1952) *Hong Kong*, London: HMSO.

James, P. (2006) *Globalism, Nationalism, Tribalism: Bringing Theory Back In*, London: Sage.

Jameson, F. (1991) *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, Durham NC: Duke University Press.

Jarman, R. L. (ed.) (1996) *Hong Kong Annual Administration Reports, 1841–1941*, I, 1841–1886, Oxford: Archive Editions.

Jenkins, R. (1994) "Rethinking Ethnicity: Identity, Categorization and Power," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17: 197–223.

—— (1996) *Social Identity*, London: Routledge.

Jones, C. (1999) "Politics Postponed," in K. Jayasuriya (ed.) *Law, Capitalism and Power in Asia*, London: Routledge.

Jones, F. L. and Smith, P. (2001) "Individual and Societal Bases of National Identity: A Comparative Multi-level Analysis," *European Sociological Review* 17 (2): 103–118.

Karthigesu, R. (1988) "Television as a Tool for Nation-building in the Third World," in P. Drummond and R. Paterson (eds) *Television and its Audience*, London: British Film Institute.

Katz, E. and Wedell, G. (1977) *Broadcasting in the Third World*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Kennedy, K. J. (ed.) (1997) *Citizenship Education and the Modern State*, London: Falmer.

Kim, S. S. and Dittmer, L. (1993) "Whither China's Quest for National Identity?" in L. Dittmer and S. Kim, *China's Quest for National Identity*, Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.

King, A. (1974) "Administrative Absorption of Politics in Hong Kong," *Asian Survey* 15: 422–39.

Koh, A. (2005) "Imagining the Singapore 'Nation' and 'Identity': the Role of the Media and National Education," *Asia-Pacific Journal of Education* 25 (1): 75–91.

Kraar, L. with McGowan, J. (1995) "The Death of Hong Kong," *Fortune*, 26 June.

Ku, A. S. (2004) "Immigration Policies, Discourses, and the Politics of Local Belonging in Hong Kong (1950–1980)," *Modern China* 30 (3): 326–60.

Ku, A. S. and Pun, N. (2004) "Introduction: Remaking Citizenship in Hong Kong," in A. S. Ku and N. Pun (eds) *Remaking Citizenship in Hong Kong: Community, Nation, and the Global City*, London: RoutledgeCurzon.

Kuah, K. E. (1996) "Negotiating Emigration and the Family: Individual Solutions to the 1997 Anxiety," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 547: 54–67.

Kwan, C. (2002) "Héigin gongyáhn: ngohsih jùnggwokyàhn" [Pleased to See Hongkongers – But I am Chinese], *Ta Kung Po*, 1 July.

Kwok, R. and So, A. (eds) (1995) *The Hong Kong–Guangdong Link: Partnership in Flux*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Kwong, P. (1990) "Emigration and Manpower Shortage," in R. Wong and J. Cheng (eds) *The Other Hong Kong Report, 1990*, Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.

Kwong, R. (2006) "Tsang turns to Colonial Forebears for Wisdom," *South China Morning Pos*, 15 October.

Lai, C. (2004) "Top Students Love China but can Leave the Party," *South China Morning Post*, 24 August.

Lai, O. K. (2000) "Greening of Hong Kong?" in S. W. K. Chiu and T. L. Lui (eds) *The Dynamics of Social Movement in Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Lang, G. and Smart, J. (2002) "Migration and the 'second wife' in South China: Toward Cross-border Polygyny," *International Migration Review* 36 (5): 546–69.

Lau, C. K. (1996) "The Politically Correct Past," *South China Morning Post*, 25 August.

Lau, S. K. (1981) "Chinese Familism in an Urban Industrial Setting: the Case of Hong Kong," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 43 (4): 977–92.

—— (1982) *Society and Politics in Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.

—— (1997) "'Hong Kong' or 'Chinese': the Identity of Hong Kong Chinese, 1985–1995," *Twenty-first Century*, 41: 43–58.

—— (1998) "Social Malaise on the Rise in SAR," *South China Morning Post*, 8 January.

—— (2000) "Hongkongese or Chinese: the Problem of Identity on the Eve of Resumption of Chinese Sovereignty over Hong Kong," in S. K. Lau (ed.) *Social Development and Political Change in Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.

Lau, S. K. and Kuan, H. C. (1988) *The Ethos of the Hong Kong Chinese*, Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.

Law, W. S. (1998) "Managerializing Colonialism," in K. H. Chen (ed.) *Trajectories: Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, London: Routledge.

LCQ6 (2005) "History and National Education," press release, Legislative Council Questions, Hong Kong Legislative Council, 11 May.

LCQ20 (2004) "National Education," press release, Legislative Council Questions, Hong Kong Legislative Council, 3 November.

Lee, F. L. and Chan, J. M. (2005) "Political Attitudes, Political Participation, and Hong Kong Identities after 1997," *Issues and Studies* 41: 2–35.

Lee, M. K. (1998) "Hong Kong Identity – Past and Present," in S. L. Wong and T. Maruya (eds) *Hong Kong Economy and Society: Challenges in the New Era*, Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies.

Lee, W. O. (1999) "Controversies of Civic Education in Political Transition," in J. Torney-Purta, J. Schwille and J. Amadeo (eds) *Civic Education across Countries: Twenty-four National Case Studies from the IEA Civic Education Project*, Delft, Netherlands: Eburon, pp. 313–40.

Lee, Y. (1997) "Jànjing dīk gwokhing" [The Real National Day], *Apple Daily*, 3 October.

—— (2002) "Behngtaai ngoigwok" [Pathological Patriotism], *Apple Daily*, 17 December.

Lee, Y. (2001) "Waihsahmmo yiu sih tuhngbaau yuh sauhkau" [Why take our Comrades as Enemies?], *Ming Pao*, 27 December.

—— (2005) "Ngaahngsiu ngoigwok" [Hard-sell Patriotism], *Apple Daily*, 20 May.

Lee, Y. M. (2003) "Bātkahp gaak dīk jùnggwokyàhn" [Unqualified Chinese], *Ta Kung Pao*, 3 November.

Lefebvre, H. (2003) "Space and the State," in N. Brenner, B. Jessop, M. Jones and G. Macleod (eds) *State/Space: A Reader*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Lent, J. A. (1982) "ASEAN Mass Communications and Cultural Submission," *Media, Culture and Society* 4: 171–89.

Leung, D. P. (2002) "Gùngmàhn gaauyuhk sèui gàkéuhng" [Civic Education must be Reinforced], *Ta Kung Pao*, 15 April.

Leung, L. Y. (2001) "Hèunggóng faatleuht jùngmàhnfa" [Hong Kong Law turns Chinese], *Hong Kong Daily News*, 15 August.

—— (2003) "Tàmùhn bātngoi jùnggwok" [They Don't Love China], *The Sun*, 1 October.

Leung, S. W. (2003) "Chàh-chāan-tēng yùh hèunggóngyàhn dīk sànfán yihngtùhng" [Hong Kong Teahouses and Hong Kong Identity], in C. H. Ng, K. W. Ma and T. L. Lui (eds) *Hèunggóng màhnfa yihngàu* [Research on Hong Kong Culture], Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Li, Y. (2003) *Gangaoyu zhusanjiao wenhua touxi* [A Cultural Analysis of Hong Kong, Macau and the Pearl River Delta], Beijing: Central Compilation and Translation Press.

Lie, J. (2004) *Modern Peoplehood*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Lin, G. C. S. (1997) *Red Capitalism in South China: Growth and Development of the Pearl River Delta*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Lingnan College. (1985) *Report on the Social and Economic Adaptation of the Chinese New Arrivals in Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Lingnan College.

Liu, S. Y. (1997*) An Outline History of Hong Kong*, trans. W. Wang and M. Chang., Beijing: Foreign Languages Press.

Lo, W. L. (1997) *Hèunggóng gusih* [The Hong Kong Story], Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

Lo, Y. C. J. (2004) "Curriculum Reform," in M. Bray and R. Koo (eds) *Education and Society in Hong Kong and Macao: Comparative Perspectives on Continuity and Change*, Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre.

Lui, T. L. (1988) "Home in Hong Kong," in C. T. Lee (ed.) *Hong Kong Films and Social Change*, Hong Kong: Urban Council.

—— (1995) "Coping Strategies in a Booming Market: Family Wealth and Housing in Hong Kong," in R. Forrest and A. Murie (eds) *Housing and Family Wealth*, London: Routledge.

—— (1996) "Hèunggóng chòngsòng dīk daaihlihksígun" [The Macro-history in the *Vicissitudes of Hong Kong*], *Ming Pao Monthly* 371, November, pp. 49–51.

—— (1999) "Personal Trouble or Public Issue: the Service Class in the Process of Decolonization," in M. H. H. Hsiao (ed.) *East Asian Middle Classes in Comparative Perspective*, Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.

Lui, T. L. and Chiu, S. W. K. (2001) "Flexibility Under Unorganized Industrialism?" in F. C. Deyo *et al.* (eds) *Economic Governance and the Challenge of Flexibility in East Asia*, Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Lui, T. L. and Wong, C. C. (1999) *Hèunggóng jungcháan gàaichyugíng gunchaat* [Observations on the Situation of the Middle Class in Hong Kong], Hong Kong: Joint Publishing.

Lui, T. L. and Wong, T. W. P. (1995) "The Hong Kong Experience: Class, Inequality and Morality in Political Transition," *Asiatische Studien Etudes Asiatiques* 49.

Luk, B. (1995) "Hong Kong History and Hong Kong Culture," in E. Sinn (ed.) *Culture and Society in Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Center of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong.

Luk, S. (2004) "Guangdong buys 10pc ATV Stake," *South China Morning Post*, 25 August.

Ma, E. (1999a) *Culture, Politics and Television in Hong Kong*, London: Routledge.

—— (1999b) "A Thick Description of Electronic Memory," *Social Text* 58: 77–93.

—— (2000) "Re-nationalization and Me: My Hong Kong Story after 1997," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 1: 173–79.

—— (2001) "Re-advertising Hong Kong: Nostalgic Industry and Popular History," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 9: 131–159.

—— (2006), "Realizing Wedding Imagination," *Visual Anthropology* 19 (1): 57–72.

Ma, E. and Cheng H. (2005), "Naked Bodies," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 8 (3): 307–28.

Ma, E. and Fung, A. (1999) "Resinicization, Nationalism and the Hong Kong Identity," in C. So and J. Chan (eds) *Press and Politics in Hong Kong: Case Studies from 1967 to 1997*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute for Asia-Pacific Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong.

MacIntyre, A. (2002) "Is Patriotism a Virtue?" in I. Primoratz (ed.) *Patriotism*, Amherst NY: Humanity Books.

Marx, K. (1978 [1867]) "The Fetishism of Commodities and the Secret Thereof," in R. C. Tucker (ed.) *The Marx–Engels Reader*, New York: Norton.

Mathews, G. (1997) "*Hèunggóngyàhn*: On the Past, Present, and Future of Hong Kong Identity," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 29 (3): 3–13.

—— (2000) *Global Culture/ Individual Identity: Searching for Home in the Cultural Supermarket*, London: Routledge.

—— (2001a) "A Collision of Discourses: Japanese and Hong Kong Chinese during the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands Crisis," in H. Befu and S. Guichard-Anguis (eds) *Globalizing Japan*, London: Routledge.

—— (2001b) "Cultural Identity and Consumption in Post-colonial Hong Kong," in G. Mathews and T. L. Lui (eds) *Consuming Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Mathews, G. and Lui, T. L. (2001) "Introduction," in G. Mathews and T. L. Lui (eds) *Consuming Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

McConnell. M. W. (1996) "Don't Neglect the Little Platoons," in J. Cohen (ed.) *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*, Boston MA: Beacon Press.

McCrone, D. (1998) *The Sociology of Nationalism*, London: Routledge.

McDonogh, G. and Wong, C. (2005) *Global Hong Kong*, London: Routledge.

Miners, N. J. (1981) *The Government and Politics of Hong Kong*, 3rd edn, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

Ming Pao (2002a) "Gin dahksáu màhnmohng nghnihndit 17%" [Chief Executive's Rating Dropped 17 percent in Five Years], 29 June.

—— (2002b) "Jùngyātsàng jeui ngoigwok" [First-year Secondary Students Love their Country Most], 30 September.

—— (2002c) "Jùnghohksei fáansi gwokmàhn sànfàn" [Secondary School Students Rethink National Identity], 2 October.

—— (2003) "Sàamshìng jùnghohksàng bātyihng jùnggwokyàhn" [Thirty Percent of Secondary School Students Deny their Chinese identity], 29 September.

Mirsky, J. (1998) "What are 'Asian Values'? A Justification for Repression," *International Herald Tribune*, 10 April.

Morris, P. (1997) "Civics and Citizenship Education in Hong Kong," in K. J. Kennedy (ed.) *Citizenship Education and the Modern State*, London: Falmer.

—— (2002) "Civic Education in Hong Kong: a Tale of two Schools," in J. C. P. Morris and M. Print (eds) *Civic Education in the Asia-Pacific Region*, New York: Routledge-Falmer.

Nathanson, S. (1993) *Patriotism, Morality, and Peace*, Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

—— (2002) "In Defense of 'Moderate Patriotism'," in I. Primoratz (ed.) *Patriotism*, Amherst NY: Humanity Books.

National Bureau of Statistics of China (2004) http://210.72.32.6/cgi-bin/b/g/g/http@www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/ndsj/.

Nelson, L. C. (2000*) Measured Excess: Status, Gender and Consumer Nationalism in South Korea*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Next magazine (1992) "Letters to the Editor," 4 December.

Ng, H. (2000) *Lyuhnsai tùhngjàn* [Childhood in a Turbulent Environment], Hong Kong: Heiyue Manfa.

Ng, W. (2003) "Buying a Home in China," unpublished M.Phil Thesis, School of Journalism and Communication, Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Ngo, T. W. (ed.) (1999) *Hong Kong's History: State and Society Under Colonial Rule*, London: Routledge.

Nussbaum, M. C. (1996) "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism," in J. Cohen (ed.) *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*, Boston MA: Beacon Press.

Ohnuki-Tierney, E. (2002) *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms, and Nationalisms: The Militarization of Aesthetics in Japanese History*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ong, A. (1999) *Flexible Citizenship: the Cultural Logics of Transnationality*, Durham NC: Duke University Press.

Oommen, T. K. (ed.) (1997) *Citizenship and National Identity: From Colonialism to Globalism*, New Delhi: Sage.

Otsu, K. (2002) "Recent Developments in Civic Education: the Case of Japan," in J. Cogan, P. Morris and M. Print (eds) *Civic Education in the Asia-Pacific Region*, London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Pierson, H. (1992) "Cantonese, English, or Putonghua: Unresolved Communicative Issues in Hong Kong's Future," in G. A. Postiglione (ed.) *Education and Society in Hong Kong: Toward One Country and Two Systems*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Primoratz, I. (2002) "Patriotism: Morally Allowed, Required, or Valuable?" in I. Primoratz (ed.) *Patriotism*, Amherst NY: Humanity Books.

Primoratz, I. (ed.) (2002) *Patriotism*, Amherst NY: Humanity Books.

Rajagopal, A. (2001) *Politics after Television: Religious Nationalism and the Reshaping of the Indian Public*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ranchod-Nilsson, S., and Tétreault, M. (eds) (2000) *Women, States, and Nationalism: At Home in the Nation?* London: Routledge.

Rating and Valuation Department. (2002) *Hong Kong Property Review, 2002*, Hong Kong: Government Printer.

Reeves, G. (1993) *Communications and the Third World*, London: Routledge.

Reporters without Borders (2002, 2003, 2004, 2005) "Reporters Without Borders," http://www.rsf.fr/.

Robbins, R. H. (2002) *Global Problems and the Culture of Capitalism*, 2nd edn, Boston MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Roberti, M. (1996) *The Fall of Hong Kong*, New York: Wiley.

Rosen, S. (1976) *Mei Foo Sun Cheun: Middle-Class Chinese Families in Transition*, Taipei: Orient Cultural Service.

Salaff, J. (1981) *Working Daughters of Hong Kong: Filial Piety or Power in the Family?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Salaff, J. and Wong, S. L. (1994) "Exiting Hong Kong: Social Class Experiences and the Adjustment to 1997," in S. K. Lau *et al.* (eds) *Inequalities and Development: Social Stratification in Chinese Societies*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Scheff, T. (1994) "Emotions and Identity: a Theory of Ethnic Nationalism," in C. Calhoun (ed.) *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Schlesinger, P. (1991) *Media, State and Nation: Political Violence and Collective Identities*, London: Sage.

Schloss, G. (1996) *"Exodus Expected as 1997 Nears,"* *South China Morning Post*, 12 September.

Scott, I. (1989) *Political Change and the Crisis of Legitimacy in Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

Sek, K. (1997) "Chùhng luhksi dou gáuchāt dīk góngcháanpín" [Hong Kong Cinema from 4 June to 1997], in *Gwòngyíng bànfàn nǵhsahpnìhn* [Fifty Years of Electric Shadows], Hong Kong: Urban Council of Hong Kong.

Shang, Z. T. (1999) *Xianggang kaugu lunji* [Papers on the Archaeology of Hong Kong], Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House.

Sinn, E. (ed.) (1995) *Culture and Society in Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Center of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong.

Siu, H. (1986) "Immigrants and Social Ethos: Hong Kong in the 1980s," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 26: 1–16.

—— (1996) "Remade in Hong Kong," in T. T. Liu and D. Faure (eds) *Unity and Diversity*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Siu, K. W. (2006) "Hongkongese–Chinese Couples on Campus: A Case Study of Cross-cultural Love Relationships," unpublished senior thesis, Department of Anthropology, Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Skeldon, R. (1994) "Hong Kong in an International Migration System," in R. Skeldon (ed.) *Reluctant Exiles? Migration from Hong Kong and the New Overseas Chinese*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

—— (1995) "Emigration from Hong Kong, 1945–1994," in R. Skeldon (ed.) *Emigration from Hong Kong: Tendencies and Impacts*, Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.

Smart, A. (1989) "Forgotten Obstacles, Neglected Forces: explaining the Origins of Hong Kong Public Housing," *Environment and Planning D. Society and Space* 7: 179–96.

—— (2006) *The Shek Kip Mei Myth: Squatter, Fires and Colonial Rule in Hong Kong, 1950–1963*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Smith, A. (1991) *National Identity*, London: Penguin.

Smith, R. J. (1983) *Japanese Society: Tradition, Self, and the Social Order*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

So, A. Y. (2002) "Social Relations between Pearl River Delta and Hong Kong: a Study of Cross-border Families," Occasional Paper 14, Hong Kong: Centre for China Urban and Regional Studies, Hong Kong Baptist University.

So, S. C. (1998) *Chùhng màhnwahn dou chēutgà* [From Democratic Activist to Monk], Hong Kong: Ming Pao Publications.

South China Morning Post (2003) editorial "Lessons to be Learned on Language," 20 October.

—— (2004) editorial "Lessons to be Learned in Mother-tongue Policy," 16 August.

Sparks, D. W. (1976) "The Teochiu: Ethnicity in Urban Hong Kong," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 16: 25–56.

Spike (2004) "Revealed: How the Radio Hosts were Intimidated," 9–15 July.

Ta Kung Pao (2002) "Hángdihng jihgéi sih junggwokyahn" [Certain that I am Chinese], 4 October.

Tam, S. M. M. (1996) "Normalization of 'Second Wives': Gender Contestation in Hong Kong," *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* 2: 113–32.

Tang, S. (1973) "The Power Structure in a Colonial Society: A Sociological Study of the Legislative Council in Hong Kong (1948–1971)," unpublished senior thesis, Department of Sociology, Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Taylor, C. (1996) "Why Democracy Needs Patriotism," in J. Cohen (ed.) *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*, Boston MA: Beacon Press.

Thatcher, M. (1995) *The Downing Street Years*, London: HarperCollins.

Torney-Purta, J., Schwille, J. and Amadeo, J. A. (1999) *Civic Education across Countries: Twenty-four National Case Studies from the IEA Civic Education Project*, Delft, Netherlands: Eburon.

Tsai, J. F. (1993) *Hong Kong in Chinese History: Community and Social Unrest in the British Colony, 1842–1913*, New York: Columbia University Press.

—— (2001) *Hèunggóngyàhn jì hèunggóngsí* [The Hong Kong People's History of Hong Kong, 1841–1945], Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

Tsang, S. (1997) *Hong Kong: An Appointment with China*, London: Tauris.

—— (2004) *A Modern History of Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Tse, K. C. T. (2004a) "Civic and Political Education," in M. Bray and R. Koo (eds) *Education and Society in Hong Kong and Macao: Comparative Perspectives on Continuity and Change*, Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre.

—— (2004b) "Civic Education and the Making of Deformed Citizenry: from British Colony to Chinese SAR," in A. S. Ku and N. Pun (eds) *Remaking Citizenship in Hong Kong: Community, Nation, and the Global City*, London: RoutledgeCurzon.

Vickers, E. (2003) *In Search of an Identity: The Politics of History as a School Subject in Hong Kong, 1960s–2002*, London: Routledge.

Walzer, M. (1996) "Spheres of Affection," in J. Cohen (ed.) *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*, Boston MA: Beacon Press.

Wang, G. W. (1991) *China and the Chinese Overseas*, Singapore: Times Academic Press.

Watson, J. L. (1993) "Rites or Beliefs? The Construction of a Unified Culture in Late Imperial China," in L. Dittmer and S. S. Kim (eds) *China's Quest for National Identity*, Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.

—— (1997) "McDonald's in Hong Kong: Consumerism, Dietary Change, and the Rise of a Children's Culture," in J. L. Watson (ed.) *Golden Arches East: McDonald's in East Asia*, Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.

Weber, E. (1976) *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1879–1914*, Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.

Welsh, F. (1994) *A History of Hong Kong*, London: HarperCollins.

West, E. (2002) "Selling Canada to Canadians: Collective Memory, National Identity and Popular Culture," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 19 (2): 212–29.

Wheen, F. (1985) *Television*, London: Century.

Wilson, D. (1990) *Hong Kong! Hong Kong!* London: Unwin Hyman.

Wong, J. and Yu, J. (1978) *Television News and Television Industry in Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Centre for Communication Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Wong, K. K. *et al.* (2005) "Daailuhkhaak wuhnchau diīksīīhnèih" [Mainland Tourists make Disneyland Stink], *Next* Magazine, 15 September.

Wong, K. Y. (1996) "Ethnic Identity and National Identity of the People in Hong Kong," Hong Kong Institute of Asia Pacific Studies, Occasional Paper 50, Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, Institute of Asia Pacific Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Wong, T. W. P. (1992) "Discourses and Dilemmas: 25 Years of Subjective Indicator Studies," in S. K. Lau *et al.* (eds) *Indicators of Social Development: Hong Kong 1990*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong.

World Bank (2005) World Development Indicators database. http://www.worldbank.org/data/databytopic/GNIPC.pdf.

Wu, Y. W. (2004) "Gwokgàyisı̄k hìng ngoigwokgaauyuhk" [Nationalism and Patriotic Education], *Wen Wei Po*, 24 November.

Xu, J. T. (1998) *Xu jiatun hèunggóng wùihyikluhk* [Memoirs and Thoughts of Xu Jiatun in Hong Kong], Hong Kong: Mirror Books.

Yau, C. (2004) "Students get Select View of History," *The Standard*, 5 November.

Yeung, C. (1998) "Broadcaster Stays Open to Debate," *South China Morning Post*, 22 March.

—— (2005) *"*What Identity Crisis?*"* Observer Column, *South China Morning Post*, 23 May.

Yeung, L. (2004) *"*Textbooks 'Rewrite' Tiananmen History," *South China Morning Post*, 5 June.

Yeung, L. and Kwok, C. (2004) *"*Patriotic Rituals are Urged for Schools," *South China Morning Post*, 5 April.

Yeung, N. L. K. (2002) "Yeuhng ngóh mùhm gai juhk hèunggóng fòngsı̄k ngoigwok" [Let's Love our Country in a Hong Kong Way], *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 30 October.

Yeung, W. Y. (2004) "Nàhngyeung hohksāang duhk je yeung dı̄k hèunggóngsi mà?" [Can We Let Students Study This Kind of Hong Kong History?], *Ming Pao*, 9–10 August.

Yip, Y. C. (2004) "Góngyáhn sànfahn yihngtùhng bātbá jóugwok sihjok léihsó dòngyihn" [Hongkongers, do not Take Your Mother Country for Granted], *Ming Pao*, 20 March.

Yung, D. (1991) "Mainlanders in Hong Kong Films of the 1980s," unpublished M.Phil. thesis, Department of Journalism and Communication, Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Zhao, Y. Z. (1998) *Media, Market and Democracy in China: Between the Party Line and the Bottom Line*, Urbana IL: University of Illinois Press.

Index