Transnational Screens and Asia Pacific Public Cultures: Vancouver, Toronto, and Hong Kong, 1997-2007

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Declaration

I declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

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Abstract

Despite widespread scholarly interest in media globalization in East Asia and the Asia Pacific region, there has been very little attention paid to the circulation of independent screen media. This thesis aims to address this gap by examining three sites and processes of non-mainstream screen distribution and exhibition: a non-profit film distributor in Hong Kong, a diasporic film festival in Toronto, and a non-collecting gallery in Vancouver. Using a scavenger methodology and through empirical research, the thesis reveals how these sites have responded proactively to opportunities and threats posed by deregulation, privatization, and the rise of Asia. Unlike governments or media conglomerates, however, these sites have not been driven by competition and profit-seeking, but by a commitment to social and political transformation. The study highlights the sites' adoption of a minor transnational strategy—a linking together of peripheral screen cultures and marginal groups to other peripheral screen cultures and marginal groups—as an alternative within globalism and regionalization. It argues that minor transnational practices depend first on "independent sole traders"—educational migrants and cultural workers who broker the movement of media within and across marginal groups—and second, on minor-to-minor distribution and exhibition circuits that are contingent and dispersed. By staging cultural connections and exchanges within and between peripheries, these sites have led to the production of new identities, such as queer Asian, and social imaginaries, such as an "imagined community of indies," that exceed the logics of the market and the neoliberal nation-state.

Abbreviations

APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
APFC	Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada
CCA	Canada Council for the Arts
CYAP	Canada's Year of Asia-Pacific
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CIFA	Chinese Independent Filmmaking Alliance
CEPA	Closer Economic Partnership Agreement
DAAN	Diasporic Asian Art Network
FIAPF	Fédération Internationale des Associations de Producteurs de Films
HKADC	Hong Kong Arts Development Council
HKAFF	Hong Kong Asian Film Festival
HKAIFF	Hong Kong Asian Independent Film Festival
HKindieFF	Hong Kong Independent Film Festival
HKIFF	Hong Kong International Film Festival
ifva	Incubator for Film and Visual Media in Asia (formerly Hong Kong Independent Short Film and Video Awards)
HKLCS	Hong Kong Leisure and Cultural Services Department

HKTEDO	Hong Kong Trade and Economic Development Office
INDAAR	International Network for Diasporic Asian Art Research
NFB	National Film Board of Canada
TIFF	Toronto International Film Festival
TRAIFF	Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival
VAG	Vancouver Art Gallery
YEC	Ying E Chi

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Introduction

This thesis examines three sites of alternative screen circulation in the Asia Pacific region—a non-profit film distributor in Hong Kong, a themed film festival in Toronto, and a non-collecting gallery in Vancouver—at the turn of the 20th century. Its aim is to shed light upon the efforts of educational migrants and cultural workers to actively participate in processes of media globalization and the growing influence of Asia, and particularly China. Through empirical research, the thesis identifies and analyzes a strategic response to globalization that is distinct from, yet also overlaps with, both globalism, epitomized by global Hollywood, and regionalism, for example as practiced by the screen industries or creative industries in Europe and East Asia. The defining feature of this minor transnational strategy is the forging of cross-border linkages on the part of peripheral screen cultures and marginal groups with other peripheral screen cultures and marginal groups. As a result of these peripheral-to-peripheral networks, it is claimed that new forms of identification and belonging have emerged within cultural margins that re-imagine alternatives to dominant spatial and social relations.

Despite growing academic interest in media globalization in East Asia or the Asia Pacific region, current scholarship in the field fails to take non-commercial media and independent culture into consideration. This is acknowledged by several influential scholars themselves. For example, Michael Curtin, in his book, *Playing to the World's Biggest Audience: the Globalization of Chinese Film and TV*, concedes that his framework of media capital "emphasizes popular media ... over experimental art forms or alternative modes of expression."[1] For its part, Darrell William Davis and Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh's *East Asian Screen Industries* makes reference to several film festivals of regional stature, such as the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival and Taiwan's Women Make Waves Film and Video Festival, but does not address the independent mode per se.[2] This is

because the screen industries perspective primarily emphasizes the activities of political and economic elites, that is, governments and conglomerates.

Similarly, despite a sizeable body of literature about culturally Chinese migration under globalization, the most influential work of which is Aihwa Ong's *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*,[3] current scholarship fails to take creative migration into consideration. Instead, it focuses overwhelmingly on business migration, to the extent that the literature risks generalizing and caricaturing *all* Chinese migrants as upwardly mobile entrepreneurs. Once again, Curtin observes that "creative labour is motivated by aesthetic innovations as well as market considerations," and that "understanding patterns of creative migration requires looking beyond the logic of accumulation."[4] This oversight is largely due to the fact that scholars of economic globalization primarily emphasize processes of deregulation, privatization, and the free flow of capital.

Thus, independent screen media are largely absent from the globalization literature. This is unfortunate given that these particular modes and genres of media, for example short films and video art, independent documentaries, and low-budget feature narrative films without genres or recognizable stars, often express the perspectives of non-elites.[5] Within particular national contexts, for example China, independent media are being acknowledged as a new creative and cultural force.[6] However, there has been very little attempt to understand how these media move beyond their countries of origin in non-commercial or unofficial ways.[7] With respect to migrant cinema or accented cinema, the prevailing tendency has been to understand these films and videos as primarily moving between the twin poles of a so-called "old world" or homeland and "new world" or host land.[8]

As a result of these conceptual blind spots (and I will argue later, methodological limitations), there has been no systematic study of independent or peripheral screen cultures in the Asia Pacific region from an

explicitly transnational perspective. My research seeks to address this gap through an in-depth analysis of three particular cases of non-mainstream screen distribution and exhibition in the Asia Pacific and the role of culturally Chinese creative migrants in their functioning: Ying E Chi, a non-profit film distributor in Hong Kong, the Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival (TRAIFF), a diasporic film festival in Toronto, and the Vancouver International Centre for Contemporary Asian Art, a non-collecting art gallery in Vancouver.

The study asks:

- How do we explain the increased circulation of screen media in the Asia Pacific that are independent in their mode of production and alternative in their perspective, that is, non-commercial and non-mainstream?
- What is the character of these alternative practices of distribution and exhibition? How does this minor transnational strategy operate?
- How should we assess the implications of the intensified movement of these particular screen media across borders?

To answer these questions, the research adopted a scavenger methodology, an approach that "uses different methods to collect and produce information on subjects who have been deliberately or accidentally excluded from studies of human behaviour ... it attempts to combine methods that are often cast as being at odds with each other, and it refuses the academic compulsion towards disciplinary coherence."[9] A central pre-occupation of the research was to critically extend existing theories and practices of knowledge production, and in so doing, to deconstruct and render more inclusive the notion of who knows and what can be known. Because I wanted to understand actual distribution and exhibition practices, and the forces that shape them, my research was empirical. It comprised of

case studies that included document analysis and face-to-face interviews. The "core" of my document research was the collection, analysis, and writing up of several film distributor catalogues, film festival catalogues, and art exhibition catalogues from each of the three cities in my study over a ten-year period from 1997-2007.

The thesis locates itself in relation to several paradigmatic shifts in different disciplines and fields. In its emphasis on screen distribution and exhibition, it is part of a recent effort within films studies to look beyond production studies and formal analysis of individual films and videos to include other institutional practices.[10] It recognizes that processes of distribution and exhibition play an important role in film industries. At the same time, however, this thesis understands screen distribution as not only contributing to the economy of the cinema but as actively constituting "cultures of circulation."[11] Furthermore, it questions the primacy of the film text as the sole or privileged repository of meaning, drawing attention instead to the ways in which sites and processes of distribution and exhibition also create meaning and value.

In its focus on transnational practices which depart from the logic of neoliberal globalization, this research responds to a growing urgency expressed by scholars from various disciplines to examine cross-border activities beyond the political and economic processes of deregulation, privatization, and so-called "free trade."[12] According to Salomi Mathur, "We need to identify those cosmopolitan practices that are socially progressive, worldly, enlightened, and that potentially challenge the dominance of Western cultural institutions."[13] Rather than assume that globalization is *inherently* profit-driven, it questions the market as the primary arbiter of social relations, drawing attention instead to ways in which the transnational can be oriented towards activities that value public and social objectives, in addition to private and individual aims.

Likewise, in its emphasis on Canada and Hong Kong, this research is part of a concerted attempt within media and film studies in the past decade or so to broaden these disciplines beyond research in the U.S.A. and the U.K. to include media systems in other national contexts.[14] It recognizes that Canada's political economy, its cultural institutions, and its regulatory frameworks are different from those in the U.S.A. and the U.K. At the same time, however, this thesis understands media practices in Canada as not only constituting a "system" but also cross-border "rhizomes." Furthermore, it questions the nation-state as the primary default unit of analysis, drawing attention instead to the way in which Canada has been, and will increasingly be, transformed by media and migration flows.[15]

Nan Sussman, in her monograph, *Return Migration and Identity: A Global Phenomenon, A Hong Kong Case*, observes that:

> Between 1984 and 1997, nearly 800,000 Hong Kongers emigrated from the territory, a sixth of the population. This historic exodus has been matched by an equally unrivalled occurrence: since 1997, an estimated 500,000 immigrants have returned to Hong Kong, now as citizens of Canada, Australia, the United States, the United Kingdom, and more than a dozen other Western nations.[16]

She continues:

> As the recipient of the largest number of Hong Kong immigrants, Canada found itself in the midst of the largest single-country influx in its history… The sheer number was multiplied by the fact that the majority of Hong Kong immigrants moved either to the West Coast province of British Columbia or to Ontario …[17]

In advancing its argument, this research acknowledges the pioneering work of Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih and their edited volume: *Minor Transnationalism*.[18] Through the study, I critique and extend the concept of minor transnationalism in several respects. Like Lionnet and Shih, I argue that the defining characteristic of minor transnationalism is the forging of cross-border linkages on the part of peripheral screen cultures and marginal groups with other peripheral screen cultures and marginal groups. Unlike them, however, I argue that minor transnationalism as a *strategy* depends simultaneously on an institutional framework of deregulation, privatization, and free trade on the one hand, and on cultural regulation or re-regulation and forms of public intervention on the other.

By characterizing minor transnationalism as a strategic response to globalization, I assign to it a theoretical and empirical importance within the field of media globalization that it has previously lacked. I argue that like other more institutionally recognized responses to the global moment, such as globalism and regionalism, minor transnationalism, although lower-tech and smaller in scale, is a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon that is potentially transformative and that warrants closer analysis. Thus, my objective is to insert or insinuate minor transnationalism into a larger, albeit contested, historical narrative and theoretical debate about the nature of media globalization and the perils and possibilities of late modernity.

As a result of my study, I find that minor transnationalism works through globalism and regionalism, not in opposition to it. Rather than being driven by profit-seeking and status-seeking, however, it is driven by commitment. Furthermore, I contend that the minor transnationalism in my case studies operates in two main ways: through the practices of individual programmers, curators, and cultural workers, or "independent sole traders," who broker the movement of screen media within and across marginal groups; and through the practices of minor-to-minor circuits, that is, through non-profit distributor, themed film festival, and artist-run networks.

In her analysis of the film festival circuit, Dina Iordanova points to the vital role of "sole traders" in developing connections and convergences between festival circuits that would usually be separate and parallel.[19] Individuals such as the late Wouter Barendrecht, co-founder of Fortissimo Films, and Tony Rayns, programmer for the Vancouver International Film Festival, for example, were pivotal to introducing East Asian films to Western audiences in the late 1980s and 1990s, in part through their launch at A-list film festivals and smaller festivals that specialize in Asian cinema; the most important of these smaller festivals are Rotterdam, Udine, San Sebastian, and Vancouver.[20] Their efforts helped create a global market for commercial Asian art cinema.

In this thesis, I seek to build upon and extend Iordanova's analysis in order to shed light upon minor transnationalism as a strategy in two ways. First, I argue that rather than simply transmitting or delivering pre-existing screen content from one set of producers to another set of audiences, independent sole traders ascribe new and sometimes unexpected meanings to this content by (re)routing its circulation. In other words, I argue that the role played by independent sole traders is not only one of the distribution of screen commodities in the industrial sense of conveying goods to markets, but also of the production of new identities and social imaginaries in the cultural sense.

Second, I argue that rather than only brokering the movement of screen media between the cultural centre and the periphery, for example, between the international film festival circuit in Europe on the one hand and East Asian screen industries on the other, independent sole traders also broker the movement of screen media between and within peripheries, for example between queer independent producers on the one hand and the East Asian film festival circuit or diasporic film festival circuit on the other. Thus, the role of independent sole traders is not simply to reflect or reinforce

established spatial and social relations, but to actively reconfigure and potentially transform these relations.

The academic contribution of the research lies in its bringing into dialogue recent scholarship about changing screen representations, for example queer Asian,[21] with new empirical research into alternative modes of distribution and exhibition. By showing how non-mainstream circulation practices facilitate connections and exchanges *across difference* and within and between peripheries, rather than *through difference* and between peripheries and cultural cores, the study sheds light on how globalization is not only leading to cultural homogenization under market forces, but also to heterogeneity and a limited kind of democratization. Thus, the research demonstrates how screen distribution and exhibition processes constitute rather than merely reflect our knowledge and experience of "reality," and how the Asia Pacific region might be understood not just as an economic zone or trading bloc under the sign of neoliberalism, but as a zone of cultural debate.[22]

What are the further implications of the findings? Although this research is necessarily limited to a number of cases in particular places and times, it has implications beyond these specific examples and settings. By ascribing a sense of agency to non-elites within globalization, it suggests how the logics—if not the actual processes—of capital accumulation, competition, and unlimited growth (and the social relations that accompany them) might be contested in ways that are alternative but not necessarily oppositional. The focus in this study is on the peripheral-to-peripheral, cross-border networks that are forged by alternative screen distributors and exhibitors. Yet by focusing attention on minor transnationalism in other fields, we might come to apprehend globalization in a more nuanced way—to view it not just with trepidation and pessimism, but with judicious optimism and a sense of the possible.

This thesis is divided into six chapters. In chapter one, "Screen Circulation, Globalization, and Public Culture in the Asia Pacific Region: Key Issues and Debates," I review the key scholarship to date in three fields: screen studies, globalization studies, and Asian North American cultural studies. In particular, I build on the theoretical work of scholars such as Janet Harbord and Sean Cubitt on distribution; and Arjun Appadurai and Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih on globalization in order to substantiate in more depth the key arguments above.

Having established a conceptual framework for the study, I examine the methodological implications of my research in chapter two, "Peripheral Screen Cultures in Transnational Perspective: Methodological Challenges and Responses." Drawing on the work of both George E. Marcus on circulation and multi-sitedness[23] and Judith Halberstam on queer cultures, I adopt a multi-sited scavenger methodology[24] as a guide to researching peripheral screen cultures that are mobile, unofficial, and not-for-profit. The chapter reflects upon fieldwork undertaken in three cities: Vancouver, Toronto, and Hong Kong. It also reflects upon the practice of conducting document research in non-institutional and official archives; conducting face-to-face interviews with a wide cross-section of individuals from the independent film and video community, not just elites; and accessing films and videos that are not commercially distributed. Subsequently, it reflects upon grounded theory to make sense of the data gathered.

I move onto the empirical findings of my research in chapter three, "Situating Minor Transnationalism within Global and Regional Flows." This chapter is dedicated to analyzing the macro-level or structural conditions of possibility for minor transnationalism to occur. By analyzing changes in both foreign and cultural policy, I show how ethnic minority filmmakers and cultural workers in Canada in the 1990s were able to benefit from the tensions and contradictions inherent in the policy turn towards deregulation, privatization, and "free trade" with Asia. Likewise, I show how independent

filmmakers and cultural workers in Hong Kong were able to benefit from both the reform of the arts and cultural sector in the lead up to 1997 and to a lesser extent, from the turn towards the creative industries. The thesis argues that although the forging of cross-border, peripheral-to-peripheral networks requires a degree of cultural reregulation and public intervention, in these parts of the Asia Pacific region in 1997, minor transnationalism worked through globalization, not in opposition to it.

Chapters four to six are dedicated to examining the "micropractices of transnationality"[25] of the screen distributors and exhibitors in my study through case studies. Each of the three cases discusses why, how, and to what effect the site chooses to pursue a strategy of forging peripheral-to-peripheral networks. It focuses particularly on the role of independent sole traders and minor-to-minor circuits. In so doing, the thesis argues that minor transnationalism not only needs to be analytically differentiated, that is, externally differentiated, from other strategic responses to globalization, such globalism and regionalism, although it refuses a binary distinction between them; it also argues that it needs to be historically situated, that is, internally differentiated, in relation to the sites' particular socio-cultural circumstances and organizational agendas.

Chapter four observes that the non-profit film distributor, Ying E Chi, adopted a minor transnational strategy in order to sustain an alternative filmmaking practice in post-handover Hong Kong that is non-commercial and reflective of local conditions and concerns. The establishment of Ying E Chi coincided with the emergence of a regional market for commercial East Asian screen media, as well as the proliferation of independent screen organizations in Asia and particularly, China; the latter has often been overlooked. The chapter shows how independent sole traders such as Simon Chung and Tammy Cheung attempted to build coalitions between peripheral screen cultures in the region, for example by organizing minor-to-minor exhibitions such as "Hong Kong Independent Films in Beijing." At the

same time, it draws attention to how Ying E Chi attempted to capitalize on the growth of the regional screen industries. In particular, it highlights the Hong Kong Asian Film Festival, a co-presentation of Ying E Chi and Broadway Cinematheque from 2004 to 2007, as a site of contestation between the forces of regionalism and minor transnationalism.

Whereas postcolonialism and postsocialism were most relevant to the Hong Kong case, chapter five shows how TRAIFF's pursuit of peripheral-to-peripheral links was shaped by a post-identity politics commitment to both ethnic and sexual minorities in Canada. The establishment of TRAIFF coincided with the growing popularity of East Asian cinema in the West, as well as with the proliferation of independent screen organizations in Asia and North America; the latter requires further attention. The chapter shows how independent sole traders such as Andrew Sun and Richard Fung helped to build coalitions between peripheral screen cultures and marginal groups by programming Asian American narrative features, documentaries, and short films; organizing international spotlights on (non-sovereign) territories in Asia such Hong Kong; as well as promoting Canadian spotlights on queer Asian filmmakers such as Wayne Yung. At the same time, it shows how TRAIFF has attempted to capitalize on the globalization of Asian cinema and Asian finance capital by working in partnership with sponsors such as the Hong Kong Trade and Economic Development Office, for example at the sixth festival in 2003.

Chapter six observes that the non-collecting gallery, the Vancouver International Centre for Contemporary Asian Art (hereafter, Centre A) adopted a minor transnational strategy in order to sustain a visual and media arts practice in the neoliberalized, Pacific Rim city of Vancouver that is alternative and that actively incorporates diasporic Asian cultural production. The establishment of Centre A coincided with the emergence of a global market for Asian, and particularly Chinese, contemporary art, as well as the proliferation of alternative art spaces in Asia and in Asian

diasporas; the latter has often been overlooked. The chapter shows how independent sole traders such as Alice Ming Wai Jim helped to build coalitions between peripheral visual and screen cultures in the region by organizing temporary minor-to-minor exhibitions such as "Para Site: Open Work" and "Redress Express," and international conferences such as "Mutations<>Connections." At the same time, it shows how Centre A attempted to capitalize on the globalization of Asian, and especially Chinese, contemporary art by staging special events that are complementary to the work of pro-business think tanks such as the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada.

All three cases contend that the significance of these minor transnational practices lies in their focusing primarily, although not exclusively, on the relations between and within peripheries, rather than between peripheries and the cultural core. This has contributed to the de-centring of the norms and institutions of the dominant culture, and to the construction of new modes of knowledge and experience of self and Other, time and space. For example, by focusing attention on the intersection of "queer" and "Asian," rather than queerness and (hetero)normativity, or Asianness and "Whiteness," new categories such as Queer Asian have emerged. Furthermore, these minor transnational practices have facilitated the cross-border connection of marginalized communities that were previously fragmented or atomized. In this way, they have forged transnational networks characterized not by profit-seeking or status-seeking in the first instance, that is, by instrumentality, but by a commitment to social and political ideals. Although these transnational communities are not inherently and inevitably progressive, the connection and amplification of this idealism is worthy of note.

Through the cases, the thesis argues that there has been a significant change in the way in which non-elites or semi-elites are negotiating a material and discursive position for themselves within the global

mediascape. By seizing opportunities opened up by globalism and regionalism, and at the same time, creating new possibilities through the forging of peripheral-to-peripheral connections and exchanges, independent screen distributors and exhibitors are actively intervening in globalization and participating in a kind of alternative world-making, rather than being mere bystanders to global change.

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[1] Michael Curtin, *Playing to the World's Biggest Audience: The Globalization of Chinese Film and TV* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 300.

[2] Darrell William Davis and Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh, *East Asian Screen Industries* (London: British Film Institute, 2008), 140.

[3] Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

[4] Curtin, *Playing to the World's Biggest Audience*, 14.

[5] Patricia White, "Lesbian Minor Cinema," *Screen* 49, no. 4 (Winter 2008): 410-411.

[6] The most important works in this field include: Paul Pickowicz and Yingjin Zhang, eds., *From Underground to Independent: Alternative Film Culture in Contemporary China* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006); Chris Berry, Lu Xinyu, and Lisa Rofel, eds., *The New Chinese Documentary Film Movement: For the Public Record* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010); and Zhang Zhen, ed., *The Urban Generation: Chinese Cinema and Society at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

[7] I am distinguishing here between the circulation of screen media through piracy, which is profit-driven, and non-commercial modes, such as themed film festivals. For analyses of piracy, see for example Shujen Wang, *Framing Piracy: Globalization and Film Distribution in Greater China* (Lanham: Roman & Littlefield, 2003); Laikwan Pang, *Cultural Control and Globalization in Asia: Copyright, Piracy, and Cinema* (London: Routledge, 2006); Ramon Lobato, *Shadow Economies of Cinema: Mapping Informal Film Distribution* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); and Martin Fredricksson and James Arvanitakis, eds., *Piracy: Leakages from Modernity* (Los Angeles: Litwin Books LCC, 2012).

[8] Hamid Naficy, *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

[9] Judith Jack Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 13.

[10] See for example, Ashish Rajadhyaksha and Kim Soyoung, "Imagining the Cinema Anew," *Inter-Asian Cultural Studies* 4, no. 1 (2003): 7-9; Toby Miller, Freya Schiwy, and Marta Hernandez Salvan, "Distribution: The Forgotten Element in Transnational Cinema," *Journal of Transnational Cinemas* 2, no. 2 (2011): 197-214; and Julia Knight and Peter Thomas, eds., *Researching Audiences: Distribution and Promotion of Alternative Moving Images* (Bristol: Intellect Books, 2012).

[11] Benjamin Lee and Edward LiPuma, "Cultures of Circulation: The Imaginations of Modernity," *Public Culture* 14, no.1 (2002): 191-213.

[12] For a discussion of the need to differentiate globalism from transnationalism," see Chris Berry, "Transnational Chinese Cinema Studies," in *The Chinese Cinema Book*, eds. Song Hwee Lim and Julian Ward (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 1-16.

[13] Saloni Mathur, "Museums and Globalization," *Anthropological Quarterly* 78, no. 3 (2005): 702.

[14] See for example, James Curran and Myung-Jin Park, eds., *De-Westernizing Media Studies* (London: Routledge, 2000).

[15] For scholarly accounts of Chinese migration to Canada prior to the 1980s, see for example Patricia E. Roy, *A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese* Immigrants, *1958-1914* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989); Peter S. Li, *The Chinese in Canada*, 2nd edition (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998); Wing Chung Ng, *The Chinese in Vancouver: 1945-1980: The Pursuit of Identity and Power* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1999); and Patricia E. Roy, *The Oriental Question: Consolidating A White Man's Province, 1914-41* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2003).

[16] Nan Sussman, *Return Migration and Identity: A Global Phenomenon, A Hong Kong Case* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011), 6.

[17] Ibid., 23-24.

[18] Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih, eds., *Minor Transnationalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

[19] Dina Iordanova, "The Film Festival Circuit," in *Film Festival Yearbook 1: The Festival Circuit*, eds. Dina Iordanova and Ragan Rhyne (St Andrews: St Andrews Film Studies, 2009), 33-34.

[20] For a critical analysis of the role of international film festivals in promoting Chinese cinema to international audiences, see Felicia Chan, "The International Film Festival and the Making of a National Cinema," *Screen* 52, no. 2 (2011): 253-260.

[21] Key works in this field include: Andrew Grossman, ed. *Queer Asian Cinema: Shadows in the Shade* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2000); Chris Berry, "Happy Alone? Sad Young Men in East Asian Gay Cinema," *Journal of Homosexuality* 39, no. 3-4 (2000): 187-200; Helen Hok-Sze Leung, "Queer Asian Cinemas," in *The Bent Lens: A World Guide to Gay and Lesbian Film*. 2nd ed., eds. Claire Jackson and Lisa Daniels (St. Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 2003), 14-17; and Song Hwee Lim, *Celluloid Comrades: Representations of Male Homosexuality in Contemporary Chinese Cinema* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2006).

[22] Carole A. Breckenridge and Arjun Appadurai refer to public culture as "a zone of cultural debate." See Carole A. Breckenridge and Arjun Appadurai, "Public Modernity in India," in *Consuming Modernity: Public Culture in a South Asian World*, ed. Carole A. Breckenridge (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 5.

[23] George E. Marcus, "Ethnography In/Of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 95-117.

[24] Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 13.

[25] Lionnet and Shih, *Minor Transnationalism*, 7.

Chapter One: Screen Circulation, Globalization, and Public Culture in the Asia Pacific Region: Key Issues and Debates

This chapter brings into dialogue and critically analyzes key debates in three different fields—screen studies, globalization studies, and cultural studies—in order to establish a theoretical framework for the study. It argues that due to a number of disciplinary elisions and gaps, there is little understanding of the role that independent screen distribution and exhibition, as cultural rather than just economic processes, play in the practice of minor transnationalism—the forging through globalization of cross-border peripheral-to-peripheral links. Furthermore, there is a lack of systematic attention paid in the literature to the way in which these minor transnational practices are creating new identities and alternative social imaginaries within cultural margins that exceed the logics of the market and the neoliberal nation-state.

The conceptual framework for the study is divided into two main sections, the first of which is a largely theoretical exploration and the second of which is an empirical one. The theoretical exploration is further sub-divided into two parts. The first part compares various conceptual models for understanding screen distribution and exhibition that encompass a range of ideological and disciplinary perspectives, from distribution as irrelevant, to distribution as an industrial pipeline, and to distribution and exhibition as a social and cultural practice. The second part analyzes shifting theoretical approaches to globalization, from Immanuel Wallerstein's centre-periphery model of the World System in the 1970s, to Arjun Appadurai's theory of flows and "scapes" in the late 1990s, and to Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih's periphery-to-periphery model of minor transnationalism in the mid-2000s.

The empirical section is also sub-divided into two. In the first section, I compare different frameworks for understanding screen globalization on various scales and with differing cultural logics, from global Hollywood, to regional screen industries, and to peripheral cinemas as networked to other peripheral cinemas. In the second section, I compare different frameworks for understanding Chinese migration under globalization, from Aihwa Ong's ethnography of flexible citizenship, to Nan Sussman's study of return migration to Hong Kong, and to Susan Ossman's less ethnically-specific ethnography of serial migration. By bringing together these less dominant, more alternative analytical approaches to the movement of media and people, and suggesting how they might manifest in the Asia Pacific region, I attempt to re-conceptualize the region not just as an economic market of "free trade," but as a site of public culture and a zone of cultural debate.

Theorizing Distribution and Exhibition: From Industrial Pipeline to Social and Cultural Practice

This section compares various conceptual models for understanding screen distribution and exhibition. I argue that the bifurcation of the discipline of film studies into the study of "film style" and "film institutions" has perpetuated, on the one hand, idealist or Kantian notions of film as art, in which there is a separation between film as an aesthetic object of analysis and the social and political contexts of a film's production and reception, and, on the other hand, materialist or Marxist notions of film as commerce, in which there is a lack of attention to the meaning-making function of the cinema. What are required are approaches that incorporate in a critical way both the symbolic and material dimensions of film distribution and exhibition.

Dominant conceptualizations within film studies have approached film in terms of a binary framework: film as an art,[26] in which distribution and exhibition are largely irrelevant; or film as a commodity,[27] in which

distribution is merely an industrial pipeline that connects screen production to consumption, and goods to market. Alternative frameworks that draw upon literature both within and outside of film studies, for example in sociology and anthropology, have approached film in a different way: film as a social and cultural practice,[28] in which the theoretical implications of distribution and exhibition are underscored.

The purpose of this section is to identify and evaluate these approaches that address distribution and exhibition in either implicit or explicit ways. First, I analyze aesthetic approaches, dominant among film critics and scholars of film canons, that are influenced by the legacy of Kant; these tend to disregard distribution and exhibition altogether. Next, I analyze political economy approaches, dominant among industry professionals and scholars of film institutions that are influenced by Marxist critique. Finally, I analyze critical cultural studies approaches that problematize both Kant and Marx and that are influenced by the work of Pierre Bourdieu and poststructuralist thinkers such as Jacques Derrida.

I argue that frameworks that understand distribution as an industrial pipeline connecting production in (largely Hollywood) film studios to consumption in multiplex cinemas cannot account for the diversity and vitality of film circulation under globalization. Neither can frameworks that understand non-theatrical modes of distribution and exhibition in strictly official or commercial ways. In place of a liberal pluralist approach to distribution and exhibition that understands them as neutral processes that reflect social relations, I argue that distribution and exhibition help to constitute social relations and have a particular relationship to power.[29] However, in place of the strictly Marxist approach that reduces this power to formal politics and economics, I argue that other forms of power must be taken into account.

The notion that screen distribution and exhibition are irrelevant corresponds with an idealist conceptualization of film as art. Because of the

Kantian separation between the art object and the subject, or the filmic text and its context, screen distribution and exhibition have until recently been relatively overlooked as objects of scholarly attention. The idealist perspective tends to emphasize issues of film authorship, autonomy, individuality, and originality. For example, Hamid Naficy's theory of "accented cinema" understands this cinema primarily through the lens of authorship theory. Nonetheless, Naficy concedes that "any discussion of authorship in exile needs to take into consideration not only the individuality, originality, and personality of unique individuals, as expressive film authors, but also, and more important, their (dis)location as interstitial subjects within social formations and cinematic practices."[30]

This theorization of film as art corresponds with a seventeenth century framework of classical aesthetics in which "art" is defined in relation to the six "fine arts" of architecture, sculpture, painting, dance, music, and poetry.[31] The purpose of art at this historical juncture was the pursuit of beauty as an ideal.[32] Cinema was hailed as the seventh art by Riciotta Canudo in the first decade of the twentieth century,[33] and theories of film auteurism became prevalent especially in France in the 1950s and 1960s.[34]

The notion that screen distribution and exhibition are important because of their relation to the business of cinema corresponds with the materialist conceptualization of film as a commodity. Within this framework, there are two main perspectives: a liberal pluralist or mainstream economics perspective, and a neo-Marxist or critical economy perspective. The materialist perspective tends to emphasize issues of film industry and the mass production of films as units to be bought and sold. In this view, distribution has a purely economic function rather than a symbolic and social and cultural one and as such, the meaning-making processes of distribution and exhibition are ignored. The purpose of distribution is to act as an industrial pipeline or transmission vehicle to convey goods to market. According to Douglas Gomery, "Distribution, sadly, is that least analysed

part of the industry; there are no fascinating movies to consider, only dull, dry figures, both numerical and executive, defining and producing raw power."[35]

This theorization of film as a commodity corresponds with a progress-based mode of film historiography in which cinema is "born" in France in 1895 as a result of a number of Western technological innovations, such as light capture, projection capability, and so forth, and progresses through various stages of increasing industrialization and narrative integration until it reaches its full realization or apex as an institution with the emergence of the classical Hollywood studio system in the late 1920s.[36] This technologically deterministic and teleological understanding of film history casts early cinema (pre-1907) as a primitive, underdeveloped form of the classical Hollywood cinema. I discuss early cinema further below.

The notion that screen distribution and exhibition are important because of their relation to everyday life corresponds with a broadly cultural studies conceptualization of film as a social and cultural practice.[37] This conceptualization includes film historical approaches to early cinema and anthropological approaches to media and film. The main claim of these approaches is that changes in screen distribution and exhibition have been shaped by, and have helped to shape, broader changes in culture and society.[38] The cultural studies perspective tends to emphasize issues of film and identity or subject formation, and film and the production of social imaginaries.

One key debate within this approach is the question of what or who constitutes a legitimate screen "culture" or "cultures." Many scholars understand culture as *either* high culture, which is associated with European art cinema, or mass culture, which is associated with Hollywood studio production or with commercial television.[39] There has been considerable analysis to date of the role that established sites and practices of distribution and exhibition have in conferring "distinction" or value on the screen media

that circulate through them.[40] However, various other scholars understand culture as everyday, lived experience, that is, culture as ordinary, in addition to culture as a practice of representation and imagination.[41] There has been much less analysis of the role of emergent sites and practices of distribution and exhibition in conferring legitimacy on the lived experience of groups who are socially and politically marginalized, that is, on non-elites.[42]

A related debate is the question of what or who constitutes a legitimate screen "public" or "publics." Some scholars, writing from a modernist perspective, understand the public as singular, monolithic, and stable.[43] However, other scholars, writing from a poststructuralist perspective, understand publics as multiple, heterogeneous, and dynamic.[44] Other scholars approach screen distribution and exhibition in terms of its potential for social emancipation, and its support for multicultural, feminist, and queer identities, and independent cultures.[45]

This theorization of film, and particularly film distribution and exhibition, as a social and cultural practice can be linked to two historical moments and developments in the disciplines of film studies and anthropology that were unexpectedly complementary: a review of the major tenets of film history, following the International Fédération of Film Archives (FIAF) conference in Brighton in 1978,[46] and a subsequent boom in the study of early cinema; and a review of the major tenants of cultural anthropology, resulting in a call in the 1990s for an anthropology of the present.[47]

Whereas, before the Brighton conference, early cinema (pre-1907) was often assumed to be a primitive or underdeveloped form of the classical Hollywood cinema (1920-1960), and was therefore neglected, after the conference, it began to be understood on its own terms.[48] For example, early cinema was understood to have its own aesthetic, an aesthetics of astonishment.[49] Likewise, whereas it had previously been assumed that the discipline of anthropology was primarily interested in "primitive" or

traditional cultures, in contrast to sociology's interest in developed or modern cultures, the discipline of anthropology began in the 1990s to analyze modern culture, including the role of the media, in its own right.[50] The purpose of the media anthropology literature was to ascertain the role of the mass media, not simply on family or kinship ties and face-to-face communication, but in the general (re)production of social and cultural life. The corollary of these developments was that early cinema and postcolonial cinema in the Third World came to be theoretically understood and valued not in terms of their *lack* of adherence to Hollywood standards or modern standards in the West, but in terms of offering alternative models to these previously taken for granted norms, norms based on a certain universal (or Western), developmental (or teleological), and nationalist and capitalist logic.

The film historian Miriam Hansen's work on early cinema has been especially influential on research within the field of media anthropology because of the way she was able to link the structural conditions of early cinema with the agency of non-elites, for example women, immigrants, and the working masses.[51] These structural conditions included a lack of standardization and differentiation in exhibition practices,[52] because control over the selection and presentation of pre-cinema was held by local exhibitors rather than profit-seeking distributors in the major metropolises. Drawing upon the work of the Frankfurt School, and particularly Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge,[53] Hansen theorized that the non-standardized practices of local exhibitors contributed to a non-institutionalized mode of spectatorship and to the potential for an alternative public sphere. However, her work has also been criticized for limiting its study of spectatorship to textual analysis and being mainly concerned with early cinema's particular modes of address.[54]

One of the key debates in the literature—if not the primary debate—is the relation of sites and processes of screen distribution and exhibition to the

exercise of power. The liberal pluralist or mainstream economics perspective[55] understands screen distribution and exhibition as neutral processes that merely reflect reality and that are oriented towards social stasis. Screen distribution is often conceptualized as an unexamined "black box"[56] through which information or content flows from sender to receiver or from producer to consumer.[57]

In contrast, the neo-Marxist or critical political economy perspective[58] understands screen distribution and exhibition as processes that are ideologically-determined by capital in collusion with the nation-state, and that are oriented towards social conflict. Screen distribution is treated as a segment of the (Hollywood) film industry. Many scholars conceptualize screen distribution and exhibition in terms of their power to maintain social control, and in terms of their support for imperialism, nationalism, capitalism, and social and cultural inequality.[59] There has been considerable analysis to date of the role of screen distribution and exhibition in processes of capital accumulation, nation-building, and empire-building, that is, in the service of political and economic elites.[60]

With respect to moving image exhibition and subject formation, the dominant emphasis has been on social control and the production of normative subjects, that is, subjects who are Euro-American and bourgeois or middle-class in behaviour. There has been considerable analysis to date of the pedagogical function of mainstream sites and practices of distribution and exhibition in shaping the behaviour of audiences to be patriotic or nationalistic, gender-conforming, and socially bourgeois.[61] Classical spectatorship norms and viewing regimes instructed cinema-goers to be seated in darkness, silent, and attentive to the film.[62] For example, Haidee Wasson has studied the role of the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) during the 1930s in the transformation of cinema from a fleeting entertainment to an enduring cultural monument, and cinema-goers from rowdy audiences to educated viewers.[63]

There has been much less attention paid to cinema's role in the production of non-normative subjects and to the potential for alternative sites and practices of distribution and exhibition to contribute to social emancipation. Early cinema and late cinema spectatorship involved participants being mobile in lit environments, noisy, and simultaneously engaged in other forms of leisure or work activity.[64] For example, S.V. Srinivas has studied the role of distributors and B circuit exhibitors in southern India in the transformation of Hong Kong action films from culturally-specific commodities to culturally syncretic and arguably debased objects of low economic value, and from spectators to fans.[65] Within the B circuit, viewing norms include whistling and cheering during the screening, and "audiences are more or less left to their own devices and are free to engage in all modes of excess."[66]

One of the problems with the distribution literature is that it has focussed primarily on a very select number of commercial distributors based in Europe and North America. Within scholarship about screen distribution, there has been considerable analysis to date of commercial film distributors based either in France or the U.S.A. Accounts of the French film distributor Pathé Frères in the 1890s and turn of the twentieth century by film historians such as Richard Abel,[67] or of the American film distributor Miramax Films in the 1990s by film journalists and Hollywood insiders such as Peter Biskand,[68] are typical in this regard. A noteworthy development in the early 2000s was the scholarly and industrial interest in the activities of the U.K. distributor, Tartan Films, and in particular its marketing strategy of "Asia Extreme."[69] Likewise, within the field of screen exhibition,[70] the primary focus has been on the historical or contemporary theatrical exhibition of feature narrative films in movie theatres or multiplex cinemas.[71] Some of the more recent literature has focused on historical or contemporary non-theatrical exhibition in the U.S.A. or beyond, in venues such as classrooms, libraries, museums, community halls, factories, and professional associations.[72]

However, emphasis is expanding to include not-for-profit and for-profit distribution activities on the part of marginalized groups such as women,[73] LGBT communities, and people in the diaspora and the so-called Third World.[74] More recently, likewise, emphasis is also expanding to include non-theatrical exhibition contexts such as the private consumption of screen media via DVD, satellite television, pay-per-view,[75] and increasingly, video-on-demand.[76]

Rejecting the model of "distribution as a black box," Sean Cubitt posits that, "… distribution is the construction of difference … [that is] critical to an understanding of contemporary cultural politics."[77] For Cubitt, there is a potential for alternative models of distribution to ground "an alternative cultural politics."[78] He argues that it is important to create "new circuits, new economies, alongside the new technologies and techniques that are so much the hallmark of the contemporary mediascape."[79]

A key development in the field was the publication in 2012 of Roman Lobato's monograph, *Shadow Economies of Cinema: Mapping Informal Film Distribution*. In contrast to those scholars who view the global mediascape as dominated by official and industrial screen distributors, Lobato views the world as increasingly permeated by "shadow economies" and informal modes of distribution that are characterized by "handshake deals, reciprocity, gift economies, theft, barter, and other modes of exchange and redistribution which bypass institutions."[80] Lobato's analysis is important for its understanding of both the material and symbolic dimensions of distribution, and for its attempt to legitimize screen cultures both in the non-West and the West that are grassroots rather than elite-driven. However, like much of the literature on screen distribution, Lobato's analysis is also limited by its focus on the profit-oriented (albeit informal) circulation of commercial feature films. My study seeks to build on Lobato's research by focusing on the ways in which informal networks that are socially engaged rather than commercially-driven are implicated in the cross-border circulation of short

films, independent documentaries, and low-budget feature films that lack stars or similar marketing appeal.

The work of film festival scholars has contributed much to the re-evaluation of sites and practices of screen distribution and exhibition as meaning-making and value-adding processes in and of themselves. Film festivals are not neutral showcases for national cinemas; rather they shape, and are shaped by, relations of power, and are sites of cultural struggle. Major international film festivals perpetuate notions of exclusivity due to their monopoly on stars, auteurs, and film premieres.[81] They also inscribe social difference through their programming, scheduling, and marketing activities.

However, one of the problems with the earlier generation of film festival studies is that it was primarily focussed on a very select number of international film festivals in Europe and North America, namely Cannes, Berlin, Venice, Toronto, and Sundance.[82] It also tended to identify films exhibited at festivals with either the Hollywood mode of production, or with the European art house mode of production under the influence of the film auteur.[83] More recent scholarship has focussed on a wider range of film festivals, from large international events to smaller themed film festivals, [84] in both the West and the non-West.[85] It has also focussed on a greater diversity of filmmaking and video-making, representing many modes of production, including the independent mode.[86]

A key event in the development of the field was the publication in 2008 of the first film festival monograph, *Film Festivals: From European Geo-politics to Global Cinephilia* by Marijke De Valck.[87] De Valck's analysis is important because it identifies and analyzes the specific cultural practices through which film festivals add meaning and value to films. These practices include film selection via festival programming and scheduling; film competition via festival awards; and film mediation via festival marketing as well as through the interventions of film critics and journalists.[88]

The film festival literature helped to demonstrate that film's meaning and value is not fixed but relational; it changes depending upon its circulation through various distribution and exhibition channels. Certain art films and auteurs are elevated above other films and filmmakers, that is, they acquire "distinction,"[89] via their treatment at film festivals by programmers, jury members, marketers, and journalists. However, De Valck's analysis is limited by its on focus how international film festivals reproduce social hierarchies and inequalities in part through practices that confer social meaning and value on individual films and filmmakers. My study seeks to build upon De Valck's research by focussing on how themed film festivals engage in activist practices of screen selection, competition, and mediation. The objective of these practices is not just to elevate individual film masterpieces and auteurs, but also to engage with social and political issues and to advance collective, community-based concerns.[90]

Various writers and scholars have noted that with respect to themed film festivals for particular communities, such as ethnic communities, women, or LGBT communities, such festivals not only influence what constitutes "Asian American cinema," for example, but also actively construct what constitutes Asian American identity itself.[91] In addition to deconstructing cinematic essentialism by showing how a film's meaning varies according to the site and circumstances of its exhibition, this literature has also helped to deconstruct essentialist notions of cultural identity by demonstrating the malleability of culture, that is, by showing that culture is not homogeneous and static, but heterogeneous and always in process.[92] Whereas the practices of major international film festivals add or subtract from a film's value as a commodity or a work of art, the process of organizing these minor themed film festivals contributes to the legitimization of entire communities' social and cultural roles.[93] Helen Leung, for example, has identified film festivals as key sites for the production of new cinemas such as "Queer Asian Cinema."[94] However, she does not extend her analysis far enough to draw an explicit connection

between these modes of distribution and exhibition and the production of new identities. This thesis aims to help make these links.

Scholars and activists such as Richard Fung have shown that sites and processes of distribution and exhibition, particularly themed film festivals, have the capacity to gather together and discursively frame independent screen media that may not meet the conventions or standards of the mainstream industry or official institutions, due to issues concerning technical standards, production values, running length, or narrative conventions.[95] These media might include short films, independent documentaries, and media art, for example. Just as importantly, alternative sites and processes of distribution and exhibition have the capacity to discursively address and physically assemble collective audiences who may otherwise experience atomization and alienation due to various forms of social inequality and injustice in mainstream society.[96] These audiences might include women and ethnic and sexual minorities.

The work of critical art historians and scholars of the "new museology"[97] has also contributed much to the re-evaluation of sites and practices of screen exhibition as meaning-making and value-adding processes in and of themselves. Galleries and art museums are not just neutral repositories for art objects;[98] they are sites of cultural struggle and explicitly or implicitly perform "identity work."[99] Major museums and galleries perpetuate notions of (national) unity and permanence due to the size and prestige of their collections, and due to the monumental nature of their buildings and architecture. Perhaps even more so than the institution of the movie theatre, the spaces of the gallery and art museum have served ideological functions in their constitution of a "public" that is ostensibly universal, but is in fact socially differentiated on the basis of race, gender, and class.[100] Various scholars, such as Tony Bennett, have located the birth of the public museum in post-revolutionary France in the late eighteenth century, and thus in the context of a transition from a feudal to a modern

society.[101] As Sharon MacDonald notes of this period, "That which was private and aristocratic was made public and 'of the people.'"[102] In this way, museums played an important role in the production of new subjects, that is, national citizens.

However, one of the problems with the new museology of an earlier generation was that it was primarily focussed on what Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach have called, "the Universal Survey Museum,"[103] that is, on large collecting institutions in Europe or North America, such as the Louvre in Paris, the National Gallery in London, and the Guggenheim Museum in New York.[104] Another of the problems with the earlier literature is that it tended to identify art exhibited in galleries and museums with fine art rather than with contemporary art, such as screen-based media. More recent museum scholarship has focussed on a wider range of exhibition sites in places outside of global cities.[105] It has also focussed on a greater diversity of aesthetic production, including moving image production.[106] I argue that museum studies has also contributed to a reappraisal and reaffirmation of cultural identity as being socially-constructed and fluid, rather than being pre-determined and fixed.[107]

The ontological and normative status of so-called late cinema or film in the post-cinema era has been taken up most notably by Janet Harbord.[108] Rejecting both the formalism of textual exegesis, so prevalent in classical film studies, and the populism of audience studies, so prevalent in media studies, she calls instead for the cross-disciplinary analysis of specific practices of film marketing, distribution, exhibition, and criticism.[109] Drawing upon the work of Jacques Derrida[110] and Pierre Bourdieu,[111] Harbord theorizes that film's value is not fixed but relational; it changes depending upon its circulation through various distribution and exhibition channels. She identifies three primary spaces from which to view film in Europe: the multiplex cinema, the art house cinema (which has been displaced in many ways by the film festival), and the art gallery. Rather than seeing these

spaces and practices as neutral, she sees them as having a particular relationship to both material and symbolic power, and as productive of social hierarchies and cultures of taste.

Similarly, according to Dina Iordanova, it is mistaken to characterize the film festival circuit as an alternative network to Hollywood. Rather, Iordanova understands film festivals as "a system of discrete exhibition sites that strive to commit to a set of connections while at the same time seeking to abstain from that commitment."[112] Although Iordanova rejects the claim that film festivals function in an integrated way, she concedes that they do not operate entirely in isolation or in parallel to each other. By way of explanation, Iordanova identifies "sole traders" as "a class of cinephile freelancers" incessantly on the move who function as the "transmission links" between festivals and who give festivals the appearance of being networked. They undertake small-scale projects such as programming side bars or organizing panel discussions.[113] She cites the examples of Pierre Rissient, who facilitated the movement of films and fostered a shared cinephile culture between the Cannes Film Festival and Telluride Film Festival; and Tony Rayns, who, in his capacity as a programmer for the Vancouver International Film Festival, facilitated the movement of films from East Asia to the West during the 1980s and 1990s.[114]

Iordanova's analysis is important because it draws attention to the role of film festival programmers and curators in facilitating cultural connection and exchange.[115] However, her discussion of sole traders is limited by its focus on professional cultural workers (albeit freelance workers) and on first and second-tier international film festivals. Elsewhere in her book chapter, Iordanova observes that it is important to distinguish between a small number of major festivals and large number of minor festivals which may "perform a variety of tasks ranging from launching young talent to supporting identity groups such as women and ethnic

minorities."[116] In contrast to an established system, such themed film festivals operate as "rhizomes" in ways that are contingent and dispersed.

My study seeks to build on Iordanova's analysis by focussing on largely non-professional cultural workers and themed film festivals. It also seeks to show how these smaller film festivals and other alternative sites of distribution and exhibition not only facilitate the movement of screen media from periphery to core, or between cores, but also promote the circulation of screen media from one peripheral screen culture and marginalized group to another peripheral screen culture and marginalized group. Adapting Iordanova's concept of "sole traders," I define "independent sole traders" as educational migrants and cultural workers who broker the movement of screen media from one peripheral screen culture and marginalized group to another peripheral screen culture and marginalized group. For example, Richard Fung has facilitated the movement of screen media and fostered a shared activist culture between the Inside Out Film Festival in Toronto and the Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival for decades.[117] I discuss Fung's role further in chapter five of the thesis.

Richard Fung has observed that gay and lesbian film festivals in the 1990s such as the Inside Out Film Festival in Toronto functioned as "crucial sites of queer pedagogy, and classrooms of queer images."[118] However, there has been very little analysis so far of the pedagogical function of alternative sites and practices of distribution and exhibition in their construction of audiences whose identities and social imaginaries cut *across* established borders, both social and geographical.[119] This thesis aims to help address these questions and fill this gap.

Theorizing Globalization:
From World System to Transnational Rhizomes

Over the last two or three decades, the study of globalization has undergone multiple transformations. Early scholarship, influenced by structuralism and by first-generation postcolonial theory, stressed the importance of vertical relations of power between the core and the periphery, the West and the non-West. Later, more poststructuralist accounts have stressed horizontal relations between peripheries in which the West and the non-West are mutually implicated; these relations cannot be reduced to domination and resistance. These later accounts of globalization have taken on board theoretical developments such as deconstruction and queer theory, as well as geopolitical events such as the demise of communism, the end of the Cold War, and the rise of the Asian economies; the latter have complicated the typology of First, Second, and Third Worlds.

The purpose of this section is to identify and evaluate these theoretical transformations over the decades. In the first part of the section, I analyze conceptual frameworks for understanding globalization from the 1970s and 1980s, including dependency theory and world systems theory. Then, I evaluate critiques of these structuralist approaches to globalization from the 1990s, including frameworks of the "global and the local," the regional in geolinguistic terms, and the seminal work of Arjun Appadurai and his theory of "scapes." This discussion of Appadurai includes a sub-section in which I look specifically at dominant and alternative theories of Pacific Rim migration and media flows. Finally, I analyze conceptual frameworks for understanding processes of transnationalism, as distinct from globalization, from the 2000s.

I argue that structuralist accounts such as world systems theory[120] cannot account for the complexity and contradictory nature of culture under globalization. This increasing complexity results in part from the impact of

intensified migration and the circulation of audiovisual media. At the same time, I argue that poststructuralist accounts such as minor transnationalism[121] must consider how the nation-state and the global economy have been reconfigured to incorporate cultural difference and alternative production in more subtle and problematic ways, for example through policies such as cultural diversity and creative industries.

The emergence of world systems theory needs to be located at a particular historical juncture, one in which the wisdom of Western progress and modernization as a solution to non-Western (so-called) backwardness or underdevelopment in Africa, Asia, and Latin America was beginning to be called into question. Rejecting the pre-eminence of Western modernization, Immanuel Wallerstein theorized the postcolonial order as a world system as characterized by a single division of labour which concentrated capital-intensive forms of work in the core states of the West, and labour-intensive forms of work in the peripheral areas of the non-West. As a result of this single division of labour, the Third World was structurally dependent upon the First World and subject to continued domination, even though colonialism had formally ended.[122]

Wallerstein's analysis was highly influential because it offered an alternative explanation for the lack of progress, understood only as industrialization and economic growth, on the part of Third World countries that both reflected and constituted the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist tenor of the times. This alternative explanation focused on politics and economics, in terms of the unequal exchange relations resulting from imperialist and capitalist expansion, rather than on culture, in terms of the modern core states' assumptions of primitiveness or an excess of tradition on the part of the peripheral areas. However, both world systems theory and dependency theory accepted modernization's dominant beliefs in the nation-state as the primary unit of analysis and in social evolution through specific

stages of development towards an ultimate end point; for Wallerstein, this end point was socialism rather than capitalism.

Wallerstein's orthodox Marxist understanding of culture as simply the purveyor of dominant ideology is widespread among many theorists of the political economy of the mass media. It is especially prevalent among what David Hesmondhalgh has called the "Schiller-McChesney tradition of political economy."[123] Within this tradition, it is widely accepted that the West continues to dominate the non-West through practices of cultural imperialism, whereby media conglomerates in the West are able to directly determine the content and reception of media in the non-West, and indeed throughout the world. Just as world systems theory in the 1970s sought to explain the underdevelopment of the Third World via reference to processes of imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, so economic globalization theory in the 1990s purports to explain the domination of the peripheral areas in the non-West by the core states in the West via reference to processes of media deregulation and privatization.

The field of cultural globalization emerged in the early 1990s as a response to the perceived limitations of the cultural imperialism thesis and its simple, binary logic of core and periphery, West and the Rest.[124] Its overarching objective was to understand the fate of culture under globalization, not merely as an effect of the re-configuration of the economy and the practice of capitalism, but as also implicated in the re-configuration of the nation-state. Two important publications in this period were Roland Robertson's 1990 account of "glocalization,"[125] and Anthony King's 1991 edited collection, *Culture, Globalization, and the World System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*."[126] Robertson's account offered an understanding of globalization beyond mere cultural homogenization and the belief that the global would simply "absorb" the local. King's discussion was one of the first to "reject the nationally constituted society as the

appropriate object of discourse," and to commit to conceptualizing "the world as a whole."

Another important critique of cultural imperialism that emerged in the 1990s understood globalization not so much in relation to one-way flows of screen media from core states to periphery areas, but in terms of geolinguistic regions.[127] Work such as that of John Sinclair et al. not only addressed the conceptual crudeness of cultural imperialism, but its empirical limitations as well. According to Sinclair et al., world systems theory did not pay sufficient attention to the specific postcolonial experience of settler colonies and semi-peripheral countries such as Australia and Canada.[128] Furthermore, it did not acknowledge the fact that certain countries in the so-called peripheral areas, which included at that time Hong Kong, had become major exporters of screen media to culturally proximate and linguistically similar countries in Latin America, Asia, and the Middle East.[129] However, the most influential critique of world systems theory to emerge from the field of cultural globalization was Arjun Appadurai's theory of "scapes."[130]

In his essay, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Cultural Global Economy," Appadurai sought to conceptualize "the multiple worlds that are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe."[131] Arguing that globalization has rendered the binary logic of centre-periphery models inadequate, he proposed an alternative framework of five "scapes": ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes, and ideoscapes. Crucially, these "scapes" exist in disjuncture with one other, rather than in alignment. He concludes that the constitution of social life through these disjunctures has challenged the stability and certainty of the global order.

Appadurai assigns particular importance to the first two scapes, ethnoscapes and mediascapes. He argues that the twin processes of migration and electronic media flows have reanimated the role of the imagination in everyday life. For him, the imagination, both personal and

social, is a new resource for constructing modern subjectivities and political futures. Surveying a range of cultural practices and forms, such as tourism, filmmaking, and cricket, among others, from an ethnographic perspective, he argues that anthropology as a discipline must re-think its assumptions. He concludes that, in the contemporary world, the objects of ethnography must not only include local cultures but also transnational processes, and not only actual experiences but also imagined lives.[132]

Appadurai's work should be seen as part of a larger attempt to re-think the discipline of anthropology and the process of cultural reproduction itself.[133] His objective was to shift the emphasis from culture as traditional, organic, and territorially-bounded, to culture as modern, technologically-mediated, and dispersed, not only in the U.S.A. and Europe, but in the so-called non-West. By conceptualizing culture in terms of flows ("scapes") rather than core and periphery, and by describing modernity as being multiple and at large rather than as singular and confined to the West, his work questioned the modernist assumptions of earlier models. His analysis was also an attempt to restore a sense of agency and contingency to debates about globalization that had so far emphasized the structuring and determining forces of political and economic elites.

Appadurai's work on ethnoscapes, or flows of people, could be said to subtend another sizeable body of scholarship across various disciplines in the social sciences that looks at the migration of economic elites from East Asia, and particularly Hong Kong, to the West since the late 1980s.[134] This scholarship overwhelmingly characterizes Chinese migrants as agents of neoliberal globalization, and migration as a strategic process of flexible accumulation.[135] The main argument here is that governments in countries such as Canada and the U.S.A. have liberalized existing immigration regimes and introduced new modes of "flexible citizenship" in order to facilitate the flow of investment and capital between East Asia and the West. In turn, migrants in territories such as Hong Kong have adopted transnational

practices such as international education in disciplines such as business administration in order to maximize status and wealth.[136]

More recently, alternative and much more nuanced accounts of Chinese migration have begun to emerge. For example, Nan Sussman looks at return migration to Hong Kong using a framework which she calls the Cultural Identity Model (CIM).[137] Based on interviews with fifty migrants from a range of demographic backgrounds, her study claims that the majority of people returning to Hong Kong exhibited what she called an "additive cultural identity, meaning that they maintained a strong Hong Kong Chinese identity, in addition to adopting Western values and beliefs. In other words, they experienced "cognitive and attitudinal changes. The three most common attitudinal changes pertained to the values of materialism, the environment, and political involvement."[138] In short, return migrants were less prone to engage in conspicuous consumption, more prone to engage in environmental protection and activism, including the preservation of parkland and Victoria Harbour, and more prone to support and participate in the burgeoning Hong Kong democracy movement, for example by participating in democracy rallies.[139]

My thesis questions the relation between modern Chinese transnationalism, that is, culturally Chinese migration under the conditions of global capitalism, and the movement of non-commercial screen media. In so doing, it brings together two fields of study that have hitherto been separate. Aihwa Ong's theory of flexible citizenship draws attention to the practices adopted by culturally Chinese business migrants to engage in flexible capital accumulation. However, it ignores the transnational practices of educational migrants and creative workers. Dina Iordanova's theory of sole traders sheds light upon on how predominantly art house films travel from the non-West to the West, and from smaller international festivals to larger ones. However, it does not address the circulation of independent films within and between minor screen cultures and peripheral groups.

There is a much smaller but significant body of critical writing and scholarship that looks at the migration of semi-elites and cultural workers between East Asia and the West, and particularly between Hong Kong and the city of New York.[140] This scholarship characterizes Chinese migrants as prospective agents of progressive social change and migration as a much more open-ended process of transexperience[141]or transculturation. According to Melissa Chiu, drawing on the thinking of the artist, Chen Zhen, transexperience is "a mode of thinking and method of artistic creation that is capable of connecting the preceding with the following, adapting itself to changing circumstances, accumulating year-in-year-out experiences, and being triggered at any instant."[142] For Chiu, transexperience is an attempt to describe the multiple rather than dual experiences of diasporic subjects. The main argument is that migrants from Hong Kong have adopted transnational practices such as international education in disciplines such as film studies and fine arts not out of economic self-interest or social ambition, but in order to fulfil individual aspirations and collective aims. These aims include the desire to open up a public space to engage with issues of social and political concern.

An alternative and much more nuanced account of migration is offered by scholars such as Susan Ossman.[143] She looks at the cultural logics of unorthodox modes of migration, for example serial migration, and argues that the binary framework of homeland or host land, so often taken for granted within migration studies approaches, cannot account for the motivations and experiences of these individuals who move. Whereas Aihwa Ong and others emphasize the structuring forces of migration through immigration regimes and Confucian family expectations, Ossman emphasizes the agency of these serial migrants, who are heterogeneous in their class and ethnic backgrounds, and who are not necessarily rich.

The theoretical value of analyses such as Ossman's lies in its offering of multiple, rather than singular, explanations for why and how people

move, and in its envisioning of migration as an open-ended rather than predetermined process.[144] Moreover, the political value of these accounts lies in the possibilities that are opened up by border crossings which are undertaken for complex reasons, and not merely out of economic self-interest and social ambition. For Ossman, this mode of migration has the potential to help "... develop a political imagination shaped by meeting places along particular pathways, a politics shaped by an ethics of motion instead of the search for common ground."[145] By drawing a link in my thesis between the meeting places in Ossman's analysis and specific sites of non-mainstream screen distribution and exhibition, I show how these sites might contribute to the development of alternative, transnational imaginaries.

An alternative and much more nuanced account of media and cultural flows is offered by scholars such as Lionnet and Shih. They look at the cultural logics of transnationality and argue that the binary frameworks of "core and periphery," and "the global and the local," cannot account for the heterogeneous and often unpredictable nature of contemporary mobility. The theoretical value of analyses such as Lionnet and Shih's lies in their offering of multiple rather than singular explanations for why and how media move, and in their envisioning of mobility as an open-ended rather than predetermined process. Whereas Daya Thussu and others emphasize the structuring forces of media globalization, through trade agreements for example, Lionnet and Shih emphasize the agency of cultural producers. Moreover, the political value of these accounts lies in the possibilities that are opened up by border crossings which are undertaken for social and cultural reasons, and not merely in the interests of profit.

Lionnet and Shih define minor transnationalism as "a mode of cultural practice which focuses attention on the relationship between different margins (...) it is the mode in which the traumas of colonial, imperial, and global hegemonies as well as the affective dimensions of transcolonial solidarities continue to work themselves out and produce new

possibilities."[146] Whereas major globalization, or globalization from above, is structured and determined and emphasizes the macro perspective of political and economic elites, minor transnationalism is "less scripted and more scattered"[147] and emphasizes the "micropractices of transnationality," and the "creative interventions that networks of minoritized cultures produce within and across national boundaries."[148] This minor transnational mode is not equivalent to globalization from below; rather it denotes the relations between peripheries.

I argue that Lionnet and Shih's analysis should be seen as part of a larger critique of social and cultural theory that conceptualizes the exercise of power in dualistic terms, for example as occurring between the ethnic majority and ethnic minority in ethnic studies,[149] the colonizer and colonized in colonial or postcolonial studies,[150] or between the global and local in globalization studies.[151] As Ella Shohat and Robert Stam state

> There is a certain tendency in critical discourse to pit a rotating chain of marginalized communities against a white norm, or to pit various Third World cultures against a Western norm. This discourse assumes a neat binarism of black versus white, Chicana versus Anglo, East versus West, or North versus South—a binarism that ironically repositions whiteness and Westernness as normative interlocutors. These conceptual binaries foreclose non-white interethnic relationships and put on hold those who do not fit easily into pre-existing binarisms, forced to wait their turn to speak. This 'on hold' analytical method ends up producing gaps and silences. The relationship among the diverse others remains obscure.[152]

Furthermore, I argue that the work of Lionnet and Shih's needs to be understood as part of a wider embrace[153] of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's re-reading of the work of Franz Kafka and his concept of "minor literature."[154] According to Deleuze and Guattari, the minor is characterized

by "the deterritorialization of language, the connection of the individual to the political immediacy, and the collective assemblage of enunciation."[155] The concept of the minor has been used as a descriptor for various forms of cultural difference, that is, as a marker of cultural identity. For example, it has been invoked in a feminist context to describe women's cinema,[156] and in a queer context to describe lesbian cinema.[157] However, the concept of the minor has been used much less as an analytical frame for culture under globalization. For example, Lionnet and Shih use the concept of the minor in a postcolonial context. For them, minor transnationalism is a way to understand globalization from a minor *perspective*. It is a critical term as a much as a descriptive one and reflects an epistemological stance as much as it does a social reality.

With respect to the movement of people, for example, Lionnet and Shih observe that within migration studies, migrants are granted subjecthood only when they enter the West;[158] a sentiment expressed elsewhere by scholars such as Dipesh Chakrabarty.[159] And with respect to the movement of media, Julian Stringer observes that within film studies, the "new waves" or "national cinemas" of non-Western societies such as Korea are only acknowledged to exist after they have been programmed or "discovered" by Euro-American film festivals.[160] Stringer laments the unwillingness or inability of the West to distribute and exhibit non-Western films, even via film festivals, because this often obscures the long and varied *production* histories of non-Western films.[161]

In addition to acknowledging the inadequacy of structuralist frameworks such as "major and minor" which ostensibly operate according to dynamics of "domination and resistance," several scholars have also adopted poststructuralist theories such as Deleuze and Guattari's concept of the "rhizome." According to Deleuze and Guattari, the rhizome is a model for culture with no specific origin or genesis that favours a nomadic system of growth or propagation. It suggests multiplicity, lateral movement, and

continuous mutability.[162] The concept of the rhizome has been used as a descriptor of social organization. However, it has been used much less as an analytical frame for collective action beyond the nation state. For example, Hamid Naficy observes that filmmakers and videomakers of the accented cinema engage in multiple strategies; in addition to resisting major forces, they engage in "rhizomatic group affiliations—vertical, horizontal, and transverse—across deterritorialized social formations."[163]

I have argued that the conceptual framework of minor transnationalism is a valuable one. However, it is not free from drawbacks. In its attempt to emphasize the agency of non-elites and the horizontal nature of relations between margins, it risks ignoring the centre altogether. While some scholars argue that peripheries under globalization operate *apart* from structures of power, others argue that they work *through* them.[164] Faye Ginsberg asserts in relation to Aboriginal screen media that: "[Aboriginal producers'] vision coexists uneasily, however, with the fact that their work is also a product of relations with governing bodies that are responsible for the dire political circumstances that often motivated the Aboriginal mastery of new communications forms as a means of cultural intervention."[165] In relation to what he calls "accented cinema," Hamid Naficy asserts: "Although it is not strongly motivated by money, the accented cinema is, nevertheless, enabled by capital—in a peculiar mixed economy consisting of market forces within media industries; personal, private, public, and philanthropic funding sources; and ethnic and exilic economies. It is thus not entirely free from capital, nor should it be reduced to it."[166] I address the structural conditions of possibility for minor transnationalism to exist further in chapter three of the thesis.

The complex and contested nature of globalization as theorized in this way has been commented upon by several scholars. Anna Tsing has observed that the global environment is characterized not by smooth flows, but by "friction,"[167] while Arjun Appadurai, as I have already noted, has

described the global order as one characterized by overlaps and "disjunctures."[168] Hamid Naficy has observed that cultural production in the era of post-industrial capitalism and migration is characterized by "cracks, tensions, and contradictions"[169] Of these accounts, however, only Tsing's in-depth ethnographic study sheds light upon the *specific* encounters in the Indonesian rainforest between elites such as funding agencies and scientific organizations, and grassroots groups such as student movements. By looking at *particular* government policies and corporate practices in Canada and Hong Kong in the late 1990s and by making their complexities and contradictions *explicit*, my study aims to depict globalization as resulting from the agency, albeit unequal, of historically and geographically situated actors, rather than from political and economic forces in the abstract.

In a similar vein, cultural studies approaches have for some time come under criticism for over-valorizing the agency or "resistance" of marginalized groups to social domination.[170] In order to avoid such conceptual blind spots, it is important to also analyze the ways in which cultural production and circulation continue to be structured by dominant institutions such as governments and conglomerates, as well as being initiated by non-elites.[171] Studies of cultural policy within the field of cultural studies,[172] and analyses of cultural industries in the U.S.A. or creative industries in the U.K., have emerged in order to address the role of regulation and institutional control. Similarly, political economy approaches have come under criticism for under-valorizing the power of elites and failing to pay adequate attention to the increasingly important role of culture and creativity in local, national, regional, and global economies.[173] In order to avoid such conceptual blind spots, it is important to analyze the ways in which cultural flows can emerge from the grassroots and to pay adequate attention to the role of creativity and cultural difference in post-industrial capitalism.[174]

My foundational hypothesis, then, is that globalization and the intensified flows of people and media are not simple and straightforwardly positive or negative, but complex and contradictory. With respect to globalization and the circulation of media, the scholarly emphasis has been on the way in which neoliberal globalization has increased the cross-border traffic of screen commodities. But, as this thesis will demonstrate, globalization is a contested process, and screen circulation is one of the terrains upon which this struggle takes place. With respect to globalization and subject formation, the scholarly emphasis has been on the way in which deregulation, privatization, and free trade are reproducing if not increasing the power of economic elites. There has been much less attention paid to globalization's role in the production of identities that contest economic power and cultural authority and legitimacy.

I have analyzed the literature that argues that globalization is leading to the consolidation of political, economic, and cultural power within a global or transnational elite. I have also analyzed the literature that argues that globalization is leading to the formation of numerous, lateral, cross-border networks between grassroots groups; these transnational networks are directly or indirectly mediated by capital and the state. In the following section, I will look at how these contradictory tendencies towards the centralization and decentralization of power take empirical form in the globalization of Hollywood cinema; regional responses to Hollywood hegemony; and the emergence of peripheral screen cultures that circulate in established and alternative ways.

Screen Globalization:
From Global Hollywood to Peripheral Cinemas

Within the literature about the globalization of screen distribution and exhibition across various disciplines, the prevalent approach emphasizes the continued domination of Hollywood practices. More recently, the literature

has expanded and diversified to include analyses of the ways in which non-Hollywood film industries in Europe and particularly East Asia, through regional cooperation, are resisting Hollywood competition. Finally, there is an emergent approach that emphasizes the non-mainstream practices of peripheral cinemas.

The purpose of this section is to identify and evaluate these theoretical and empirical studies. First, I analyze political economy approaches that argue that screen distribution and exhibition under globalization are leading to a renewal of cultural imperialism. Next, I analyze cultural industries approaches that argue that screen globalization is leading to cultural resistance on a regional scale. Finally, I analyze critical cultural studies approaches that look at the implications of distribution and exhibition practices that exist in a minor transnational mode.

I argue that frameworks that understand screen globalization as simply the extension of Hollywood control cannot account for the heterogeneity and vitality of film circulation under conditions of post-Fordism, intensified migration, digitalization, and so forth; neither can frameworks that understand screen globalization purely as the restructuring and reassertion of regional film industries. Rather, frameworks that seek to understand a complete picture of globalization must consider the alternative networking together of peripheral cinemas to other peripheral cinemas.

Furthermore, although these peripheral cinemas and microcinemas cut across national borders and are animated by a commitment to personal and political issues rather than by individual profit-seeking, the theoretical implications and normative consequences of this proliferation and extension of independent culture to different sites and scales, via an "imagined community of indies,"[175] has yet to be adequately explored.

There is a sizable body of literature across various disciplines in the social sciences that analyzes the impact of economic globalization on major

screen production and circulation since the 1990s. This scholarship equates globalization with processes of deregulation, privatization, and "free trade," and major screen production with the commercial film industry in the U.S.A., namely Hollywood. One of the earliest analyses of the globalization of Hollywood was Tino Balio's essay, "A Major Presence in All of the World's Important Markets."[176] He attributed Hollywood's continued domination to three strategies, namely the pursuit of new patterns of ownership in the form of vertical and horizontal integration; the pursuit of new patterns of financing in the form of international partnerships; and the pursuit of new patterns of diversification in the form of domestic partnerships with independent producers and distributors. Another much-cited analysis is Toby Miller et al.'s *Global Hollywood*.[177] They attribute Hollywood's control to its manipulation of the New International Division of Cultural Labour, which emphasizes the importance of flexible labour to the global cultural economy.

In recent decades, there has been slow but steady expansion of scholarly interest beyond screen production and circulation within Euro-American contexts to also include East Asian contexts. This intellectual shift corresponds with a geopolitical re-alignment that can be attributed in large part to the rapid industrialization and economic growth of the economies in East and Southeast Asia from the 1960s to the 1990s, and in particular, those of Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore;[178] in business and journalistic discourses, these economies were often referred to as the Four Asian Tigers. This geopolitical realignment has become even more pronounced since the 1990s as a result of the unprecedented economic growth of the P.R.C., now acknowledged as the world's second largest economy.[179]

The role of screen media in the emergence of a newly ascendant Asia has been the subject of number of analyses. From a creative industries perspective, two important books that were published early in the twenty-

first century were by Michael Curtin[180] and Darrell William Davis and Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh.[181] Whereas older analyses such as those by John Lent[182] highlighted the workings of nationally-regulated film industries involved in processes of media import and export, these newer analyses have drawn attention to the "strategies, tactics, and experiments"[183] of screen industries which are adopting new modes of flexible screen production and circulation in order to facilitate the flow of capital and expertise within East Asia and across the Asia Pacific region.

As they have in Hollywood, commercial East Asian distribution and exhibition practices have shaped dominant production cultures by creating a demand for high-budget, blockbuster films; this demand has been achieved in part through increased marketing and the promotion of pan-Asian stars. The Chinese blockbuster film *Hero* (2002) is often cited as a regional watershed and cultural high-water mark because the film's production financing and narrative material were sourced from within "Greater China" rather than from overseas.[184] In fact, Laikwan Pang identifies economic and cultural integration with the P.R.C., for example through trade agreements such as the Closer Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA), and the co-production of blockbusters, as one of the two major strategies that Hong Kong has pursued to ensure its cinematic survival in the post-handover period. The other strategy is closer integration with the rest of Asia through commercial and art house productions under the brand of New Asian Cinema.[185]

Within the creative industries literature, the significance of these regional changes is material and is measured in bottom line terms. What unites these previously separate film industries is a desire to compete with Hollywood in order to regain domestic market share, increase competitive advantage, and maximize profit. The Hong Kong director, Peter Chan, has stated that, "International success depends on domestic popularity. We need a new way to put Asia together as a market, not out of any cultural idealism,

but from sheer necessity."[186] However, the significance of these changes from an Asian media studies or Asian cultural studies perspective, is also epistemological and is understood by some scholars to constitute a form of cultural resistance and proof that the hegemony of Western screen media is declining.

The consequences of the rise of regional screen industries are contested. Some scholars celebrate the occurrence of reverse cultural flows, or "contra-flows" that move from the periphery or non-West to the centre or West, rather than from the centre to the periphery.[187] Other scholars understand this development in more complex and even paradoxical ways, as a form of "resistance through submission."[188] They argue that in their adoption of the standards and practices of Western screen media, namely Hollywood, the success of these regional screen industries demonstrates Hollywood's continuing influence. Furthermore, there is a debate as to whether the revitalized Asian screen industries offer a genuine alternative model to Hollywood, or whether they simply replace a certain Western, developmental, capitalist and nationalist logic, with a certain *Asian*, developmental, capitalist and nationalist one instead. Instead of simply reversing or substituting the terms of West and non-West, or centre and periphery, they argue that such dichotomies need to be fundamentally rethought.[189]

What is also missing in the creative industries literature is any in-depth or sustained engagement with the role of East Asian screen cultures in shaping individual subjectivities or social imaginaries. This has been taken up in scholarship produced over the past decade from an Asian cultural studies perspective. Two important books that were published in the early twenty-first century are edited by Koichi Iwabuchi et al.[190] and Chris Berry et al.[191] Whereas older explanations of cultural difference, such as primordial civilizations, depicted Asia as Other to the West, newer explanations of cultural difference such as those offered in these collections depict Asia as

both increasingly implicated with the West and regionally integrated.[192] Within the cultural studies literature, the significance of the Asian screen industries is analyzed not just in terms of profit or loss, but in terms of their meaning-making functions and their potential to reconfigure dominant notions of race, gender, sexuality, and so forth.

I argue that the globalization literature can be made more complete by putting cultural studies in Asia or media studies in Asia more directly into dialogue with new developments in film studies and screen studies, especially developments that draw attention to sites and processes of screen distribution and exhibition.[193] By shifting the focus of research from popular texts and active audiences to independent screen circulation, through specific practices of distribution and exhibition, we can come to understand how independent film and video production that was previously local and delimited by geography is now being transformed into transnational screen cultures that increase access to alternative screen media and more just and equitable ways of imagining the world.

There is a smaller but significant body of literature across the humanities and social sciences that analyzes the impact of cultural globalization on minor screen production and circulation since the 1990s. This scholarship equates globalization not just with processes of deregulation, privatization, and "free trade," but also with more complex reconfigurations of the nation-state and the market, and with non-industrial or semi-industrial screen cultures, or what David Hesmondhalgh terms, "peripheral industries," outside of Hollywood.[194] The main argument of this literature is that independent producers and cultural workers are increasingly able to reach specialized audiences in dispersed contexts directly, with the help of new technologies such as digital video, VCDs and DVDs, and the Internet. As a result of this circumvention of official and commercial media systems of production and distribution, there has been a pluralization of screen content.

One perspective within the screen globalization literature that is significant but has been widely overlooked is proposed by Tom O'Regan and Ben Goldsmith.[195] They link the structural conditions of an "emerging ecology of production" with the agency of non-elites. These structural conditions include processes of post-Fordism, digitalization, and "a fundamental and exponential increase of both access to screen production technology and to distribution platforms" that include pay-per-view television, real and "virtual film festivals," interactive museum exhibits, and more.[196] O'Regan and Goldsmith concede that this emerging ecology of production is characterized by a double vision that includes both the regeneration of the studio system, and a "studio without walls," which they also refer to as a "microcinema." Nonetheless their analysis of the globalization of screen distribution and exhibition as complex and contradictory offers a more nuanced perspective to that offered by scholars such as Janet Wasko who argue that globalization has simply bolstered Hollywood.[197]

Whereas the regional screen industries are united by an economic and cultural imperative to compete with Hollywood, if necessary by adopting its theories and practices, the underground microcinema culture according to O'Regan and Goldsmith is "political and cultural in intent. The aim of many 'guerilla film-makers' is to use varieties of technologies old and new, often against the grain and for one's own specific, political, and cultural (non-digital) ends."[198] This microcinema culture is governed by "systems of exchange which have 'little to do with commercial models' and more to do with 'community-based systems of barter.'"[199] Thus, these alternative screen cultures appear to operate according to a different set of values than commercial screen cultures, yet the theoretical and normative implications of the proliferation of these non-mainstream screen culture have not yet been fully explored.

If global Hollywood cinema distribution has shaped dominant production cultures by creating a demand for ultra-high budget films, as I discussed earlier in the chapter, peripheral cinema distribution has shaped alternative production cultures by creating a demand for ultra-low budget independent films; this has been achieved in part through increased word-of-mouth to specialized audiences via offline and online networks.[200] Peripheral cinema distribution and exhibition have also shaped consumption cultures by creating a demand for alternative screen experiences,[201] for example, non-theatrical and non-mainstream exhibition that ranges from private screenings in domestic spaces to public screenings at specialized film festivals, small art galleries, cine-bars, [202] Internet TV, and so forth.

Within the field of film festival studies, scholars have interrogated the ways in which international film festivals inscribe social difference and perpetuate (vertical) power relations of dominance and subordination. In a seminal essay, Bill Nichols drew attention to the role of large, international film festivals, specifically the Toronto International Film Festival, in helping audiences in the West to "discover the form" and "infer the meaning" of so-called new cinemas from the non-West, specifically cinema from Iran.[203] However, there has been much less attention paid to the way in which smaller, themed film festivals also promote (horizontal) relations of mutual aid and solidarity. One of the key contributions in this respect has been made by the media anthropologist, Faye Ginsberg. Like Nichols, Ginsberg understands screen media, specifically Aboriginal media, as circulating globally rather than just within a particular national context.[204] However, unlike Nichols, Ginsberg understands the transnational mediations of Aboriginal film festivals and conferences, such as the Dreamspeakers Festival in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, as contributing to "expanded communities of identity" and to a "transnational indigenous network," rather than just to a global cultural economy.[205] She clearly sees these Aboriginal film festivals as having an explicitly activist, rather than simply aesthetic or commercial, function. Ginsberg observes that

> The indigenous media makers in the [First Nations Film and Video Makers World Alliance], who came from all over the world, were all engaged in asserting the relationship of their work to broader arenas of social action. Such positions complicate structures of distribution and public culture in which the (media) artist's position is valued as being outside or critical of society.[206]

Although analytically useful, Ginsberg's study does not address the particular film festival practices that enable Aboriginal cultural workers to add social meaning and value to indigenous media, and indeed to indigenous culture overall. My thesis aims to build upon Ginsberg's research by looking in-depth at the activities of film festival programmers and curators.

Museums have been widely implicated in the spread of colonialism and nationalism. More recently, museums have been implicated in the shift from national to global economies; no longer just guardians of high culture in the West, they now function as brands that can be extended throughout the world.[207] For example, in her analysis of the expansionist and cross-border practices of the Guggenheim Museum in New York, the art historian and cultural anthropologist Saloni Mathur draws attention to the museum's adoption of a "Global Guggenheim" strategy which extends the museum from New York to the cities of Las Vegas, Berlin, and Bilbao, and had planned to develop additional mega-museums in South America, the Middle East, Africa, East and Southeast Asia.[208] She fears that such museums are not just behaving like corporations, but like *multinational* corporations.[209] However, far fewer studies within the field have focused on the ways in which the proliferation and networking together of alternative art spaces also facilitate more just and equitable social relations. A key contributor to this project is the visual culture scholar, Irit Rogoff. In her article, "Geo-Cultures: Circuits of Arts and Globalizations," Rogoff draws attention to the

proliferation and expansion of biennial exhibitions, including the Johannesburg Biennale of 1997 and the seventh Cairo Biennale of 1998, which have developed into a "circuit of investigation, exchange and conversation."[210] She notes that rather than adopting the models of traditional centres of arts and culture such as New York, Paris, London, and Berlin, these "linked peripheries," have created new ways of working that are "both specifically located and simultaneously diasporic."[211] As Mathur asserts, "We need to distinguish between different types of globalisms that appear to co-exist in our current exhibitionary landscape ... We need, for instance, to identify those cosmopolitan practices that are socially progressive, worldly, enlightened, and that potentially challenge the dominance of Western cultural institutions ...."[212] This project aims to contribute to realizing that hope.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have analysed the strengths and weakness of different approaches to screen globalization and identified a number of gaps in the literature. I have observed that while the regional screen industries framework is valuable, it does not take into account the circulation of non-commercial media, or the movement of non-elite cultural workers. Similarly, while the peripheral cinemas framework is valuable, it does not take into account the implications of the spread of independent ideals across borders. As a result, the public culture dimension of both regional and peripheral cultural flows has been overlooked. My thesis addresses this gap by researching one region, the Asia Pacific region, as an instance of the circulation of independent screen media, non-elite or semi-elite migration, and public culture. The study aims to shed new light on the state of screen media, globalization, and the Asia Pacific region.

In the subsequent chapter, I identify and analyze the methodological issues raised by studying peripheral screen cultures in the Asia Pacific

region. I argue that in order to fully come to terms with the diversity and vitality of screen media in a global era, we need to re-think existing methodological approaches. I argue for a "multi-sited scavenger methodology" and a mixed methods, case study approach that takes into account both official and institutional data and grassroots modes of being and remembering.

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[26] See for example, David Bordwell and Kirsten Thompson, *Film Art: An Introduction* (New York: McGraw Hill, 2004).

[27] See for example, Janet Wasko, *How Hollywood Works* (London: Sage Publications, 2003).

[28] See for example, Janet Harbord, *Film Cultures* (London: Sage Publications, 2002).

[29] Sean Cubitt, "Distribution and Media Flows," *Cultural Politics* 1, no.2 (2005): 198-214.

[30] Hamid Naficy, *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001), 34.

[31] See Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Introductory Lectures on Aesthetics*, trans. Bernard Bosanquet (London: Penguin Classics, 1993).

[32] See Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgement*, trans. Werner S. Pluhar (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1987).

[33] See Ricciotto Canudo, "Reflections on the Seventh Art," in *French Film Theory and Criticism,* ed. Richard Abel (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988), 291-302.

[34] For further reading on auteurism, see for example John Caughie, "Introduction," in *Theories of Authorship*, ed. John Caughie (London: Routledge, 1981), 9-16; Jim Hillier, "Introduction," in *Cahiers du Cinéma, Vol. 1: The 1950s: Neo-Realism, Hollywood, New Wave*, ed. Jim Hillier (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 1-7; and Janet Staiger, "Authorship Approaches," in *Authorship and Film*, eds. David A. Gerstner and Janet Staiger (New York: Routledge, 2003), 27-60.

[35] Douglas Gomery, "Hollywood as Industry," in *The Oxford Guide to Film Studies*, eds. John Hill and Pamela Church Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 253.

[36] The seminal work here is David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kirsten Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

[37] See for example Paul Willemen, *Looks and Frictions: Essays in Cultural Studies and Film Theory* (London: British Film Institute, 1994).

[38] With respect to this approach within film studies, see for example Rajinder Kumar Dudrah, *Bollywood: Sociology Goes to the Movies* (London: Sage Publications, 2006).

[39] The concept of culture as elitist, universal, and eternal is advocated by literary critics such as F.R. Leavis, and in a different cultural context, Harold Bloom. See Harold Bloom, *The Western Canon: The Books and Schools of the Ages* (New York: Warner Books, 1995).

[40] See Marijke De Valck, *Film Festivals: From European Geopolitics to Global Cinephilia* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008).

[41] The concept of culture as ordinary is most famously attributed to Raymond Williams. See Raymond Williams, *Resources of Hope: Culture, Democracy, Socialism* (London: Verso, 1989), 3-14.

[42] Much excellent scholarship on this topic has been focussed on Aboriginal screen media. See for example, Faye Ginsberg, "Embedded Aesthetics: Creating a Discursive Space for Indigenous Media," *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (1994): 366-367.

[43] See Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Berger (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989).

[44] See Chris Berry, The Documentary Production Process as a Counter-public: Notes on an Inter-Asian Mode and the Example of Kim Dong-Won," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 4, no. 1 (2003): 139-144; Soyoung Kim, "The Birth of the Local Feminist Sphere: 'trans-cinema' and *Yosongjan*," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 4, no. 1 (2003): 10-24; and Jun Okada, "The PBS and NAATA Connection: Comparing the Public Spheres of Asian American Film and Video," *The Velvet Light Trap* 55 (Spring 2005), 39-51.

[45] With respect to women's film festivals, see for example Kay Armitage, "Toronto Women & Film International 1973," in *Film Festival Yearbook 1: The Film Festival Circuit*, Dina Iordanova and Ragan Rhyne, eds. (St Andrews: St Andrews Film Studies, 2009), 82-98; Soyoung Kim, "Cine-mania or Cinephilia: Film Festivals and the Identity Question," *UTS Review:*

Cultural Studies and New Writing 4, no. 2 (1998): 174-187; and Yu Shan Huang, "Creating and Distributing Films Openly: On the Relationship Between Women's Film Festivals and the Women's Rights Movement in Taiwan, *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 4, no. 1 (2003): 157-158.

With respect to ethnic identity or diasporic film festivals, and particularly Asian North American festivals, see for example Alice Shih, "Tracking Shots: Mapping the Asian Canadian Filmscape," in *Reel Asian: Asian Canada on Screen*, ed. Elaine Chang (Toronto: Coach House Books, 2005), 36-47, and Michael Guillén, "Diasporas by the Bay: Two Asian Film Festivals in San Francisco," in *Film Festival Yearbook 2: Film Festivals and Imagined Communities*, eds. Dina Iordanova and Ruby Cheung (St Andrews: St Andrews Film Studies, 2010), 151-170.

[46] Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker, *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative* (London: British Film Institute, 1990).

[47] See George E. Marcus and Michael M.J. Fischer, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*, 2nd edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

[48] For an authoritative introduction to the field of early cinema, see André Gaudreault, Nicholas Dulac, and Santiago Hidalgo, eds., *A Companion to Early Cinema* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).

[49] André Gaudreault and Tom Gunning, "Le cinéma des premiers temps: un défi à l'histoire du cinéma, " in *Histoire du Cinéma: Nouvelles*

Approches, eds. Jack Aumont, André Gaudreault, and Michel Marie (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1989), 49-63; Tom Gunning, "An Aesthetic of Astonishment: Early Film and the (In)Credulous Spectator," *Art & Text* 34 (1989): 31-44.

[50] For an introduction to the field of media anthropology, see Debra Spitulnik, "Anthropology and Mass Media," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 22 (1993): 293-315, and Faye D. Ginsberg, Lila Abu-Lughod, and Brian Larkin, "Introduction," in *Media Worlds: Anthropology on New Terrain*, eds. Faye D. Ginsberg, Lila Abu-Lughod, and Brian Larkin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 1-38.

[51] Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).

[52] According to Tom Gunning, the work of early cinema exhibitors included re-editing films, supplying special effects, and adding spoken commentary. See Tom Gunning, "The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde," *Wide Angle* 8, nos. 3 and 4 (Fall 1986): 65.

[53] Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge, *Public Sphere and Experience: Towards an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

[54] Judith Thissen argues that, "Much of the research on early film audiences relies heavily on the film trade press and discourses of cultural elites, often combined with textually extrapolated notions of spectatorship that bring to light the bourgeoisification of taste evident through analyses of

film editing, performance, and narration. The concrete responses of working-class and ethnic communities to the industry's gentrification efforts, on the other hand, have received little attention." See Judith Thissen, "Beyond the Nickelodeon: Cinema-going, Everyday Life and Identity Politics," in *Audiences: Defining and Researching Screen Entertainment Reception*, ed. Ian Christie (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 50.

[55] See for example, Robert C. Allen and Douglas Gomery, *Film History: Theory and Practice* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1985), and Tino Balio, *The American Film Industry* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

[56] Sean Cubitt, "Distribution and Media Flows," 197.

[57] The transmission model of communication has been particularly influential within studies of mass communication in Canada. According to the model, communication involves five elements—an information source, a transmitter, a channel, a receiver, and a destination—and proceeds in a linear fashion. See Claude Elwood Shannon and Warren Weaver, *A Mathematical Theory of Communication* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949). The Shannon-Weaver model has been taken up and adapted by scholars such as Rowland Lorimer and Mike Gasher who propose a "social model of communication." This model also emphasizes logic and linearity and comprises an encoding envelope, encoded content, medium, decoding envelope, and decoded content. See Rowland Lorimer and Mike Gasher, *Mass Communication in Canada* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press Canada, 2003), 11.

[58] See for example, Janet Wasko, *Hollywood in the Information Age: Beyond the Silver Screen* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994) and Vincent Mosco, *The Political Economy of Communication: Rethinking and Renewal* (London: Sage Publications, 1996).

[59] With respect to the colonial infrastructure of cinema in the Third World, see for example Brian Larkin, *Signal and Noise: Media, Infrastructure, and Urban Culture in Nigeria* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), and Jeffrey D. Himpele, *Circuits of Culture: Media, Politics, and Indigenous Identity in the Andes* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

[60] Lee Grieveson and Colin MacCabe, eds., *Empire and Film* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). See also Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

[61] Much of the scholarship on the pedagogical function of cultural institutions, including cinema, has been influenced by the work of Tony Bennett. See Tony Bennett, "Useful Culture," *Cultural Studies* 6, no. 3 (1992): 395-408. Bennett's scholarship in turn has been influenced by the work of Michel Foucault.

[62] Anne Friedberg identifies six precepts of cinema spectatorship: dark room with projected luminous images; immobile spectator; single viewing; non-interactive relation between viewer and image; framed image; and flat screen surface. See Anne Friedberg, "Spectatorial Flanerie," *Exhibition: The Film Reader*, ed. Ina Rae Hark (London: Routledge, 2001), 174-175.

[63] Haidee Wasson, *Movie Museums: The Museum of Modern Art and the Birth of Art Cinema* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

[64] See for example Miriam Hansen, "Early Cinema, Late Cinema: Permutations of the Public Sphere," *Screen* 34, no. 3 (1993): 197-210, and Wasson, *Movie Museums: The Museum of Modern Art and the Birth of Art Cinema*, 2.

[65] S.V. Srinivas, "Hong Kong Action Film in the Indian B Circuit," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 4, no. 1 (April 2003): 40-62.

[66] Ibid., 56.

[67] Richard Abel, *The Cine Goes to Town: French Cinema, 1896-1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). See also for example Marina Dalquist, "Global Versus Local: The Case of Pathé," *Film History: An International Journal* 17, no. 1 (2005): 29-38.

[68] Peter Biskind, *Down and Dirty Pictures: Miramax, Sundance, and the Rise of Independent Film* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2005). See also for example Alicia Perren, *Indie Inc.: Miramax and the Transformation of Hollywood in the 1990s* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012).

[69]The key works here include Oliver Dew, Asia Extreme: Japanese Cinema and British Hype," *New Cinemas* 5, no. 1 (2007): 53-75, and Chi-Yun Shin, "The Art of Branding: Tartan 'Asia Extreme' Films," in *Horror to the Extreme: Changing Boundaries in Asian Cinema*, eds. Jinhee Choi and Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 85-100.

See also Virginia Crisp, *Film Distribution in the Digital Age: Pirates and Professionals* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

[70] Two recommended overviews of the field are Gregory A. Waller, ed., *Movie-Going in America: A Sourcebook in the History of Film Exhibition* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2001) and Ina Rae Hark, ed., *Exhibition: The Film Reader* (London: Routledge, 2001).

[71] See for example Charles Acland, *Screen Traffic: Movies, Multiplexes, and Global Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

[72] Charles Acland and Haidee Wasson, eds., *Useful Cinema* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

[73] With respect to the women's distributor in the U.S.A., Women Make Movies, see for example Naficy, *An Accented Cinema*, 60-62. With respect to the women's U.K. distributor, Cinenova, see Julia Knight and Peter Thomas, "Distribution and the Question of Diversity: The Case Study of Cinenova," in *Screen* 49, no. 3 (2008): 354-365.

[74] For a book-length study of the postcolonial distributor in the U.S.A., Third World Newsreel, see Cynthia A. Young, *Soul Power: Culture Radicalism and the Making of a U.S. Third World Left* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

With respect to the distribution of diasporic screen media, see for example Stuart Cunningham and John Sinclair, eds., *Floating Lives: The Media and Asian Diasporas* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000); Naficy, *An*

Accented Cinema; and Dina Iordanova, *Budding Channels of Peripheral Cinema: The Long Tail of Global Film Circulation* (Crail: College Gate Press, 2008).

[75] Barbara Klinger, *Beyond the Multiplex: Cinema, New Technologies, and the Home* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

[76] Key works in this field include Klinger, *Beyond the Multiplex*; Chuck Tryon, *Reinventing Cinema: Movies in the Age of Digital Convergence* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2009); and Dina Iordanova and Stuart Cunningham, eds., *Digital Disruption: Cinema Moves Online* (St Andrews: St Andrews Film Studies, 2012).

[77] Cubitt, "Distribution and Media Flows," 198-214. See also Soyoung Kim and Ashish Rajadhyaksha, "Introduction: Imagining the Cinema Anew," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 4, no. 1 (2003): 7-9.

[78] Ibid., 194.

[79] Ibid., 209.

[80] Ramon Lobato, *Shadow Economies of Cinema: Mapping Informal Film Distribution* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 40.

[81] With respect to the temporal and spatial aspects of film festivals, see especially Janet Harbord, "Film Festivals: Time-Event," in *The Film Festival Yearbook 1: The Festival Circuit*, eds. Dina Iordanova and Ragan Rhyne (St. Andrews: St. Andrews Film Studies, 2009), 40-46, and Julian Stringer, "Global Cities and International Film Festival Economy," in *Cinema and the*

City: Film and Urban Societies in a Global Context, eds. Mark Shiel and Tony Fitzmaurice (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001): 134-144.

[82] The key works here include Julian Stringer, "Regarding Film Festivals: Introduction" in *The Film Festival Reader*, ed. Dina Iordanova (St. Andrews: St. Andrews Film Studies, 2013), 59-68; Daniel Dayan, "Looking for Sundance: The Social Construction of a Film Festival," in *The Film Festival Reader*, ed. Dina Iordanova (St. Andrews: St. Andrews Film Studies, 2013), 45-58; Janet Harbord, *Film Cultures* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002); Thomas Elsaesser, "Film Festival Networks: The New Topographies of Cinema in Europe," in *European Cinema: Face to Face with Hollywood*, ed. Thomas Elsaesser (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), 82-107; and Dina Iordanova, "The Film Festival Circuit," in *The Film Festival Yearbook 1: The Festival Circuit*, eds. Dina Iordanova and Ragan Rhyne (St. Andrews: St. Andrews Film Studies, 2009), 23-39.

[83] Elsaesser, "Film Festival Networks: The New Topographies of Cinema in Europe," 82-107.

[84] With respect to queer film festivals, see for example, B. Ruby Rich, "Collision Catastrophe Celebration: The Relationship Between Gay and Lesbian Film Festivals and Their Publics," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 5, no. 1 (1999): 79-84, and B. Ruby Rich, "The New Homosexual Film Festivals," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 12, no. 4 (2006): 620-625.

There is a debate within the literature as to whether and to what extent LGBT film festivals represent a capitulation to the mainstream or an

alternative to the mainstream. For the former view, see for example, Ragan Rhyne, "The Global Economy of Gay and Lesbian Film Festivals," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 12, no.4 (2006): 617-619. For the latter view, see for example Skadi Loist and Ger Zielinski, "On the Development of Queer Film Festivals and Their Media Activism," in *Film Festivals and Activism*, eds. Dina Iordanova and Leshu Torchin (St. Andrews: St. Andrews Film Studies, 2013), 49-62.

[85] With respect to film festivals in non-Western and particularly Asian contexts, see notably Darrell William Davis and Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh, *East Asian Screen Industries* (London: British Film Institute, 2008); Dina Iordanova and Ruby Cheung, eds., *Film Festival Yearbook 3: Film Festivals and East Asia* (St. Andrews: St. Andrews Film Studies, 2011); and SooJeong Ahn, *The Pusan International Film Festival, South Korean Cinema and Globalization* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011).

Key works here include Judy Ju Hui Han and Marie K. Morohoshi, "Creating, Curating, and Consuming Queer Asian American Cinema," in *Q&A: Queer in Asian America*, eds. David L. Eng and Alice Ho (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), 81-94; Helen Leung, "Queer Asian Cinemas," in *The Bent Lens: A World Guide to Gay and Lesbian Film*, eds., Lisa Daniel and Claire Jackson (Los Angeles: Alyson Books, 2003), 14-17; Ching Yau, "Bridges and Battles," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 12, no. 4 (2006): 605-607; Hongwei Bao, "Enlightenment Space, Affective Space: Travelling Queer Film Festivals in China," in *New Perspectives from Japan and*

China, ed. Mikako Iwatake (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, Department of World Cultures, 2010), 136-164; and Perspex, "The First Asian Lesbian Film and Video Festival in Taipei Celebrates a New Form of Social Activism," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 7, no. 3 (2006): 527-532.

[86] For readings on independent film festivals, see for example Yinjing Yang, "Thinking outside the Box: Mediation of Imaging and Information in Contemporary Chinese Documentary," *Screen* 48, no. 2 (2007): 179-192, and Mark Abé Nornes, "Bulldozers, Bibles, and Very Sharp Knives: The Chinese Independent Documentary Scene," *Film Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (2009): 50-55.

[87] De Valck, Film *Festivals*.

[88] Ibid., 126-161.

[89] The seminal work here is Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: The Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984). With respect to other theories of capital such as "critical capital" that have been adapted from Bourdieu, see for example Liz Czach, "Film Festivals, Programming, and the Building of a National Cinema," *The Moving Image* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 76-88.

[90] Faye Ginsberg puts forward the concept of "embedded aesthetics" to shed light upon how Aboriginal media are evaluated; this is in contrast to the classical aesthetics used to evaluate media that circulate through conventional distribution and exhibition channels. She defines embedded aesthetics as a "system of evaluation that refuses a separation of textual production and circulation from broader arenas of social relations." See

Ginsberg, "Embedded Aesthetics: Creating a Discursive Space for Indigenous Media," 368.

[91] Naficy, *An Accented Cinema*, 65.

[92] See for example Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1990), and Stuart Hall, "New Ethnicities," in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies,"* eds. David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen (London: Routledge, 1996), 442-452.

[93] Ginsberg, "Embedded Aesthetics: Creating a Discursive Space for Indigenous Media," 368.

[94] Leung, "Queer Asian Cinemas,"14.

[95] This argument is also made by scholars such as Jun Okada, "The PBS and NAATA Connection: Comparing the Public Spheres of Asian American Film and Video," *The Velvet Light Trap* 55 (Spring 2005), 39-51.

[96] This atomization and alienation most often expresses itself in the complaint from marginalized groups that they are not represented or misrepresented in mainstream media. For a discussion, see Rey Chow, *Sentimental Fabulations, Contemporary Chinese Films: Attachment in the Age of Global Visibility* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 1.

[97] Peter Vergo, *New Museology* (London: Reaktion Books, 1989) and Duncan Grewcock, *Doing Museology Differently* (London: Routledge, 2013).

[98] Brian O'Doherty, *Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1999.

[99] Sharon J. Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe, *Theorizing Museums: Representing Diversity in a Changing World* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 1998).

[100] The classic work here is Pierre Bourdieu, Alain Darbel, Dominique Schnapper, *The Love of Art: European Art Museums and Their Publics* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1990). See also Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995).

[101] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory Politics*.

[102] Sharon J. Macdonald, "Museums, National, Postnational, and Transcultural Identities," in *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*, 2nd edition, ed. Bettina Messias Carbonell (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 273.

[103] Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, "The Universal Survey Museum," *Art History* 3 (1980): 448-469.

[104] A recommended overview of the field is *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*, ed. Bettina Messias Carbonell (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2003).

[105] See for example Ciraj Rasool, "Community Museums, Memory Politics, and Social Transformation in South Africa," in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, eds. Ivan Karp, Corrine A. Kratz, and Lynn Swaja (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 286-221. There are several chapters in this publication which analyze museums in locales as diverse as Ghana, Mexico, and Vietnam.

[106] See for example Wasson, *Movie Museums*; Elizabeth Cowie, "On Documentary Sounds and Images in the Gallery," *Screen* 50, no. 1 (2009): 124-134; and Kate Mondloch, *Screens: Viewing Media Installation Art* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).

[107] With respect to analyses of galleries and art museums from the perspective of postcolonialism and globalization, see for example Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, eds., *Exhibition Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991); Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kraemer, and Steven D. Lavine, eds., *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993); and Irit Rogoff and Daniel Sherman, eds., *Museum Cultures: Histories/Theories/Spectacles* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

[108] Harbord, *Film Cultures*.

[109] Ibid., 5.

[110] Jacques Derrida, *Writing and Difference*, trans. A. Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978).

[111] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 1984.

[112] Iordanova, "The Film Festival Circuit," 24.

[113] Ibid., 33.

[114] According to the British Film Institute web site, Tony Rayns is a film critic, commentator, festival programmer, and screenwriter. He

coordinated the Dragons and Tigers competition for Asian films at the Vancouver International Film Festival (VIFF) from 1988 to 2006. Although Rayns continues to program for VIFF, responsibility for the competition now rests with VIFF programmer, Shelly Kraicer. See "Tony Rayns," British Film Institute. Available at http://www.bfi.org.uk/people/tony-rayns (accessed October 26, 2015).

[115] For further reading on film festival programming, see Jeffrey Ruoff, *Coming Soon to a Festival Near You: Programming Film Festivals* (St Andrews: St Andrews Film Studies, 2012).

[116] Iordanova, "The Film Festival Circuit," 29.

[117] According to his personal web site, Richard Fung is a Toronto-based video artist, writer, theorist, and educator. See "Biography," Richard Fung. Available at http://www.richardfung.ca/index.php?/about/biographycv/ (accessed October 26, 2015).

[118] Richard Fung, "Programming the Public," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 5, no. 1 (1999): 73-93.

[119] Examples of this kind of phenomenon of intersecting peripheries can be found in Helen Leung, "New Queer Cinema and Third Cinema," 167-155.

[120] Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System, Vol. I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*.

[121] Lionnet and Shih, *Minor Transnationalism*.

[122] Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System, Vol. I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*.

[123] Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, 34-36. With respect to the Schiller-McChesney tradition of political economy, see for example Herbert Schiller, *Communication and Cultural Domination* (White Plains: International Arts and Sciences Press, 1976); Herbert Schiller, "Striving for Communication Dominance: A Half Century Review," in *Electronic Empires: Global Media and Local Resistance*, ed. Daya Kishan Thussu (London: Arnold, 1998), 17-26; and Edward S. Herman and Robert W. McChesney, *The Global Media: The New Missionaries of Global Capitalism* (London: Cassell, 1997).

[124] In the U.S.A., the launch of the journal, *Public Culture*, in 1988 by the anthropologists, Carol C. Breckenridge and Arjun Appadurai did much to advance scholarship within the field of cultural globalization and transnational cultural studies. In the U.K., a series of books published in the 1990s by the journal, *Theory, Culture & Society*, and edited by sociologists including Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash, and Roland Robertson, also furthered research into the social and cultural dimensions of globalization. In Asia, key scholarship in the field has been published in the journal, *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, which was launched in 2000 by Kuan-Hsing Chen and Chua Beng Huat.

[125] Roland Robertson, "Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity," in *Global Modernities*, eds. Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash, and Roland Robertson (London: Sage Publications, 1995), 24-40.

[126] Anthony D. King, "Preface to the Revised Edition," in *Cultural, Globalization and the World System*, ed. Anthony D. King (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), viii.

[127] John Sinclair, Elizabeth Jacka, and Stewart Cunningham, eds., *New Patterns in Global Television: Peripheral Vision* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

[128] Sinclair et al. observe that the experiences of colonialism and postcolonialism in settler colonies such as Canada and Australia has been distinct from that of other colonies and is manifest in the development of its television systems. See Sinclair et al., *New Patterns in Global Television: Peripheral Vision*, 9.

[129] Ibid., 8.

[130] Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," *Public Culture* 2, no. 2 (1990): 1-24.

[131] Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 33.

[132] Ibid., 32.

[133] Another key proponent of this reconceptualization of culture within the discipline of anthropology was James Clifford. See especially

James Clifford, "Diasporas," in *Further Inflections: Toward Ethnographies of the Future*, eds., Susan Friend Harding and Fred R. Meyers, theme issue of *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (1992): 302-388.

[134] The key works here include Aihwa Ong and Donald Nonini, eds. *Ungrounded Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Gary Hamilton, ed. *Cosmopolitan Capitalists: Hong Kong and the Chinese Diaspora at the End of the Twentieth Century* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2000); and Katharyne Mitchell, *Crossing the Neoliberal Line: Pacific Rim Migration and the Metropolis* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004).

[135] David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry Into the Origins of Social Change* (London: John Wiley & Sons, 1992).

[136] Johanna Waters, *Education, Migration, and Cultural Capital in the Chinese Diaspora. Transnational Students between Hong Kong and Canada* (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2008).

[137] Nan Sussman, *Return Migration and Identity: A Global Phenomenon, a Hong Kong Case* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011).

[138] Ibid., 145.

[139] Ibid.

[140] See for example Deidre Boyle, "Hong Kong Media Journal," *Wide Angle* 20, no. 2 (Fall 1998): 132-149; Gina Marchetti, "Transnational Cinema,

Hybrid Identities, and the Films of Evans Chan," *Postmodern Culture: An Electronic Journal of Interdisciplinary Criticism* 8, no. 2 (1998): no pagination; and Gina Marchetti, *From Tian'anmen to Times Square: Transnational China and the Chinese on Global Screens, 1989-1997* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 6-7.

[141] Melissa Chiu, *Breakout: Chinese Art Outside of China* (Milano: Charta, 2007), 39.

[142] Ibid., 39.

[143] Susan Ossman, *Moving Matters: Paths of Serial Migration* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2013).

[144] See also John Sinclair and Stewart Cunningham, "Diasporas and the Media," in *Floating Lives: The Media and Asian Diasporas*, eds., Stuart Cunningham and John Sinclair (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), 4.

[145] Susan Ossman, "Paths of Serial Migration," *Public: Re-Imagining Democracy*, November 16, 2006. Available at http://www.re-public.gr/en/?p=79 (accessed October 10, 2012).

[146] Lionnet and Shih, *Minor Transnationalism*, 21.

[147] Ibid., 5.

[148] Ibid., 7.

[149] Within the field of Asian American studies, there has been a trend away from attempting to secure a single, authentic Asian American identity

on American soil towards acknowledging plural and divergent ways of being Asian American throughout the world. Two seminal publications in this respect were Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996) and David L. Eng, "Out Here and Over There: Queerness and Diaspora in Asian American Studies," *Social Text* 52-53 (Autumn-Winter 1997): 31-52. See also Peter X. Feng, *Identities in Motion: Asian American Film and Video* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002).

[150] A foundational text here is Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

[151] See for example Annabelle Sreberny, "The Global and the Local in International Communication," in *Mass Media and Society*, eds., James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (London: Routledge, 1991), 177-203, and Rob Wilson and Wimal Dissanayake, eds., *Global/Local: Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996).

[152] Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, "Introduction," in *Multiculturalism, Postcoloniality, and Transnational Media*, eds. Ella Shohat and Robert Stam (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 4. For a similar view, see Dina Iordanova, David Martin-Jones, Belén Vidal, "Introduction: A Peripheral View of World Cinema," in *Cinema at the Periphery*, eds. Dina Iordanova, David Martin-Jones, Belén Vidal (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2010), 3.

[153] See for example Naficy, *An Accented Cinema*, 45. See also Marina Szeto, "Intra-local and Inter-local Sinophone: Rhizomatic Politics of Hong Kong Writers Saisai and Wong Bik-wan," in *Sinophone Studies: A Critical Reader*, eds. Shu-mei Shih, Chien-hsin Tsai, and Brian Bernards (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 191-206.

[154] Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Kafka: Towards a Minor Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

[155] Ibid., 18.

[156] Alison Butler, *Women's Cinema: The Contested Screen* (London: Wallflower Press, 2002).

[157] Patricia White, "Lesbian Minor Cinema," *Screen* 49, no. 4 (Winter 2008): 410-425.

[158] Lionnet and Shih, *Minor Transnationalism*, 13.

[159] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 117-148.

[160] Nichols also problematizes this claim of "discovery" of foreign cinemas by Western film festivals. See Nichols, "Discovering Form, Inferring Meaning: New Cinemas and the Film Festival Circuit," 16.

[161] Stringer, "Global Cities and International Film Festival Economy," 134-144.

[162] The concept of the rhizome appears in Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987).

[163] Naficy, *An Accented Cinema*, 6-7.

[164] One of the most useful aspects of Faye Ginsberg's analysis of Aboriginal screen media is her concept of "Aboriginality." Drawing from the work of Fiona Nicholl, Ginsberg notes that, "In contrast to the category 'Aboriginal culture' which is always defined in opposition to the dominant 'non-Aboriginal culture,' 'Aboriginality' must be thought *in relation* to 'non-Aboriginality.'" See Ginsberg, "Embedded Aesthetics: Creating a Discursive Space for Indigenous Media," 366-367.

[165] Ibid., 366.

[166] Naficy, *An Accented Cinema*, 43.

[167] Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004).

[168] Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, 32.

[169] Naficy, *An Accented Cinema*, 42.

[170] See for example, Jim McGuigan, *Cultural Populism* (London: Routledge, 1992) and Tony Bennett, *Culture: A Reformer's Science* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1998).

[171] For an account of the role of structures beyond the text in the production and circulation of Aboriginal media, see especially Faye Ginsberg, "Peripheral Visions: Black Screens and Cultural Citizenship," in *Cinema at the Periphery*, eds. Dina Iordanova, David Martin-Jones, Belén Vidal (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2010), 84-103.

[172] See for example Toby Miller and George Yudice, *Cultural Policy* (London: Sage Publications, 1994); Jim McGuigan, *Culture and the Public Sphere* (Taylor and Francis, 2002); Jim McGuigan, *Rethinking Cultural Policy* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2004); and Justin Lewis and Toby Miller, *Critical Cultural Policy Studies: A Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003). For insight into the Canadian context, see Clive Robertson, *Policy Matters: Administrations of Art and Culture* (Toronto: XYZ Books, 2006).

[173] For a discussion of the role of creativity in the new economy, see Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, 142-149. For insight into the context in Hong Kong and China, see Laikwan Pang, *Creativity and Its Discontents: China's Creative Industries and Intellectual Property Rights Offences* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).

With respect to the role of cultural difference in the new economy, Richard Florida argues that "diversity attracts creative capital and stimulates high-tech growth." He identifies three basic indices of diversity: the Gay Index, the Melting Pot Index, and the Bohemian Index. See *Richard Florida, The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 261.

Since the book's publication, a number of scholars have criticized Florida's research agenda and questioned the veracity of his findings. See for example, Jaime Peck, "Struggling with the Creative Class," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29, no. 4 (2005): 740-770.

[174] See for example, Sara Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-coloniality* (London: Routledge, 2000).

[175] Esther M.K. Cheung, *Fruit Chan's Made in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 37. The term, "imagined community" was first proposed by Benedict Anderson to allude to the discursive construction of the nation. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1982).

[176] Tino Balio, "A Major Presence in All of the World's Most Important Markets: The Globalization of Hollywood in the 1990s," in *Contemporary Hollywood Cinema*, eds. Steve Neale and Murray Smith (New York: Routledge, 1998), 58-73.

[177] Toby Miller, Nitin Govil, John McMurria, Richard Maxwell, and Ting Wang, *Global Hollywood 2* (London: British Film Institute, 2008).

[178] A similar shift can now be observed toward the media industries of China and India. See for example, Michael Curtin and Herman Shah, eds., *Reorienting Global Communications: Indian and Chinese Media beyond Borders* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2010).

[179] David Barboza, "China Passes Japan as Second-Largest Economy," *New York Times*, August 15, 2010. Available at http://bdo.co.il/_Uploads/dbsAttachedFiles/China_passes_Japan_15.8.10 New_York_Times.pdf (accessed September 12, 2014).

[180] Curtin, *Playing to the World's Biggest Audience*.

[181] Davis and Yeh, *East Asian Screen Industries*.

[182] John Lent, *The Asian Film Industry* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990).

[183] Davis and Yeh, *East Asian Screen Industries*, 6.

[184] For further analysis, see for example, Yuezhi Zhao, "Whose *Hero*? The 'Spirit' and 'Structure' of a Made-In-China Global Blockbuster," in *Reorienting Global Communications: Indian and Chinese Media Beyond Borders*, eds. Michael Curtin and Herman Shah (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 161-182.

According to Davis and Yeh, *Hero*'s success in the Mainland Chinese market as an officially approved film must be attributed not only to its financing model, but to the Chinese government's exhibition practices of "near monopoly exposure" in national cinemas, a practice strongly protested by independent filmmakers such as Jia Zhangke. See Emily Parker, "Changing China From Within," *The Wall Street Journal*, March 12, 2010. Available

http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748704869304575109880509198818.html (accessed July 18, 2011).

[185] Laikwan Pang, "Postcolonial Hong Kong Cinema: Utilitarian and Trans(local)," *Postcolonial Studies* 10, no. 4 (2007): 413-440.

[186] Davis and Yeh, *East Asian Screen Industries*, 91.

[187] Daya Kishan Thussu, "Mapping Global Media Flow and Contra-Flow," in *Media on the Move: Global Flow and Contra-Flow*, ed. Daya Kishan Thussu (London: Routledge, 2007), 10-29.

[188] Chris Berry and Mary Farquhar, *China on Screen: Cinema and Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 195-222.

[189] According to the editorial statement of the journal, *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*: "While Asia's political, cultural and economic position in the global system will continue to fluctuate, there is a need to question and critique the rhetorical unities of both the 'rise' and of 'Asia'. Wealth and resources are unevenly distributed and there is no cultural or linguistic unity in this imaginary space called Asia. On the other hand, no matter whether there are common experiences shared by sub-regional histories, there is an urgent need for forging political links across these sub-regions. Hence, 'Inter-Asia' cultural studies." See "Editorial Statement," Inter-Asia Cultural Studies. Available at http://www.inter-asia.org/ (accessed September 9, 2013).

[190] Koichi Iwabuchi, ed. *East Asian Pop Culture: Analysing the Korean Wave* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008).

[191] Chris Berry, Nicola Liscutin, and Johnathan D. Mackintosh, eds., *Cultural Studies and Cultural Industries in Northeast Asia: What A Difference A Region Makes* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009).

[192] See for example, Koichi Iwabuchi, Stephen Muecke, and Mandy Thomas, eds., *Rogue Flows: Trans-Asian Cultural Traffic* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004).

[193] This research agenda was the topic of a special issue of the journal, *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* edited by Ashish Rajadhyaksha and Kim Soyoung. See *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 4, no. 1 (April 2003).

[194] Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, 35.

[195] Thomas O'Regan and Ben Goldsmith, "Emerging Global Ecologies of Production," in *The New Media Book*, ed. Dan Harries (London: British Film Institute, 2002), 92-105.

[196] Ibid., 95.

[197] Wasko 1990.

[198] Ibid., 96.

[199] Ibid.

[200] A highly successful proponent of this use of social media is Future Shorts. Billing itself as "the largest short film network in the world," Future

Shorts' activities occur online, in live events, and through commercial distribution. Its companion, Future Cinema, uses Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram to reach a group of loyal but growing devotees that number in the hundreds of thousands. Established as an alternative to the predictability of the multiplex experience, Future Cinema claims to add "layers of interactivity, and even meaning, to movie-going." See Peter Aspden, "Way, Way Beyond the Multiplex," *Financial Times*, August 26, 2011. Available at http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/394d4c04-ce3c-11e0-99ec-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1pwc6qSay (accessed September 9, 2013).

[201] One example here would be Secret Cinema, an immersive film-experience theatre company which stages screenings and events that replicate the diegetic world of popular films; these films, ranging from *Alien* to *The Shawshank Redemption*, remain secret until just prior to the film's screening. The company was founded in 2007 by Fabien Riggall. According to its web site, "Secret Cinema is a growing community of all that love cinema, and experiencing the unknown. Secret audience. Secret film. Secret locations. Secret worlds. The time is now to change how we watch films." Its tagline is, "Tell no one." See the Secret Cinema web site. Available at http://www.secretcinema.org/ (accessed September 9, 2013).

[202] With respect to the distribution and exhibition of independent films in China, see Seio Nakajima, "Film Clubs in Beijing: the Cultural Consumption of Chinese Independent Films," in *From Underground to Independent: Alternative Film Culture in Contemporary China*, eds. Paul

Pickowicz and Yingjin Zhang (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), 161-188.

[203] Bill Nichols, "Discovering Form, Inferring Meaning: New Cinemas and the Film Festival Circuit," *Film Quarterly* 47, no. 3 (1994): 16-30. See also Bill Nichols, "Global Image Consumption in the Age of Late Capitalism," *East-West Film Journal* 8, no.1 (1994): 68-85.

[204] Faye Ginsberg, "Embedded Aesthetics: Creating a Discursive Space for Indigenous Media," 365-382. Conversely, Naficy argues that, "Such classifications [based on identity] create targets of opportunity for those interested in such films, but also narrow the marketing and critical discourses about these films by encouraging audiences to read them in terms of their ethnic content and identity politics more than their authorial vision and stylistic innovations." See Naficy, *An Accented Cinema*, 17.

[205] Ibid., 376.

[206] Ibid., 376-377.

[207] Saloni Mathur, "Museums and Globalization," *Anthropological Quarterly*78, no. 3 (2005): 697-708. See also Rustom Bharucha, "Beyond the Box: The New Asian Museum," *Third Text* 14, no. 52 (2000): 11-19.

[208] Ibid., 698.

[209] Mathur, "Museums and Globalization,"700, emphasis in original.

[210] Irit Rogoff, "Geo-Cultures: Circuits of Art and Globalizations," *Open* 16 (2009): 106-115.

[211] Ibid., 114.

[212] Mathur, "Museums and Globalization," 702.

Chapter Two: Peripheral Screen Cultures in Transnational Perspective: Methodological Challenges and Responses

The previous chapter established the conceptual framework for the study, synthesizing literature from across the disciplines and fields of political economy, cultural studies, film history, media anthropology, and others. This chapter will outline the methodological approach of the thesis. The chapter is divided into three sections: "Theoretical Contexts: Situating the Approach;" "A Multi-Sited Scavenger Methodology;" and "Practical Issues: Doing the Research." The first section identifies dominant models for researching screen distribution and exhibition and the issues that these models raise. The second section proposes an alternative model—a multi-sited scavenger methodology—and stakes a claim for a flexible, mixed methods approach that draws from both qualitative and quantitative research traditions. The third section discusses the opportunities and limitations associated with undertaking case study research, document research, and face-to-face interviews.

I argue that researching independent distribution and exhibition under conditions of globalization requires a re-thinking of existing methodological approaches. It not only requires addressing the problem of methodological nationalism, but also a certain methodological preoccupation with culture's mediation and objectification by the forces of the global economy. While multi-sited approaches such as "follow the object" address methodological nationalism by acknowledging the importance of mobility and cultural flows, they cannot fully account for the circulation of non-commercial or unofficial cultural forms and practices, such as short films and independent documentaries, which have proliferated over the past decade.

On the basis of these arguments about method, I designed a methodology comprising of a mobile ethnography which "followed the

thing," or followed several predetermined screen objects from their production in Canada to exhibition sites around the world. For the reasons explained below, this methodology was subsequently amended to trace the cross-border flows of independent screen media through specific sites of alternative distribution and exhibition, namely, Ying E Chi, a non-profit distributor in Hong Kong; the Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival, a diasporic film festival in Canada; and the Vancouver International Centre for Contemporary Asian Art, a non-collecting gallery. The aim was to understand how these non-mainstream sites of distribution and exhibition might contribute to the production of new identities and social imaginaries, and to the linking together across borders of peripheral screen cultures and marginal groups.

Theoretical Contexts: Situating the Approach

In order to contextualize the chosen methodology, I will first briefly review various established approaches to research. I argue that the absence of independent screen media from analyses of globalization can be partly attributed to the methodological limitations of film studies and globalization studies to date. These limitations include the dominance of textual exegesis or close readings, a reliance on institutional or industrial data, and the persistence of methodological nationalism. First, film studies as a discipline has privileged the filmic text and overlooked the circumstances beyond the text. In his polemical essay, "'Stop Reading Films!' Film Studies, Close Analysis, and Gay Porn," John Champagne observes that "close analysis has historically taken the place of other kinds of necessary inquiry ... it particularly obscures both the historical and social conditions in which certain kinds of text circulate and the everyday uses to which subjects put such texts."[213] For example, despite the important role played by film festivals in screen circulation, the academic study of festivals did not properly emerge until the late 1990s.[214] Prior to this, film festivals were either ignored or else examined in relation to masterpieces and great works,[215] a

reflection of the discipline of film studies' close association with literary studies.

Second, film studies has tended to rely on official and industrial sources of data. This has led to the relative neglect of screen cultures that are unofficial or non-commercial. In his recent monograph about informal film distribution, *Shadow Economies of Cinema*, Roman Lobato problematizes the epistemic authority of what he calls, "formality." He defines formality as "the degree to which industries are regulated, measured, and governed by state and corporate institutions."[216] Lobato attributes the invisibility and *unknowability* of informal distribution to the methodological norms of film industry research that privilege certain forms of empirical data, for example box office statistics, over others. In order to analytically contest or decenter formality, he draws attention to the practices of informal distribution agents and channels that are ordinarily marginalized or overlooked. These agents and channels include "enthusiasts, small-time traders, fly-by-night entrepreneurs, gangsters, preachers, and a whole host of other non-professional agents" who operate in "street markets, bazaars, illegal rental businesses, places of worship, and grocery stores."[217] In other words, rather than trying to formalize these informal practices, or assimilate them into established official or industrial ways of monitoring and recording data, he attempts to study them as legitimate in their own right. By privileging what he terms, "distribution from below," Lobato expands the understanding of what constitutes screen distribution, as well as changing our understanding of how media globalization works.

Lastly, like many other subjects, the discipline of film studies has tended to assume that the nation-state is the natural social and political form of the modern world; [218] in other words, the study of cinema has been characterized by a certain methodological nationalism.[219] As a result of this nationalist perspective, processes that cannot be understood within a national framework, or that cut across national boundaries, have tended to

fall out of view. What is particularly problematic is that these methodological blind spots have tended to compound or reinforce one another, so that screen distribution (rather than production) that informally (instead of formally) crosses borders (rather than being territorially-bounded) remains an especially underexplored phenomenon because the perspectives and tools for its scholarly investigation are lacking. What is required, as a number of scholars have argued, is not only a re-thinking of current epistemological assumptions within film studies— for example, of who knows and what can be known, or what counts as legitimate knowledge—but also the adoption of methodologies and methods from other disciplines, such as anthropology, in order to come to terms with screen practices that are currently not understood or misunderstood.

Two scholars who subscribe to such a rethinking and recombining of methodologies are Ella Shohat and Robert Stam. In their edited collection, *Multiculturalism, Postcoloniality and Transnational Media*, they call for a "methodological cubism," in order to multiply the perspectives and locations from which film studies and media studies speak.[220] They seek to question not only the Eurocentric bias of film and media analyses that over-privilege Hollywood or European art cinema, an issue I addressed in the previous chapter, but also the Enlightenment biases of the research methodologies that have underpinned much of this work. These biases include an adherence to the values and principles of the scientific method of inquiry, such as generalizability and objectivity. For example, John Champagne has observed that the method of close reading in film studies, with its Kantian emphasis on disinterested pleasure, feigns a certain objectivity in relation to the text.[221] I hoped that by moving beyond disciplinary boundaries and combining anthropological approaches to researching mobility with queer approaches to researching culture, I could address important epistemological elisions and respond to the new methodological challenges that now accompany the practice of empirical research in a post-Enlightenment, globalized age.

A Multi-Sited Scavenger Methodology

I had originally intended to undertake a mobile ethnography or multi-sited ethnography, and to follow the screen object or "follow the thing." According to George E. Marcus, multi-sited ethnography is a mode of ethnography that "moves out from the single sites and local situations of conventional ethnographic research designs to re-examine the circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space."[222] Following the thing involves "tracing the circulation through different contexts of a manifestly material object of study … such as commodities, gifts, money, works of art, and intellectual property."[223] The pilot research for the project took place in Vancouver from June 20 to July 9, 2008. The screen objects that I had elected to follow were three short films by the visual and media artist, Ho Tam, who was born in Hong Kong and now resides in Canada. I discuss Tam's work in more depth in chapters five and six.

Subsequent to the pilot stage of the research, however, I decided to re-evaluate my methodological approach. This was because I discovered that I could not ascertain the circulation of the informally-distributed and non-theatrically exhibited screen objects in my study in any comprehensive or conclusive way. In her analysis of the changing dynamic of the global circulation of film, Dina Iordanova attributes the epistemic centrality of Hollywood to its practices of data management. She asserts that "Hollywood is the only filmmaking enterprise that directly monitors all aspects of its operation, by keeping a close watch on a variety of statistics produced from meticulous reporting on all domestic and international box office and auxiliary revenues."[224] In comparison to the data that has been accrued by Hollywood or other commercially successful cinemas, the data about the production and circulation of short films, independent documentaries, and very low-budget feature films is often lacking. In their interview about the new documentary film movement in China with *Moving Image Archive News*, editors Chris Berry and Lisa Rofel observe that

> The informal quality of independent film and video culture in China means that systematic information about the films is absent. There are no statistics on the numbers of independent documentaries produced in China, for example. Scholars wishing to carry out research on independent documentaries in China must contend with the absence of any central state archive collection.[225]

I argue that this under-documenting and under-reporting of activity has contributed to the relegation of independent screen cultures, particularly those from outside of the West, to the epistemic periphery. In order to account for the fact that the screen distributors and exhibitors in my study existed on the margins of, or outside of, industries and institutions, I decided to adopt a scavenger methodology. According to, Judith Halberstam, a scavenger methodology is an approach that "uses different methods to collect and produce information on subjects who have been deliberately or accidentally excluded from studies of human behaviour ... it attempts to combine methods that are often cast as being at odds with each other, and it refuses the academic compulsion towards disciplinary coherence."[226]

It needs to be underscored that I did not begin the research with this multi-sited scavenger methodology in mind. Whereas in the quantitative tradition of social research, the research process is linear and proceeds in stages, beginning with research questions, a hypothesis, then data collection, then analysis, and finally the drawing of conclusions, in the qualitative tradition, the research process is iterative and cyclical, and in the words of John Law, "messy."[227] I had some expectations of what I would find as a result of my practice-based experience as a programmer and curator of film festivals in Vancouver, but I did not have specific questions to answer, or a hypothesis to test. Clive Seale observes that, "Only when a finding is placed in a relevant theoretical context can it acquire significance."[228] In fact, I *began*

with answers and only arrived at the questions for my project through a process of moving dialectically between theory and data and theory again.

My stance in relation to debates between quantitative and qualitative approaches to research was flexible, to the extent that I understood these approaches as occurring on a continuum rather than being diametrically opposed. In this way, my stance reflected the decline of the paradigm wars between quantitative and qualitative research.[229] However, with respect to two other dimensions of the study—the position of the researcher, and the criteria for evaluating research quality—I was more closely aligned with the qualitative school. First, I believed that the position of the researcher could be involved rather than neutral and objective.[230] In my case, the impetus for the research was my participation as a film programmer and curator in Vancouver where I noted a discrepancy between the description of "modern Chinese transnationalism"[231] in the academic literature as described by scholars such as Aihwa Ong, and my own observations of transnational Chinese filmmakers and cultural workers who were neither wealthy nor powerful nor upwardly-mobile, and who in fact were committed to social change. In addition, I noted that the screen media traveling through these screening events were not blockbuster films or even commercial art house films, but were in fact very low-budget films and videos, often made by semi-professionals or non-professionals in their spare time.

Second, I believed that the indicators for research quality should include criteria other than the validity and reliability of the study in the strictly scientific sense. Following the direction of sociologist Clive Seale, I felt that the criteria for evaluating the research could include "providing insight into a phenomenon, individuals, or an event, or giving voice to social groups whose perspective has been hidden from public view."[232] Seale acknowledges both of these qualitative criteria—providing insight and giving voice—as legitimate alternatives to the quantitative criteria of validity and reliability which underpin the scientific method. Throughout my study,

I strove for a research practice characterized by "system, rigour, and reflection"[233] rather than validity or reliability as the scientific method would usually have it.

Thus, rather than track a particular screen object through multiple channels of distribution and sites of exhibition, I decided to refocus my attention on particular distributors or exhibitors and to trace the flow of multiple screen media through them as part of my analysis. Instead of "following the thing," I chose to undertake case study analysis.

During the course of my research, I undertook fieldwork in three different urban sites in both North America and East Asia: Vancouver, Toronto, and Hong Kong. In total, I spent sixty-nine, non-consecutive days in the field. In determining the duration of my fieldwork, I was influenced by both methodological and practical concerns. Methodologically, I was aware that classical ethnography demands a period of immersion in the field for a period of six to twelve months during which time a "foreign" culture is studied through direct observation.[234] Practically, however, I was limited by both financial and time constraints.[235] However, I was also aware that this classical model of ethnography is predicated on a traditional notion of culture as being "tightly territorialized, spatially-bounded, historically unselfconscious, and culturally homogenous."[236] In contrast, I wanted to acknowledge, following the seminal work of Arjun Appadurai, that culture under globalization is modern, and that modernity is at large. In contrast to culture as understood by classical ethnography, culture as understood by multi-sited ethnography is multiple and dynamic, technologically-mediated, and traversed by various flows.

Within the ethnographic tradition, one of the key issues is the status of the researcher or observer as either a cultural insider or outsider. The fact that my research was multi-sited made me more reflexive about my position because my physical and epistemic locations as both a researcher and an individual were constantly in flux. In undertaking multi-sited fieldwork, I

found that I occupied a position that was neither solely "emic" (as a cultural insider) nor solely "etic" (as a cultural outsider), but both "emic" and "etic," inside and outside, at different times, in different places, and in different ways.[237]

For example, when I was undertaking fieldwork in Toronto with the Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival (TRAIFF), my identity as Chinese Canadian rendered my status as "emic." However, my prior experience working for a competing film festival (the Vancouver Asian Film Festival) in another part of the country (the West Coast) meant that my status was "etic" as well. Conversely, when I was visiting Hong Kong, my pre-disposition to independent films and videos rendered my status as somewhat "emic." But my inability to speak Cantonese or Mandarin meant that my status was very much "etic," despite the fact that many of my interviewees spoke English fluently. Rather than understanding "emic" and "etic" as binary positions, it makes sense to understand them in relation and on a continuum.

Another key issue within the ethnographic tradition is the nature or scope of "the field." The fact that my research was multi-sited brought certain dimensions of the sites into clearer analytical focus than they would have been had I restricted my study to a single national or local site. For example, my finding that independent screen media circulate from periphery-to-periphery via what I call "independent sole traders" was only made possible through a transnational approach; I discuss this further in the case study chapters. I arrived at this finding after selecting a sample of interview participants and analysing the correspondences between their movements across borders, on the one hand, and the transnational circulation of the independent films and videos in my study, on the other. This circulation was documented in the publications such as film festival catalogues that I collected over a ten-year period. By privileging the beliefs and actions of non-elites or semi-elites, that is, of educational migrants and

cultural workers, I hoped to expand the understanding of what constitutes globalization, as well as to change the understanding of how independent screen distribution and exhibition are practiced.

In choosing multiple sites for analysis, my intention was to develop a transnational, rather than comparative, perspective on the independent screen cultures in my study. The difference between these two approaches is not merely semantic. Whereas a comparative perspective might assume that the three distribution and exhibition sites are bounded entities (like nation-states) which evolved separately and which function discretely, a transnational perspective understands that these sites have been, and will continue to be, traversed by various flows.[238] What is at stake in characterizing these independent screen cultures in this way is precisely this relational rather than absolute character; a notion that collectively, the sites are more than the sum of their individual parts. Having briefly discussed the philosophical and epistemological implications of researching minor screen cultures in transnational perspective, I will now turn to the details of the study itself. I will examine three of the methods used in some depth: case studies, document research, and face-to-face interviews.

Practical Issues: Doing the Research

According to Robert Yin, a case study is "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident."[239] This method was particularly useful for my project because the case study is context-specific, is able to accommodate mixed methods, or the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, and favours the answering of research questions that ask, "how?" and "why?"[240] I chose to use case studies in part due to the nature of my research questions: I sought to understand why, how, and to what effect the distributors and exhibitors in my project pursued a strategy of peripheral-to-

peripheral, cross-border networks. And it was also in part due to a desire to analyze practices of distribution and exhibition in a holistic manner within a specific milieu. In its emphasis on the particular and situated, the case study approach is methodologically complementary to Anna Tsing's insistence that we research specific, empirical "transnational projects," rather than globalization as a force of nature which is universal and abstract.[241] In other words, my choice of methods was also guided by the theoretical imperatives identified in my literature review.

The selection of cases in my project was guided by several factors that included the longevity of the distributor or exhibitor and issues of access to the field. For example, I selected the non-profit film distributor Ying E Chi for analysis in part because of its establishment in 1996 and its existence for more than a decade.[242] Thus, the documents produced by Ying E Chi offered the possibility for the "prolonged engagement and persistent observations" that Egon G. Guba and Yvonna S. Lincoln identify as the goal of qualitative sampling, and the possibility of yielding data over a particular duration that was sufficiently rich and thick.[243] Furthermore, because I was indirectly acquainted with Simon Chung, one of the founders of Ying E Chi, there was a greater likelihood of my gaining access to other members of the organization for interviews.

By nature, case studies incorporate multiple methods rather than a single approach. This enables methodological triangulation, or the combination of methods, one of the strategies through which the quality of empirical research can be enhanced.[244] Of the six sources of data or evidence that Robert Yin identifies as potentially contributing to case study research, three sources—archival records, documentation, and interviews—were especially relevant for my research.[245] The benefits of documents are that they are stable, can be reviewed repeatedly, and feature broad coverage, in other words, that they cover a long span of time, many events, and many settings. They are also unobtrusive.[246] The benefits of interviews are that they

are targeted and can be insightful. I will now discuss each of these methods in more depth.

Regarding document research, Ben Gidley locates the history of the archive within the context of the rise of nation-states and their monopoly on law and violence, as well as the development of capitalist forms of power.[247] As such, archives as sites and practices are not neutral, but are implicated in processes of nation-building and economic development. In light of the historical and institutional role of archives and the way they have been put to use in the service of power, I chose to undertake document research in both official and unofficial, and online and physical archives in each of the three cities in my study. With document research, I had to negotiate a methodological tension or compromise between a willingness to work with documents that were unregulated and non-institutionalized, to the point of being utterly random, and a need to work with documents that were consolidated, formally-organized, and preserved for posterity. The willingness to accept a certain degree of incompleteness and ephemerality was necessary because of the grassroots rather than institutionalized or commercial nature of distributors and exhibitors in my study. However, the need to consult archives that functioned in predictable ways and under controlled conditions was necessary because my time for data collection was limited.

The physical archives that I consulted included the City of Vancouver Office of Cultural Affairs Collection, the Hong Kong Film Archive, the Vancouver International Centre for Contemporary Asian Art Library and Artist Files, the Video In /Video Out Media Arts Centre Archive and Library, and the unofficial archives of the Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival, and Ying E Chi (see Appendix A).

A key methodological challenge associated with document research is fragmentation, or the instance of documents going missing or being destroyed.[248] This is especially pressing when undertaking research into

grassroots and independent screen cultures which may lack the capacity to archive the materials that they produce effectively. For example, during field work in Hong Kong, I requested back issues of the film festival catalogues produced by both Ying E Chi and Broadway Cinematheque for their Hong Kong Asian Film Festival from 2004 to 2007. However, Ying E Chi's archive was fragmented and only housed back issues from two years: 2005 and 2007. In order to address this fragmentation, I searched Broadway Cinematheque's online archive on its web site and located the catalogues from the missing years.

When undertaking documentary research in online archives, I found that digitalization has complex and contradictory effects. It almost certainly does not lead to straightforward "democratization." On the one hand, using the Internet significantly increased my access to documentary material and made the data collection process more efficient. This was especially important as all of my sites were overseas. On the other hand, using online archives significantly decreased my insight into the documents' material conditions of production, thus making the process of data analysis less "rich." Therefore, one of the consequences of the use of the Internet in my study was a heightened tendency for me to perceive my documents as resources from which social facts and evidence should be extracted, rather than as topics in and of themselves.

One of the primary aims of the research was to shed light upon the participation within globalization of non-elites and semi-elites. To counter what I perceived to be a sampling bias in the dominant globalization literature towards the experience of elites, be they business migrants or policy makers or media executives, I chose to analyze diverse material, ranging from government and industry sources, to public agency sources, to material produced by the distributors and exhibitors themselves. By sampling bias, I do not mean to imply that sampling can ever be purely objective, but rather that sampling which is narrowly focussed on a

particular social group will produce knowledge about that group to the exclusion of knowledge about other practices. The material from official and industry sources largely informed my analysis of the structural factors enabling minor transnationalism to occur. I discuss these structural conditions of possibility further in the following chapter about cultural and social policy in Canada and Hong Kong.

The "core" of my document research for the case studies was the collection, analysis, and writing up of several film distributor catalogues, film festival catalogues, and art exhibition catalogues from each of the three cities in my study over a ten-year period from 1997 to 2007. For example, in Vancouver, I collected online data on annual exhibitions from the Vancouver International Centre for Contemporary Asian Art's virtual archives or web site from 2000 to 2007. I supplemented this online data with hard copy data in the form of press clippings, newsletters, brochures, and other ephemera from the centre's physical archive, library, and artist files. In Toronto, I collected hard copies of the film festival catalogues of the Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival from 1997 to 2007. I supplemented these with other forms of hard copy data. And in Hong Kong, I collected online data on annual film holdings from Ying E Chi's virtual archives—their web site—from 1997 to 2007. I supplemented this online data with hard copy publications such as film festival catalogues, brochures, newsletters, and press clippings, from Ying E Chi's physical archives, or office files.

By collecting the same type of publication over a period of time, or longitudinally, I was able to acquire a large enough sample of information to be able to standardize my approach to data analysis, at least within each document "genre." For example, by collecting film festival catalogues that spanned a decade (in the case of the Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival), I was able to focus my data analysis on particular editorial and marketing features of the catalogue that were common across the years. These common features included the Message from the Festival Director,

programming notes on the Opening and Closing Night films, and information about print traffic.

In my analysis of the documents, I strove to combine quantitative and qualitative approaches. This entailed tracking the numbers of works in particularly underrepresented modes or genres, such as queer Asian titles or Chinese Canadian titles, circulating through the distributor or exhibitor from 1997 to 2007. In determining what constituted a queer Asian film, for example, I applied the most inclusive set of criteria possible (director, theme or subject matter, aesthetic or sensibility) rather than focusing exclusively on the issue of representation. I particularly sought to avoid a close reading of the films on the limited basis of "positive" or "negative" images. Rather, my aim here was to draw attention not only to the increasing volume of this type of production, but also to its expanding diversity and polyvocality.

Regarding the use of interviews, Fran Tonkiss locates the history of the social survey or questionnaire within the context of the emergence of programmes of governmental and social reform in late eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain.[249] Likewise, Bridget Byrne notes the pervasiveness of interviews in everyday life.[250] As such, the interview as a research tool is not neutral, but is implicated in processes of social control. Interview data is used as a basis for decisions that have a profound effect on social status and quality of life.

In light of the historical and contemporary uses to which surveys have been put in the service of power, I chose to adopt an unstructured to semi-structured interview format, so that the interviews more closely resembled a "conversation with a purpose."[251] As Byrne notes, qualitative modes of interviewing have been "particularly attractive to researchers who want to explore voices and experiences which they believe have been ignored, misrepresented, or suppressed in the past."[252] With interviews, I had to negotiate a methodological tension or compromise between an openness to what my interviewee wanted to talk about, and what I needed to know, that

is, my particular research agenda. The openness was necessary for both ethical reasons and so that I did not foreclose upon any unanticipated insights. The adherence to a research agenda was necessary to both ensure rigour and because my financial and time constraints were very tight, that is, because I did not have the luxury of repeating the research. As such, I understood my interview participants as both research topics and resources.[253]

I use the word tension and compromise deliberately. On the one hand, adopting an unstructured to semi-structured format decreased the power differential between myself and my respondents (at least in theory) and rendered the interview, or data collection process, more egalitarian. This ethical concern was consistent with the epistemological position or perspective that interview respondents should be perceived as topics in and of themselves, rather than as resources from which social facts and evidence should be extracted.[254] On the other hand, the lack of structure increased the subjective nature of the interview responses and rendered their subsequent interpretation, or data analysis process, more ambiguous, uncertain, and time-consuming. Byrne refers to this phenomenon in relation to a tension between data collection and data generation.[255]

In total, I completed thirty-nine interviews (see Appendix B). These interviews ranged in length from thirty minutes to just over an hour. Of these thirty-nine interviews, thirty-seven were face-to-face, one was by phone, and one was by email. As several scholars have observed, the technological mediation of interviews affects the interview process in positive and negative ways. Bill Gillham notes that telephone interviews deprive both the interviewer and the respondent of non-verbal cues; they also pose challenges for recording data.[256] In relation to email interviews, Sarah Lowndes observes that online communication can be too abbreviated or too colloquial for research purposes.[257] I found this was indeed the case.

Nancy Leech and Anthony Onwuegbuzie argue that sampling is as important to qualitative research as it is to quantitative research because qualitative research involves making analytical generalizations, if not statistical ones. [258] They urge that proper consideration should be given to sample size and sampling issues, such as how many individuals to include in a study and how to select these individuals, as well as to the conditions under which this selection will take place. I chose to undertake interviews with a wide cross-section of individuals, ranging from mid-level bureaucrats to independent filmmakers to volunteer office workers, in order to counteract the sampling bias within the dominant globalization literature towards the experience of elites. Again, by using the term "sampling bias," I do not intend to imply that sampling can be purely objective, but merely that it can be rendered more inclusive and less partial by different approaches to its practice.

In her seminal essay, "Up the Anthropologist: Perspectives Gained from 'Studying Up,'" Laura Nader called for anthropologists to engage in studying elites, or studying up, in addition to studying subalterns, or studying down.[259] This shift in approach was in the interests of what Hugh Gusterson has called a "critical repatriated anthropology," one that analyzed the exercise of power in the United States, rather than the practice of ostensibly traditional ways of life in foreign locales.[260] As I observed in the literature review chapter, this notion of elite study has been readily taken up by scholars of media globalization and migration, such as Michael Curtin and Aihwa Ong. For example, the interview participants in Curtin's study are predominantly media executives or managers of departments,[261] while the ethnographic subjects in Ong's study are predominantly business entrepreneurs and immigrant investors.[262] However, other scholars have argued for a "studying sideways" or studying across, that is for "looking at Others who are, like anthropologists, engaged in a transnational contact zone, and engaged there in managing meaning across distances, although perhaps with other interests, under different constraints."[263] This approach

has the advantage of moving beyond the dichotomy of elites and subalterns, as well increasing the self-reflexivity of the researcher with respect to the production of knowledge. Just as Ulf Hannerz notes an affinity between the practice of ethnography and that of reportage,[264] I note an affinity between the practice of scholarly research and that of programming and curating, in so far as both require processes of selection, narration, and representation.[265]

In undertaking research with underrepresented communities, I was conscious of the fact that the interview participants in my study occupied multiple subject positions that could be understood as both normative (in most cases, well-educated and middle class, although not necessarily upwardly-mobile), and non-normative (independent, non-White, female, or queer). Thus, I needed to be aware of the ethical implications of engaging with these forms of social and cultural inclusion and exclusion. For example, non-normative subjects in the West are targeted for various forms of surveillance, including being the "objects" of academic and institutional inquiry. Their status as minorities also imposes on them certain burden of representation. As Rey Chow notes:

> It is peremptory that women investigators, especially Chinese women investigators investigating the history of Chinese women's social subordination, handle the mode of their speech—which historically straddles the elite and the subaltern—with deliberate care. In naming them as such, therefore, my point is to place on them the burden of a kind of critical awareness that has yet to be articulated in their field. The weight of each of the terms which they work—Chinese, women, intellectual—means that the alliances with other discursive groups as well as their self-reflection of their own positions, must always be astute.[266]

Because my project involved studying an under-researched phenomenon, my data analysis drew upon, but did not fully adopt, a

grounded theory approach. Grounded theory is the "discovery of theory from data that is systematically obtained and analyzed in social research."[267] It is contrasted with theory that is "generated by logical deduction from *a priori* assumptions."[268]

My approach resembled grounded theory in that rather than beginning with a hypothesis or theory and testing it through social research, it began with data collection and subsequently developed a theory or hypothesis through a process of data analysis. It utilized theoretical sampling, or "choosing cases to study, people to interview, settings to observe, with a view to finding things that might challenge the limitations of existing theory, forcing the researcher to challenge it in order to incorporate new phenomena."[269] However, my approach differed from grounded theory in that it did not fully take on board constant comparison, or a four-stage process of data analysis that entails the identification of codes, the collection of codes into concepts, the collection of concepts into categories, and the development of categories into theory.[270] My own approach was less formal and linear than this because it did not proceed in discrete stages.

By adopting a multi-sited scavenger methodology, that is, by choosing to make the cross-border activities of non-elites or semi-elites and independent screen media central to the research rather than peripheral, this project seeks to extend dominant approaches to researching screen culture. These have previously relied upon national frameworks, industry data about commercially-distributed screen media, or textual exegesis. The chapter finds that rather than utilizing exclusively quantitative or qualitative approaches, it is productive to combine the two approaches via the construction of case studies. By supplementing document research in official and unofficial archives in Vancouver, Toronto, and Hong Kong, with the oral testimony of educational migrants and cultural workers who have previously not been studied, the project seeks to shed light upon the role of informal screen distributors who are motivated by ideals rather than by

profit or professional status. Furthermore, by undertaking a quantitative and qualitative analysis of programming and curating through specific sites of alternative distribution and exhibition, the project seeks to trace the circulation of independent screen media locally and across the Asia Pacific region.

Although the project focuses on practices of informal and non-commercial distribution, it also seeks to place this circulation of moving images within the context of globalization. Having established the broad theoretical and methodological coordinates for the study, the thesis will now move onto an empirical analysis of this independent screen culture's structural conditions of possibility. It draws upon a range of documents to argue that minor transnationalism in the Asia Pacific region in the late 1990s was enabled by deregulation, privatization, and "free trade," as well as the advent of new sources of public funding and support for public culture.

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[213] John Champagne, "'Stop Reading Films!'": Film Studies, Close Analysis, and Gay Pornography," *Cinema Journal* 36, no. 4 (Summer 1997): 76.

[214] Marijke De Valck, *Film Festivals: From European Geopolitics to Global Cinephilia* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 20-22.

[215] Ibid., 21.

[216] Ramon Lobato, *Shadow Economies of Cinema: Mapping Informal Film Distribution* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 4.

[217] Ibid., 19.

[218] Andreas Wimmer and Nina Click-Schiller, "Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration, and the Social Sciences," *Global Networks* 2, no. 4 (October 2002): 301.

[219] Ulrich Beck, "Rights: Moving beyond Methodological Nationalism," *Re-Public,* March 26, 2008. Available at http://www.re-public.gr/en/?p=157 (accessed July 18, 2012).

[220] Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, eds., *Multiculturalism, Postcoloniality and Transnational Media* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 2.

[221] Champagne, "'Stop Reading Films!'"93.

[222] George E. Marcus, *Ethnography through Thick and Thin* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), 79.

[223] Ibid., 91.

[224] Dina Iordanova, "Rise of the Fringe: Global Cinema's Long Tail," in *Cinema at the Periphery*, eds. Dina Iordanova, David Martin-Jones, and Belén Vidal (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2010), 26.

[225] Peter Monaghan, "The New Chinese Documentary." *Moving Image Archive News* (2010). Available at http://www.movingimagearchivenews.org/the-new-chinese-documentary/ (accessed September 4, 2011).

[226] Judith Jack Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998). For other work that adopts a scavenger

methodology, see Gayatri Gopinath, *Impossible Desires: Queer Diasporas and South Asian Public Cultures* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

[227] John Law, *After Method: Mess in Social Science Research* (London: Routledge, 2004).

[228] Clive Seale, "Validity, Reliability and the Quality of Research," in *Researching Society and Culture*, ed. Clive Seale (London: Sage Publications, 2004), 76.

[229] The increasing use of mixed methods is indicative of the decline of the hostilities between quantitative and qualitative schools. See for example, John Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 3rd edition (London: Sage Publications, 2008), 4.

[230] Ginsberg et al. characterize the relationship between the anthropologist and the research subject or participant as "usually engaged, sometimes complicit, rarely neutral." See Faye Ginsberg, Lila Abu-Lughod, and Brian Larkin, "Introduction," In *Media Worlds Anthropology on New Terrain*, eds. Faye Ginsberg, Lila Abu-Lughod, and Brian Larkin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 21.

The main proponent of standpoint theory versus research neutrality is Sandra Harding. See for example, Sandra Harding, *Whose Science, Whose Knowledge? Thinking from Women's Lives* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991). See also Gloria Ladson-Billings and Jamel Donnor, "The Moral Activist Role of Critical Race Theory Scholarship," in *Handbook of Qualitative*

Research, eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2000), 279-302.

[231] Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

[232] Seale, "Validity, Reliability and the Quality of Research," 72.

[233] Bill Gillham, *Research Interviewing: The Range of Techniques* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2005), 6.

[234] Russell Bernard, *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (Lanham: Altamira Press, 2006), 225.

[235] Ibid., 211-212.

[236] Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 55.

For a discussion of the "mobilities turn" in sociology and its implications for theory and methodology, see for example, Mimi Sheller and John Urry, "The New Mobilities Paradigm" *Environment and Planning* 38, no. 2 (2006): 207-226.

[237] See for example, Beverly Mullings, "Insider, Outsider, Both or Neither? Some Dilemmas of Interviewing in a Cross-Cultural Setting." *Geoforum* 30, no. 4 (November 1999): 337-50.

[238] See Chris Berry, "Transnational Chinese Cinema Studies," in *The Chinese Cinema Book*, eds. Song Hwee Lim and Julian Ward (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 13. For an alternative perspective, see Yingjin

Zhang, "Comparative Film Studies, Transnational Film Studies: Interdisciplinarity, Crossmediality, and Transcultural Visuality in Chinese Cinema," *Journal of Cinemas* 2, no. 1 (2008): 37-51.

[239] Robert Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 4th ed. (London: Sage Publications, 2009), 18. Yin's approach tends towards the quantitative end of the spectrum, as the discussion about validity and reliability on pages 33-39 demonstrates. For a more qualitative perspective that emphasizes the role of interpretation, see Robert E. Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research* (London: Sage Publications, 2005).

[240] Ibid., 13.

[241] Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2005).

[242] The non-profit distributor InD Blue was established in 2003 and would have thus provided less scope for data collection and analysis. See "Introduction/Objectives," InD Blue. Available at http://www.indblue.com/Introduction.do (accessed February 2, 2009).

[243] Egon G. Guba and Yvonna S. Lincoln, *Naturalistic Inquiry* (London: Sage Publications, 1985).

[244] Other ways of enhancing the quality of qualitative research, according to Seale, include the production of well-grounded theory with good examples of concepts; the combining of qualitative and quantitative

methods; and the presentation of a reflexive account. See Clive Seale, "Validity, Reliability and the Quality of Research," 80.

[245] The other three sources of data or evidence according to Yin are direct observation, participant-observation, and physical artifacts. See Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 85.

[246] Ibid.

[247] Ben Gidley, "Doing Historical and Archival Research," in *Researching Society and Culture*, ed. Clive Seale (London: Sage Publications, 2004), 259.

[248] Ibid., 261.

[249] Fran Tonkiss, "History of Social Statistics and the Social Survey," in *Researching Society and Culture*, ed. Clive Seale (London: Sage Publications, 2004), 86.

[250] Bridget Byrne, "Qualitative Interviewing," in *Researching Society and Culture*, ed. Clive Seale (London: Sage Publications, 2004), 180.

[251] Robert Burgess, *In the Field: An Introduction to Field Research* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1984).

[252] Byrne, "Qualitative Interviewing," 180.

[253] Ibid., 183.

[254] With respect to the role of identity and experience in the conduct of interviews and issues of power, much insight has been contributed by feminist scholars. For a seminal analysis, see Ann Oakley, "Interviewing

Women: A Contradiction in Terms," in *Doing Feminist Research*, ed. Helen Roberts (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 30-62. For an alternative perspective, see Martyn Hammersley, *The Politics of Social Research* (London: Sage Publications, 1995).

[255] Ibid., 181.

[256] Gillham, *Research Interviewing: The Range of Techniques*, 102-103.

[257] Sarah Lowndes, "The E-Mail Interview," in *Research Interviewing: The Range of Techniques*, ed. Bill Gillham (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2005), 112. NB Gillham is credited as the sole author of the publication. However, Lowndes has one chapter. Full details appear in the bibliography.

[258] Nancy Leech and Anthony Onwuegbuzie, "The Role of Sampling in Qualitative Research," *Academic Exchange Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (2005): 280-84. For an alternative perspective, see Valerie S. Janesick, "The Choreography of Qualitative Research Design: Minuets, Improvisations and Crystalizations," in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2000), 379-99.

[259] Laura Nader, "Up the Anthropologist: Perspectives Gained from 'Studying Up,'" in *Reinventing Anthropology*, ed. Dell H. Hymes (New York: Random House, 1969), 284-311.

[260] Hugh Guterson, "Studying Up Revisited,"*PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 20, no. 1 (May 1997): 114-119.

[261] Michael Curtin, *Playing to the World's Biggest Audience: The Globalization of Chinese Film and TV* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 291-294.

[262] Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 11.

[263] Ulf Hannerz, "Other Transnationals: Perspectives Gained from Studying Sideways," *Paideuma* 44 (1998): 109.

[264] Ulf Hannerz, *Foreign News: Exploring the World of Foreign Correspondents* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

[265] See Margo Machida, "Reframing Asian America," in *One Way or Another: Asian American Art Now*, eds. Melissa Chiu, Karin Higa, and Susette Min (New York: Asia Society, 2006), 19.

[266] Rey Chow, *Writing Diaspora: Tactics of Intervention in Contemporary Cultural Studies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 178.

[267] Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), 1.

[268] Ibid., 2.

[269] Clive Seale, "Generating Grounded Theory," in *Researching Society and Culture*, ed. Clive Seale (London: Sage Publications, 2004), 241.

[270] Ibid., 243.

Chapter Three: Situating Minor Transnationalism within Global and Regional Flows: Structural Transformations in Canada and Hong Kong

The previous chapters have set out the theoretical framework and methodology for the study. Below and in the subsequent chapters, I discuss the empirical findings of the thesis. This chapter assumes a macro perspective on minor transnationalism in the Asia Pacific region, looking at the structural conditions underlying this form of media globalization. Like globalism and regionalism, these peripheral-to-peripheral connections have been enabled by deregulation and free trade. Unlike profit-driven forms of globalization, however, minor transnationalism also requires forms of public funding and public culture.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section, "Canada, Globalization and the Turn to Asia," situates screen culture in relation to recent geopolitical events and global processes and particularly, the staging of Canada's Year of Asia-Pacific. The second section is itself sub-divided into two: "Structural Transformations in Canada: From Official Multiculturalism to Cultural Diversity," and "Structural Transformations in Hong Kong: From Official Exchanges to Creative Industries." Both parts speak to the epistemic shifts and material changes that benefitted minorities and independent cultural producers in the late 1990s. The third section, "A New Cultural Infrastructure for Independent Work," situates screen culture in relation to the establishment of new sources of public funding and public legitimation.

I argue that rather than being outside of globalization and recent reconfigurations of capital and the nation-state, minor transnational practices are both inflected by globalization, and contribute to it. They exist in the interstices of an elite agenda of trade liberalization and privatization, and grassroots advocacy for re-regulation and public culture. In his analysis of what he calls "accented cinema," Hamid Naficy argues that migrant

filmmakers work in an interstitial and artisanal mode. "To be interstitial," he observes, "is to work both within and astride the system, benefitting from its contradictions, anomalies, and heterogeneity."[271] In what follows, I expand on Naficy's observations by referring to specific institutional, regulatory, and discursive changes since the 1990s that have helped to promote peripheral-to-peripheral, cross-border relations in the contexts of Canada and Hong Kong.

Canada, Globalization, and the Turn to Asia

Before I turn to the discussion of policy change in Canada, it is necessary to situate this shift in relation to broader processes beyond the nation-state. These processes include geopolitical events such as the rise of the Asian economies, the end of the Cold War, and the handover of Hong Kong from Great Britain to the People's Republic of China (P.R.C.). In a report published in 1997 entitled, *The Importance of the Asia-Pacific Region for Canada*, the Government of Canada's Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs observed that, "The end of the Cold War has shifted the foreign policy focus away from security concerns and towards trade and economic issues. And for some time now a large share of the global economic activity has been occurring in East Asia."[272] Alongside the growing economic importance of Asia, the signing of the Sino-British Declaration announcing the 1997 handover in 1984, and the Tiananmen Incident in 1989, resulted in an outward flow from the territory of Hong Kong residents, fearful of the consequences of the handover to Mainland China. These residents immigrated *en masse* to various countries in Asia and to the West, including Australia, the U.S.A., and Canada, and in particular to cities such as Vancouver and Toronto. In 1996 alone, one third of all immigrants to Canada were from East Asia, and almost 30,000 originated from Hong Kong.[273]

One of the manifestations of this "turn to Asia" was the Canadian government's declaration of 1997 as "Canada's Year of Asia-Pacific" (CYAP).

Intended to showcase Canada's growing ties with the region, CYAP was a year-long initiative to promote increased business relations, youth involvement, and cultural exchanges to broaden understanding within the Asia Pacific region.[274] The initiative began in January 1997 with the Team Canada trade mission to Asia and ended in November 1997 with the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)[275] leaders meeting in Vancouver. The year's events not only included business forums and trade fairs, but youth conferences and other events involving youth, as well as "cultural activities to underscore the breadth of Canada's close ties with the region, and the importance of cultural understanding in doing business in Asia Pacific."[276]

The objective of the cultural component was to draw attention to Canada's large and growing Asian Canadian population. According to official pronouncements, "Asian Canadians add empathy to our relations with countries in the region. They have, moreover, the social, economic, and political ties to the Asia Pacific that are so important to commerce … The language, cultural skills, and market knowledge that many Asian Canadians bring to Canada can provide the critical link to securing export contracts."[277]

Significantly for my claims about the facilitation of minor transnationalism, CYAP featured the provision of grants for arts and cultural activities and the staging of both live and mass mediated events for the Canadian public. Recipients of CYAP grants included emerging visual and media artists, such as Ho Tam, and new arts organizations, such as the Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival (TRAIFF). In fact, CYAP was a major funder of the second edition of Tam's artist book, *The Yellow Pages*, which was based on his first screen-based work of the same name,[278] and TRAIFF's inaugural film festival in 1997.[279] According to the festival's co-founder, Anita Lee, CYAP's support was crucial because, as a new film festival that lacked an institutional history, TRAIFF was unable to immediately access Canada Council of the Arts funding.[280] I discuss TRAIFF

further in chapter five of the thesis and the work of Tam further in chapter six.

It is important to note that CYAP was not a coherent and straightforward policy, but one marked by tensions and contradictions. A critical examination of the background document accompanying the official press release, entitled "Canada's Year of Asia-Pacific," is instructive because it makes these tensions and contradictions clear. Although the overall purpose of CYAP was to promote business development, it also purported to strengthen international cooperation around more social and cultural issues and concerns. According to an accompanying backgrounder, CYAP had five goals. The first of these goals was to "to expand Canada's economic partnerships with the Asia Pacific region and to equip Canada to play an increasingly dynamic role in the emerging Pacific community." However, the third and fourth goals were to, "To enhance cross-cultural understanding of common concerns related to peace and security, human rights and legal reform, environmental and social development, culture, education and other areas,"[281] and "to ensure a lasting legacy through new partnerships between Canadian and Asia Pacific business and cultural institutions, better collaboration between governments and the involvement of youth and Asian Canadians."[282] The tension between the first goal and the third and fourth goals reveals a slippage between the "new" imperative of regional economic development, and the "old" imperative of nation-building, within which the cultivation of young people and the development and promotion of a "national culture" play a foundational role. I argue that some educational migrants and cultural workers seized upon these tensions and contradictions in order to advance agendas that are very different in logic to those of business elites. I discuss the practices of these independent sole traders further in chapters four to six.

Having briefly looked at the reorientation of Canada's trade and economic policy as manifest in CYAP, the chapter will now turn to changes

in social and cultural policy in Canada and Hong Kong. It will argue that paradigmatic shifts from official multiculturalism to cultural diversity in Canada, and from official exchanges to creative industries in Hong Kong, helped bring about the material and symbolic conditions necessary for minor transnationalism to occur.

Structural Transformations in Canada: From Official Multiculturalism to Cultural Diversity

I argue that under conditions of globalization, there has been a change in the conceptual and discursive status of "cultural difference" and also that of "creativity." In Canada, the shift from official multiculturalism to cultural diversity policy has led to an affirmation, pluralization, and deterritorialization of cultural difference, unsettling the belief that the former colony should be culturally nationalist. Likewise in Hong Kong, the shift from official exchanges to creative industries policy has led to an affirmation, pluralization, and deterritorialization of creativity, displacing the notion of the former colony as a "cultural desert." By looking at specific practices of regulation and de-regulation, I show how globalization is a constructed and contested process, rather than a force of nature. In arguing that there has been a shift from official multiculturalism to cultural diversity, I am not suggesting that there was a radical break, or that the latter replaced the former. Rather than understanding social and cultural change in terms of successive historical phases, Kevin Robins uses the geological metaphor of accretion and layering to explain the transition from an era of the nation-state to an era of globalization.[283]

In what follows, I will briefly trace the development of official multicultural policy in Canada. The perception of Asian immigrants or Chinese immigrants to Canada as "racialized Others" was widespread until recent years. In what Michael Dewing and Mark Leman call the "incipient phase of multiculturalism" that existed before 1971,[284] the government

"dismissed the value of cultural heterogeneity, considering racial and ethnic differences as inimical to national interests and detrimental to Canada's character and integrity."[285] This policy of migrant assimilation into a British-type society popularized the idea that those of Asian descent were culturally and aesthetically inferior. The discourse surrounding the "Yellow Peril" encouraged Asian Canadians and Chinese Canadians to view themselves as lacking and inferior to Canadians who were White.[286] In other words, it performed ideological work.

Prior to official multiculturalism, Canada generally ignored the situation of its minority artists and denigrated their activities. Says media artist and arts administrator, Paul Wong,

> It is only now that [Asian Canadians] are beginning to see and to define ourselves. We have all learned about Western Culture [sic], and in the art world, how to appreciate the banalities of the Euro avante-garde [sic]. These are the standards upon which we base our opinions ... it is a racist practice to judge marginalized work and new ideas that have never been given the opportunity to evolve. When confronted with work that is different, we don't understand because we don't know how to see ... the unfortunate part is that we usually dismiss work of this nature as being 'not art' and being too 'issue-specific.'[287]

The Government of Canada first introduced a policy of integration, rather than assimilation, and the notion of official multiculturalism in October 1971. This marked the beginning of what Dewing and Leman call the policy's "formative phase."[288] The key objectives of official multiculturalism were to: assist cultural groups to overcome barriers to their full participation in Canadian society; assist cultural groups to *retain* and foster their identity; promote creative exchanges among all Canadian cultural groups; and assist immigrants in acquiring at least one of the official languages.[289] Official multiculturalism was constitutionally entrenched into

the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1985 and passed into law as the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* in 1988.[290]

In terms of cultural production, mainstream depictions of Asian Canadians at the time were dominated by government-sponsored short films and documentaries and commercial news reports. These included the National Film Board (NFB) documentary, *Bamboo, Lions and Dragons* (1979), and a segment entitled, "Campus Giveaway" on Canadian Television (CTV)'s *W5* program. Despite its pretentions to being "an inside look at Vancouver's Chinese community," *Bamboo, Lions and Dragons* featured minimal consultation with Chinese Canadians which resulted in unprecedented criticism from community groups. [291] The documentary was pulled from circulation by the NFB, revised, and re-released.[292] After claiming that "foreigners" were depriving Canadians of opportunities to participate in higher education, "Campus Giveaway" misidentified a room full of Chinese Canadian university students as international students from overseas. CTV was forced to issue a public apology following a campaign on the part of angry viewers.[293]

Any evaluation of official multiculturalism needs to note that the policy was fraught with tensions. On the one hand, official multiculturalism was part of a normative ideal of redistribution within the nation-state that sought to address social inequality and injustice through the removal of discriminatory barriers and through affirmative action to equalize opportunity. By this, I mean that migrants under official multiculturalism were invited to participate fully in Canadian society. The third policy objective of the Act was "to *promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities* of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in elimination of any barriers to such participation."[294]

On the other hand, official multiculturalism was part of an explicitly nation-building agenda that has persisted in depicting cultural difference

within the nation-state in essentialist and deterministic ways. By this, I mean that migrants under official multiculturalism were invited to preserve the culture of their "homeland"; this assumed that the culture of the so-called "old world" was traditional, monolithic, and fixed. The *Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988* features ten policy objectives. The first policy objective of the Act was "to recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to *preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage*."[295] As Richard Fung has stated, "[Multiculturalism] champions a notion of cultural difference in which people are encouraged to preserve forms of song and dance they didn't practice before they came to Canada. [Its] function has been to co-opt and eclipse the potential threat in anti-racist organizing."[296]

The flagship initiatives for this nation-building cultural policy in the field of screen-based media were the NFB, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), and to a lesser extent, Telefilm Canada. In her essay, "Coming Attractions: A Brief History of Canada's Nether-Cinema," Helen Lee links what she refers to as a three-part studio system in Canada to the country's history as a former British colony.[297] The institutional authority of the three-part studio system was such that, according to Mark Haslam, media and visual arts officer at the Ontario Arts Council: "If you wanted to create work before 2000, you either had to go into the NFB, or the CBC. Or you had to work with an artist-run centre because that was the only way to get affordable access [to technology]. I think since 2000, the technology has become more accessible and you can do editing on your home computers."[298] This studio system produced a national film culture focussed primarily on documentary realism and cultural uplift, or what Bill Nichols refers to as a "discourse of sobriety,"[299] rather than narrative melodrama or popular taste.

As I have argued elsewhere,[300] the implementation of official multiculturalism by cultural institutions such as the NFB and the CBC has been both positive and negative for Asian Canadians in terms of screen production as well as distribution and circulation. Midi Onodera notes that, "on the positive side, multicultural gains have created another path for producers to access funding, distribution, and exhibition … On the negative side, since the number of films and videos produced by people of colour is still relatively small, there is intense pressure and responsibility imposed on the designated artist."[301] In terms of official production, these institutions have clear thematic and formal preferences for how they represent minorities, preferences which have ideological consequences.

Thematically, these cultural institutions have historically relied upon narratives of migration which depict minorities in relation to key historical moments of nation-building or economic development, such as the building of the Canadian National Railway or the defence of Canada during the Second World War. It has relied on formal strategies such as voice-over narration, archival footage, and oral testimonies which depict ethnic minorities as ethnographic objects.[302] These thematic and formal preoccupations stage a classical and Orientalist aesthetic encounter between observer and observed, subject and object, and self and Other.

Furthermore, in terms of official distribution and circulation, the three-part studio system has historically reinforced a spatial logic that reproduces that of national broadcasting, so that transmission occurs from a centre of production outwards towards a mass audience or undifferentiated public. This model of distribution and circulation, which is typical of state media systems, inscribes hierarchical social relations and stages an encounter between a core and periphery, or a centre and margin. I argue that independent distribution and circulation function quite differently from the official model. I discuss the thematic and formal implications of independent

films circulated via alternative modes of distribution and exhibition in chapter four of the thesis.

Lest these developments be perceived as being entirely top-down, it is important to note that parallel with the development of multicultural official screen media in Canada was the organization of grassroots-level events by Asian Canadian and Chinese Canadian artists and activists. These were initiated by arts organizations such as On Edge Productions, a non-profit society and media arts organization founded by Paul Wong in 1985,[303] and the Pomelo Project, an artist-run production house co-founded by visual artists and cultural critics, Scott Toguri McFarlane and Henry Tsang in 1996.[304] In 1990, On Edge Productions produced the seminal exhibition and publication, "Yellow Peril: Reconsidered,"[305] which featured photography, film and video by twenty-five Asian Canadian artists.[306] Remembers Paul Wong about the process of organizing "Yellow Peril": "It was painful. It was controversial. It was a lot of hard work ... doors were closed that we had to pry open. We had to scream and yell and bulldoze to get the funding. We were met with resistance from every possibility, including artists, who didn't want to be tagged Asian Canadian because it was a bad thing."[307] For Wong, the organizing of these grassroots exhibitions had to do with the

> "... democratization of media, from its very inception. It allowed other stories, other ways of telling a story, other ways of seeing, hearing, and sharing information or aesthetics, outside government media, commercial, corporate media. We didn't need permission. We could control all aspects of our means of production, our distribution, our exhibition, and we would be independent."[308]

Having discussed official multiculturalism in Canada, I will now discuss the introduction of cultural diversity. I argue that cultural diversity policy in Canada has played an epistemic role and served a pedagogical function in de-essentializing and de-territorializing the notion of cultural

difference. Under official multiculturalism, ethnic minorities were encouraged to enhance and preserve their identities, and to access national cultural institutions such as the NFB in order to "narrate the nation."[309] Under cultural diversity, ethnic minorities can now express multiple identities that are not necessarily territorially-bounded. Rather than being perceived as a social problem to be managed, cultural difference is now an economic asset. Rather than being territorially-bounded, cultural difference is often in excess of the nation-state.

According to the Department of Canadian Heritage:

> Diversity is moving beyond language, ethnicity, race and religion, to include cross-cutting characteristics such as gender, sexual orientation, and range of ability and age. The same approaches that have helped Canadians develop into a bilingual, multicultural society are now also helping to bring down other barriers that prevent individuals from reaching their full potential[310]... Our diversity is a national asset. Recent advances in technology have made international communications more important than ever. Canadians who speak many languages and understand many cultures make it easier for Canada to participate globally in areas of education, trade and diplomacy.[311]

For political and economic elites, a transnational perspective on diversity suggests notions of flexible citizenship and the willingness of Asian Canadians to act as agents of economic trade and investment; the objective is to develop overseas markets. The exploitation of cultural difference by the Government of Canada for economic gain is evident in a 1997 report by the Standing Affairs Committee on Foreign Affairs, entitled, *The Importance of the Asia-Pacific Region for Canada*. Under the heading, "Canada's hidden advantage," the report suggests that immigrants from East Asia "contribute in a very real way to Canada's cultural mosaic … and can help strengthen this country's trade and investment links with the region." It argues that

immigration can promote trade and investment in three ways: first, by reducing the transactional costs associated with doing business in foreign markets; second, by investing in Canadian business ventures; and third by facilitating foreign investment by improving information between Canada and the region.[312]

However, for non-elites and semi-elites, a transnational perspective on diversity suggests a willingness by Asian Canadians to act as agents of cultural connection and exchange; the objective is to develop public debate and public cultures. The leveraging of the new strategic importance of cultural diversity by non-elites is also evident in a 1997 series of events by the Pomelo Project entitled, *City at the End of Time: Hong Kong 1997*.[313] Funded by various donors including the Canada Council for the Arts, the Hong Kong Arts Development Council, Vancity Community Partnership Program, and most notably, Canada's Year of Asia-Pacific,[314] the series took place from February 11 to 16, 1997 in Vancouver and comprised of art exhibitions, poetry readings, and public talks that contested the dominant discourse of Hong Kong's return to China as being an isolated political and economic event between two nations, Britain and China. The participants were drawn from Hong Kong, Canada, and the U.S.A. and included local artists as well as international scholars such as Rey Chow and Ackbar Abbas.[315]

As was the case with official multiculturalism, the three-part studio system in Canada was enlisted to launch cultural diversity initiatives in order to raise the aesthetic and technical standards of minority filmmakers and videomakers, and to educate the public about diversity issues.[316] These initiatives included the NFB's "Reel Diversity" competition, presented in partnership with the CBC, which began in Ontario in 1998 and became a national initiative in 2000,[317] and Telefilm Canada's "Asia-Pacific Initiative" which was created in 1997 to 1998 to expand business opportunities and

international distribution for Canadian audiovisual products around the Pacific Rim.[318]

Although I have focused up till now on the symbolic and meaning-making function of government policies, it is important to also draw attention to their material ones. Barbara K. Lee, founder of the Vancouver Asian Film Festival (VAFF), remembers, "When we first started [VAFF], diversity wasn't even a term that people, or broadcasters, or festivals used. Now it's been around for at least four years."[319] Lee dismisses claims that cultural diversity policies have resulted in meaningful change. For her, "Diversity is just a buzzword."[320] However, Lee herself has been the recipient of cultural diversity funding, having won the NFB's "Reel Diversity" competition in 2006. The film she directed under the auspices of the competition was entitled *Between the Laughter* (2006).[321] Lee's documentary profiles the personal and professional life of Stephen O'Keefe, a deaf stand-up comedian. Thus, it can be seen that through the lens of diversity policy, cultural difference is not just about ethnicity and "race," but about ethnicity as it intersects with gender, sexuality, and other forms of difference.

Structural Transformations in Hong Kong: From Official Exchanges to Creative Industries

Whereas the previous chapter section looked at social and cultural policy in Canada, this section turns to cultural policy in Hong Kong. I argue that creative industries policy in Hong Kong has played an epistemic role and served a pedagogical function in de-romanticizing and de-Westernizing the notion of creativity. Under official exchanges, local artists were encouraged to enhance their skills by adopting Western models of high culture, especially the performing arts. Under creative industries policy, local cultural producers can now develop their talents in making vernacular and syncretic work in reference to other local and regional artists. Rather

than being perceived as lacking, that is, as a "cultural desert,"[322] Hong Kong is now an emerging cultural hub.

The notion of Hong Kong as a "cultural desert" was widely held by both the territory's colonizers and the colonized.[323] It effectively popularized the idea that Hong Kong was aesthetically and developmentally inferior to both Great Britain and to the P.R.C. Whereas Britain and Europe had interventionist cultural policies and "high art," manifest in cultural agencies such as the British Council, the Alliance Française and the Goethe Institute, it was believed that Hong Kong lacked a cultural policy at all and only produced and consumed mass entertainment such as the cinema. In actual fact, the colony *did* have a policy, but one characterized by a "passive and conservative" administrative culture and the domination of arts and culture provision by two municipal councils in the colonial administration—the Cultural Select Committee of the Urban Council, and the Regional Council.[324] Other key institutions within this administration were the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts, and the Hong Kong Council for Performing Arts (CPA), which existed from 1982 to 1993.[325]

The discourse surrounding the "cultural desert" encouraged Hong Kong residents to view themselves as lacking and inferior to the British. In other words, it performed ideological work. Under colonial rule, Hong Kong "generally ignored the situation of its local artists and denigrated their value over the foreign product."[326] The disdain for vernacular culture is noted by independent documentarian, Tammy Cheung:

> In terms of the society in general, people think that art is not a necessary, it's a decoration. It's like buying a nice handbag. The same is true with government people. They will give a lot of support to Western art. They will send their kids to classical music, ballet, opera ... these kind of high brow arts. You know, the Cantonese opera is considered to be low brow. They wouldn't care about a local, unknown artist's work.[327]

In terms of cultural production in the colony, there was a clear hierarchy of cultural forms with the dominance of the performing arts and the subordination of other pursuits. This was evident in the level of structural support and public subsidy available for classical music, dance, and theatre. Official Hong Kong culture at the time was limited to the Chinese Orchestra, Hong Kong Dance Company, and the Hong Kong Repertory Theatre.[328] The Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts provided professional training for artists. And the Council for the Performing Arts provided funding for arts groups.[329] There was no training for art criticism or art education. This lack of material and symbolic support for other aesthetic practices, and lack of training for the arts beyond cultural production, was one of main sources of grievance on the part of local arts groups and part of their agenda for reforming arts and cultural policy in the 1990s.[330]

The flagship initiatives for this colonial cultural policy in the arts and cultural sector were the Hong Kong City Hall (established in 1962), the Hong Kong Arts Festival (established in 1973), the Asian Arts Festival (established in 1976) and the Hong Kong International Film Festival (established in 1977).[331] Now almost forty years old, the Hong Kong Arts Festival remains a showcase primarily for the performing arts such as opera, dance, music, and theatre. The festival bills itself as an international arts festival in which the best of Asian and local talents are showcased alongside top artists from elsewhere around the world. The organizers make every effort to engage world-famous artists to perform at the festival.[332]

The development of official exchanges in the colony involved inviting Western arts organizations to perform in Hong Kong, the higher their profile the better, and enabling the Chinese Orchestra, Hong Kong Dance Company, and the Hong Kong Repertory Theatre to perform overseas.[333] Western arts organizations were sponsored to perform in the territory by the colonial government in order to raise the artistic standards of local arts groups and to

enhance the aesthetic appreciation of local audiences. They were also sponsored to perform at local arts festivals to promote tourism to the territory.[334] These cultural exchanges played a pedagogical role in stabilizing certain colonial hierarchies about the inferiority of the non-West and the superiority of the West. They were predicated on a modernization paradigm that assumed the unidirectional movement of culture from the West to the non-West. Cultural exchange was understood to involve an ideal of "development" from the Western centres of creativity and civilization, or core, to the non-Western margins of creativity and civilization, or periphery.[335]

Once again, lest these developments be perceived as being entirely top-down, it is important to note that parallel with the development of official exchanges in Hong Kong was the emergence of community exchanges by local arts groups. These had existed in the territory since the 1980s and were initiated by arts organizations such as the Hong Kong Arts Centre, Zuni Icosahedron, and City Contemporary Dance.[336] In contrast to official exchanges which were "utilitarian and unilateral,"[337] community exchanges were artist-led and strove to be collaborative and mutually beneficial, to the extent that the objectives were not to raise artistic standards or to promote tourism according to the logic of modernization, but to facilitate connection and exchange. An example of a community exchange was the "Little Asia Theatre Exchange Network," a collaboration in 1997 between the Hong Kong Arts Centre, the Tiny Alice Theatre in Tokyo, and the Crown Arts Centre Theatre, Taipei.[338]

According to Eddy Chan, creative industries policy was initiated primarily through discussions among the Hong Kong Arts Development Council and the cultural sector and was introduced to Hong Kong in 1999. It was also part of the Policy Address from the SAR Chief Executive in 2002 and 2003. Very generally, creative industries refers to "the industries that rely on cultural creativity as a means to add value."[339] The first research

report of the Hong Kong Trade Development Council identified thirteen creative industries in Hong Kong,[340] namely advertising, architecture, arts and antiques, comics, design, fashion design, film, games, software, music, performing arts, publishing, television, as well as computer software and information technology."[341]

For political and economic elites, a transnational perspective on creativity conjures up notions of global cities and cultural mega-projects, such as the West Kowloon Cultural District;[342] the objective of which is to develop jobs, growth, and tourism. The desire on the part of the Hong Kong SAR government to exploit creativity is evident in a 2002 report commissioned by the Central Policy Unit (CPU) and undertaken by the Centre for Cultural Policy Research of the University of Hong Kong, entitled, *The Baseline Study on Hong Kong's Creative Industries*. In a press release accompanying the publication of the report, the Head of the CPU, Professor Lau Siu-kai, says: "Experience elsewhere suggests that the creative sector is a growing economic domain which can make valuable contributions to the local economy and create many jobs. As a cosmopolitan city, Hong Kong offers the ideal environment for our people to deploy their ingenuity and imagination in this particular economic activity."[343] Lau's comments speak to the highly instrumental attitude of the government towards promoting creativity in the territory.

According to Oscar Ho, former exhibition director of the Hong Kong Arts Centre:

> This whole creative industry [policy] comes at a time in the late 1990s when governments [in Asia] are desperately looking for some solution to their economic problems. So it's like a lifesaver that they all grab onto ... We have this economic policy promoting creative industries, which is more like an industrialization of creativities. The infrastructure supporting arts and culture is getting bigger, and now we have this [West

> Kowloon] cultural district and all this stuff. ... it's silly, it's doomed to fail.[344]

However, for non-elites and semi-elites, a transnational perspective on creativity entails creative education. The leveraging of the new strategic importance of creativity by non-elites is evident in the establishment of institutions such as the Lee Shau Kee School of Creativity, a senior secondary school devoted to arts, media, and design education. According to its website, the official vision of the school is to "nurture a new generation of professionals and researchers for the development of the creative industries and the local art scene in Hong Kong." Yet it also seeks to "foster students' curiosity, imagination, creativity, compassion for the society, self-discipline and vision," so that they may "learn seriously, and care about the people and the events [happening] around them."[345] The pursuit of profit is not prioritized here. Instead, the objective is to develop civil society.

A New Cultural Infrastructure for Independent Work

Another important development has been the establishment and reform of cultural institutions in both Canada and the SAR. For the purposes of this chapter, I will focus on two institutions: the Canada Council for the Arts (CCA), and the Hong Kong Arts Development Council (HKADC). Although the reform of the Canada Council was due to grassroots struggles on the part of local groups,[346] it was also due to global processes and various flows. These include liberalized trade, increased migration and travel, and the growth of diaspora networks.[347] In a document entitled, "The Current Environment for the Arts and the Canada Council," the CCA situates its activities in relation to processes of deregulation—including concentration of ownership in the media and cultural industries—privatization, and "free trade."[348] It states that these processes have had "powerful effects" on all aspects of the production and distribution of art. Liberalized trade has been accompanied by the removal of "protectionist measures," such as state

subsidies to the arts, the disallowance of which threatens to undermine Canadian cultural sovereignty.

Second, the CCA identifies migration and demographic change in Canada as a major trend. "By 2017, when Canada will be 150 years old, Statistics Canada projects that one of every five Canadians will be a member of a 'visible minority' .... Visible minorities already make up over thirty-six percent of the population in Toronto and Vancouver, and are significantly represented in Montreal and other large cities."[349] These shifting demographics worked together with the legal imperatives of official multiculturalism to shape cultural diversity guidelines at the CCA.

Third, the CCA also identifies the growth of "diaspora communities, networks of culturally diverse artists, and Aboriginal artists" as contributing to opportunities for Canadian art on the international scene.[350] For example, 88books is an independent publisher founded by Hong Kong-born artist, Ho Tam, that introduces the work of Chinese photographers to Canadians, and Canadian photographers to art lovers in the P.R.C.[351] What "The Current Environment for the Arts and the Canada Council does not consider, however, is the increased opportunities for international art, or art from outside Canada, on the domestic scene. I discuss these opportunities in more detail in relation to the Toronto Reel Asian Film Festival in chapter five.

The Canada Council for the Arts is a federal, arm's-length, crown corporation created by an Act of Parliament in 1957 "to foster and promote the study and enjoyment of, and the production of works in, the arts."[352] In "The Evolution of the Canada Council's Support of the Arts," the CCA states that "in response to calls for action from the culturally diverse and Aboriginal arts communities, the Council acknowledged that its programs, committees and staff did not reflect the face of modern Canada."[353] The reform of the CCA manifested itself in at least four main ways: through the establishment of an Equity Office; through the council's hiring practices; through the council's peer review criteria and jury selection; and through the

council's grants programs. I will briefly address each in turn. In 1990 and 1991, the Canada Council established what became known as the Advisory Committee to Racial Equality in the Arts "to improve access to the council's programs for all Canadian artists and to promote diversity in the arts to better reflect the multicultural reality of the country.[354]

With respect to hiring practices, the composition of the CCA's staff now matches or exceeds Canadian work force levels: eleven percent of the council's staff are visible minorities, compared to eight percent of the workforce.[355] The CCA reports that from 1997 to 2005, 525 people of colour have been represented as peer jurors.[356] In 2002 to 2003 alone, the council used 654 peer assessors on its peer assessment committees, and eighty-nine (or fourteen percent) were culturally diverse individuals—almost exactly the same as the culturally diverse share of the national population.

In 1999 and 2000, the CCA introduced two dedicated programs. The first was the Capacity-Building Program to Support Culturally Diverse Artistic Practices, which provided three-year grants of $90,000 to a total of fifty-one organizations to consolidate their administrative activities and infrastructure. These grants include both project grants and travel grants. The second was the Assistance to Culturally Diverse Curators for Residencies in Visual Arts program, which is designed to expand the national pool of curatorial professionals who are of African, Asian, Latin American or Middle Eastern origin and advance knowledge and expertise in Canadian visual arts institutions.[357]

In 2002 and 2003, the CCA distributed about $10.9 million in direct and indirect funding to culturally diverse artists and arts organizations.[358] In 2005 and 2006, the CCA implemented a number of key initiatives, including increased support to Aboriginal and culturally diverse arts organizations and the entry of new organizations to the CCA's operating programs. The CCA continues to implement strategies to increase funding to Aboriginal and culturally diverse arts organizations through its priority funding

strategies. In 2006, two new culturally diverse organizations were admitted to operating support. In addition, out of thirty-nine eligible applications to the Supplementary Operating Funds Initiative, twenty-seven Aboriginal and culturally diverse organizations received multi-year funding.[359]

I argue that the reform of the CCA can be understood as an emancipatory force on at least one level. Structures such as the Advisory Committee for Racial Equality in the Arts, or Equity Office, represented a shift from a liberal pluralist to a more socially radical, perhaps even postcolonial, orientation towards art and culture in Canada. By supporting the independent production of culturally diverse artists, the CCA has helped to release ethnic minorities from the burden of representation imposed by official cultural institutions such as the NFB and CBC. Furthermore, by supporting independent distribution and exhibition through organizations such as TRAIFF, the CAA has helped minorities to circumvent the centre-to-margin logic of national media systems that disseminate films and videos to a unified mass "public." In place of a single production centre that broadcasts to undifferentiated citizens, there are now multiple centres of production that narrowcast to other independent producers and specialized audiences. I discuss the epistemic implications of this further in chapters four and five.

According to Sharon Fernandez, a former equity officer at the CCA, the principles of cultural diversity and racial equity at the Canada Council in the twenty-first century have partially been achieved. On the one hand, she argues that, "A critical mass or artists of colour have created a space for themselves in the Canadian cultural landscape due to a history of struggle and significant contributions to contemporary cultural practices."[360] On the other hand, however, she laments that "certain economic ideals have gained structural control and ... culture is now intimately linked to economic patterns of trade and development."[361] She suggests that "what we need are new forms of localism that are imbued with the subversive potential of

multiple points of origin amidst the common intersections we all experience."[362]

Indicative of the second trend that Fernandez identifies is the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada (APFC). Created by an Act of Parliament in 1984 and based in Vancouver, APFC is a non-governmental, pro-business think tank on Canada's relations with Asia.[363] Its activities include disseminating knowledge and raising public awareness through roundtables, panel discussions, and speaking engagements; promoting informed discussion on Canada-Asia relations through research reports, publications, and opinion editorials; identifying and filling knowledge gaps on issues affecting Canada-Asia relations; supporting government-to-government processes to encourage and pave the way for new strategic developments; and providing new generation researchers and journalists with the opportunity to engage in policy research and media coverage of Asia.[364] Although predominantly concerned with political and economic issues, APFC also supports educational and cultural issues. For example, one of its initiatives is The National Conversation on Asia, an effort to "get Canadians thinking and talking about what Asia means to Canada."[365] It includes a conversation entitled, "Breaking into China's Arts and Cultural Scene," which highlights strategies for promoting artistic exchanges between Canada and the P.R.C. These strategies include residencies, delegations, conferences, and guidebooks.[366] I discuss the relation between contemporary art and screen media in Vancouver and APFC further in chapter six.

The Hong Kong Economic and Trade Office Canada (HKETO Canada) was established in 1991 to promote and facilitate exchanges between Hong Kong and Canada, with a particular focus on trade and economic relationships.[367] Based in Toronto, its activities include: promoting Hong Kong-Canada trade relations by closely liaising with the federal government; inter-government relations with provincial and municipal governments in Canada; promoting Canadian investment in Hong Kong and

liaising with the business and media community; and working closely with the Toronto Offices of the Hong Kong Trade Development Council and the Hong Kong Tourism Board in Hong Kong promotions. It also organizes business seminars and other promotional events.[368] According to Gloria Lo, the director of HKETO Canada, "Hong Kong enjoys a close relation with Canada and is the home of the largest Canadian business community in Asia."[369] Lo's comments speak to the SAR government's highly pragmatic attitude towards Canada's role in the economy.

Although ostensibly geared towards trade, the HKETO Canada also supports cultural activities through sponsorship of events such as the "Spring Showcase: Hong Kong Spirit Films" series. This series took place in May 2014, during the month designated as Asian Heritage Month in Canada,[370] and was presented in partnership with the Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival (TRAIFF).[371] I discuss the relation between independent screen media in Toronto and the HKETO further in chapter five.

Having discussed the reform of cultural policy and funding agencies in Canada, I will now turn to similar developments in Hong Kong. The Hong Kong Arts Development Council (HKADC) is a statutory body charged to "plan, promote and support the broad development of the arts," and to protect the freedom of art creation and artistic expression.[372] Whereas the predecessor of the HKADC, the Council for Performing Arts (CPA), served in an advisory role and provided funding for what might be called the "high arts" or performing arts, the HKADC possesses (limited) legislative authority and provides funding for cultural practices that include, but also exceed, the scope of theatre, dance, classical music, and so forth. The ten areas identified for funding include: Arts Administration, Arts Criticism, Arts Education, Dance, Drama, Film and Media Arts, Literary Arts, Music, Visual Arts, and *Xiqu*.[373] Support from the HKADC comprises of project

grants for individual artists, as well as multi project grants and one year grants for arts groups.

In 1996, the HKADC established the Film and Media Arts Committee. According to the Film and Media Arts Project Assessment Guidelines, the purpose of the grant is to "support artistic, creative, and high quality independent film production projects (including animation production) *that do not receive sufficient support from the commercial market.*"[374] Recipients of the Committee's one year grant include The Hong Kong Film Critics Society Ltd., Video Power Ltd., Videotage Ltd., V-artivist Company Ltd., and Ying E Chi Ltd. Recipients of the Committee's project grants vary from year to year.[375]

According to independent filmmaker and co-founder of Ying E Chi, Simon Chung, the revival of independent filmmaking in the 1990s owes much to the creation of the HKADC: "Prior to the mid-1990s, the Hong Kong government was mainly funding theatre, stage performances, that sort of thing ... The most important stimulus to independent production in Hong Kong in the 1990s was the fact that the government started funding independent films." He continues, "In this public funding model, you're not risking anything except your own time and effort. So, it's a different kind of mentality."[376] Chung's use of the word "mentality" alludes to changes not only in material support for independent filmmaking in the post-handover period, but to changes in perspective or values with respect to independent screen culture as a public good.

I argue that the establishment of the HKADC can be understood as a limited decolonizing and democratizing force on at least two levels. On one level, the HKADC represented an extension of support from Western high art to more vernacular cultural forms. On another level, the HKADC represented a shift from a laissez-faire to a more publicly-minded orientation towards art and culture in the territory. By supporting the production of independent filmmakers and video makers in Hong Kong, the HKADC has

helped to partially release independent artists from the tyranny of the market. By this, I mean the reliance on established genres, stars, and on industry standards such as running length. Furthermore, by supporting the circulation of independent work through organizations such as Ying E Chi, the HKADC has enabled short films, independent documentaries, and low-budget feature films to move beyond Hong Kong to areas of the world that would not otherwise be able to view such media. In place of a single production centre that exports to a mass market, there are now multiple centres of production whose works flow to other independent producers and audiences. I discuss the epistemic implications of this shift further in chapter four.

According to Bernice Chan, "it is obvious that the [SAR] government has adopted a more active role and attitude in promoting cultural exchanges and creative industries."[377] This activity has taken the form of policy forums, official agreements on culture, and networking forums for arts and culture groups. The government dissolved the two municipal councils in and replaced them with the Leisure Cultural and Services department (LCS). In addition, the government dissolved the Council for the Performing Arts and replaced it with the Arts Development Council (ADC) in 1995.[378]

An example of a policy forum is the Asia Cultural Cooperation Forum (ACCF), which involved cultural ministers and representatives from Hong Kong, the P.R.C., Macau, Japan, Korea, and Australia.[379] In 2004, a "Memorandum of Understanding on Cultural Cooperation" was signed between the Home Affairs Bureau of the SAR government and the governments of Hong Kong, Singapore, and Korea to "further strengthen the current state of active cultural exchange, and promote cooperation in the field of culture and the arts."[380] An example of a networking forum is the International Society for Performing Arts (ISPA) International Congress, held in Hong Kong in 2006.[381]

There is now a much more developed infrastructure for arts and culture that includes support and subsidy not just for cultural production and touring, but also for independent screen distribution and exhibition, and so forth. Furthermore, the range of policy instruments that the SAR government has at its disposal to intervene in the territory's arts and cultural sector is far greater; these instruments range from promoting public/private cooperation, to labour reform and the development of a skilled workforce, to education reform and the development of arts education.[382]

Nonetheless, some observers express doubt that these developments will result in meaningful change. Raymond Pathanavirangoon, a former resident of Hong Kong and former programmer with the Toronto Reel Asian Film Festival, observes:

> The Hong Kong government has always been very laissez-faire. It's really not an arts enabler. They don't put money in, it's usually all private. They have never really paid much attention to cinema. They take it for granted, I think. That's the problem. Hong Kong has such a long history of cinema that they don't feel like they *need* to actually intervene, you know? Hong Kong cinema has been around for ages. And I think that sets up a different kind of mentality.[383]

Pathanavirangoon's comments speak to the persistence of colonial attitudes in the SAR, despite the formal end of colonial rule. They are a reminder that postcolonialism does not replace colonialism, and that laissez-faire or utilitarian approaches to arts and culture are difficult, although not impossible, to change.

Conclusion

By using this chapter to situate minor transnationalism within an institutional, regulatory, and discursive context that includes deregulation, privatization, and "free trade," this project seeks to characterize peripheral-to-peripheral connections as an aspect of media globalization. The chapter has shown that the cultural infrastructure for this form of media globalization was enhanced by a turn towards cultural diversity in Canada in the 1990s, and by a turn towards creative industries in Hong Kong shortly after the handover. These developments have helped to provide a material base and an enabling discourse for the work of ethnic minority filmmakers and independent filmmakers, respectively. Despite the backdrop of globalization, the chapter also points to the necessity of public funding and support for independent culture if the circulation of short films, independent documentaries, and low budget feature films is to continue.

Although the thesis acknowledges the role played by structural factors, at its core it is interested in the agency of non-elites and semi-elites. Having looked at the emergence of minor transnationalism from a macro perspective, I now turn to the micropractices of transnationality of educational migrants and cultural workers in Canada and Hong Kong and their efforts to forge cross-border peripheral-to-peripheral links. I begin by looking in-depth at the practices of a non-profit distributor in Hong Kong, Ying E Chi, in the next chapter. Through document research and qualitative interviews, I determine that a minor transnational strategy has helped to sustain an alternative filmmaking practice in the SAR that is non-commercial and engaged with local issues and concerns.

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[271] Hamid Naficy, *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 46.

[272] Government of Canada, Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, *The Importance of the Asia-Pacific Region for Canada: An Interim Report* (Ottawa: Parliament of Canada, 1997), no pagination. Available at http://www.parl.gc.ca/Content/SEN/Committee/352/fore/rep/repapecintjun97-e.htm (accessed March 14, 2008).

[273] Government of Canada, *The Importance of the Asia-Pacific Region for Canada*, no pagination.

[274] Government of Canada, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, "Government of Canada Announces Canada's Year of Asia-Pacific and Unveils Winning Logo," Press Release, November 14, 1996 No. 207. Available at http://list.jca.apc.org/public/asia-apec/1996-December.txt (accessed November 12, 2011).

[275] Formed in 1989, APEC is the principal intergovernmental vehicle for economic co-operation in the Asia Pacific region. It has evolved into a key agenda-setting body, providing an important opportunity to advance Canadian interests. According to the backgrounder, APEC's eighteen current members are Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, China, Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Singapore, Thailand and the United States. See Government of Canada, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, "Canada's Year of Asia-Pacific Backgrounder," November 14, 1996. Available at http://list.jca.apc.org/public/asia-apec/1996-December.txt (accessed June 2, 2011).

[276] The Honourable Raymond Chan, "Canada and Asia Pacific," in *Canada among Nations, 1997: Asia Pacific Face-Off*, ed. Fen Osler Hampson (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1997), 116.

[277] Ibid., 117.

[278] Ho Tam, *The Yellow Pages* (Ottawa: Gallery 101, 1998).

[279] *The First Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival*. Program Booklet (Toronto: First TRAIFF, 1997), 1.

[280] Personal interview with Anita Lee (co-founder, TRAIFF) in Toronto, November 5, 2008.

[281] Government of Canada, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, "Canada's Year of Asia-Pacific Backgrounder," November 14, 1996. Available at http://list.jca.apc.org/public/asia-apec/1996-December.txt (accessed June 2, 2011).

[282] Ibid., no pagination.

[283] Kevin Robins, "The Challenge of Transcultural Diversities," in *The Challenge of Transcultural Diversities: Transversal Study on the Theme of Cultural Policy and Cultural Diversity: Final Report, Volume 772*," ed. Kevin Robins (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2006), 13.

[284] Michael Dewing and Mark Lemen, *Canadian Multiculturalism* (Ottawa: Parliament of Canada, 2006), 3.

[285] Ibid., 4.

[286] See Paul Wong, "Yellow Peril Reconsidered," in *Yellow Peril: Reconsidered*, ed. Paul Wong (Vancouver: On the Cutting Edge Productions, 1990), 6.

[287] Ibid., 7.

[288] Dewing and Lemen, *Canadian Multiculturalism*, 3.

[289] Ibid., 4, emphasis added.

[290] "Sharing Canadian Stories: Cultural Diversity at Home and In the World," Government of Canada, Department of Canadian Heritage. Available at http://www.pch.gc.ca/pc-ch/publctn/raconter-story/index-eng.cfm (accessed June 2, 2011). After the 2008 election in Canada, responsibility for multiculturalism was passed to Citizenship and Immigration Canada. At the time, there was debate about the relation between federal and provincial jurisdiction in multicultural affairs, which might be significant for the cases of British Columbia and Ontario.

[291] Wing Chung Ng, *The Chinese in Vancouver, 1945-80: The Pursuit Identity and Power* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011), 120.

[292] Ibid.

[293] Ibid., 130. See also Larissa Lai and Jean Lum, "Neither Guests nor Strangers," in *Yellow Peril: Reconsidered*, ed. Paul Wong (Vancouver: On the Cutting Edge Productions, 1990), 21.

[294] Ibid., emphasis added.

[295] Ibid., emphasis added.

[296] Richard Fung, "Multiculturalism Reconsidered," in *Yellow Peril: Reconsidered*, ed. Paul Wong (Vancouver: On the Cutting Edge Productions, 1990), 18.

[297] Helen Lee, "Coming Attractions: A Brief History of Canada's Nether-Cinema," *Take One* (Summer 1994): 6.

[298] Personal interview with Mark Haslam (media and visual arts officer, Ontario Arts Council) in Toronto, November 14, 2008.

[299] Bill Nichols, *Representing Reality: Issues and Concepts in Documentary* (Bloomington: Indian University Press, 1994).

[300] Su-Anne Yeo, "Vancouver Asian: West Coast Film Cultures, On the Rim and At the End of the Line," in *Reel Asian: Asian Canada on Screen*, ed. Elaine Chang (Toronto: Coach House Press, 2007), 116.

[301] Midi Onodera, "A Displaced View: What Are We Reconsidering About the 'Yellow Peril?'" in *Yellow Peril: Reconsidered*, ed. Paul Wong (Vancouver: On the Cutting Edge Productions, 1990), 29.

[302] For a critique of this narrative approach in the context of the Japanese Canadian movement for redress, see Kirsten Emiko McAllister, "Narrating Japanese Canadians In and Out of the Canadian Nation: A Critique of Realist Forms of Representation," *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 24.1 (1999): 79-103.

[303] "Index," in *Yellow Peril: Reconsidered*, ed. Paul Wong (Vancouver: On the Cutting Edge Productions, 1990), 72.

[304] Scott Toguri McFarlane and Henry Tsang, eds., *City at the End of Time: Hong Kong 1997* (Montreal: Pomelo Project, 1998), 4.

[305] "Yellow Peril: Reconsidered" was the third in a series of four related projects that focused on the work of Asians in Asian North America. The first project, "Asian New World," was a four-part video art and documentary series exhibited at the VIVO Media Arts Centre from June 5 to 8, 1987; the second project of photography and video work, "Yellow Peril: New World Asians," was exhibited at the Chisenhale Gallery in Hackney, London, England from September 2 to October 16, 1988. See "Preface," in *Yellow Peril: Reconsidered*, ed. Paul Wong (Vancouver: On the Cutting Edge Productions, 1990), 4.

[306] Yeo, "Vancouver Asian," 122.

[307] Personal interview with Paul Wong (media artist and co-founder of VIVO Media Arts Centre; founder of On Edge Productions) in Vancouver, July 6, 2008.

[308] Wong, interview.

[309] Homi Bhabha, ed. *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990).

[310] "Sharing Canadian Stories: Cultural Diversity at Home and In the World," Government of Canada, Department of Canadian Heritage.

Available at http://www.pch.gc.ca/pc-ch/publctn/raconter-story/index-eng.cfm> (accessed June 2, 2011).

311 "Canadian Multiculturalism: An Inclusive Citizenship," Government of Canada, Department of Canadian Heritage. Available at http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/multi/inclusive_e.cfm (accessed June 2, 2011).

312 Government of Canada, Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, *The Importance of the Asia-Pacific Region for Canada: An Interim Report* (Ottawa: Parliament of Canada, 1997), no pagination. Available at http://www.parl.gc.ca/Content/SEN/Committee/352/fore/rep/repapecintjun97-e.htm (accessed March 14, 2008).

313 McFarlane and Tsang, "*City at the End of Time*," 1998.

314 Ibid., 4. The complete list of funders includes: The Hong Kong Arts Development Council, Canada Council, Department of Canadian Heritage, City of Vancouver, Government of BC through the Ministry of Small Business, Tourism and Culture, BC Multiculturalism and Immigration, Vancity Community Partnership Program, Vancouver Foundation, Koerner Foundation, Canada's Year of Asia-Pacific Program, Simon Fraser University's Institute for the Humanities and Department of English, and the University of British Columbia's Hampton Research Group.

315 Ibid., 46-47. The complete list of participants included: Choi Yan-chi, Jamelie Hassan, Kum Chi-keung, Lee Ka-sing and Leung Ping-Quan, Mary Sui-yee Wong, Jim Wong-chu, Ackbar Abbas, Rey Chow, and K.C. Lo.

[316] For a critical analysis of diversity initiatives at the NFB, see Zoe Druick, *Projecting Canada: Government Policy and Documentary Film at the National Film Board of Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2007), 163-179.

[317] Yeo, "Vancouver Asian," 119-120.

[318] Telefilm Canada, *1998 Annual Report* (Montreal: Telefilm Canada, 1999), 33.

[319] Personal interview with Barbara K. Lee (independent filmmaker and founder, Vancouver Asian Film Festival) in Vancouver, July 6, 2008.

[320] Barbara K. Lee, interview.

[321] "Between the Laughter," National Film Board of Canada. Available at https://www.nfb.ca/film/between_the_laughter (accessed October 20, 2015).

[322] See for example Woulter Van Marie, "Does Hong Kong Need a Cultural Hub?" *South China Morning Post*, September 8, 2003, C2.

[323] Ackbar Abbas, *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance* (University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 25.

[324] Terence Yuen, "A Decade's Long March: Reform of Institutional Framework on Culture and the Arts," in *A Decade of Arts Development in Hong Kong*, ed. Stephen Lam (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Arts Development Council, 2006), 14.

[325] Ibid., 12.

[326] S.N. Ko, "Hong Kong Independent Shorts Rhythms," in *i-Generations: Independent, Experimental, and Alternative Creations From the 60s To Now*, ed. May Fung (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2001), 11.

[327] Personal interview with Tammy Cheung (independent filmmaker and founder, Visible Record) in Hong Kong, April 10, 2009.

[328] Bernice Chan, "Breaking through the Utilitarian and Unilateral Mentality of Cultural Exchange," in *A Decade of Arts Development in Hong Kong*, ed. Stephen Lam (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Arts Development Council, 2006), 83.

[329] Phoebe Chan and Jack Shu, "The Arts Education Development under Education Reform," in *A Decade of Arts Development in Hong Kong*, ed. Stephen Lam (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Arts Development Council, 2006), 71.

[330] Ibid., 71.

[331] "Introduction: From Here We Start," Hong Kong City Hall, Leisure and Cultural Services Department. Available at http://www.cityhall.gov.hk/en/index.php (accessed September 21, 2010).

[332] According to the festival's web site, some of the eminent artists and groups who have taken part in the festival include the Glyndebourne Festival Opera, James Galway, José Carreras, the Mark Morris Dance Group, Moscow Art Theatre, Paris Opera Ballet, the People's Art Theatre of Beijing, Yo-Yo Ma, Mikhail Baryshnikov, Philip Glass, Bobby McFerrin, Pina Bausch Tanztheater Wuppertal, the Royal Shakespeare Company, the St Petersburg

Philharmonic Orchestra, Staatskapelle Dresden, Stuttgart Ballet, Tan Dun, the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, the Mariinsky Theatre, and the Bolshoi Theatre. Available at https://www.hk.artsfestival.org/en/about-us/index.html (accessed September 21, 2010).

[333] Chan, "Breaking Through the Utilitarian and Unilateral Mentality of Cultural Exchange," 85.

[334] Ibid., 84.

[335] According to Bernice Chan, "In the 1960s, the then Hong Kong Government started establishing facilities and imported overseas arts programs and used those as the core elements for local art and cultural development ... The western high arts that the Government advocated had not yet matured in Hong Kong and studying these overseas performances became the starting stage for the cultural exchanges." See Chan, "Breaking Through the Utilitarian and Unilateral Mentality of Cultural Exchange," 93.

[336] Ibid., 85.

[337] Ibid., 82.

[338] Ibid., 86.

[339] Eddy Chan, "From 'Creative Industries' to 'Cultural and Creative Industries,'" in *A Decade of Arts Development in Hong Kong*, ed. Stephen Lam (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Arts Development Council, 2006), 57.

[340] There are competing understandings of what constitutes the creative industries. For example, *The Baseline Study on Hong Kong's Creative*

Industries identifies eleven creative industry sectors, whereas the Hong Kong Trade Development Council identifies thirteen. I have used the more inclusive definition.

[341] Chan, "From 'Creative Industries' to 'Cultural and Creative Industries,'" 60.

[342] According to its website, the West Kowloon Cultural District is envisioned as "a vibrant cultural quarter for Hong Kong where the local arts scene can interact, develop, and collaborate ... It will also include a variety of arts and cultural facilities that will produce and host world-class exhibitions, performances and arts and cultural events." See "About the District," West Kowloon Cultural District. Available at http://www.westkowloon.hk/en/the-district/about-the-district> (accessed October 3, 2014).

[343] Government of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, "Baseline Study on Hong Kong's Creative Industries," Press Release, September 16, 2003. Available at http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/200309/16/0916249.htm (accessed September 25, 2010).

[344] Personal interview with Oscar Ho (former exhibitions director, Hong Kong Arts Centre) in Hong Kong, April 8, 2009.

[345] "Vision and Mission," Lee Shau Kee School of Creativity. Available at http://www.creativehk.edu.hk/new/eng/info_mission_en.html (accessed February 14, 2012).

[346] Monika Kin Gagnon identifies the late 1980s and early 1990s as a time of heightened activism among people of colour and Aboriginals in the arts and cultural sector in Canada. She highlights four landmark cultural events that occurred between 1989 and 1994 that sought to address racism and inequality in the context of national organizations. These included In Visible Colours in 1989; About Face, About Frame in 1993; It's a Cultural Thing/Minquon Panchayat in 1993; and Writing Thru Race in 1994. See Monika Kin Gagnon, *Other Conundrums: Race, Culture, and Canadian Art* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, Artspeak Gallery, and Kamloops Art Gallery, 2000), 52.

[347] "The Current Environment for the Arts and the Canada Council," Canada Council for the Arts. Available at http://canadacouncil.ca/council/about-the-council/current-environment> (accessed June 2, 2009).

[348] Ibid., no pagination.

[349] Ibid., no pagination.

[350] Ibid., no pagination.

[351] See 88Books. Available at http://www.88books.ca/88Books/Home_zhu_ye.html (accessed October 3, 2015).

[352] Overview of the Canada Council," Canada Council for the Arts. Available at <http://www.canadacouncil.ca/aboutus/organization/ (accessed June 2, 2009).

[353] "The Evolution of the Canada Council's Support of the Arts," Canada Council for the Arts. Available at http://www.canadacouncil.ca/aboutus/Background/xp128565418182821011.htm (accessed June 2, 2009).

[354] See Richard Fung, "Working Through Appropriation." First published in *FUSE* 14:5+6 (Summer 1993): 16-24. Available at http://www.richardfung.ca/index.php?/articles/working-through-appropriation-1993/ (accessed August 30, 2009).

[355] "Cultural Diversity—the Cornerstone of Canadian Society," Canada Council for the Arts. Available at http://www.canadacouncil.ca/aboutus/Promotion/dk127306715935781250.htm (accessed June 2, 2009).

[356] Sharon Fernandez and Monika Kin Gagnon, "Into the Institution," in *13 Conversations About Art and Cultural Race Politics*, ed. Monika Kin Gagnon and Richard Fung (Montreal: Artextes Editions, 2002), 73.

[357] "Cultural Diversity—the Cornerstone of Canadian Society"

[358] Ibid.

[359] "Promoting Integration. Annual Report on the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, 2006-2007." Government of Canada, Department of

Canadian Heritage. Available at http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/multi/reports/ann2006-2007/multi-ann-2006-2007_e.pdf (accessed June 2, 2009).

[360] Fung and Kin Gagnon, *13 Conversations about Art and Cultural Race Politics*, 76.

[361] Ibid., 73.

[362] Fernandez and Kin Gagnon, "Into the Institution," 72.

[363] "About Us," Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. Available at http://www.asiapacific.ca/about-us> (accessed June 2, 2009).

[364] "Activities," Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. Available at http://www.asiapacific.ca/about-us/activities (accessed June 2, 2009).

[365] "Education, Culture & Communities," National Conversation on Asia. Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. Available at http://www.asiapacific.ca/thenationalconversationonasia/education-culture-communities (accessed June 2, 2009).

[366] "Education, Culture & Communities"

[367] The Hong Kong Economic and Trade Offices are the representations of Hong Kong outside the territory. There are eleven HKETOs outside of China and Taiwan. These are located in Singapore, Sydney, Tokyo, Brussels, London, Geneva, New York, San Francisco, Washington, Toronto, and Berlin. The HKETOs do not have diplomatic or consular functions. However, each office has official agreements with the

countries in which they are based. For example, the HKETO in Toronto is accredited by Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada under the Hong Kong Economic and Trade Office Privileges and Immunities Order.

[368] "About Hong Kong Economic and Trade Office," Hong Kong Economic and Trade Office. Available at http://www.hketotoronto.gov.hk/about/about-hong-kong-economic-and-trade-office/index.php (accessed June 2, 2009).

[369] "Director's Welcome Message," Hong Kong Economic and Trade Office. Available at http://www.hketotoronto.gov.hk/about/directors-welcome-message/index.php (accessed June 2, 2009).

[370] Established in 2002, Asian Heritage Month is an official celebration of the contributions of Asian Canadians to the country. It has been celebrated in the U.S.A. since 1970. See "Asian Heritage Month," Government of Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Available at http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/multiculturalism/asian/ (accessed June 2, 2009).

[371] "Reel Asian Celebrates the Spirit of Hong Kong," Hong Kong Economic and Trade Office. Available at http://www.hketotoronto.gov.hk/press-room/press-releases/2014/05/ReelAsian/index.php (accessed June 2, 2009).

[372] "About HKADC," Hong Kong Arts Development Council. Available at

http://www.hkadc.org.hk/en/content/web.do?page=aboutADC (accessed March 3, 2009).

[373] Originating in the third century and once the primary genre of Chinese theatre, *Xiqu* (Chinese opera) is a performing art integrating singing, acting, martial arts, music, costume, and juggling. See "Xiqu Centre," West Kowloon Cultural District. Available at http://www.westkowloon.hk/en/the-district/architecture-facilities/xiqu-centre/chapter/about-xiqu? (accessed October 3, 2014).

[374] "Film and Media Arts Project Assessment Guidelines." Pamphlet (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Arts Development Council, 2009), no pagination.

[375] Ibid., emphasis added.

[376] Personal interview with Simon Chung (independent filmmaker and co-founder, Ying E Chi) in Hong Kong, April 6, 2009.

[377] Chan, "Breaking Through the Utilitarian and Unilateral Mentality of Cultural Exchange," 90.

[378] Terence Yuen, "The Reform of Arts Funding System and Organisational Experience of ADC," in *A Decade of Arts Development in Hong Kong*, ed. Stephen Lam (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Arts Development Council, 2006), 29.

[379] Chan, "Breaking Through the Utilitarian and Unilateral Mentality of Cultural Exchange," 92.

[380] Ibid.

[381] Ibid.

[382] See Chan and Shue, "The Arts Education Development Under Education Reform," 70-81.

[383] Personal interview with Raymond Pathanavirangoon (producer and former programmer, TRAIFF) in Toronto, November 6, 2008.

Chapter Four: A Non-Profit Film Distributor: Ying E Chi

The previous chapter looked at macro-level changes or the structural conditions of possibility for minor transnationalism to occur, focusing specifically on policy changes in Canada and Hong Kong. This chapter looks at the micropractices of transnationality of a non-profit film distributor in the Special Administrative Region (SAR) of Hong Kong. Its aim is to show how, why, and to what effect Ying E Chi adopted a strategy of forging cross-border peripheral-to-peripheral linkages with other marginal groups, and how this strategy interacted with local, regional, and global forces.

The chapter is divided into three parts. In part one, I analyze the reasons behind Ying E Chi's adoption of a minor transnational strategy by historically situating the film distributor in relation to a particular set of socio-cultural conditions in the late 1990s, the most salient of which I argue are postcolonialism, postsocialism, and globalization. In part two, I examine how Ying E Chi's minor transnational strategy manifests in two main ways: through individual activists in the form of independent sole traders such as Simon Chung and Tammy Chung, and through groups or organizations such as Li Xianting and Fanhall Films, in the establishment of minor-to-minor distribution and exhibition circuits, such as the two-day screening event, "Hong Kong Independent Films in Beijing." I also draw attention to the Hong Kong Asian Film Festival (HKAFF) from 2004 to 2007 as a site of contestation between a screen regionalization strategy and a peripheral-to-peripheral one. Finally in part three, I analyze the significance of Ying E Chi's minor transnational strategy by critically interrogating the film distributor's contribution to new epistemic and ontological categories, such as "an imagined community of indies."

Situating Minor Transnationalism in Hong Kong

This section looks at why Ying E Chi emerged in the late 1990s and its particular choice to pursue a practice of forging cross-border peripheral-to-peripheral links. It argues that this decision has been shaped by the process of return migration to the territory and the desire to express this experience; by the re-orientation of the industry towards China; and by the desire to retain a local filmmaking practice.

Established by a group of independent filmmakers in 1997, Ying E Chi is a non-profit organization that strives "to unite independent filmmakers" and to distribute and promote Hong Kong independent films.[384] Its founding members include independent filmmakers Mark Chan, Vincent Chui, Simon Chung, Chow Keung, Wai Lun Kwok, Kal Ng, and Nelson Yu Lik-Wai.[385] Almost all of Ying E Chi's founding members were educated overseas. Vincent Chui graduated from the Communication Arts department of Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles,[386] while Simon Chung received a film studies degree from York University in Ontario, Canada.[387] Chow Keung completed a master of arts in media and communication studies at the New School in New York. [388] For his part, Yuk Lik-Wai received a graduate degree in cinematography from the Institut National Supérieur des Arts du Spectacle in Brussels.[389] Ying E Chi has a catalogue of sixty-seven titles[390] which it distributes through limited theatrical screenings; television and Internet broadcast (the former in Europe, Asia, Australia, and North America); international film festivals and themed film festivals (independent, Asian, LGBT, and so forth); and VCD and DVD sales both online and offline. It also promotes local films to civic institutions, such as Hong Kong City Hall and government agencies; social institutions, such as colleges and universities; and cultural institutions, such as arts centres and film groups.[391]

I argue that Ying E Chi adopted a minor transnational strategy in order to sustain an alternative filmmaking practice in post-handover Hong Kong that is non-commercial and reflective of local conditions and concerns. It is widely acknowledged that beginning in 1993, the commercial Hong Kong film industry entered a period of sharp decline.[392] However, what has been less widely remarked upon is that in approximately the same period, the independent Hong Kong cinema began a period of revival. In the previous chapter, I outlined the structural conditions for this renaissance which included the reform of the arts and cultural sector and the provision of government funding not only for independent production, but also for distribution, exhibition, and audience development. However, there are other more personal reasons which have to do with the agency of individuals and groups. These reasons are bound up in the experience of return migration to the territory, a direct result of the handover, as well as the perceived implications of the SAR's closer economic and cultural integration with the P.R.C. Says film producer and former festival programmer, Raymond Pathanavirangoon:

> Before 1997, there were a lot of people like Tammy [Cheung] or Simon [Chung] who went overseas to study. And after 1997, a lot of them came back. A lot of them wanted to make stories about their experiences, the people that they know, and that's why [the independent revival] kind of started out at the same time.[393]

Cheung, perhaps the only full-time documentary filmmaker in Hong Kong,[394] has attributed both her concern with minorities and her interest in Direct Cinema and particularly the work of Frederick Wiseman, to the experience of being an international student at Concordia University in Montreal.[395] Her first documentary, made with a small grant from the territory's Home Affairs Bureau, was entitled *Invisible Women* (1999) and followed the lives of three Indian women living in Hong Kong.[396] Likewise,

Chung, one of the founders of Ying E Chi and a pioneer of queer filmmaking in Hong Kong, has associated his interest in independent filmmaking and independent culture with the experience of studying at York University in Toronto and working with film cooperatives in the city such as the Liaison for Independent Filmmakers (LIFT). Says Chung: "Coming from Canada, I was very used to the idea of getting grants to make a film. So when I heard about the HKADC grants, I was the first to jump on the bandwagon. In Toronto, we also had distribution outfits [like LIFT]. So it just seemed like a very natural thing to do to just apply for funding in that way."[397] Another co-founder of Ying E Chi and independent filmmaker, Kal Ng, has also reflected on his experience of return:

> I recall coming back from Canada around 1996 or 1997. It was the time of the handover, so I thought I should come back and see what's going on. In Hong Kong, I got to screen my [first] film [*Stories of Chide the Wind: The Soul Investigator* (1994)] and meet this group of filmmakers. We got funding from HKADC, and we pulled together monies to make our first films. My inspiration [for forming Ying E Chi] was two-fold. One was from Canada. In Toronto, they have LIFT, and I find it very nourishing to have an organization that has an office set up for independent filmmakers. So I figure it's good to have that in Hong Kong.[398]

In his analysis of the work of Tammy Cheung, Chris Berry characterizes independent cinema as "a transborder practice."[399] Drawing from the work of Lydia Liu, he describes Cheung's appropriation of Direct Cinema and Fredrick Wiseman's style not as an instance of colonial mimicry, but as a form of "translingual practice."[400] By this he refers to a process of borrowing across cultures that is active, and that is made with local interests in mind.[401] I argue that the formation of Ying E Chi was also a transborder, translingual practice. However, what I want to underscore is not only the

"trans," but also the *minor* dimension of this appropriation, the fact that what was being borrowed was not a dominant cultural practice, but a marginalized one. I argue that this appropriation by independent cinemas of *other* independent cinemas across national lines represents a further de-centring of both Hollywood cinema *and* mainstream Asian cinema as the institutional norm.

Elsewhere in his essay, Berry describes Cheung's appropriation as an instance of "positive cosmopolitanism."[402] By this he appears to distinguish it from cosmopolitanism as historically implicated with imperialism, and from cosmopolitanism as increasingly implicated with the spread of global capitalism.[403] I argue that the formation of Ying E Chi was also an instance of positive cosmopolitanism. What is striking about the cosmopolitanism practiced by educational migrants and cultural workers such as Tammy Cheung, Simon Chung, and Kal Ng, however, and what I want to draw attention to, is its principled--even idealistic--stance. This differs markedly from the pragmatic and self-interested stance of the "flexible citizens" analyzed by the majority of scholars of Pacific Rim migration under globalization, most particularly, Aihwa Ong.[404] As such, it suggests a way of participating in globalization that has not yet been adequately explored.

The producer and former film programmer, Raymond Pathanavirangoon again elaborates:

> People are finding that [due to the decline of the commercial industry and the pull of the Mainland market] they don't have as much Hong Kong representation anymore in films, and they feel like they have to do something about it ... it's very, very difficult making stories just about Hong Kong, it's very, very difficult ... But the fact is, people are going to make these independent films no matter what ...[405]

Pathanavirangoon concedes that co-production with the P.R.C. is now the only way forward for Hong Kong filmmakers: "[Most films] kind of straddle that line between Hong Kong and China, that's how you have to work nowadays.[406] "[The independent production company, Xstream Pictures][407] started making films in Hong Kong ... *Love Will Tear Us Apart* (1999) was shot in Hong Kong ... and *Perfect Life* (2008) was shot in Hong Kong [too]. But now they make films in China."[408]

A key argument of this chapter is that post-1997 Hong Kong cinema encompasses a more diverse and socially and politically-minded set of screen practices than scholar Laikwan Pang suggests. In her essay, "Postcolonial Hong Kong Cinema: Utilitarianism and the Trans(local)," Pang identifies two main trends in post-handover Hong Kong film.[409] One is towards partnership with the P.R.C. in the form of studio-produced blockbusters that can facilitate Hong Kong access to the Chinese market. An example of such a blockbuster would be *Warlords* (2007). This type of filmmaking is dominated by big players such as China Film Group Corporation, Huayi Brothers & Taihe Film Investment Co. Ltd., and Beijing Polybona Film Distribution Co. Ltd., which provide both production financing and distribution.[410] The dialogue in these blockbusters is Mandarin.

Another trend is towards partnership with other East Asian and Southeast Asian countries in the form of multi-partner financed art house films which can be promoted under the rubric of "New Asian Cinema." An example of New Asian Cinema would be *Invisible Waves* (2006). This type of filmmaking is driven by specialized distributors (and sometimes financiers) such as Fortissimo Films and Magnolia Pictures, both of which have offices based in Hong Kong. "The coherence of the New Asian Cinema brand can also be understood as global in this way, as it is painstakingly conjured up by transnational corporate engineering, particularly those international distributors specialized in Asian cinema."[411] As a set of industrial and

aesthetic strategies, this "New Asian Cinema" resembles the "Pan-Asian Cinema" identified by Darrell William Davis and Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh in their analysis of East Asian screen industries and their responses to globalization.[412] The dialogue in these art house films varies from production to production—for example, *Invisible Waves* features Thai, Japanese, Korean, and English—but is usually in a language other than the vernacular language of the territory, Cantonese.[413]

"What we are seeing in (recent) Hong Kong cinema," according to Pang, "is a utilitarian form of nationalism, facilitated less culturally than economically, so that this nationalization is economically-driven and therefore compliant with globalization."[414] However, this characterization of Hong Kong cinema overlooks the contribution of the independent sector. In his essay, "Urban Cinema and the Cultural Identity of Hong Kong," Leung Ping-kwan draws attention to an identifiable impulse in Hong Kong cinema post-1997 to explore the marginal and alternative spaces of the territory with films that "challenge the past representation of various minority communities: the gay community, the youth in the poor housing estates, the prostitutes from the north."[415] The independent films distributed by Ying E Chi present a more complex and less celebratory picture of both Hong Kong and the P.R.C. than is depicted in the Hong Kong-Chinese blockbusters engineered for commercial success.

This impulse towards a non-mainstream film practice is not unique to the 1990s. Teresa Kwong, assistant programme director of the Hong Kong Arts Centre, states: "I would say independent cinema in Hong Kong is not a new thing, it was very active in the 1960s and 1970s. At that time, a lot of the younger generation studied abroad. After they returned to Hong Kong, they formed cine clubs like the Phoenix."[416] In comparing the independent revival of the 1990s with the experimental films of the 1960s and 1970s, I note both discontinuities and continuities; the former relate to changing geopolitics in the region and in particular the status of China, and the latter to the role of

individual activists. I note that the experimental era of the 1960s and 1970s was driven by an anti-colonial and anti-capitalist politics that was sympathetic to Chinese Marxism.[417] In contrast, I argue that the independent era in the 1990s was characterized by a much more ambivalent attitude towards both British colonialism and Chinese socialism;[418] crucially, this ambivalence about if not outright disillusion with socialism is not limited to Hong Kong, but is shared by independent filmmakers in the P.R.C. I observe that the latter constitute a new creative and cultural force in Chinese cinema that did not exist in the 1960s and 1970s.[419]

Whereas the rhetoric surrounding both the experimental films of the earlier generation and the Hong Kong New Wave was oppositional (opposed to established aesthetic practices, opposed to colonialism and Westernization, opposed to capitalism and the dominance of the market, opposed to "the mainstream," and so forth), the latest independent generation acknowledges that independence exists alongside both commercial and art house practices. Exemplary of the oppositionality at the discursive level of the independent cinema of the 1960s and 1970s is the approach of visual artist and arts administrator, May Fung: "... for myself, my narrative is usually very experimental. I always want to be alternative. I don't want to be in the mainstream ... I believe it's very important, very important, to have the margin."[420] Exemplary of the oppositionality of the film criticism surrounding the Hong Kong New Wave is the approach of film critic and film programmer, Kar Law. Scholar Wendy Gan notes that Law "speaks of a lamentable New Wave collapse to mainstream as early as 1983."[421]

The "independent spirit" of the Ying E Chi generation suggests an alternative model of filmmaking practice and civic engagement, but not one that is overtly resistant. In her analysis of the film, *Made in Hong* Kong (1997), Esther Cheung argues for the need for independence to be understood, following Chuck Kleinhans,[422]as "a relational term, independent in relation

to the dominant system--rather than taken as indicating a practice that is totally free-standing and autonomous."[423] She refers to independence as an "attitude" or "spirit."[424] She notes that unlike Dogma 95, independent films by Fruit Chan, Vincent Chui, and other Hong Kong filmmakers, were "less organized and politically oppositional" but shared the desire to create "an alternative cinematic culture."[425] Likewise, in her analysis of Fruit Chan's *Durian Durian* (2000), Wendy Gan relies on a differentiated notion of independence in Hong Kong, rather than one that is monolithic.[426] The approaches of Cheung and Gan seem to speak to both an empirical need to situate independent film socio-historically, in the specific context of Hong Kong, and a conceptual imperative to understand "independence" relationally, as occupying a range of positions from autonomous to mainstream, rather than in binary terms. By drawing attention to the particularity of independent screen practices in Hong Kong, this thesis seeks to counter those scholarly accounts that generalize globalization rather than focussing on distinct transnational projects.

Independent Sole Traders and Minor-to-Minor Circuits

Whereas the previous section looked at the historical context for Ying E Chi's adoption of a minor transnational strategy, this section looks at the way in which this strategy works in practice. In particular, I focus on the role of independent sole traders and minor-to-minor circuits. The first part highlights the practices of independent sole traders Simon Chung and Tammy Cheung, with a brief reference to the earlier contribution of Jimmy Choi. It shows how these individuals' commitment to social and political transformation translates into alternative practices of programming, promotion, exhibition and display. I argue that the objective of these independent sole traders, as manifested in the circulation of screen media between peripheries, is not simply aesthetic or commercial, but social: the development of an independent culture in Hong Kong. The second part focuses on the practices of minor-to-minor circuits, for example, the network

involving Ying E Chi and independent organizations in Mainland China such as Li Xianting Film Fund and Fanhall Films.[427] It shows how there is a transborder alignment of sorts between these organizations that manifests in special screenings, such as the two-day screening event, "Hong Kong Independent Films in Beijing." In contrast, I highlight the local disjuncture between Ying E Chi and for-profit organizations such as Broadway Cinematheque in the staging of the annual Hong Kong Asian Film Festival (HKAFF) between 2004 and 2007. I argue that that the primary objective of these minor-to-minor circuits is not to create and sustain economic markets, but rather to promote transnational dialogue and debate.

First, I argue that minor transnationalism operates on an individual level in the form of independent sole traders such as Simon Chung and Tammy Cheung. These independent sole traders comprise of educational migrants and cultural workers who broker the movement of screen media between and among peripheral screen cultures and marginal groups.

One of the pioneering independent sole traders in Hong Kong is Jimmy Choi. He also provides a temporal link between the experimental generation of the 1960s and 1970s and the independent revival in the 1990s. Active in the Protect Diaoyutai Movement in 1971,[428] Choi was co-founder of the Phoenix Cine Club in 1973.[429] In many ways, Choi's contribution has been to combine the grassroots activism of the 1960s and 1970s with a commitment to progressive institutional change that found full realization in the SAR in the 1990s. Before leaving Hong Kong to pursue a Master's degree at City University of New York, Choi founded Video Power, an advocacy group, in 1988, and Zemen Media Centre, a production facility based in the Hong Kong Arts Centre, in 1992; he also organized the first Hong Kong Independent Video Awards in 1993.[430] In relation to his influences, he cites community media in the U.S.A. In New York City, he was influenced by the Education Video Centre, a youth-oriented production facility; the Downtown Community Television Centre; and Manhattan Neighbourhood

Media, a non-profit public access television station. After returning to Hong Kong, he expanded the work of Video Power and Zemen Media Centre.[431]

What makes Choi an independent sole trader is his commitment to film and video as a social practice, rather than to film primarily as a commodity or a work of art. This is consistent with his acknowledgement of Third Cinema ("the progressive movements of Latin America") as an influence rather than the First Cinema of Hollywood or the Second Cinema of the European Art House.[432] Writing from within an activist framework, Choi's perspective differs from the film critic Kar Law's in that his concern is with the democratization of culture and the social development of territory in the 1990s through film and video, rather than with aesthetic or formal experimentation per se.[433] Writing largely from within a modernist and auteurist framework, Law situates the flowering of a new short experimental film culture in the 1960s and 1970s in relation to developments in popular culture, including the import of British pop and rock music, Hollywood films, and European art cinema.[434] According to Teresa Kwong, Choi's decision, as director of the Hong Kong Film and Video Department of the Hong Kong Arts Centre from 1990 to 2001, to program regular screenings of both locally and internationally-made independent films is instructive. It reflects less of an interest in distribution and exhibition in the industrial and institutional sense, than in enabling the circulation of films in order to help foster an independent culture in Hong Kong.[435]

Another independent sole trader is Simon Chung. As a co-founder of Ying E Chi and one of the pioneers of queer cinema in Hong Kong, Chung has overseen the acquisition, promotion, and exhibition of the distributor's catalogue of films over the years. Of the sixty or so titles in Ying E Chi's film catalogue, fifteen titles (or twenty-five percent) are by filmmakers who are gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgendered (LGBT) and that openly address queer themes.[436] Queer independent production in Hong Kong was difficult if not impossible in Hong Kong before the 1990s due to the criminalization of

homosexuality under British rule.[437] Although there was a spate of Hong Kong films in the 1990s, such as *He and She* (1994), *Hold You Tight* (1997), *Happy Together* (1997), and *Bishonen* (1998), production since then has remained relatively low.

Institutionally, thematically, and aesthetically, these films exist on the margins of Hong Kong cinema, as well as cinema in the rest of Asia, and in the West. Institutionally, most are very low budget and made with the support of the HKADC. Recalls Chung: "I was actually the first applicant [to the HKADC] with my first film, *Life is Elsewhere* ... Later on [the council] also funded features."[438] Thematically, many of the films draw attention to communities that are underrepresented and to perspectives that are non-normative in ways that extend beyond sexuality. For example, *Stanley Beloved* (1998) features a protagonist, Kevin, who is mixed-race. *The Map of Sex and Love* (2001) sets its story on Hong Kong's Lamma Island, a part of the territory known for its alternative lifestyle. And *The Delta* (2003) features dialogue in English and Vietnamese.

In one of the earliest analyses of what is now recognized as queer Asian cinema, Chris Berry points to the diversity of queer Asian production by differentiating between genre films made for a mainstream audience; art films made for a niche or film festival audience but with the hopes of crossover commercial success; and independent films and videos made for a specialized audience.[439] He notes that many of the filmmakers in the third category of independent films and videos, such as Quentin Lee, are diasporic or "transnational."[440] This study builds upon Berry's analysis by examining the distribution and exhibition of these independent films and videos through selected sites, rather than their stylistic features per se. In focussing on the minor transnational or peripheral-to-peripheral dimension of this screen circulation, it sheds light on the increasing tendency of minor cinemas, for example queer films, to define themselves in relation to other

minor cinemas, for example Asian films, rather in relation to the cinematic mainstream.

For Simon Chung, independent film is a medium to tell stories of people who are marginalized.[441] His perspective seems to speak to queerness (dissidence and non-normativity) rather than gayness (sexual practice). "It's more than men having sex with men ... It is a way to see the world."[442] This is consistent with his acknowledgement of the New Queer Cinema as an influence. He alludes to independent films such as *American Beauty* (2002) and *Far from Heaven* (2002) that are critical of the institution of marriage, for example. However, he also alludes to New Asian Cinema films such as *I Don't Want to Sleep Alone* (2006). He rejects the notion that queer films need to conform to any notion of "positive images;" instead, his films address difficult issues such as drug use and prostitution. Furthermore, he rejects the notion that the exhibition of queer films should be limited to LGBT audiences: "A gay film is one with a particular sensibility."[443] Chung's remark reflects the belief that various audiences may value a film's epistemological position, even if those audiences are not specifically represented on-screen.

Thus, it can be seen that independent sole traders such as Simon Chung have adopted a minor transnational practice between queer filmmakers in Hong Kong and the diaspora, for example in Canada, Australia, and the U.S.A., as a way of helping to develop a queer culture in Hong Kong. And, following on from that, a critical dialogue develops about gender and sexual variance in the territory and the problematic of social institutions such as marriage. In her monograph about culture in postcolonial Hong Kong, Helen Leung defines queer culture as culture that "encompasses the non-fixity of gender expression and the non-fixity of both straight and gay sexuality."[444] She distinguishes between cultural production that merely "represents certain sexual minorities or particular sexual practices," and cultural production that has a potential to "enable a queer

critique of sexual and gender normativity."[445] In other words, she distinguishes between gay and lesbian in descriptive terms, and queer as a critical perspective. She observes that Hong Kong (cinema) has long been characterized by a contradictory stance: on the one hand, a longstanding accommodation of gender and sexual variance, and on the other hand, intolerance if not outright hostility towards public expression of queer practices. This contradiction has led to a situation in which queer culture in Hong Kong is felt as an undercurrent, as nebulous and ambivalent, rather than appearing as overtly lesbian or gay.[446] She draws an analogy between the ambiguity of queer culture in the territory and the indeterminacy of Hong Kong's political status. As such, Leung claims that contemporary queer culture in Hong Kong is paradigmatic of the city's postcolonial experience.[447]

A final independent sole trader is Tammy Cheung. Although she is not a founder of Ying E Chi, her work is carried by the distributor, and she has also been actively involved in building an independent culture in Hong Kong by introducing documentary filmmaking into the independent scene. Cheung is the founder of Visible Record, a non-profit organization dedicated to promoting and distributing independent documentary films in Hong Kong. It does this by offering documentary film training, a DVD distribution service, community screenings, and by staging the annual Chinese Documentary Festival, launched in 2008.[448] Thematically, the inaugural festival addressed "education issues, the lives of migrant workers, the story of a peasant doctor, and a tattoo artist."[449] The festival brings together independent documentary filmmakers from all over the region, with most of the participants coming from Mainland China or Taiwan. Documentary filmmaking in Hong Kong has long been neglected or marginalized in the territory due to several factors outlined by Maggie Lee and separately, Chris Berry.[450] According to Lee, the biggest obstacle to documentary practice in Hong Kong is a lack of public interest in and engagement with the genre, which is considered too alternative, as well as a (still) relatively weak

cultural infrastructure for non-commercial production, distribution, and exhibition. Production of feature-length documentaries in Hong Kong is limited to about one per year.[451] This compares to much higher levels of documentary production in both Taipei and Beijing where, according to Berry, there is an established tradition of amateur filmmaking, greater institutional support (in the case of Taiwan), and a critical mass of domestic audience members willing to support documentary films.[452]

Like Jimmy Choi, Tammy Cheung also considers documentary filmmaking as a social, not simply aesthetic or commercial practice. This is evident in the alternative way in which Visible Record interacts with both independent producers on the one hand, and film audiences on the other.[453] Says Cheung: "I've met distributors who say, this film will sell, and that's why we're distributing it. And we try not to do that ... As a filmmaker, I have a different attitude. We know the filmmakers' needs better, their problems, their difficulties. Basically, we share the same experience."[454] Just as the "suppliers" for Cheung's distribution activities are not film professionals, so the "market" for Cheung's documentaries and distribution activities are not cinephiles in the traditional sense of the term. The audience are students, teachers, and people who are interested in Hong Kong. "You have to be interested in what's happening in the society."[455] Says Cheung of the need for an activist distribution strategy:

> It's a vicious cycle. [If] you don't make [documentary films], you don't show them. And nobody watches them. And they have no idea what documentary films are. So you have you to give them a chance to see [this kind of filmmaking]. You have to sort of *create* a demand. And then they can decide if they like it or not.[456]

Thus, it can be seen that independent sole traders such as Cheung have forged cross-border linkages with independent documentary filmmakers in Taiwan and the Mainland and introduced their work into the

territory as a way of helping to develop a documentary culture in Hong Kong,[457] not to make money or to acquire accolades or awards. Cheung declares that, "Documentary filmmaking is not profitable."[458] And, following on from that, a critical discourse develops about social issues in the territory, such as the education system, the housing system, the political process, and the plight of women and minorities, that are shaped by postcolonialism, postsocialism, and globalization. With reference to independent documentary in Hong Kong and the work of Tammy Cheung, Berry defines "independent culture" in the territory as culture that "promotes public debate and autonomous thought."[459] With reference to independent documentary in the P.R.C. however, Berry understands this screen practice in relation to "alternative culture" that "address[es] topics that are ignored in official discourse, or are marginalized politically because they do not 'fit' with the hegemonic approach of post-Mao reforms. These themes include lesbians and gay men, Tibetans, the disabled, the elderly, drug addicts, migrant workers ... to name just a few."[460] In distinguishing between the independent culture of the SAR, and the alternative culture of Mainland China, Berry draws attention to their distinct, although increasingly overlapping, social and political contexts. Under the policy of "One Country, Two Systems," Hong Kong is officially entitled to retain its legal and judicial system, market economy, and way of life for fifty years. Its rights and freedoms are ostensibly protected until 2047.[461] Mainland China, in contrast, is officially socialist and remains under tight ideological control. Especially since the Tiananmen crackdown on June 4, 1989, public, organized, political opposition has been foreclosed upon.[462]

Moving on from sole traders to minor circuits, I argue that minor transnationalism operates at a group and organizational level through minor-to-minor distribution and exhibition circuits. Whereas major circuits of distribution and exhibition are managed and consolidated, minor circuits are contingent and dispersed. By managed, I refer to the fact that globalist and regionalist strategies tend to be driven by official agreements, for

example, the Closer Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) between the Mainland China and Hong Kong, that promote deregulation, privatization, and free trade.[463] By consolidated, I refer to the fact that these strategies are also driven by attempts to unify economic markets, for example through industry practices such as pan-Asian financing, talent-sharing, and marketing; in so doing, they risk suppressing local cultures that are highly particular or screen practices that lack commercial appeal.[464]

Ying E Chi's distribution practices are transborder and transnational, but they are also a contrast to the practices of the major circuits. Since its inception in 1997, Ying E Chi has acquired, distributed, and exhibited five independent films from the P.R.C.[465] Although this number represents a small percentage of the sixty-two titles in Ying E Chi's film catalogue and might be considered insignificant in quantitative terms, the films are highly significant in qualitative terms. All five titles are exemplars of the "Urban Generation" of independent films in China,[466] films that are institutionally, thematically, and aesthetically marginal, and that address China's postsocialist, post-Tiananmen condition from the perspective of non-elites.

In her analysis of the emergence of the Urban Generation, Zhang notes the movement's concern with the effects of China's rapid transformation, that is with "the socio-economic unevenness, psychological anxiety, and moral confusion" associated with the country's shift from a command economy to a market-led one in the wake of the June 4 incident (or Tiananmen Massacre) in 1989. [467] Whereas under socialism (or Maoism), the Chinese communist state had a monopoly over all aspects of the cinema, in the postsocialist era, there was a loosening of official control, leading to the proliferation of unofficial modes of screen production, distribution, and exhibition. This led to a boom in alternative venues other than the state-owned cinemas, such as KTV bars, cafes, cine-clubs, independent film festivals, film exhibitions, and art galleries.[468] Likewise, whereas under socialism, there was faith among the masses in socialism as an ideology, in

the postsocialist era, this certainty was replaced by doubt due in part to the upheavals of the Cultural Revolution, the trauma of the Tiananmen Massacre, and the social inequities produced by deregulation, privatization, and free trade.[469]

The independent films of the Urban Generation register the transition from the socialist to the postsocialist era. However, Zhang does not specifically address the extent to which the independent movement in the P.R.C. evolved in relation to the resurgence of independent filmmaking in Hong Kong in the mid to late 1990s. Perhaps the best known practitioner of independent filmmaking in China during this era is the director, Jia Zhangke. He recalls how the "independent spirit" in Hong Kong influenced his artistic and professional development as a filmmaker. In Jia's own words:

> [*Xiao Shan Going Home*] was [produced] in 1996 when I was still at the Beijing Film Academy. About 10 of us in the class formed the 'Independent Experimental Film Group.' We gathered a little money, and started making very low budget shorts. At the time, our first project was *Xiao Shan Going Home*, which I wrote and directed. After the film was completed, a fellow classmate from Hong Kong told me that the Hong Kong Arts Centre was hosting an Independent Shorts Competition and wondered if I would be interested. I said 'yes,' and he submitted the film for me. It was selected for competition and went on to win the first prize in the narrative film category. I was then granted the opportunity to go to Hong Kong.[470]

He continues:

> The real prize of my Hong Kong trip was not the golden award; it was the friendship that I found in my three long-term working partners. My cinematographer Yu Lik-Wai is from Hong Kong and had just finished his studies in Belgium. He

> was impressed by my film and we decided to team up. Li Kit-Ming was another one. He was a producer for my three films: *Xiao Wu/Pickpocket* (1997), *Platform* (2000) and *Unknown Pleasures* (2002). The third one was Chow Keung who helped produce *Platform* (2000), *Unknown Pleasures* (2002), and *The World* (2004). Our Hong Kong-China team formed a strong bond. We made six films in seven years: four directed by me and two by Yu Lik-Wai. We almost had one film per year, and we complemented each other's job. When I made a film, Yu would shoot it, and Li and Chow would produce. Whereas when Yu directed, I would act as his producer. I found this an invaluable working relationship, as I got to learn what was involved in the process, and appreciate the tremendous help that they offered me. In the past, people from Mainland China like me had the wrong impression of people from Hong Kong. We thought of them as busy gold-diggers who couldn't care less about culture. After knowing these Hong Kong friends, my feelings turned around completely. They taught me so much! From them I learned fundamental things like, 'Solve your own problems!'[471]

Jia's recollection speaks to the development of mutual trust and respect between Hong Kong filmmakers and Mainland Chinese filmmakers that contests popular stereotypes of Hong Kongers as "gold-diggers" and Mainlanders as "country bumpkins."[472] Furthermore, Jia's borrowing of the "can do" attitude and persistence of vision of independent filmmakers in Hong Kong demonstrates the potential for Hong Kong to serve as a cultural model for China; this inverts the usual relation between the two in which China is the lead due to its political and economic status.

In addition to distributing and exhibiting independent P.R.C. films in Hong Kong, Ying E Chi facilitates the screening of Hong Kong independent

films in China. Unlike in many other parts of the world, Hong Kong lacks a local market for independent films; this is due in part to the territory's history of laissez-faire capitalism and the dominance of popular, commercial cinema.[473] However, there is audiences in China which are interested in independent films from the territory because they are curious about Hong Kong affairs.[474] From December 27 to 28, 2008, Ying E Chi, supported by the HKADC, held a two-day screening of nine independent Hong Kong films[475] in the Songzhuang Arts District in Beijing, called "Hong Kong Independent Films in Beijing."[476] This screening was organized in conjunction with Li Xianting's Film Fund, a non-profit organization dedicated to the production, promotion, and preservation of Chinese independent films, and Fanhall Films, a multi-faceted organization independent film organization.

The key point to be made about these minor-to-minor exhibitions between Ying E Chi and independent organizations in the P.R.C. is that they are predicated on values of equity and solidarity rather than hierarchy and the logic of accumulation. Although the objective of CEPA is ostensibly to promote "free trade," and the co-produced Chinese Mainland Hong Kong blockbusters are officially "partnerships," in actual fact, these co-productions demand creative concessions from Hong Kong in the form of having to adopt the language, casting decisions, location, and narrative choices of the P.R.C. to pacify official censors and to appeal to Mainland audiences; in other words, they require Hong Kong to compromise if not sacrifice its cultural specificity in order to make economic gains.[477]

Ying E Chi's decision to partner with Li Xianting's Film Fund and Fanhall Films needs to be understood in the context of changes within the distribution and exhibition sector in both Hong Kong and the P.R.C. in the 1990s. Teresa Kwong notes the emergence in the territory in the 1990s of small distributors such as the Incubator for Film and Visual Media in Asia (ifva),[478] Ying E Chi, and InD Blue,[479] which were primarily dedicated to the non-profit promotion and circulation of alternative and independent screen

media: short films, animation, independent documentaries, and low-budget feature films.[480] The establishment of the ifva, which resulted from the merger in 1993 of the colonial Urban Council's Independent Short Film Competition with the Hong Kong Arts Centre's Independent Video Awards, is often regarded as the event that marked the revival of independent filmmaking in the territory.[481] In addition, other independent arts and cultural organizations, such as Video Power and the Social Movement Resource Centre, began to stage themed film festivals, such as the Social Movement Film Festival, now in its tenth year, not only to serve as sites of exhibition, but as extensions of their social remit.[482]

In his overview of the Chinese independent film circuit, Shelly Kraicer observes that the screenings presented by Li Xianting and Fanhall Films "emphasize the political role of cinema, film as social critique and as an agent for social change."[483] He distinguishes between the mandates of the Beijing Independent Film Festival and the China Documentary Film Festival, both of which are supported by Li Xianting and Fanhall Films, and the Nanjing-based Chinese Independent Film Festival, which tends to place more emphasis on film as art.[484] In recent years, partly as a response to the Arab Spring and an anticipated "Jasmine Spring," independent film festivals have been more closely monitored by authorities and threatened with closure.[485]

Comprising of a range of short films, independent documentaries, and low-budget feature films, "Hong Kong Independent Films in Beijing" offered P.R.C. audiences a more complex and varied perspective on life in Hong Kong than they might ordinarily see. For example, the documentary *0506HK* explores the cultural life of the territory from a diasporic perspective, that is, from the view of a filmmaker (the director) who is ordinarily resident in Los Angeles in the U.S.A.

Crucially, these screenings not only enabled independent films to cross borders, but also allowed filmmakers and audiences to meet face-to-

face. "Because [independent films in the P.R.C.] are sort of underground, [because these films] can never be shown commercially [meaning theatrically], it's a lot more important for the audience to see their filmmakers. It's more of a community-building effort there. So, this audience is a lot more knowledgeable and enthusiastic about asking questions."[486] According to former general manager of Ying E Chi, Venus Wong, "[The P.R.C. audience] has their point of view, and the discussions are sometimes quite long, we need to cut them. It's quite seldom in Hong Kong, because you know Hong Kong people, we don't speak up."[487] Thus, the active engagement of P.R.C. audiences with independent filmmakers provides a cultural model of sorts for independent culture in Hong Kong; this provision of a positive cultural model versus a purely business one characterizes "Hong Kong Independent Films in Beijing" as a form of minor transnationalism rather than an activity of the East Asian screen industries.

In conclusion, "Hong Kong Independent Films in Beijing" is a singular, trans(local) event that reveals the correspondences and synergies between a minor practice in Hong Kong—independent filmmaking and the cultivation of an independent culture—and a minor practice in the P.R.C.--underground or independent filmmaking and the cultivation of an alternative culture. A cursory look at HKIBF shows how it enabled Ying E Chi to fulfil its double remit to unite independent filmmakers," and to "distribute and promote independent films," with a special emphasis on the former.

I argue that the Hong Kong Asian Film Festival (HKAFF) is a material and discursive site that reveals the tensions and contradictions between two modalities and strategic responses to globalization: on the one hand, a minor mode that is peripheral-to-peripheral, and on the other hand, a major mode that promotes deregulation, privatization, and free trade—though on a local and regional scale. An analysis of HKAFF shows how the festival has served a dual purpose: first, it has served as an exhibition site for New Asian

Cinema in order to establish and sustain a commercial market for films produced and distributed by EDKO Films Ltd. (a stakeholder in the festival, hereafter EDKO) within the territory. And second, it has served as a platform for independent cinema from Hong Kong, the P.R.C., Taiwan, across the region and beyond in order to open up a transnational space for cultural connection and exchange.

According to the former general manager of Ying E Chi, Esther Yeung, HKAFF was the non-profit distributor's most important annual event.[488] HKAFF was launched in 2004 as a collaborative partnership between Ying E Chi and the Broadway Cinematheque (hereafter BC). Initially established as a response to the unprecedented recent production by Ying E Chi members of six feature-length independent Hong Kong films, the inaugural festival took place over eleven days and screened twenty programming sections, mostly focused on low-budget Hong Kong cinema.[489] Visiting directors to the inaugural festival included internationally-acclaimed auteurs such as Fifth Generation Chinese filmmaker Tian Zhuangzhuang, as well as local filmmakers such as Vincent Chui and Tammy Cheung.[490]

Established in Hong Kong in 1996, BC is part of the Broadway Circuit of cinemas. Comprising of a cinema, bookshop, disc shop, and café, it bills itself as a local hub for art house and non-mainstream cinema. However, the Broadway Circuit is itself owned by EDKO, one of the major producers, distributors, and exhibitors of domestic and foreign films in Hong Kong and Mainland China. EDKO was founded in 1996 by William Kong, who is probably most famous as the producer of Ang Lee's *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (2000), and it owns a back catalogue that also boasts *Hero* (2002), *The Flowers of War* (2011), and *Lust, Caution* 2007).[491] The company is thus heavily involved with both the New Asian Cinema and a certain kind of pan-Chinese blockbuster.

Ying E Chi's decision to partner with BC needs to be understood in the context of changes within the local exhibition sector in the 1990s. These changes include the expansion of multiplexes, the closure of art house cinemas, and the proliferation of non-theatrical or alternative sites of exhibition. According to Stephen Teo, the replacement in the 1990s of the old movie houses with multiplexes was the most fundamental structural change to occur in the Hong Kong film industry.[492] This development was and is one of the hallmarks of media globalism and regionalism. The decade also saw "a rise in admission prices as cinemas upgraded facilities ... higher prices and more sophisticated, albeit smaller, auditoriums raised the expectation for quality products which were met by imported Hollywood films."[493] Says former general manager of Ying E Chi, Venus Wong: "In Hong Kong, you seldom get any other choices other than Hollywood films. Or maybe some major films from Japan or Korea."[494] Laikwan Pang argues that large distributors such as Media Asia and EDKO have become powerful. And exhibitors such as UA and AMC now dominate.[495] The Imperial Cinema in Wan Chai closed in 2004 after thirty-five years, and the Cine-Art House Cinema closed in 2006 after eighteen years, in part because of high overheads; the latter re-opened in 2009 in Amoy Garden Shopping Arcade in Kowloon Bay.[496]

According to Jimmy Choi, former head of the film and video department of the Hong Kong Arts Centre:

> Back in the old days cinemas used to screen short films with the feature films. But the practice has ceased for many years. The [Hong Kong] Arts Centre, for a time, used to screen short films of less than ten minutes in length with feature films, and split the proceeds with the creator. But now time means everything to cinemas and they have no time for short films.[497]

Of the inhospitable exhibition environment, Raymond Pathanavirangoon says: "Even if [independent filmmakers] are able to make

films, they can't get theatres to actually show them ... or they'll get one crummy theatre somewhere in the middle of nowhere. Or they'll get two screenings a day, one in the morning, something like that ... it's very sad."[498]

Ying E Chi's launch of HKAFF at BC can thus be understood as strategic. Faced with a structural readjustment of the local exhibition sector that favoured commercial conglomerates over independent players—itself the product of a similar industrial consolidation occurring at a regional scale—working with EDKO (if at one remove) was clearly a way to open up exhibition space for non-mainstream cinema in Hong Kong.[499]

In her analysis of the major international film festivals in Europe such as the Venice International Film Festival, Marijke De Valck describes the value-adding process of film festivals as comprised of three practices: selection, competition, and mediation.[500] In my examination of HKAFF as a site of contestation between an economic regionalization strategy and a minor transnational one, I adapt De Valck's schema slightly. I focus my analysis on three aspects of the festival from 2004 to 2007: selection in the form of HKAFF's Opening Night films; competition in the form of HKAFF's Film Awards; and mediation in the form of HKAFF's programming booklets' "Message from the Director."

One of the ways in which a film festival declares its organizational values is through the scheduling and placement of films. The Opening Night programming slot at a festival is typically the most prominent place within the festival line-up and therefore one of heightened importance.[501] There are at least two possible programming strategies here: by opening the festival with a major film, that is, one with big stars, a famous director, and commercial or critical potential, the festival might seek to elevate its media profile and public standing, and thus strengthen its brand image. Alternatively however, a festival might choose to support a minor film, one by an emerging director or one without obvious commercial attributes,

precisely to lend the film and its independent vision, maximum publicity and exposure.

An analysis of HKAFF's Opening Film titles from 2004 to 2007 is instructive because it reveals an evolution in programming strategy from supporting minor films to supporting major ones (see Table 1). As such, it reveals how the non-commercial programming impulse of Ying E Chi was placed under increasing institutional pressure. When HKAFF was launched in 2004, the idea was to open the festival with a debut film from a local director.[502] That year, HKAFF's Opening Film was *When Beckham Met Owen* (2004). However by 2007, the programming direction of the festival had changed. That year, the final year in which HKAFF would be co-presented by Ying E Chi and BC, there were two Opening Films: *Breeze of July* (2007) and *Lust, Caution* (2007).

Table 1: Opening Films at HKAFF 2004-2007[503]

Year	**Title**	**Director**	**Nationality**	**Production Financing**
2004	*When Beckham Met Owen*	Adam Wong Sau-ping	Hong Kong	Independent
2005	*Three Times* + *b420*	Hou Hsiao Hsien + Mathew Tang	Taiwan + Hong Kong	Independent

Year	**Title**	**Director**	**Nationality**	**Production Financing**
2006	*My Mother is a Belly Dancer*	Lee Kung-lok	Hong Kong	Focus Films October Pictures
2007	*Lust, Caution* + *Breeze of July*	Ang Lee + Stanley Tam	U.S.A. China Taiwan Hong Kong + Hong Kong	Hai Sheng Film Production Focus Features Haisheng Films Mr Yee Productions River Road Entertainment Sil-Metropole Independent

The programming categories for the inaugural HKAFF were: Opening Film and Closing Film, Gala Presentation, In Competition (Independent Spirit Award), Asian New Vision, Docu-Power, and Short Highlight [sic].[504] In contrast, the programming categories for the much expanded fourth HKAFF in 2007 were: Opening Film and Closing Film, Festival Gala, New Talent Award, Asian Wide Angle, Chinese Cinema: A New Generation, Docu-Power, Asian Shorts (1,2,3,4), plus Special Presentation, Director in Focus, Cineaste Delight, and Midnight Craze.[505] Thus, the majority of new

programming added to HKAFF appeared to focus on commercial auteur cinema and genre cinema rather than independent filmmaking per se.

The independent programming sections at HKAFF that might be associated with a minor transnational approach include: Asian Wide Angle, Chinese Cinema: A New Generation, Docu-Power: Up Close and Personal, and Asian Shorts. In Asian Wide Angle at the fourth HKAFF in 2007, there were thirteen films from territories across the region, including Macau, Taiwan, Japan, India, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Iraqi-Kurdistan France. According to the festival programming booklet that year, the films addressed "a wide range of issues--women's status in Japan, local consciousness in Taiwan, illiteracy in the Philippines, [the] caste system in India, Buddhist philosophy in Sri Lanka, as well as the political situation in post-Saddam Iraq. Not only do these films appeal to both refined and popular tastes, they give us a better understanding of our neighbouring countries."[506] Whereas a screen industries perspective might understand the region as an economic market, these programming notes from the fourth HKAFF show how the region is understood via a minor transnational perspective as a zone of cultural debate.

Another of the ways in which a film festival conveys its identity is in its judging and conferring of awards. Again, there are at least two possible competition strategies here: by conferring an award on an established or emerging auteur, the festival might seek to affirm a mainstream mode of production or practice of filmmaking, one that is oriented towards critical or commercial success. Alternately, a festival might seek to affirm an alternative mode of production or practice of filmmaking through its choice of an award-holder who is less willing to conform to filmmaking conventions or norms.

An analysis of the HKAFF's Awards from 2004 to 2007 is instructive (see Table 2). At the inaugural festival, the festival announced the first annual Independent Spirit Award that "celebrates creativity under limited

resources," and the recipient was a local Hong Kong filmmaker, Adam Wong Sau-ping.[507] However, the following year, the award was renamed New Talent Award, and the prize was given to a Japanese independent director, Ichii Masahide.[508] In his analysis of the experimental films of the 1960s and 1970s, S.N. Ko observes that independence in Hong Kong has served two different purposes: first, to offer an alternative form of cinematic expression to the commercial mainstream; and second, to encourage and "train" aspiring young filmmakers, several of whom will subsequently enter the industry.[509] Masahide's career since receiving the Award has encompassed two other feature films, a TV mini-series, and a TV movie.[510] This change in nomenclature and recipient suggests that the HKAFF awards shifted from serving the first purpose of supporting an alternative mode of filmmaking to serving the second purpose as an incubator for new industrial talent.

Table 2: Film Awards at HKAFF 2004-2007[511]

Year	**Award Name**	**Title**	**Recipient**	**Nationality**
2004	First Independent Spirit Award	*Magic Boy*	Adam Wong Sau-ping	Hong Kong
2005	First New Talent Award	*Perth: The Geylang Massacre*	Djinn (Ong Lay Jinn)	Singapore
2006	Second New Talent Award	*Rain Dogs*	Yu-hang Ho	Malaysia

Year	Award Name	Title	Recipient	Nationality
2007	Third New Talent Award	*Dog Days Dream*	Ichii Masahide	Japan

A final way in which a film festival declares its institutional values is through the Message from the Festival Director(s), or Foreword or Background, in the festival programming booklet.[512] Although often overlooked, the message is important because it sets the tone for the festival and draws attention to the event's annual highlights. Furthermore, the message is part of the institutional and promotional discourse of the festival that frames audience reception of the films, filmmakers, and even national and regional cultures themselves. Again, there are several possible discursive strategies here: by focussing on the most familiar or popular films, auteurs, and national cinemas, the message can reinforce existing attitudes and viewing practices. Alternately, by spotlighting unfamiliar or challenging programming, he or she can intervene in the status quo.

A closer look at the Message from the Director within the inaugural HKAFF program booklet in 2004 is instructive because it specifically highlights the screening of short films and documentary films which feature a "voice that is always under represented."[513] Likewise, the message in the second annual HKAFF program booklet by Gary Mak, director of BC, reveals a self-reflexivity and criticality about the shortcomings of a regional screen industries strategy that would seem at odds with BC's corporate ownership by EDKO. This self-reflexivity and criticality was less in evidence in subsequent festival programming booklets, especially after 2007.

In his message in the second annual HKAFF program booklet in 2005, Gary Mak asks:

> What is Asian cinema? Does Asian cinema refer to what are most accessible in Hong Kong such as Japanese animation, Korean melodrama, or Chinese Kung Fu? How about those from South East Asia? How are they represented in an Asian Film Festival? … The more prosperous the economy of the country, the more prosperous its film industry is going to be. Having said that, a weak economy does not stop a country producing cinematic gems. Films particularly from Iran, India, Singapore, Malaysia and the Philippines this year, are the most underrepresented but the most heartfelt ones. Don't let them slip away again. Come and support these films![514]

As I discussed in chapter one, the term "New Asia" is often used to allude to the triumphant economic and cultural ascension of the Asian region in recent decades. However, the benefits of this ascension have not been experienced equally. With respect to the Asian media sector, Koichi Iwabuchi observes that "... the alliance of major media corporations in East Asian countries [has engendered] a new international hierarchy in production capacity, with Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, and Taiwan in the top tier. These media capitals are becoming commercially and ideologically hegemonic in the region."[515] Mak's quote in the HKAFF program booklet draws attention to inequities within Asia and the unevenness of cinematic production and circulation within the region; in so doing, it encourages audiences to look critically at what counts as Asian cinema and to seek out alternative screen media that expand this term.

A film festival also declares its institutional values through the organization of activities that complement (or detract from) the festival screenings. These might range from film markets and industry activities, to film competitions and award ceremonies, to galas and parties, to seminars, workshops, and panels. The events surrounding the screenings are important because they help characterize the festival as primarily a business

festival or an audience festival.[516] Once again, this organization reflects conscious decision-making. By emphasizing markets and competitions, such activities stabilize a notion of film as a commodity or a work of art. Alternatively, by emphasizing social and political issues-based seminars, they stabilize a notion of film as a social practice.

When the festival partnership between Ying E Chi and BC came to an abrupt end in 2007, the contributing factors were highly contested.[517] Following BC's trademarking of the festival's name, the event was split into two separate entities. Broadway Cinematheque continued to present HKAFF in that venue. For its part in 2008, Ying E Chi launched a new festival, the Hong Kong Asian Independent Film Festival (HKAIFF) which it presented at The Grande, an 11-screen multiplex cinema in Elements Mall in Kowloon. That year, Ying E Chi reaffirmed its commitment to an independent vision through HKAIFF's Opening Film, Message from the Director, and extra-screening activities. The inaugural HKAIFF in 2008 opened with the premiere of the ultra low-budget, first time feature film, *King of Spy* (2008). The festival program booklet proclaimed: "At HKAIFF, you many not find any superstars, red carpets, or fancy terms. What we have here are simply feature films, documentary films, and short films produced with sincerity ... We believe in sharing a platform for indie films' screening; sharing and discussion are the most crucial issue above everything else."[518] A further attempt to differentiate the festival occurred when Ying E Chi renamed HKAIFF as the Hong Kong Independent Film Festival (HKindieFF) in 2010.[519]

In this section, I have shown how Ying E Chi attempted to negotiate a position for itself within the regional screenscape. Its participation in the HKAFF from 2004 to 2007 resulted in a detectable shift in focus from independent Hong Kong cinema, manifest in its support for neglected genres such as the short film and independent documentary, to independent

Asian cinema in order to accommodate its co-presenter's commercial pan-Asian strategy.

To sum up, I have shown how HKAFF evolved from a small, primarily grassroots festival in 2004, characterized by a low-budget, local Opening Night film; an Independent Spirit Award presented to a local filmmaker; and a festival message that focused on giving voice to the unrepresented, to a major, professionalized and corporatized exhibition platform in 2007, characterized by a multi-million dollar studio co-produced Opening Night film; a New Talent Award presented to a Japanese independent filmmaker; and a Message from the Director that billed the festival as "the biggest Asian film event in Hong Kong and the most notable platform for bringing together new filmmaking talents in Asia."[520] The inaugural festival in 2004 screened twenty programming sections over eleven days.[521] In contrast, the fourth annual festival in 2007 screened more than eighty films in sixty-three categories over seventeen days.[522] This is not to say that the inaugural festival was completely without commercial traces; HKAFF always operated in what Wendy Gan terms a "mixed-commercial mode."[523] However, from 2004 onwards, the trend towards greater marketization was clear.

The case of the HKAFF from 2004 to 2007 sheds light upon the challenges facing non-commercial distributors that seek collaboration with the film industry within highly commodified and liberalized environments such as Hong Kong. These challenges include the marginal status of short film and independent documentary as genres, the dominance of stars and famous directors, and the lack of support on the part of local exhibitors. However, the case of "Hong Kong Independent Films in Beijing" in 2008 illustrates the opportunities facing independent screen organizations under globalization that work in a more peripheral-to-peripheral mode. Moreover, events such as HKIFIB appear to offer a filmic and socio-cultural model for

Hong Kong-Chinese cooperation that potentially re-imagines and reconfigures dominant relations between the SAR and the P.R.C.[524]

An Imagined Community of Indies

The earlier two thirds of this chapter have looked at why and how Ying E Chi has pursued a minor transnational strategy. The final third of this chapter will assess the significance of Ying E Chi's fostering of cross-border peripheral-to-peripheral links. I argue that through a strategy of minor transnationalism, Ying E Chi has helped to produce new forms of identity and belonging that exceed the logics of the market and the nation-state.

In order to assess the significance of Ying E Chi's adoption of a minor transnational strategy, it is necessary to look at the epistemic and ontological dimensions of this shift. This is particularly important in the context of Hong Kong's colonial history with Great Britain and its subordinate relation to Mainland China as a SAR. As discussed in the previous chapter, under British rule in the 1970s, the colonial government adopted a modernization strategy of importing foreign culture in the form of performing arts and fine arts groups from Europe and America into Hong Kong as way of raising the "quality" of local culture in the territory.[525] Minor transnationalism matters because it focuses attention on the relations between and within peripheries, rather than between the periphery and the cultural core. By privileging the relations within Asia, rather than between Asia and the West, or between and within independent communities, rather than between the independent sector and the cultural mainstream, Ying E Chi has contributed to new modes of knowledge and experience of self and Other, time and space. Because it is not intent on accumulation, Ying E Chi is able to promote what, borrowing from Kuan-Hsing Chen, could be termed a notion of "Asia as Method, "[526] that is, Asia as a critical perspective, rather than Asia as brand. In his book of the same name, Chen describes a process of deimperialization in which "societies in Asia can become each other's points of reference, so

that the understanding of the self can be transformed, and subjectivity rebuilt. On this basis, the diverse historical experiences and rich social practices of Asia may be mobilized to provide alternative horizons and perspectives."[527] These critical perspectives are indispensable to engaging with both the opportunities *and* threats of globalization and the positive and the negative implications of the rise of Asia, particularly China.

Similarly, because Ying E Chi is not intent on nation-building, in the Westphalian sense of the nation as territorially-limited and politically sovereign, it is able to promote the notion of an "imagined community of indies"[528] that cuts across political lines. These feelings of equity and solidarity ("a deep horizontal comradeship")[529] that stem from an alternative sense of identification and belonging serve as a potential counter to the pernicious effects of the expansion of neoliberalism and with it, the growth of inequality and atomization. According to Esther Cheung, seeking out and collaborating with other independent organizations is "the means by which [these organizations] counter estrangement and isolation."[530]

One recent manifestation of an "imagined community of indies" is the Chinese Independent Filmmaking Alliance (CIFA), a collaboration between Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, Chongqing, and Shenzhen. It aims to promote independent screenings and cultural exchange.[531] The alliance was officially launched by Ying E Chi at a special screening and discussion forum at the inaugural Hong Kong Independent Film Festival (HKindieFF) in 2010. On the HKindieFF website, under the heading, "Giving Together, Growing Together," Ying E Chi co-founder and HKindieFF festival curator Vincent Chui declares: "It is hard for us not to feel marginalized in these few years, but if we can join together from the periphery, perhaps we can wage a counter-encirclement. Who knows?"[532]

The first programming section of the HKindieFF was a program entitled, "Indie Focus—Ogawa Shinsuke," which screened from November 7 to November 22, 2011 at the agnès b cinema at the HKAC. [533] It comprised

seven films by Shinsuke as well as two post-screening seminars, one called "From the Identities of Ogawa Shinsuke to His Films," and the other called "Ogawa Shinsuke—Documentaries that Transcend From Social Movements."[534] The second programming section was a program entitled, "Chinese Independent Filmmaking Alliance," which screened from November 16 to December 16, 2011 at the Hong Kong Arts Centre (HKAC).[535] The third programming section at HKindieFF was a program entitled, "Indie Nations," which screened from January 10 to 16, 2012 at the agnès b cinema at the HKAC. It comprised ten independent films from Hong Kong and around the world.[536]

By staging cultural connections and exchanges within and between peripheries, Ying E Chi can be understood as enacting a form of decolonization that does not valorize or resort to nationalism. Thus, it disrupts the postcolonial telos of colonialism, nationalism, and liberation. This is significant because one of the main critiques of anticolonial theory has been its elision of social and cultural difference, for example gender-based and sexual difference, in order to advance the cause of nationalism.[537] Minor transnational practices do not seek to eliminate difference. Additionally, by fostering dialogue and debate rather than simply economic cooperation and integration, Ying E Chi can be understood as enacting a form of globalization that does not valorize or take for granted capitalism. Thus it contests globalization's drive towards ever increasing expansion and capital accumulation. This is significant because most analyses of flexible citizenship and flexible accumulation assume that cross-border processes are necessarily market-oriented and profit-driven.[538]

What is at stake in differentiating a minor transnational approach from a regional screen industries one or a global Hollywood one is precisely the agency that it affords for non-elites or semi-elites, including but not limited to ethnic and sexual minorities. According to independent filmmaker and Ying E Chi co-founder and independent filmmaker Simon Chung:

> In Hong Kong, it gets very lonely I would say because your audience base is small, and you're always working in the margins. But then when you go to other film festivals, you realize that people all over the world are doing the same thing. And you feel sort of less lonely that way.[539]

With respect to new notions of time, minor transnationalism makes possible a historiological understanding of Hong Kong and Asia, one that is sceptical of progress, rather than a historiographic one.[540] What is at stake in situating minor transnationalism in a Hong Kong context at a certain historical juncture is precisely the way in which it sheds light on what is particular and time-bound about globalization, rather than what is ostensibly universal and ahistorical. With respect to new notions of space, minor transnationalism makes possible a relational geography, one that is sceptical of the spread of empire, rather than a cartographic one.[541]

By adopting a strategy of forging peripheral-to-peripheral, cross-border links, Ying E Chi has helped to develop and promote an independent culture in the SAR that critically engages with issues of postcolonialism and globalization. The chapter finds that as a result of the intervention of independent sole traders, many of whom are return migrants to Hong Kong, there has been an increase in the circulation of screen media offering alternative perspectives, such as queer films and videos, and independent documentaries. Furthermore, as the result of the interventions of minor-to-minor circuits, many of which are also grassroots rather than elite-driven, there have been opportunities for independent Hong Kong cinema to circulate beyond the territory. Ying E Chi's initial participation in the HKAFF with EDKO's Broadway Cinematheque underscores its willingness to be part of screen regionalization rather than apart from it. However, its subsequent transformation into HKindieFF reveals its commitment to new cultural models and ways of working that assume equity and solidarity rather than hierarchy and competition.

While this chapter has addressed the emergence and significance of peripheral- to-peripheral cross-border linkages through a non-profit film distributor in postcolonial, globalized Hong Kong, the next chapter will address the emergence and significance of minor transnationalism through a themed film festival in Toronto: the Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.

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[384] "About Ying E Chi," Ying E Chi. Available at http://www.yec.com/en/about.php (accessed February 2, 2009).

[385] Deidre Boyle, "Hong Kong Media Journal," *Wide Angle* 20, no.2 (Fall 1998): 148.

[386] "Vincent Chui Wan San," Hong Kong Cinemagic. Available at http://www.hkcinemagic.com/en/people.asp?id=1700 (accessed October 21, 2014).

[387] "Simon Chung Tak Sing," Hong Kong Cinemagic. Available at http://www.hkcinemagic.com/en/people.asp?id=15994 (accessed October 21, 2014).

[388] "Chow Keung (Xstream Pictures/China) The Demand for Doc [sic] About China is Going Strong," *China Screen News*, March 10, 2011. Available at http://china-screen-news.com/2011/03/chow-keung-xstream-pictures-china-%E2%80%9Cthe-demand-for-doc-about-china-is-going-strong%E2%80%9D/ (accessed November 14, 2011).

[389] "Yu Lik-wai: Biography," Festival de Cannes. Available at http://www.festival-cannes.com/en/archives/artist/id/23000.html (accessed October 21, 2014).

[390] Figures taken from online film catalogues (1997-2007), "Film Catalogue," Ying E Chi. Available at http://www.yec.com/en/film_catalogue.php (accessed February 2, 2009).

[391] "About Ying E Chi"

[392] See for example, Stephen Teo, *Hong Kong Cinema: The Extra Dimensions* (London: British Film Institute, 1997), vii-xi.

[393] Pathanavirangoon, interview.

[394] The other documentary filmmaker who is now based in Hong Kong and who has produced a sizeable corpus of work is Ruby Yang. See "Yang, Ruby," Hong Kong Women Filmmakers. Available at https://hkwomenfilmmakers.wordpress.com/yang-ruby/ (accessed October 12, 2015).

[395] See Chris Berry, "Hong Kong Watcher: Tammy Cheung and the Hong Kong Documentary," in *Hong Kong Culture: Word and Image*, ed. Kam Louie (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010), 213-228; and Esther M.K. Cheung, Nicole Kempton, and Amy Lee, "Documenting Hong Kong: Interview with Tammy Cheung," in *Hong Kong Screenscapes: From the New Wave to the Digital Frontier*, eds. Esther M.K. Cheung, Gina Marchetti, and Tan See Kam (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011), 151-164.

[396] Berry, "Hong Kong Watcher," 214.

[397] Chung, interview.

[398] Ng, interview.

[399] Berry, "Hong Kong Watcher," 227.

[400] Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, Modernity, China: 1900-1937* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1995).

[401] Berry, "Hong Kong Watcher," 228.

[402] Ibid., 228.

[403] Ibid., 227.

[404] Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

[405] Pathanavirangoon, interview.

[406] With respect to this trend, Laikwan Pang observes that "since 2003, there has been a steady number of films—26 films in 2003, 31 films in 2004, 29 films in 2005—considered Hong Kong-Mainland jointly produced films." See Pang, "Postcolonial Hong Kong Cinema: Utilitarianism and (Trans)local,"*Postcolonial Studies* 10, no. 4 (2007): 416.

[407] Xstream Pictures is a production company founded by Jia Zhangke, Chow Keung, and Nelson Yu Lik-Wai. Since its establishment in 2003, it has produced nineteen feature films, including *Platform* (2000), *Still Life* (2006), and *Perfect Life* (2008). See "Chow Keung (Xstream

Pictures/China) The Demand for Doc [sic] About China is Going Strong," *China Screen News*, March 10, 2011. Available at http://china-screen-news.com/2011/03/chow-keung-xstream-pictures-china-%E2%80%9Cthe-demand-for-doc-about-china-is-going-strong%E2%80%9D/ (accessed November 14, 2011).

[408] Pathanavirangoon, interview.

[409] Pang, "Postcolonial Hong Kong Cinema: Utilitarianism and (Trans)local," 422. See also C.J.W.L Wee's argument that a "New East Asia," of which Hong Kong is an important part, has emerged as a result of the increased production and circulation of high culture and mass culture in the region. See C.J.W.L Wee, "The 'New' East Asia and Hong Kong Cinema," in *Hong Kong Culture: Word and Image*, ed. Kam Louie (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010), 113-130.

[410] Pang, "Postcolonial Hong Kong Cinema: Utilitarianism and (Trans)local," 417.

[411] Ibid., 422.

[412] Darrell William Davis and Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh *East Asian Screen Industries* (London: British Film Institute, 2008).

[413] As Kam Louie observes, "Cantonese holds an ambiguous position as both the authentic indigenous tongue and yet 'less useful' than *Putonghua*, the 'national language.' English is closely associated with a colonial past, yet it is also undeniably the key to an international future. It is also a good

instrument for inscribing cross-cultural relations between Hong Kong and other lands not necessarily England, the original home of English." See Kam Louie, "Introduction: Hong Kong on the Move: Creating Global Cultures," in *Hong Kong Culture: Word and Image*, ed. Kam Louie (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010), 4.

[414] Pang, "Postcolonial Hong Kong Cinema: Utilitarianism and (Trans)local," 424.

[415] Leung Ping-kwan, "Urban Cinema and the Cultural Identity of Hong Kong," in *The Cinema of Hong Kong: History, Arts and Identity*, eds. Poshek Fu and David Desser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 249.

[416] Personal interview with Teresa Kwong (assistant programme director, Hong Kong Arts Centre) in Hong Kong, April 7, 2009.

[417] Kar Law, "An Overview of Hong Kong's New Wave," in *At Full Speed: Hong Kong Cinema in a Borderless World*, ed. Esther Yau (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 32.

[418] Nostalgia for the colonial era since the handover has often manifested in local campaigns for heritage preservation in Hong Kong, for example in efforts to stop the demolition of the Star Ferry Pier in 2006. For an analysis of the cultural activism surrounding the Star Ferry protests, see Helen Grace, "Monuments and the Face of Time: Distortions of Scale and Asynchrony in Postcolonial Hong Kong, *Postcolonial Studies* 10, no. 4 (2007): 467-483.

[419] I have referred to indicative publications about this topic in the introduction to the thesis. With respect to the emergence of the Fifth Generation of filmmaking in China, see for example Chris Berry, *Postsocialist Cinema in Post-Mao China: The Cultural Revolution After the Cultural Revolution* (London: Routledge, 2008). With respect to the Urban Generation of filmmaking, see Zhang Zhen, ed. *The Urban Generation: Chinese Cinema and Society at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

[420] Personal interview with May Fung (media artist and arts administrator) in Hong Kong, April 6, 2009.

[421] Wendy Gan, *Fruit Chan's Durian Durian* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), 14.

[422] Chuck Kleinhans, "Independent Features: Hopes and Dreams," in *The New American Cinema*, ed. Jon Lewis (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 307-327.

[423] Esther M.K. Cheung, *Fruit Chan's Made in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 25.

[424] Ibid., 29.

[425] Ibid., 37.

[426] Gan, *Fruit Chan's Durian Durian*, 11-24.

[427] Although they have played notable roles in the development of independent culture in the P.R.C., the viability of both organizations is

currently in question. With respect to the Li Xianting Film Fund, see Jonathan Kaiman, "Beijing Independent Film Festival Shut down by Chinese Authorities," *The Guardian*, August 24, 2014. Available at http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/24/beijing-independent-film-festival-shut-down-china-freedom (accessed October 21, 2014).

[428] The Protect Diaoyutai Movement was a mobilization on the part of Chinese in the P.R.C., Taiwan, and Hong Kong to claim sovereignty of the Diaoyu Islands, formerly a U.S. military outpost, for China rather than for Japan. For further reading, see Marina Szeto, "Analyzing Chinese Nationalism through the Protect Diaoyutai Movement," *Concentric: Literary and Cultural Studies* 35, no. 2 (2009): 175-210, and Ian Aitken and Mike Ingham, "The Documentary Film in Hong Kong," in *A Companion to Hong Kong Cinema*, ed. Esther M.K. Cheung (Malden: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 539-559.

[429] Ka Ming and Teresa Kwong, "ifva Ready for Transformation: An Interview with Jimmy Choi, the Man Who Started It All," *The Tenth Hong Kong Independent Short Film and Video Awards*. Program Booklet (Hong Kong: Tenth ifva, 1996), 13.

[430] Boyle, "Hong Kong Media Journal," 140.

[431] Ibid.

[432] Ming and Kwong, "ifva Ready for Transformation," 12.

[433] Boyle, "Hong Kong Media Journal," 139.

[434] Law, "An Overview of Hong Kong's New Wave," 32.

[435] Teresa Kwong, "Age of Independence? New Hong Kong Film and Video," *Film International* 7, no. 4 (2009): 40-47.

[436] The queer Asian titles in Ying E Chi's catalogue from 1997 to 2007 include: *Stanley Beloved* (dir. Simon Chung, Hong Kong, 1998); *First Love and Other Pains* (dir. Simon Chung, Hong Kong, 1999); *After Raining* (dir. Andrew Yang, Hong Kong, 2001); *The Map of Sex and Love* (dir. Evans Chan, U.S.A.-Hong Kong, 2001); *I Am Not What You Want* (dir. Hung Wing Kit, Hong Kong, 2001); *Drift* (dir. Quentin Lee, Canada, 2001); *Jumping Jet* (dir. Andrew Yang, Taiwan, 2002); *Love is Not a Sin* (dir. Doug Chan, Hong Kong, 2002) ; *Banana Queers* (dir. Tony Ayres, Australia 2002); *The Delta* (dir. Ira Sachs, U.S.A., 2003); *Night Corridor* (dir. Julian Lee, Hong Kong, 2003); *Like It Is* (dir. Paul Oremland, U.S.A., 2003); *Ethan Mao* (dir. Quentin Lee, Canada-U.S.A., 2004); *Innocent* (dir. Simon Chung, Canada-Hong Kong, 2005); and *0506HK* (dir. Quentin Lee, U.S.A.-Canada-Hong Kong, 2007).

[437] For a discussion of queer activism in Hong Kong, see for example Mark McLelland, "Interview with Shamshasha: Hong Kong's First Gay Rights Activist and Author," *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context* 4 (September 2000): no pagination. Available at http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue4/interview_mclelland.html (accessed June 11, 2010).

[438] Chung, interview.

[439] Chris Berry, "Asian Values, Family Values: Film, Video, and Lesbian and Gay Identities," in *Gay and Lesbian Asia*, eds. Gerard Sullivan and Peter A. Jackson (New York: Haworth Press, 2001), 211-220.

[440] Ibid., 214.

[441] Rachel Mok, "A Queer Argument, "*BC Magazine*, 2008, no pagination. http://www.bcmagazine.net/hk.bcmagazine.issues/bcmagazine_webissue268/03-queer.html (accessed June 11, 2010).

[442] Ibid., no pagination.

[443] Ibid., no pagination.

[444] Helen Hok-Sze Leung, *Undercurrents: Queer Culture in Postcolonial Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008), 2.

[445] Ibid., 2.

[446] Ibid., 1-3.

[447] Ibid., 5.

[448] "Chinese Documentary Festival 2010," Visible Record. Available at http://www.visiblerecord.com/en/festival/10/films.php (accessed June 11, 2010).

[449] "Reality Bites," *BC Magazine*, Issue 280, May 2009. Available at http://www.bcmagazine.net/hk.bcmagazine.issues/bcmagazine_webissue280/02-reality%20bites.shtml (accessed June 11, 2010).

[450] See Maggie Lee, "Behind the Scenes: Documentaries in Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong," *Documentary Box*, no. 26, 2005. See also, Berry, "Hong Kong Watcher," 213-228.

[451] Lee, "Behind the Scenes," no pagination.

[452] Berry, "Hong Kong Watcher,"221-223.

[453] This theme is explored further in Cheung Tit Leung's doctoral study on documentary film festivals. See Cheung Tit Leung, "Extending the Local: Documentary Film Festivals in East Asia as Sites of Connection and Communication," (doctoral dissertation, Lingnan University, 2012).

[454] Cheung, interview.

[455] "Reality Bites," no pagination.

[456] Personal interview with Tammy Cheung (independent filmmaker and founder, Visible Record) in Hong Kong, April 10, 2009. This concept is succinctly expressed by David Ross, the former director of the Whitney Museum of American Art, in an article by Karin Higo. Says Ross: "People tend to order what's on the menu." In relation to the absence of Asian American artists at the Whitney, Higo explains, "Curators and museum professionals make value judgements that are based on spheres of knowledge ... We proposed to expand the choices ... It was not about a specific number of Asian American artists on an exhibition checklist; it was about unmasking the institutional and theoretical frameworks that limited what and how people could see." See Karin Higo, "Origin Myths: A Short

and Incomplete History of Godzilla," in *One Way or Another: Asian American Art Now*, ed. Melissa Chiu, Karin Higo, and Susette S. Min (New York: Asia Society, 2006), 23-24.

[457] For a recent perspective on this genre of filmmaking in the territory, see Ian Aitken and Michael Ingham, *Hong Kong Documentary Film* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2014).

[458] "Reality Bites," no pagination.

[459] Berry, "Hong Kong Watcher," 228.

[460] Chris Berry and Lisa Rofel, "Alternative Archive: Chinese Independent Documentary Culture," in *The New Chinese Documentary Film Movement: For the Public Record*, eds. Chris Berry, Lu Xinyu, and Lisa Rofel (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010), 137.

[461] Recent events in the SAR, particularly the pro-democracy protests dubbed by the news media as the "Umbrella Movement," have drawn international attention to the contested nature of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy. For further discussion, see the special issue of *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, volume 16, issue 3, 2015.

[462] Berry, "Hong Kong Watcher," 135-137.

[463] The Closer Economic Partnership Agreement is the first free trade agreement ever concluded between the Mainland of China and Hong Kong. Signed in 2003, it includes trade in goods, services, and investment facilitation. See "Mainland and Hong Kong Closer Economic Partnership

Agreement," Trade and Industry Department of the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. Available at http://www.tid.gov.hk/english/cepa/cepa_overview.html (accessed October 21, 2014).

[464] See Davis and Yeh, *East Asian Screen Industries*, 102-105.

[465] The Chinese independent titles in Ying E Chi's catalogue from 1997 to 2007 include: *Conjugation* (dir. Emily Tang, China, 2002), *Uniform* (dir. Diao Yi'nan, China, 2003), *Still Life* (dir. Jia Zhangke, China-Hong Kong, 2006) and *Dong* (dir. Jia Zhangke, China-Hong Kong, 2007). The film *Perfect Life* (dir. Emily Tang, China-Hong Kong, 2008) was added to the catalogue in 2008.

[466] According to Zhang Zhen, the term "Urban Generation" was coined for a film program presented in spring 2001 at the Walter Reade Theatre in New York's Lincoln Centre for the Performing Arts. See Zhen, Zhang, "Bearing Witness: Chinese Urban Cinema in the Era of 'Transformation' (*Zhuanxing*)," in *The Urban Generation: Chinese Cinema and Society at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Zhang Zhen (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 1.

[467] Ibid., 2.

[468] For an analysis of cine-clubs, see Seio Nakajima, "Film Clubs in Beijing: The Cultural Consumption of Chinese Independent Films," in *From Underground to Independent: Alternative Film Culture in Contemporary China*,

eds., Paul. G. Pickowicz and Yingjin Zhang (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), 161-208.

[469] For indicative readings about postsocialism in the P.R.C., see Chris Berry, "Getting Real: Chinese Documentary, Chinese Postsocialism," in *The Urban Generation: Chinese Cinema and Society at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Zhang Zhen (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 115-136; Jason McGrath, *Postsocialist Modernity: Chinese Cinema, Literature, and Criticism in the Market Age* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2008); and Paul G. Pickowicz, *China on Film: A Century of Exploration, Confrontation, and Controversy* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013), esp. 271-300

[470] Alice Shih, "Jia Zhangke: Life and Times Beyond the World," *CineAction* 68 (Winter 2006): 53-58. Available at http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Jia+Zhangke%3A+life+and+times+beyond+The+World.-a0141588750 (accessed November 14, 2011). *Xiao Shan Going Home* received the Gold Award at the ifva in 1996 and was subsequently invited to the twenty-first Hong Kong International Film Festival.

[471] Ibid., no pagination.

[472] For a brief explication of these themes, see Teo, *Hong Kong Cinema*, 230-242.

[473] Wendy Gan acknowledges Hong Kong cinema's commercial inclinations while arguing that the industry has always supported pockets of alternative filmmaking. See Gan, *Fruit Chan's Durian Durian*, 13-16

[474] Cheung, interview.

[475] The independent films which screened at "Hong Kong Independent Films in Beijing" were: *0506HK* (dir. Quentin Lee, Canada-U.S.A.-Hong Kong, 2007), *Three Narrow Gates* (dir. Vincent Chui, Hong Kong, 2008), *One-Way Street On A Turntable* (dir. Anson Mak, Hong Kong, 2007), *Wonderful Times* (dir. Kubert Leung, Hong Kong, 2006), *Junior High School* (dir. Tammy Cheung, Hong Kong, 2006), *Eclipse* (dir. Vai Yin Pun, Hong Kong, 2006), *Toilet Paper* (dir. Vai Yuik Pun, Hong Kong, 2006), *Lovers on the Road (*dir. Jessey Tsang, Hong Kong, 2008), and *Merry X'mas* (dir. Jevons Au Man Kit, Hong Kong, 2007).

[476] "Hong Kong Independent Films in Beijing," Brochure (Hong Kong: Ying E Chi 2008).

[477] Davis and Yeh, *East Asian Screen Industries*, 102-105.

[478] The event was previously named the Hong Kong Independent Short Film and Video Awards. See "18th ifva Festival incubator for film and visual media in Asia: Experimental Spirit: Be Brave to Embrace," Hong Kong Arts Centre, Press Release, February 20, 2013. Available at http://www.hkac.org.hk/en/press_releases_detail.php?id=59 (accessed June 4, 2013).

[479] Founded in 2003, InD Blue is a non-profit film and video organization dedicated to promoting independent cinema and supporting independent film and video production. Its activities include production workshops, distribution services, a screening space, and a learning and

sharing centre. It hosts the annual InD Panda International Film Festival, now in its eleventh year. See "Introduction/Objectives," InD Blue. Available at http://www.indblue.com/Introduction.do (accessed October 21, 2014).

[480] Kwong, "Age of Independence?"41.

[481] Ming and Kwong, "ifva Ready for Transformation," 12.

[482] For an overview of the fourth Social Movement Film Festival in 2006, see Carrie Chan, "Cinema Verite," *South China Morning Post*, October 12, 2006. Available at http://www.scmp.com/article/567301/cinema-verite (accessed February 9, 2008).

[483] Shelly Kraicer, "Shelly on Film: An Inside Tour of the Chinese Independent Film Circuit," dGenerate Films. Available at http://dgeneratefilms.com/academia/the-chinese-independent-film-circuit/ (accessed November 14, 2011).

[484] Ibid., no pagination.

[485] Ibid., no pagination.

[486] Chung, interview.

[487] Personal interview with Venus Wong (former general manager of Ying E Chi) in Hong Kong, April 10, 2009.

[488] Esther Yeung, "Forward," *The Second Hong Kong Asian Film Festival*. Programme Booklet (Hong Kong: Second HKAFF, 2005), 4.

[489] *The First Hong Kong Asian Film Festival*. Programme Booklet (Hong Kong: First HKAFF, 2004). Available at

http://bc.cinema.com.hk/adhoc/hkaff_2004/index.html (accessed April 15, 2009).

[490] Ibid., no pagination.

[491] See "Edko Films," The Film Catalogue, http://www.thefilmcatalogue.com/catalog/CompanyDetail.php?id=1002 (accessed October 21, 2014).

[492] Teo, *Hong Kong Cinema*, 253.

[493] Ibid.

[494] Wong, interview.

[495] Pang, "Postcolonial Hong Kong Cinema: Utilitarianism and (Trans)local," 418.

[496] Bong Miquiabas, "Establish an Art Cinema on Hong Kong Island," *Time Out Hong Kong*, April 27, 2009. Available at http://www.timeout.com.hk/film/features/23097/establish-an-art-cinema-on-hong-kong-island.html (accessed June 11, 2010).

[497] Ming and Kwong, "ifva Ready for Transformation,"13.

[498] Pathanavirangoon, interview.

[499] As Simon Chung says: "In Hong Kong, it's a constant struggle [to expand the audience base for independent film] . . . that's why theatres like the Cinematheque are so important." Chung, interview.

[500] Marijke De Valck. *Film Festivals: From European Geopolitics to Global Cinephilia* (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, 2007), 125.

[501] SooJeong Ahn, "Placing South Korean Cinema into the Pusan International Film Festival: Programming Strategy in the Global/Local Context," in *Cultural Studies and Cultural Industries in Northeast Asia: What A Difference a Region Makes*, eds. Chris Berry, Nicola Liscutin, and Jonathan D. Mackintosh (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012), 75.

[502] "Hong Kong Asian Film Festival," *China.org.cn*, September 26, 2006. Available at http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/film/182127.htm (accessed April 15, 2009).

[503] Figures taken from the First to Fourth Hong Kong Asian Film Festivals. Programme Booklets (Hong Kong First to Fourth HKAFFs, 2004-2007). Available at http://bc.cinema.com.hk/adhoc/hkaff_2004/open.html; http://bc.cinema.com.hk/adhoc/hkaff/threetime.html; http://bc.cinema.com.hk/adhoc/hkaff2006/opening01.html; http://bc.cinema.com.hk/adhoc/hkaff_2007/about/index.html (all accessed April 15, 2009.

[504] *The First Hong Kong Asian Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Hong Kong: First HKAFF, 2004). Available at http://bc.cinema.com.hk/adhoc/hkaff_2004/index.html (accessed April 15, 2009).

[505] *The Fourth Hong Kong Asian Film Festival*. Programme Booklet (Hong Kong: Fourth HKAFF, 2007). Available at http://bc.cinema.com.hk/adhoc/hkaff_2007/about/index.html (accessed April 15, 2009).

[506] Ibid., 24.

[507] *The First Hong Kong Asian Film Festival*. Programme Booklet (Hong Kong: First HKAFF, 2004). Available at http://bc.cinema.com.hk/adhoc/hkaff_2004/index.html (accessed April 15, 2009).

[508] *The Second Hong Kong Asian Film Festival*. Programme Booklet (Hong Kong: Second HKAFF, 2005). Available at http://bc.cinema.com.hk/adhoc/hkaff/ (accessed April 15, 2009).

[509] S.N. Ko, "Hong Kong Independent Rhythms," in *i-Generations: Independent, Experimental and Alternative Creations from the 60s to Now*, ed. May Fung (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2001), 11.

[510] Masahide's output can be viewed on his page at the International Movie Data Base. See "Masahide Ichii," Internet Movie Database. Available at http://www.imdb.com/name/nm3635493/ (accessed August 24, 2015).

[511] Figures taken from various sources. For the Independent Spirit Award in 2004, see "Background," The Fourth Hong Kong Asian Film Festival, http://bc.cinema.com.hk/adhoc/hkaff_2007/about/index.html; for the first New Talent Award in 2005, see "Cineodeon Features," Asia Film

Archive, http://www.asianfilmarchive.org/cineodeon2008/CineodeonFilms.aspx; for the second New Talent Award in 2006, see "Malaysian Director Ho Yuhang Got "New Talent Award" for RAIN DOGS," Focus First Cuts, http://www.focusfirstcuts.com/mediacenter.swf; for the third New Talent Award in 2007, see "Ichii Masahide Wins Big in Hong Kong," Pia Film Festival, http://pff.jp/english/award.html (all accessed April 15, 2009).

[512] In the HKAFF program booklets, the term used is Background or Foreword but this section is more normally described as Message from the Director. I have therefore used this latter term throughout the main text of this chapter, while retaining Background or Foreword in the notes.

[513] "Background," *The First Hong Kong Asian Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Hong Kong: First HKAFF, 2004). Available at http://bc.cinema.com.hk/adhoc/hkaff_2004/index.html (accessed April 15, 2009).

[514] Gary Mak, "Forward," *The Second Hong Kong Asian Film Festival*. Programme Booklet (Hong Kong: Second HKAFF, 2005), 5.

[515] Koichi Iwabuchi, "Reconsidering East Asian Connectivity and the Usefulness of Media and Cultural Studies," in *Cultural Studies and Cultural Industries in North East Asia: What a Difference a Region Makes*, ed. Chris Berry et al., (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 29.

[516] Mark Peranson, "First You Get the Power, Then You Get the Money: Two Models of Film Festivals" in *Dekalog 3: On Film Festivals*, ed. Richard Porton (London: Wallflower Press, 2009).

[517] Donald C. Tsang, "Hong Kong Independent Filmmakers Oppose Corporate 'Hijacking' of Asian Film Festival," *Subversity*, aired October 13, 2008 (Irvine: KUCI, 2008). Radio Broadcast. Available at http://subvarchive.blogspot.co.uk/2008_10_01_archive.html (accessed June 11, 2009).

[518] *The First Hong Kong Asian Independent Film Festival*. Programme Booklet (Hong Kong: First HKAIFF, 2008), 5.

[519] *The Hong Kong Independent Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Hong Kong: HKindieFF, 2010). Available at http://www.hkindieff.hk/2010/(accessed September 15, 2015).

[520] *The Fourth Hong Kong Asian Film Festival*. Programme Booklet (Hong Kong: Fourth HKAFF, 2007), 3.

[521] *The First Hong Kong Asian Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Hong Kong: First HKAFF, 2004 no pagination). Available at http://bc.cinema.com.hk/adhoc/hkaff_2004/index.html (accessed April 15, 2009).

[522] *The Fourth Hong Kong Asian Film Festival*. Programme Booklet (Hong Kong: Fourth HKAFF, 2007), 3.

[523] Gan, *Fruit Chan's Durian Durian*, 19.

[524] Ma Ran describes the alliances between these organizations and film festivals as constituting a "*minjian* film festival network" or grassroots film festival network. See her chapter, "Regarding the Chinese Independent Film Festivals: Modes of Multiplicity and Abnormal Film Networking," in *China's i-Generation: Cinema and Moving-Image Culture for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Matthew D. Johnson, Keith B. Wagner, Kiki Tianqi Yu, and Luke Vulpiani (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 235-53.

[525] See for example Bernice Chan, "Breaking through the Utilitarian and Unilateral Mentality of Cultural Exchange," in *A Decade of Arts Development in Hong Kong*, ed. Stephen Lam (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Arts Development Council, 2006), 82-98.

[526] Kuan-Hsing Chen, *Asia as Method: Towards Deimperialization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

[527] Ibid., 212.

[528] Cheung, *Fruit Chan's Made in Hong Kong*, 37.

[529] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 7.

[530] Cheung, *Fruit Chan's Made in Hong Kong*, 36.

[531] "Chinese Independent Filmmaking Alliance," Hong Kong Independent Film Festival. Available at http://www.hkindieff.hk/cifa/eng/aboutcifa.html (accessed June 10, 2012).

[532] "Giving Together, Growing Together," Hong Kong Independent Film Festival 2011-12. Available at http://www.hkindieff.hk/indienations2/eng/aboutHKindieFF.html (accessed June 10, 2012).

[533] "Part 1: Indie Focus–Ogawa Shinsuke," Hong Kong Independent Film Festival 2011-12. Available at http://www.hkac.org.hk/en/calendar.php?id=642 (accessed June 10, 2012).

[534] "Post-screening Seminars," Hong Kong Independent Film Festival 2011-12. Available at http://www.hkindieff.hk/eng/seminar.html (accessed June 10, 2012).

[535] "Chinese Independent Filmmaking Alliance," Hong Kong Independent Film Festival 2011-12. Available at http://www.hkindieff.hk/home.html (accessed June 10, 2012).

[536] "Part 3.2: Indie Nations," Hong Kong Independent Film Festival 2011-12, Hong Kong Arts Centre. Available at http://www.hkac.org.hk/en/calendar.php?id=729 (accessed June 10, 2012).

[537] Anthony Guneratne, and Wimal Dissanayake, "Introduction: Rethinking Third Cinema," in *Rethinking Third Cinema*, eds. Anthony Guneratne and Wimal Dissanayake (London: Routledge, 2003), 17. For an attempt to explore the intersection of sexual and colonial subordination, see Helen Leung, "New Queer Cinema and Third Cinema," in *New Queer Cinema: A Critical Reader*, ed. Michele Aeron (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 459-483.

[538] See for example, Aihwa Ong, "Flexible Citizenship among Chinese Cosmopolitans," in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*," eds. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 135.

[539] Chung, interview.

[540] Drawing from the work of Johannes Fabian, scholars Chris Berry and Mary Farquhar define historiology as "subaltern accounts of the past [that] use tropes such as memory to emphasize ... ordinary people's experience of colonization and modernity." See Chris Berry and Mary Farquhar, *China on Screen: Cinema and Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 32.

[541] Irit Rogoff distinguishes between relational geography and classical geography; the latter assumes a system of nation-states and a mapping that occurs from the centre outwards. See Irit Rogoff, "Geo-Cultures: Circuits of Arts and Globalizations," Special Issue: The Art Biennale as a Global Phenomenon, *Open* 16 (2009): 106-115. Available at http://www.skor.nl/_files/Files/OPEN16_P106-115.pdf (accessed November 14, 2011).

Chapter Five:
A Themed Film Festival:
Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival

In the previous chapter, I analyzed why, how, and to what effect Ying E Chi adopted a minor transnational strategy in post-handover, globalized Hong Kong. In this chapter, I will look at the micropractices of transnationality of a diasporic film festival in Toronto, the Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival (henceforth TRAIFF). The aim is to show how, why, and to what effect TRAIFF adopted a strategy of forging cross-border, peripheral-to-peripheral linkages with other marginal groups.

The chapter is divided into three parts. In part one, I analyze the reasons behind TRAIFF's adoption of a strategy of minor transnationalism by historically situating the themed film festival in relation to a particular set of socio-cultural conditions in the late 1990s, the most salient of which were the decline of the culture wars in Canada, the rise of Asia, and the advent of globalization. In part two, I examine how TRAIFF's minor transnational strategy manifests in two main ways: through individual activists in the form of independent sole traders such as Andrew Sun and Richard Fung; and through groups or organizations such as the Centre for Asian American Media, and the Hong Kong Arts Centre, in the establishment of minor-to minor-circuits, such as "Power Play" and "Bittersweet Roots" at the thirteenth Independent Short Film and Video Awards (ifva).[542]

I also draw attention to the sixth TRAIFF in 2003 as a site of contestation of sorts between an official response of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR) government to local events in Hong Kong, and an unofficial, grassroots response to the same events. Finally, I analyze the implications of TRAIFF's minor transnational strategy by critically interrogating the film festival's contribution to new epistemic and ontological categories, such as "queer diasporas." I argue that the objective

of TRAIFF has been to establish a material and discursive site for the critical contestation and creative reimagining of what it means to be both "Asian" and "Canadian."

By adopting a minor transnational strategy, TRAIFF has helped to shed light on screen practices that are minor, and social and political issues that are marginalized or ignored, in other parts of Asia and the world. This has enabled the circulation of more critical discourses about Asia, and about Canada's implication with the region. Furthermore, by adopting a peripheral-to-peripheral, cross-border strategy, TRAIFF has helped to lift the burden of representation borne by ethnic and sexual minorities in Canada. This has enabled a more diverse and dynamic range of representations and perspectives to emerge.

Situating Minor Transnationalism in Toronto

This section looks at why TRAIFF emerged in the late 1990s and its particular choice to pursue a practice of forging cross-border, peripheral-to-peripheral links. I argue that TRAIFF adopted a minor transnational strategy in order to shape a post-identity politics commitment to ethnic and sexual minorities in Canada.

Established by producer Anita Lee and journalist Andrew Sun in 1997, TRAIFF is "a unique showcase of contemporary Asian cinema and work from the Asian diaspora. Works include films and videos from East and Southeast Asian artists in Canada, the U.S.A., Asia, and all over the world. As Canada's largest Asian film festival, Reel Asian provides a public forum for Asian media artists and their work, and fuels the growing appreciation for Asian cinema in Canada."[543] The inaugural festival was co-presented by the Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival Group in Association with Canasian Artists Group, the key members of which included Andrew Sun, Ann Chiu, John Wen, Shelly Hong, and David

Ikeda.[544] It began as a primarily volunteer-run, four-day event featuring eighteen films and two workshops.[545] It has since grown into a six-day festival in two locations that features an industry series, forums, a youth program, and a school tour.[546]

In order to contextualize TRAIFF's adoption of a minor transnational strategy, it is necessary to look at circumstances both within and beyond the nation-state. Within Canada in the mid to late 1990s, there was a discernible movement of Chinese Canadian filmmakers from the margins of the film world to the regional or national centre. For example, in 1994, the Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF), the country's largest film festival and one of the most important festivals in the world, hosted the premiere of Mina Shum's *Double Happiness* (1994) and awarded the film a Special Jury Citation. The feature narrative film was subsequently acquired by Fox Searchlight for commercial distribution and thus received a theatrical release in both Canada and the U.S.A.[547]

Outside of Canada, there was a movement of Asian, but particularly culturally Chinese filmmakers from the margins of the film world to the global centre. The early 1990s saw the distribution and exhibition in Canada of a number of films by members of the second generation of the Hong Kong New Wave.[548] In particular, the release in North America of John Woo's films such as *Hard Boiled* (1992) and Wong Kar-wai's films, such as *Chungking Express* (1993), led to new audiences for the films beyond the territory's regional markets; these audiences included aspiring Asian Canadian and Asian American filmmakers. According to TRAIFF co-founder, Anita Lee: "There was this new, exciting, innovative filmmaking coming out of Hong Kong which had a different [cinematic] language, and this language really spoke to Asian [North] American filmmakers. I think there was something that they recognized as being fresh, that was actually not Asian-specific, but that felt like an international language. So that on an aesthetic level, there was that kind of thing happening."[549] Lee's quote

affirms the importance of flows of Hong Kong screen media, particularly the work of the second generation of the Hong Kong New Wave, to the subjectivities of young people of Asian descent in Canada.

I argue that minor transnationalism as a strategy can be understood as a way in which Asian Canadian filmmakers and videomakers in the late 1990s responded to changing institutional and social norms in the country with respect to the cultural citizenship of ethnic and sexual minorities. On the one hand, there was an acknowledgement that radical institutional change was fundamental for Asian Canadians to be able to fully participate in the film and media sector. According to William Huffman, associate director of grants at the Toronto Arts Council:

> [In] the late 1980s, and early to mid-1990s there was a very aggressive movement to bring cultural diversity into the arts community, not just from a programming point of view, but for every layer of the organization, whether these organizations were established institutions or collectives. There was this *assault* to make sure that the existing structure was broken and that diversity was implemented. It destroyed many organizations. I mean it was really tumultuous, it was painful.[550]

Recalls TRAIFF co-founder Anita Lee: "I was working at an artist-run centre here in Toronto called the Canadian Filmmakers Distribution Centre, which was essentially an artist-run centre, a non-profit centre. And I was executive director there for a couple of years . . . And they had hired me at a time when there had been a bit of a *revolution*, so a former sort of long-standing board of directors had kind of been overrun by a new, pro-equity kind of a cultural advocacy board that had come on, and I was the executive director that was hired through that process."[551]

On the other hand, there was a growing recognition that simply reacting against the dominant, White status quo, either through assimilation or resistance or both, had serious limitations as a mode of cultural politics. For an older generation in Toronto, what Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih term major-resistance and identity politics had resulted in a depletion of organizational and creative energies. Recalls TRAIFF co-founder Anita Lee,

> During that time, the whole notion of equity within arts council funding, arts funding in general, and the debate between artists, was really at the greatest heights. And there was *a lot* of conflict here within the local arts community. So I think at the time when Reel Asian was set up, one, it was at a time when, I think people were just kind of psychologically *exhausted* from it all ... And a lot of people [were] also feeling that they had spent a lot of time on the politics and had moved away from their own art.[552]

Furthermore, this mode of cultural politics had served to alienate a younger generation of Asians in Canada. Festival co-founder Anita Lee remembers, "We wanted *Asians* to come to the festival, and we especially wanted *young Asians* to come to the festival. We have a *huge* Asian community in Toronto. And we wanted all those kids that you see at the mall and at the karaoke bars, that's who we wanted."[553] Lee's desire to reach out to young people echoes sentiments expressed by the filmmaker, Quentin Lee. Lee describes his feature film, *Shopping for Fangs* (1997) as "a metaphor and oblique vision by and about young Asians in North America—more broadly, this twenty-something generation—our generation. We want to target the young hip eighteen-to-thirty year old audience, which is quite different from that of *The Joy Luck Club* and the older crop."[554]

However, minor transnationalism as a strategy can also be understood as a way in which TRAIFF responded to both the opportunities

and challenges in the East Asian and Southeast Asian mediascape. It is important to emphasize that this strategy was *both* pragmatic and principled. On the one hand, there was an awareness on the part of the founders of TRAIFF of the growing artistic profile and commercial viability of popular culture and screen media from Asia. Remembers Anita Lee, "East Asian cinema globally was becoming much more popular and well known, and Hong Kong cinema really went through that period. And then on the heels of Hong Kong cinema, Korean cinema really grew to this global appeal. We tried to capitalize and take advantage of that. [Programming films from Asia] has been a marketing strategy and an audience-building strategy for us."[555] On the other hand, there was a commitment to the independent mode of production and an alternative vision of the world, rather than to recognizable genres such as the gangster or horror genres, or high production values per se. Again, Anita Lee explains,

> I think we could have said, 'Let's just program the big East Asian blockbusters.' And I think those discussions were had. What I'm most proud of, beyond the fact that we still exist, is a kind of integrity of goal and programming. We've always had this understanding of why the Festival started, and it really was around providing support for Asian filmmakers from the diaspora.[556]

What has been less remarked upon is that the decision by TRAIFF to adopt a minor transnational strategy also coincided with the emergence in the U.S.A. of a new generation of Asian American cinema that was fictional, contemporary, and focussed on youth.[557] This marked a departure from an older generation of filmmaking that was predominantly documentary-based, historical, and focussed on the struggle of migrant "pioneers."[558] Whereas the older generation of Asian North American films had tended to be pedantic, [559] the newer generation of films such as those by Quentin Lee's engaged with issues of ethnic and sexual identity in a playful, irreverent, and

even perverse way.[560] The paradigmatic example of this new Asian American generation was the narrative feature, *Shopping for Fangs* (1997).

The decision by TRAIFF to adopt a minor transnational strategy also coincided with the emergence in Hong Kong, and indeed in other parts of Asia, of a new generation of independent cinema that was low-budget, artistically-inclined or independent in spirit, and focussed on the marginalized and forgotten.[561] This marked a departure from the mainstream cinema in the territory that was commercially-driven, genre-based, and heroic in tone. The paradigmatic example of this new independent generation was *Made in Hong Kong* (1997).

These two feature films, *Shopping for Fangs* and *Made in Hong Kong*, can be understood as "benchmark films." Darrell William Davis and Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh describe a benchmark as "a milestone or interchange by which film industries alter course . . . it not only pays off but is a standard by which to gauge subsequent efforts."[562] However, both films are benchmarks in a very different sense than is written about in much of the literature about global media. Whereas creative industries accounts of screen media draw attention to "business benchmarks" that generate profits or capture markets in new ways, cultural studies accounts of screen media highlight "cultural benchmarks" that are influential not necessarily because they are lucrative, but because they depict hitherto unforeseen identities and imaginaries.[563] My argument here is that themed film festivals such as TRAIFF play a vital role in distributing and exhibiting cultural benchmarks that open up apparently singular and fixed identities for re-invention. By focusing independent producer and audience attention on the non-mainstream, even iconoclastic, perspective of films such as *Shopping for Fangs* and *Made in Hong Kong*, themed film festivals such as TRAIFF are key to larger efforts to transform contemporary culture.

Similarly, the audiences and social groups I consider in this chapter can be understood as "target markets." However, they are markets in a very

different sense than is depicted in much of the literature about film and media industries. Whereas creative industry accounts of screen media draw attention to new consumers who can be reached via integrated marketing strategies, cultural studies accounts of screen media draw attention to audience members who are desirable not because their (increasing levels of) disposable income, but because of their potential to act as agents of cultural revitalization and renewal.[564] My argument here is that diasporic film festivals such as TRAIFF play a vital role in developing audiences comprising of socially marginalized groups and cultivating critical perspectives among these audiences, rather than simply targeting them as consumers because of their demographics.

According to the film's press release, *Shopping for Fangs* is a "psychological thriller about the criss-crossing misadventures of a young man turning into a werewolf and an eccentric waitress hotly pursuing a lonely housewife."[565] Produced for U.S.A. $50,000 while Lee and Lin were both graduate students in the School of Theatre, Film, and Television at UCLA, *Shopping for Fangs* is an institutionally and formally syncretic film. A Canada and U.S.A. coproduction, the film was financed in part by a grant from the Canada Council of the Arts; Lee's grant application was institutionally supported by the council's official commitment to cultural diversity as a corporate goal and personally supported by the video artist, Richard Fung, and the film producer, Camilia Friedberg.[566] The film was also financed by donations from family and friends. Featuring an ensemble cast of acting newcomers, it was made by a small crew of passionate film students and young professionals.

For Quentin Lee and Justin Lin, *Shopping for Fangs* was created to subvert the ethnic identity genre, an example of which is *The Joy Luck Club* (1993), as well as to comment on the effects of globalization, particularly the movement of people and media, on Asian North American residents.[567] The significance of this subversion becomes clear if one refers to scholarly

critiques of the genre of the ethnic identity film. In his monograph, *An Accented Cinema*, Hamid Naficy draws attention to the ideological work that this genre performs. He notes that, due to the burden of representation that they bear and a sense of responsibility to the ethnic communities that they serve, ethnic identity films such as *The Joy Luck Club* can be "rather conservative, emphasizing descent [or blood] relations, ethnic continuity, and socio-cultural achievements."[568] In contrast, diasporic films are often more inclusive, emphasizing consent relations, ethnic discontinuity, and a rejection of the "model minority" stereotype. TRAIFF former board member, Keith Lok, contrasts the attitude of an older generation of migrants who strove not to draw attention to themselves, and to conform to social expectations, with a younger generation which was more irreverent and iconoclastic. He explains, "It's that attitude where you're proud of who you are, whatever that is. It's about not just going along with the current wisdom or current mores, but turning [them] around and getting in the face of things. It's a little bit of the underdog situation. That's what makes it fun."[569]

However, Hamid Naficy's typology of exilic, diasporic, and ethnic filmmaking is limited by a conceptualization of migration as a movement between the supposedly separate and dichotomous realities of an "old world," usually in the non-West, and a "new world,' usually in the West. It does not consider how the contemporary mobility of culturally Chinese educational migrants and cultural workers, which does not necessarily involve processes of settlement, cultural assimilation, *or* cultural resistance, might challenge these analytical assumptions. For him, if exilic filmmaking is characterized by a primary and vertical relationship to the so-called homeland, usually in the non-West, and a preoccupation with the "there and then," ethnic or identity-based filmmaking is characterized by a primary and vertical relationship to the so-called host land, usually in the West, and a preoccupation with the "here and now." He observes that ethnic identity films allegorize the encounter between East and West through the trope of familial generational conflict.[570] By depicting young, culturally Chinese

immigrants to the West as being "caught between two [separate] cultures" — a backward-looking, often reactionary "Chinese" or "Asian" one represented by parents or older family members, and a forward-looking, progressive "Western" one, these films reduce and essentialize "Chineseness" or "Asianness" and reify the difference between tradition and modernity.

Furthermore, Naficy's analysis does not account for non-traditional but increasingly important modes of migration, such as return migration or serial migration. Neither does it pay attention to the ways in which migration reproduces or disrupts other facets of cultural identity such as gender and sexuality. [571]

For its part, *Made in Hong Kong* is "a tragic coming-of-age story [that] follows three disillusioned local youths struggling to navigate Hong Kong's public housing projects and late adolescence amid violent crime, gang pressure, and broken homes."[572] Produced for H.K. $500,000 and with a crew of only five people,[573] *Made in Hong Kong* is an institutionally and thematically non-mainstream film. The film was made with support from film star Andy Lau, who served as executive producer and also assisted with the film's distribution, and was famously shot using 80,000 feet of short ends of film, much of which had already expired, from Team Work Production House and other sources.[574] For both financial and aesthetic reasons, *Made in Hong* Kong featured non-professional actors, several of whom Chan found on the street.[575] Only after the film became a success was Chan able to secure funding from outside of Hong Kong for his subsequent feature films.

Like *Shopping for Fangs*, *Made in Hong Kong* was a response to dominant modes of storytelling at the time and was created to subvert the gangster genre[576] and destabilize heroic points of view.[577] In her monograph, *Fruit Chan's Made in Hong Kong*, Esther Cheung draws attention to the fact that whereas Hong Kong films usually lack sociological relevance,[578] the storylines of Chan's films are infused with a social consciousness and engage with serious, sometimes pessimistic, themes in a humorous or absurd way.[579]

She observes that gangster films allegorize the encounter between the weak and the powerful through the trope of the triad-hero. By depicting poor young people as triad kids who pretend to be "smart and courageous," the films idealize poverty and depoliticize the inequalities between the haves and have nots.[580]

Shopping for Fangs premiered at the San Francisco International Asian American Film Festival (SFIAAFF)[581] and was subsequently invited to screen at the Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival. The film screened at TRAIFF on Saturday, November 22 at 9 p.m. at the John Sprott Theatre in Toronto.[582] Says Keith Lok, "I remember the screening for *Shopping for Fangs*. There were Asian [people] there, and an alternative, queer [crowd]. And there were lots of people who were just curious, the regulars, who would have come out for other indie films." Thus, by exhibiting *Shopping for Fangs*, TRAIFF was able to constitute an audience that cut across identities that were independent or alternative, Asian, and queer.

Unlike exilic and ethnic filmmaking, diasporic filmmaking, according to Naficy, is characterized by a "diasporic consciousness that is horizontal and multi-sited, involving not only the homeland, but also compatriot communities elsewhere."[583] Exilic films, and to some extent, ethnic films, are restricted by a logic of duality, subtraction, and loss, while diasporic films are opened up by the logic of multiplicity, addition, and by the polyvocality and performativity of identity.

For its part, *Made in Hong Kong* was rejected for screening by both the Hong Kong International Film Festival and the Toronto International Film Festival. It was subsequently acquired for programming at TRAIFF and received its Toronto premiere on November 27 at 9 p.m. at the Royal Theatre.[584] Says Keith Lok,

> [The screening of] Fruit Chan's film, *Made in Hong Kong*, was really memorable. It was a big, well-attended event. In a lot of

> ways, it kind of defined Reel Asian, what we aspired to do, the kind of response we were looking for. It was the culture, but with an edge. The fact that it had not yet been seen, that it had been passed over by TIFF, increased the excitement. The place just went crazy.

Lok's recollections of these screenings speak to TRAIFF's desire at that time to engage young Asian audiences, not just for the purposes of entertaining them, but also in the hopes of introducing them to a screen culture that will challenge the way they think and feel about themselves and other young Asians.

Independent Sole Traders and Minor-to-Minor Circuits

Whereas the previous chapter section looked at the historical context for TRAIFF's adoption of a minor transnational strategy, this section looks at the way this strategy works in practice. In particular, I focus on the role of independent sole traders and minor-to-minor circuits. I argue that minor transnationalism operates at an individual level through the practices of independent sole traders. As I discussed in chapter one, the term "sole traders" is used by Dina Iordanova to refer to festival personnel who develop connections and convergences between festival circuits that would usually be separate and parallel.[585] Whereas sole traders facilitate the movement of screen media from the cultural periphery to the cultural core, independent sole traders broker the movement of screen media within and between peripheral groups. Possessing a minor perspective, these individuals are driven not primarily by profit-seeking or status-seeking, but by the desire for personal transformation and social change. These perspectives have been shaped by experiences of marginality and often by histories of migration. Thus, for independent sole traders, screen media are not primarily commodities or works of art, but social and cultural practices.

One important independent sole trader is the journalist and co-founder of TRAIFF, Andrew Sun. Sun was born in Hong Kong and immigrated to Canada as a child. Says Sun: "I was born here in Hong Kong, but my family moved to Canada when I was 9. I came back to Hong Kong in 1997. It was the handover! And it was kind of like being in Berlin when the wall goes down. I had just left my previous position in Toronto as a writer for a weekly magazine, and I wanted to be in Hong Kong when the handover took place."[586]

What makes Andrew Sun an independent sole trader is his commitment to facilitating connections that are culturally "Asian-to-Asian," or intra-Asian, rather than between Asians and those from the so-called West. One example of Sun's attempts to do this was his organization of a workshop during the inaugural TRAIFF entitled, "Face Off: Producer Master Class with Terence Chang." This was a session featuring Terence Chang, film producer to the director John Woo, whom Sun had met at the Hong Kong premiere of his film, *Face/Off* (1997). Sun had requested that Chang, who also owned a house in Scarborough, Ontario, speak about his experiences in the industry. Recalls former TRAIFF board member, Keith Lok: "[Terence Chang] had produced some of the greatest films of contemporary Asian cinema. So it was pretty exciting. And it was a perfect match for TRAIFF, especially because he lived right in our city. He told a lot of inside stories about Hollywood that he probably wouldn't normally say."[587] It needs to be emphasized that cultural workers from the West are not precluded from being categorized as independent sole traders; I discuss the example of festival programmer Shelly Kraicer later on in the chapter.

Another example of Sun's commitment to fostering of peripheral-to-peripheral connections was his programming during the second TRAIFF in 1998. Since its inception, TRAIFF has screened more than thirty-seven films from Hong Kong.[588] Although a number of these films and videos have been produced in close proximity to the commercial film industry, the vast

majority have been short films, documentaries, and independent features. The relationship between TRAIFF and Hong Kong is such that many of the most significant events affecting the territory since it ceased to be a British colony and became a SAR of the P.R.C. have in some way been registered through the staging of the festival. These include the handover itself; the economic downturn after 1997; the outbreak of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) in 2003; the death of film star and pop icon, Leslie Cheung, in the same year; and the popular protests for political reform in 2003 and 2004.[589] The festival has maintained a spotlight on Hong Kong for more than a decade, and it has shown that other socio-historical processes—not simply the handover—have shaped and continue to shape everyday life in the territory.[590]

Subsequently, themed film festivals such as TRAIFF have emerged as key sites of contestation as to the vision of Hong Kong's present and future, a site that that is significant in part because it is deterritorialized from the "natural" territory of Hong Kong and its geographical contiguity and political intimacy with the P.R.C.

In the previous chapter about Ying E Chi, I noted that developing both "suppliers" and "markets" for independent filmmaking in the territory was a proactive task. The same can be said for developing production and consumption communities for diasporic cinema in Canada. According to Sun, forging peripheral-to-peripheral links requires actively working to construct an alternative production community, rather than attempting to reach a group of independent producers that pre-exists: "For the first few years, you just do a lot of proactive programming. You go out and actively seek it out . . . you send out a call for submissions through different community networks. And if someone says "you should go send it to people in Vancouver," then I fax it to them, or I send a hard copy to them in the mail."[591] He recalls the process of programming the second TRAIFF: "I knew some people here [in Hong Kong] already. So it was like 'there's this

[independent film] here and there's that [independent film there]' . . . so we just contacted the film makers, and I was like 'you want to show these here?' and of course they were interested."[592] Thus, it can be seen that independent sole traders such as Andrew Sun have adopted a strategy of peripheral-to-peripheral links between independent filmmakers in Asia, particularly Hong Kong and overseas, as a way of *transnationalizing*, rather than internationalizing the festival. This distinction is important because it acknowledges the informal and often below-the-radar role of actors other than corporations and nation states.

It needs to be emphasized that the difference between what Iordanova calls, "sole traders," and what I call, "independent sole traders" is not absolute. An example of a cultural worker who occupies a position between these two categories is the Thai film producer and critic, Raymond Pathanavirangoon. Pathanavirangoon was a programmer at TRAIFF from 2005 to 2010, and was subsequently appointed as a programmer at the Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF).[593] In the latter capacity, Pathanavirangoon might be categorized as a sole trader. However, through his work with TRAIFF, as well as with LGBT film festivals earlier on in his career, he might be categorized as an independent sole trader, too.[594]

The Canadian programmer and critic, Shelly Kraicer, also complicates the categorizations of sole trader and independent sole trader. In his capacity as programmer of the "Dragons and Tigers" programming section at the Vancouver International Film Festival since 2007, Kraicer has followed in his predecessor Tony Rayns's footsteps by making films from Asia, and particularly China, available to audiences in the West. He has also consulted for the Venice, Rotterdam, Udine, and Dubai Film Festivals.[595] However, in his capacity as a guest programmer, with the curator, Xiaoyi Zhu, for the eighth TRAIFF in 2004, Kraicer has also helped to make independent films from the P.R.C. in particular available to diasporic audiences, in a kind of periphery-to-periphery move.[596]

Another highly influential independent sole trader is the media artist, critic, and TRAIFF board member, Richard Fung. Fung has attributed his interest in questions of "race" to the experience of growing up in Trinidad during the time of the Black Power Movement in the late 1960s and 1970s.[597] His interest in issues of sexuality stems from the fact that he is openly gay. He cites the Black British Cinema of the 1980s as an influence, particularly the work of Isaac Julian. He also declares a debt to the academic and experimental filmmaker, Trinh T. Minh-ha, whose work looks at the intersection of gender and "race."[598] Accordingly, Fung's first video, *Orientations* (1984) was about "a minority within a minority," that is, men and women from various Asian backgrounds who are LGBT.

What makes Fung an independent sole trader is his commitment not to move from the margins to the mainstream, or from the periphery to the core, but rather to "Centre the Margins."[599] For example, he was responsible for organizing a program of Asian short films at the Inside Out Lesbian and Gay Film Festival of Toronto in 1997, and organizing the inaugural Canadian Artist Spotlight featuring queer filmmaker, Wayne Yung, at the third TRAIFF in 1999. I will analyze this spotlight, entitled, "This Queen's Cantonese," later on in the chapter.[600]

A key characteristic of these independent sole traders is their activist approach. In his essay, "Programming the Public," Fung notes a similar phenomenon at LGBT film festivals with respect to actively working to construct an alternative consumption community, or public:

> How one programs film and video in a festival both reflects and engages specific understandings of who queers are ... In the work that is selected and the way in which it is grouped and promoted, one not only represents but also *produces* specific instances and interpretations of queerness in the same manner as a leather bar, a gay and lesbian synagogue, or a softball match does.[601]

Thus, it can be seen that independent sole traders such as Richard Fung have adopted a minor transnational practice between queer filmmakers in Asian North America and overseas as a way of "queering" the festival. By developing programming strands that focus on the intersection of minority cultures, rather than on the gulf between the majority and the minority, themed film festivals such as TRAIFF have emerged as key sites of contestation about what it means to be Asian and gay, for example, by fostering a dialogue about the "sticky rice politics"[602] that is internal to that group, rather than fostering a dialogue about more widely discussed social norms.

Since its inception, TRAIFF has screened more than fifty films and videos by publicly identified queer artists from the diaspora in North America, and from East and Southeast Asia.[603] Of these fifty works, the vast majority (thirty-seven) have been from North America, and eleven have been from Asia. The North American list includes a number of filmmakers such as Wayne Yung—a filmmaker discussed later in this chapter—who are well established in the queer circuit, and the Asian list includes a number of Hong Kong independent filmmakers such as Kit Hung who are known locally and regionally for their work. This corpus reflects a range of institutional, thematic, and aesthetic approaches. However, almost all of the films or videos have been produced independently, in other words using a do-it-yourself approach, or through artist-run centres in Canada or media arts organizations in the U.S.A., or through independent production companies, rather than through government or state-run cultural institutions or studio systems. The majority of these works have been short films and videos, although feature length work has begun to emerge as well.

I argue that minor transnationalism also operates at a group and organizational level through minor-to-minor distribution and exhibition circuits. Whereas major circuits of distribution and exhibition are managed and consolidated, minor circuits are contingent and dispersed. By managed,

I refer to the fact that A-category international film festivals are regulated by the International Fédération of Film Producers Association (FIAFP). These regulations require that accredited film festivals host a film market and compete with other film festivals for premieres of new films.[604] By consolidated, I refer to the fact that these film festivals strive to function as an integrated system, characterized by conformity to international standards and a mass of producers—in this case, filmmakers—and consumers--in this case, audiences of filmic goods.

One example of a minor-to minor-circuit in the West is the network of Asian-themed North American film festivals that have emerged since the mid to late 1990s. Whereas Asian film festivals in Canada had existed previously, these tended to operate on an ad hoc, one-off basis and relatively discretely from each other. For example, filmmaker Tammy Cheung founded and directed the Festival International du Cinéma Chinois de Montreal from 1987 to 1992;[605] during this time, it was the only Asian film festival in the country.[606] In contrast, Asian North American film festivals have been loosely networked together since the 1990s and are regular, annual events.[607]

Andrew Sun remembers that the impetus for founding TRAIFF in 1997 was due to a new wave of Asian American cinema in the late 1990s,[608] and that this in turn was due to the proliferation of alternative sites of distribution and exhibition in major cities in the U.S.A:

> We knew that there were these really cool independent pictures being made in San Francisco, L.A., [New York], and all these different places. And in some of those cities there were Asian American film festivals . . . We were already thinking 'why is no one doing this is Toronto?' I mean there's such a big Asian population here. . . . So we decided: OK well let's do something similar scale to that, so we started our own show.[609]

In the U.S.A., a network of Asian American media arts centres and film festivals has existed for some time.[610] The oldest of these is the Asian American film festival in New York. Presented by the media arts centre, Asian Cinevision, the festival was established in 1978. The Los Angeles Asian Pacific Film Festival (formerly known as VC Film Fest), presented by the media arts centre, Visual Communications, was established in 1983. The largest film festival, the San Francisco International Asian American Film Festival (SFIAAFF), presented by the Centre for Asian American Media (formerly NAATA), was established as an independent entity in 1986.[611] There are now over twenty Asian American film festivals in major cities including San Francisco, Los Angeles, Washington DC, and Philadelphia.[612]

In Canada, Asian Canadian film festivals are relatively new. The Vancouver Asian Film Festival was established in 1997 and was closely modelled on the Northwest Asian American Film Festival in Seattle.[613] TRAIFF was established in the same year and resulted in part from a trip on the part of organizers to the Chicago Asian American showcase.[614] Rather than being presentations of ethno-specific media arts centres, the Asian Canadian film festivals emerged from different community contexts. TRAIFF, for example, was the product of local artist-run centres and the efforts of artists and activists working in independent film and video.

These film festivals constitute a circuit, in so far as they each take place in a different city and are staged to occur sequentially rather than to conflict. For example, the San Diego Asian American Film Festival was established in 2000 as a three-day event at the University of San Diego and has since grown into a ten-day festival; it takes place annually in November. The (Washington) DC Asian Pacific American Film Festival was also established in 2000; it takes place in March. And the Asian Film Festival of Dallas was established in 2002 as a four-day long festival which has since expanded to one week in length.

My point here is that the cultural model for these Asian North American film festivals has been *other* Asian North American film festivals, rather than international film festivals or mainstream modes of media.[615] By learning from and collaborating with each other in a peer-to-peer fashion, these festivals have helped to constitute an alternative circuit or network that is self-sustaining or self-perpetuating, to the extent that it actively produces its own "supply chain" of (Asian) independent producers and its own "market" of specialized (Asian) audiences.[616] In so doing these festivals have helped to provide an alternative to the limitations imposed by public broadcasters such as the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) in the U.S.A. and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in Canada.

There are differences both *between* international film festivals and Asian North American film festivals, and *within* Asian North American film festivals themselves. The major international festivals such as TIFF cultivate a recognizable aesthetic, an international film style that reflects international standards or norms.[617] This enables the films to be more easily commodified and exported. Asian North American film festivals promote multiple aesthetic approaches that do not necessarily add up to an "Asian American" or "Asian Canadian" look or feel.[618] Although some scholars lament this lack of a unified aesthetic as indicative of a failure to constitute a legitimate film movement or cinema,[619] I argue that this aesthetic diversity is reflective of the independent mode of production, and the persistence of personal visions and local tastes.[620]

More importantly, Asian North American film festivals promote multiple conceptualizations of what it means to be Asian American or Asian Canadian or indeed, Asian, which do not prescribe or insist upon a normative Asian North American or Asian identity. Although some Asian American scholars, especially those from the 1970s, lament this lack of a singular and fixed identity that is rooted in U.S.A. soil,[621] I argue that this multi-dimensional and cross-border understanding of culture reflects a

welcome shift towards a coalitional and minor transnational politics, rather than an identity-based and major-resistant one.

This pluralization and democratization of moving images at Asian North American film festivals in the mid to late 1990s is evident in the blurring of the distinction between domestic and foreign culture, or between Asian North American and Asian screen media. Hamid Naficy notes that there was a change in nomenclature of the Asian-American Film Festival in New York to the Asian Pacific American *International* Film Festival (APAIFF) in 1992.[622] As Gavin Huang observes in his analysis of Asian American film festivals, "the inclusion of films from Asia into the AAIFF program is recognition that these labels in our globalized society are not as dichotomized as they once were."[623] Likewise, "Though the [San Francisco International Asian American Film Festival] SFIAAFF originally began with exclusively Asian American work, over the course of the 1990s, they expanded to include works from Asian filmmakers, reflecting an attention to the increasing transnational forms of media moving between Asia and America."[624]

It is important to emphasize that this pluralization of representations was not limited to the (re)conceptualization of national and diasporic identities, but extended to other dimensions of racialized, gendered, and sexualized identities as well.[625] There have been a number of observations by both scholars and film festival practitioners that, in the mid to late 1990s, festivals such as the APAIFF and SFIAAFF began to program more work by underrepresented groups *within* communities, for example, filmmakers who are "Happa" (or mixed-race) or queer.[626] For example, in 2012, the AAIFF programmed *A Lot like You* (2012) a film directed by Eliaichi Kimaro, a first-generation American of mixed Korean and Tanzanian descent.[627] In the previous year, the festival exhibited a series of Asian American LGBT films.[628]

As with the distinction between independent sole traders and sole traders, the difference between what I call minor-to-minor circuits, and major-to-major circuits is not absolute. Rather, these two circuits overlap. Examples of films or filmmakers that have been associated with both TRAIFF and major international film festivals such as TIFF are numerous. They include films by internationally recognized auteurs, such as *Made in Hong Kong* (1997) and *The Longest Summer* (1998), both directed by Fruit Chan, which were screened at the second TRAIFF[629] in 1998 and the third TRAIFF in 1999 respectively; [630] *The Day the Pig Fell Into the Well* (1996) and *The Power of Kangwon Province* (1998), both directed by Hong Sang-soo, and both of which were screened at the third TRAIFF in 1999;[631] *Mysterious Object at Noon* (2000) by Apichatpong Weerasethakul which screened at the sixth TRAIFF in 2002;[632] and *After This Our Exile* (2006) by Patrick Tam which screened at the tenth annual TRAIFF in 2006.[633]

Having outlined some of the practices of independent sole traders and minor-to-minor circuits in the context of TRAIFF, I will now turn to analyzing the ways in which the themed film festival functions as a site of cultural connection and exchange between peripheral screen cultures and marginalized groups. In her monograph, *Film Festivals*, Marijke De Valck argues that international film festivals serve as mechanisms of cultural legitimation and value-addition. This process of adding value comprises three practices: selection, competition, and mediation.[634] In this chapter, I will focus my analysis on three aspects of the TRAIFF: selection in the form of key programming selections, specifically the "International Spotlight" launched in 1998, and the "Canadian Spotlight" launched in 1999; competition in the form of the Trinity Square Video (TSV) Emerging Local Artist Award and the Wallace Local Artist Award, both launched in 2002; and mediation in the form of the festival's co-sponsorship arrangements, also launched in 2002.

As discussed in the previous chapter on Ying E Chi, one of the ways in which a film festival declares its organizational values is through the scheduling and placement of films. Both the "International Spotlight" and the "Canadian Spotlight" speak to the heart of TRAIFF's identity as an Asian film festival in Canada. In fact, the festival's activist remit to "broaden the scope and definition of Asian and Asian Canadian cinema" is highlighted by TRAIFF's former artistic director, Heather Keung, in the "Welcome" to the tenth festival in 2006.[635] This has been achieved in two ways: With respect to Asia, TRAIFF has looked at similarities and differences *within* the region, as well as the similarities and differences *between* and *across* individual territories. With respect to Asians in Canada, the festival has looked at similarities and differences *within* the Asian Canadian community, for example, intersections of race and gender, or race and sexuality, as well as the similarities and differences *between* and *across* diaspora groups in Canada and diaspora groups overseas.

One of the most prominent features of TRAIFF's annual programming was its "International Spotlight," which it launched at its second film festival in November 1998. An analysis of this section is instructive because it reveals a pattern of showcasing films from Asia and the Asia Pacific region that are predominantly independent in their mode of production and alternative in their perspective (see Table 3).

Table 3: International (Asian) Spotlights at TRAIFF 1998-2006[636]

Year	Country	Section Title	Programmer/Curator	Presenter
1998	Hong Kong	Untitled	Andrew Sun	None given
1999	Korea	Postcards from the Edge of Seoul/Made in Korea	Helen Lee	Korean Air
2000	Taiwan	The New Dynamics from Taiwan	Teresa Huang	Chinese Taipei Film Archive
	Asian Australia	Do You Like It Here? Short Films From Down Under	Annette Shun Wah	None given
2001	Japan	Untitled	Ikeda Hiroyuki Paul Lee	Japan Foundation and Canada Council for the Arts
	Hong Kong	Hong Kong Weekend	Andrew Sun	HKETO
2002	Thailand	Thai Tales	Chalida Uabumrungjit	Thai Film Foundation
2003	Indonesia	Indonesia	Kiki Moechtar	Consulate

Year	Country	Section Title	Programmer/Curator	Presenter
		Unexpected	(Minikino)	General of the Republic of Indonesia Toronto Office
	Hong Kong	Untitled	HKETO	HKETO
2004	China	Vive la Revolution "V" (for Video)	Shelly Kraicer and Xiaoyi Zhu	None given
2005	Malaysia	Malaysian Deluxe Platter	Raymond Pathanavirangoon	Malaysian Association of Canada
2006	---	---	---	---

Within the "International Spotlight, "a closer look at the "countries" that are profiled reveals a pattern of showcasing films from Asia and the Asia Pacific that constructs the region as not just comprised of nation-states and sovereign territories, but also of diasporic formations and Special Administrative Regions such as Hong Kong and Macau. Thus, although it is titled, "International," suggesting a system of nation-states, the section reflects cultural boundaries, not political ones. This is evident in the festival's diasporic spotlight on Asian-Australian cinema[637] in the fourth festival in 2000 for example, and in its inclusion of Hong Kong cinema as an entry distinct from Mainland Chinese cinema in the second, fifth, and seventh festivals in 1998, 2001, and 2003, respectively.

Likewise, a closer look at the programmers and curators responsible for these sections reveals the grassroots rather than official nature of this

Asian view of the world. Several of these programmers, who might also be understood as "independent sole traders," are well known in the region for their advocacy of non-mainstream films. For example, Chalida Uabumrungjit, the programmer and curator of the TRAIFF "International Spotlight" on Thailand in 2002, is a project director of the Thai Film Foundation (TFF). Born in China, she has lived in Thailand since she was a child and is a filmmaker, critic, archivist, and cultural organizer.[638] She established the Thai Short Film and Video Festival in 1997 and has been festival director there ever since. Under the auspices of the Thai Film Foundation, she sent the following greetings to the Hong Kong-based Incubator for Film and Video in Asia (formerly, the Independent Film and Video Awards) for their tenth anniversary: "ifva has always been the home of HK independent spirit. Congratulations to the 10th anniversary! Go on with NO LIMIT. Keep the independent spirit alive."[639] Although this message appears in the festival program of an independent cinema event in Hong Kong rather than one in Canada, it nonetheless conveys the *esprit de corps* of the independent filmmaking community in Thailand.[640]

Uabumrungjit's programming notes for the fifth "International Spotlight" programming section, entitled, "Thai Tales," are indicative of the way in which TRAIFF has helped to raise awareness of and build bridges with independent film movements in Asia and beyond:

> Short films [in Thailand] have become an outlet for filmmakers to explore personal subjects and critique the world we live in ways that are not seen on TV or in commercial cinema. Nonetheless, independent filmmakers in Thailand face financial struggles, both in production and distribution, since there is no government support or private funding for short filmmaking. As a result, most films are made with ultra-low budgets or no budgets at all. Despite these seemingly

> insurmountable difficulties, everybody talks about making short films . . . the future looks bright indeed.[641]

Chalida's background as a transnational migrant and cross-border cultural worker underscores the inadequacy of nation-state based conceptual frameworks as well as classical diasporic frameworks that analyse migration in polarized terms. At the same time, her personal history highlights the urgent need to also understand globalization in terms of relations between peripheral screen cultures, rather than just between the periphery and the cultural core.

The fact that the inaugural "International Spotlight" was dedicated to the rebirth of the Hong Kong independent cinema, a revival still in its infancy, speaks to the extent of TRAIFF's commitment to the territory's issues and concerns. Programmed with the assistance of TRAIFF co-founder Andrew Sun, the spotlight featured five independent films from Hong Kong. These included the Toronto premieres of *Made in Hong Kong* (1997) and *In the Dumps* (1997), the Canadian premiere of *After the Crescent* (1997), and the screening of two short films by Simon Chung: *Life is Elsewhere* (1996) and *Stanley Beloved* (1997). There are at least two possible programming strategies here. By selecting "great works [usually narrative features] by extraordinary filmmakers," the festival might seek to reinforce the practice of canon formation and the discourse of the auteur.[642] However, by selecting short films, animated films, and independent documentaries by minor filmmakers that express alternative social perspectives, it might also seek to make "the canon strange."[643]

What was notable about the inaugural spotlight on Hong Kong was not just the low-budget mode of production, but its independent *perspective*—its commitment to a culture that "promotes public debate and autonomous thought."[644] This independent perspective also permeates the discourse surrounding other films in the "International Spotlight,"

including, for example, the sixth "International Spotlight" on Indonesia. The festival's programming notes in 2003 invite festival goers to

> Switch off what you expect to hear and see about Indonesia. Everything is fresh and new. Fasten your seatbelt. Make yourself at home. This is going to be a thrilling journey through the Indonesian archipelago. And this time, you will face an Indonesia which is conceptually deeper, rather than just the physically-carved, batik-printed archipelago ... Perhaps you envision a country full of poverty and chaos, conflict and religious tensions. All that you have learned from TV might be true. But some things that might be true might also be untrue. There's always another side to each story, a different way to see, hear, feel say and do things . . .[645]

In drawing attention to the independent spirit that permeates TRAIFF, I am not suggesting that it is ideologically "pure." In chapter three of the thesis, I argued that minor transnationalism works through economic globalization, not in opposition to it. Here I want to suggest that TRAIFF needs to be understood as a site of contestation between two modalities and strategic responses to globalization: on the one hand, a minor mode that is concerned with dialogue and debate, and on the other hand, a major mode that is focussed on deregulation, privatization, and "free trade." While a significant number of TRAIFF's programming sections address Asia from minor perspectives, others more closely align with a mainstream or dominant point of view. In Toronto, changes associated with economic globalization and the rise of Asia manifested in the establishment of branch offices such as the Hong Kong Economic and Trade Office (HKETO) in the city in 1991. According to its web site, the mandate of the HKETO is to "promote and facilitate exchanges between Hong Kong and Canada, with a particular focus on trade and economic relationships."[646]

During its seventh festival, TRAIFF staged a staged a special seminar entitled, "Hong Kong: Gateway to China's 1.3 Billion Audience," with director and producer Peter Chan, Harriet Heller, and HKETO director, Bassanio So. The seminar invited Canadian companies to access the Chinese film market by investing in blockbusters co-produced with Mainland China under the Closer Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) signed that year.[647] However, in the same festival, the "structure of feeling" of a local, memory-based, and activist Hong Kong screen culture was also evident in the screening of Hong Kong independent documentaries, such as *Rice Distribution* (2003). In fact, the following year's festival in 2004 would spotlight Tammy Cheung and her documentary output, including screenings of *Secondary School* (2002), *Moving* (2003), and, most directly political, *July* (2004).

Along the same lines, in 2003, TRAIFF screened *1:99* (2003) prior to each film program in acknowledgement of the SARS virus crisis. According to a message from the HKETO, the short film series was a collaboration between the Hong Kong SAR Government and the Federation of Hong Kong Film Workers in order to relaunch Hong Kong and strengthen civic pride.[648] The series comprised of eleven one-minute short films produced by fourteen of Hong Kong's most respected contemporary directors. It was collectively entitled *1:99*, referring to the bleach-to-water ratio recommended by health officials as an anti-SARS disinfectant. However, in 2004, TRAIFF also screened *In the Dark* (2003). According to the festival's programming notes that year, "*In the Dark* revisits images collected from Toronto newspapers. Exposed to black and white re-photographed pictures, all one sees is the darkness of a time passed, a city under attack, politicians scrambling, citizens living in a state of fear, distrust, paranoia and shame."[649] Tam's film questions the highly negative depiction of SARS in mainstream Canadian news. This contrasts sharply with *1:99*'s official, and overtly positive, depiction of Hong Kong's response to the crisis. Both perspectives

problematize the supposed neutrality or objectivity of screen representations of SARS.

As a result of these practices, the festival has enabled a more complex picture of Hong Kong to emerge, one that is both shaped by political and economic forces, yet also one that sees beyond these forces. By screening independent films that articulate with local realities, TRAIFF has helped to provide an alternative account of postcolonial, globalized life in Hong Kong. Likewise, by situating diasporic filmmakers *in relation to* other minor cinemas in another part of the world, rather than a major cinema "at home," TRAIFF has helped to broaden the outlook of Asian Canadian filmmakers beyond the Canadian nation-state. Through the "International Spotlight," diasporic filmmakers have learned how they are both different from and similar to independent filmmakers in other parts of Asia, such as Thailand, in a peer-to-peer way.

The festival's approach to programming the "International Spotlight" is significant because it suggests criteria for selection based not just on a common regional identity—an essential "Asianness"—but on *a critique of territorial borders*, and on a commitment to an independent mode of production and a shared set of norms and values around what the cinema should do.[650] These norms and values are those of democratic participation and of depicting through independent screen media what is ignored or marginalized in the commercial or official mainstream.

The argument here is that as a result of these minor transnational connections, it is increasingly possible to understand events and processes in Asia from the perspective of independent screen media in the region, rather than from the perspective of official or commercial media. This independent point of view selects and narrates significant regional events such as the Asian economic crisis or the Sichuan earthquake with ordinary people, not just political or economic elites, firmly in mind.

Another of the most prominent features of TRAIFF's annual programming is its "Canadian (Artist) Spotlight," which it launched at its third film festival in November 1999. An analysis of the section is instructive because it reveals a pattern of drawing attention to ethnic minority filmmakers who are not only of Asian descent, but also female and or queer (see Table 4).

Table 4: Canadian Spotlights at TRAIFF 1999-2007[651]

Year	**Film-maker**	**Nation-ality**	**Place of Residence**	**Section Title**	**Programmer/ Curator**
1999	Wayne Yung	Canadian	Germany	This Queen's Cantonese: Spotlight on the Video Art of Wayne Yung	Richard Fung
2000	Ann Marie Fleming	Canadian	Canada	The World According to Ann Marie Fleming	Helen Lee
2001	Midi Onodera	Canadian	Canada	Spotlight on Midi Onodera	Uncredited
2002	Mary Stephen	Canadian/ French	France	An Afternoon with Mary Stephen	Uncredited
2003	Ho Tam	Canadian	Canada	Untitled	Uncredited

Year	Film-maker	Nation-ality	Place of Residence	Section Title	Programmer/ Curator
2004	Tammy Cheung	Canadian/ Hong Kong SAR	Hong Kong	In Conversation with Tammy Cheung	Uncredited
2005	Simon Chung	Canadian/ Hong Kong SAR	Hong Kong	Of Love and Other Minorities	Raymond Pathanavirangoon
2006	Samuel Kiehoon Lee, Hohyun Joung, Lester Alfonso, Romeo Candido, Ho Tam	Canadian	Korea, Philippines, Canada	Fresh from Ontario	Uncredited
2007	Lesley Loksi Chan	Canadian	Canada	The World of Lesley Loksi Chan	Heather Keung

Within the "Canadian Spotlight," a closer look at the "nationality" and place of residence of the profiled artists reveals the multi-dimensional and deterritorialized character of these citizens. However, although they

might have dual nationality, as in the case of Tammy Cheung and Simon Chung, they are not "flexible citizens" in Aihwa Ong's conception of the term.[652] For example, Mary Stephen, the spotlighted artist in 2002, is a filmmaker, composer, and editor in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Born in Hong Kong, Stephen moved to Montreal to study filmmaking at Concordia University in Montreal, and is a resident of France, where she has collaborated with the Nouvelle Vague director Eric Rohmer since 1992.[653] She recalls:

> In 2007, I was spending that year going back and forth between Paris and Istanbul. In Istanbul I was editing Hüseyin Karabey's fiction *Gitmek: My Marlon and Brando* [2008], and in Paris I was editing Anqi Ju's documentary *Night in China* [2006]. In so doing, I found that I was getting inspired by one and taking that inspiration to give to the other. It was really wonderful.[654]

As I discussed in chapter one, the term "ethnoscapes" is often used to allude to the intensified movement of people and to the role of migration in (re)shaping imaginations. Stephen's quote affirms the importance of creative migration, in this case between Europe and the Middle East, to the modern subjectivities of Canadian citizens.

Having discussed the "International Spotlight" programming section, I will now turn to an analysis of the festival's "Canadian Spotlight." That the inaugural "Canadian Spotlight" was dedicated to the work of Wayne Yung, a young, gay Asian video artist from Vancouver, speaks to extent of TRAIFF's commitment to queer issues and concerns.[655] Curated by Richard Fung, "This Queen's Cantonese: Spotlight on the Video Art of Wayne Yung" screened at the third TRAIFF on November 27, 1999, at 7 p.m. at the John Spotton Theatre in Toronto.[656]

What was notable about the spotlight, "This Queen's Cantonese," was not only its overt sexuality but its queer *perspective*—its irreverent and

perverse take on Vancouver's articulation with Asia, particularly Hong Kong.[657] The distinction between a liberal notion of screen media as simply describing reality in an objective way, and a critical (postcolonial, feminist, queer) notion of screen media as constituting reality from a subjective, non-elite point of view is evident in Wayne Yeung's dialogue with filmmaker, Nguyen Tan Hoang: "[In *The Queen's Cantonese*], it looks like Vancouver is completely dominated by radically queer Asians, which it certainly isn't. It's more like a 'serving suggestion,' where the glossy photo looks much more appetizing than the real thing, a fantasy of how I wish Vancouver really was."[658] Indeed, half of the Canadian artists that have been profiled in this section at TRAIFF self-identify as queer.

Likewise, by situating diasporic filmmakers in relation *to each other* rather than in relation to a national norm, TRAIFF has helped Asian Canadian filmmakers to increase their critical self-awareness.[659] Through these "Canadian Spotlight" programming sections, diasporic filmmakers have gained insight into differences, such as those based on gender and sexuality, and similarities *within* the Asian Canadian community as well as within the national culture at large. TRAIFF's approach to programming the "Canadian Spotlight" is also significant because it suggests criteria for selection based not just on a common national identity, but on *a critique of identity*, and a commitment to non-mainstream views and non-normative ways of seeing and being in the world. The argument here is that as a result of these micropractices of transnationality, it is possible to understand what it means to be "Asian" and "Canadian" from a queer perspective or from a feminist perspective, rather than from an ostensibly neutral or objective point of view.

In addition to screening and exhibiting Hong Kong and other Asian independent films in Canada, TRAIFF facilitates the screening of Asian Canadian films elsewhere, for example in Hong Kong. In 2008, TRAIFF was invited to participate in the "International Panorama" programming section

of the thirteenth Hong Kong Independent Short Film and Video Festival (ifva). This participation involved the exhibition of two programs of Asian Canadian short films: "Power Play"[660] and "Bittersweet Roots."[661] Curated by Heather Keung, the former artistic director of TRAIFF, the films screened at the agnès b theatre at the Hong Kong Arts Centre on March 22 and 28, 2008, at 9:30 p.m. The films were followed by an after-screening discussion held at the Roundtable Cafe in the territory's Causeway Bay neighbourhood.[662]

According to Keung, "Bittersweet Roots" was thematically and aesthetically distinct from an earlier generation of Asian Canadian films: "It couldn't have been made without the films that came before . . . but the "Bittersweet Roots" program is almost more cheeky and optimistic."[663] This playful and irreverent tone contrasts with the nationalistic tendency of previous films to conform to what Bill Nichols has called a "discourse of sobriety."[664] However, beyond its production, "Bittersweet Roots" also differed from previous generations in its mode of distribution and exhibition. Deanna Wong, former executive director of TRAIFF, observes that, "It's new for the Hong Kong art scene to see works by Asian diasporas. Some films deal with Asian Canadian lives, but not all of them dealt specifically with ethnic identity."[665]

Another process through which film festivals provide cultural legitimation and value-addition is through the conferring of awards. In the following section, I will analyze the practice of competition at TRAIFF as it occurs in the form of the Trinity Square Video (TSV) Emerging Local Artist Award and the Wallace Local Artist Award, both launched in 2002. An analysis of the festival's award-giving is instructive because it reveals a pattern of symbolically validating as well as materially compensating screen media that are independently-produced, non-commercially distributed, and non-mainstream in their point of view (see Table 5).

Table 5: Film Awards at TRAIFF 2002-2006[666]

Year	Award Name	Award Sponsor	Recipient	Film
2002	TSV Emerging Local Artist Award	Trinity Square Video	Ruthann Lee	*Ohm-ma*
	Wallace Local Artist Award	@Wallace Studios	Romeo Candido	*Lolo's Child*
2003	TSV Emerging Local Artist Award	Trinity Square Video	Samuel Chow	*Banana Boy*
	Wallace Local Artist Award	@Wallace Studios	Samuel Kiehoon Lee	*How to Make Kimchi According to My Kun Umma*
2004	TSV Emerging Local Artist Award	Trinity Square Video	Peter Chanthanakone	*Souriya Namaha and The Revisited Journey*
	Wallace Local Artist Award	@Wallace Studios	Luo Li	*Birds*

Year	Award Name	Award Sponsor	Recipient	Film
2005	TSV Emerging Local Artist Award	Trinity Square Video	Khanhthuan Tran	*Vietnam, 1997*
	Wallace Local Artist Award	@Wallace Studios	Keith Lok	*The Dreaming House*
2006	TSV Artistic Vision for Best Local Short Film Award	Trinity Square Video	Alison Kobayashi	*Dan Carter*
	Wallace Most Innovative Film or Video Production Award	@Wallace Studios	Yuki Hayashi	*Last Boy Last Girl*

Within the awards, a closer look at the category of "award sponsor" reveals the public or non-profit rather than industry-based nature of the donors. Trinity Square Video is a not-for-profit centre that provides artists and community organizations with video production and post-production support and services at accessible rates.[667] Established by a group of local artists in 1971, it has trained and helped develop many emerging artists, including John Greyson, Kim Tomczak, and Richard Fung.[668] While Wallace Studios caters to both public and private sector clients, it has a long history of supporting non-profit groups.[669]

Likewise, a closer look at filmmakers and films receiving awards reveals a pattern of support for films that are non-normative or on the margins. As mentioned in the previous chapter on Ying E Chi, there are at least two possible competition strategies here: by conferring an award on an established or emerging auteur, the festival might seek to affirm a mainstream mode of filmmaking, one that is oriented towards critical or commercial success. Alternately, a festival might seek to affirm an alternative mode of production or practice of filmmaking through its choice of an award-holder who is less willing to conform to filmmaking conventions or norms.

As examples of the festival's commitment to the latter approach, the recipient of the inaugural TSV Emerging Local Artist Award was Ruthann Lee for her five-minute video, *Ohm-ma*, (2002)[670] and the recipient of the second Award was Samuel Chow for his short film, *Banana Boy* (2003).[671] According to the programming booklet, *Ohm-ma* is "an exploration of Korean-queer identity that moves into a personal video letter to the filmmaker's mother,"[672] while in *Banana Boy*, Samuel Chow "reflects on the life-changing experience of coming to Canada, coming out, and his request for freedom."[673] In the case of the Wallace Local Artist Award, the first recipient was Romeo Candido for his first feature film, *Lolo's Child* (2002), which "questions, criticizes, and celebrates the intricate underbelly of the Filipino-Canadian community,"[674] while the second recipient was Samuel Kiehoon Lee for his short documentary, *How to Make Kimchi According to My Kun Umma* (2003), "a charming, not-so-instructional video on how to make this famous Korean dish."[675] In the latter, Lee shadows his lively and outspoken Kun Umma, or auntie, in the family kitchen, providing an outlet for her view on the world.

Finally, in 2002, TRAIFF initiated a practice of co-sponsoring its festival screenings with other like-minded organizations, including the Hot Docs Canadian International Documentary Festival that takes place in April

and May; the Images Festival that also takes place in April; and the Inside Out Toronto LGBT Film and Video Festival that takes place in November each year.[676] According to Richard Fung, there are established peripheral-to-peripheral links between themed film festivals *within* the city of Toronto, as well as *across* borders. "There is a kind of relationship between all of them. So if you look at TRAIFF, there will be a program sponsored perhaps by ImagiNATIVE, the Aboriginal film festival, or there will be a queer program. And then you'll go to ImagiNATIVE, and there will be [a program] sponsored by Inside Out, the queer film festival. So they work like that." [677] These co-sponsorships are significant for two reasons. First, such linkages expand the audience for each festival in a way that might be consistent with the industry function of marketing. Second, they *diversify* the audience for the festival in way that exceeds this industry function. These co-sponsorships approximate a coalitional politics versus an identity politics, a linking *across* cultural differences rather than just within an identifiable social group.

Thus TRAIFF, through the practice of festival co-sponsorship, not only fosters public demand for independent films and videos. Rather, it also plays a constitutive role in sustaining alternative models for cultural politics in the interests of marginalized groups. The distinction between an identity politics and a politics of representation that was typical of the 1980s and early 1990s, versus a coalitional politics that has emerged in the late 1990s, is discernible in the festival's former artistic director Heather Keung's statement on the occasion of the Festival's fifteenth anniversary: "TRAIFF gives voice to and represents the diversity of the Asian community. . . . it is not about breaking [negative] stereotypes, it's about offering a more complex understanding of that multiplicity."[678] Implicit in Keung's commentary is the unsettling of any singular notion of cultural identity and any pre-existing notion of off-screen reality that can be unproblematically or "positively" depicted on-screen. Rather, there is sense that TRAIFF can and should engage with a more poststructuralist account of cultural identity as being multiple, and of screen representation as a contested process.[679]

Conclusion

In order to assess the significance of TRAIFF's adoption of a minor transnational strategy analysed above in this chapter, it is necessary to look at the epistemic and ontological dimensions of this shift. By creating connections and exchanges within and between peripheries, TRAIFF can be understood as enacting a form of cultural assertiveness that does not resort to cultural essentialism or cultural nationalism. This is significant because one of the main critiques of identity politics of the 1980s is that it depicted marginalized groups as homogenous and fixed rather than heterogeneous and always in the process of becoming.[680] Furthermore, by fostering dialogue and debate across borders rather than just within the national public sphere, TRAIFF can be understood as enacting a form of involvement in cultural politics that does not take national sovereignty for granted. By adopting a strategy of promoting peripheral-to-peripheral links, TRAIFF has helped to promote a zone of cultural debate in the Asia Pacific region that critically engages with issues of globalization and the rise of Asia.

What is at stake in differentiating a minor transnational approach to a major-resistant one is precisely the agency it attributes to a politics of coalition that acknowledges similarities as well as differences and that makes the periphery or the margin its core concern. Because it is freed (to some extent) from *either* resistance *or* assimilation to the mainstream, it is able to develop an aesthetics and politics that is on its own terms. Says Richard Fung: "In the process of making work for an intended audience that is gay and Asian, I have felt myself freed to touch on issues that are neither important nor attractive to other communities (the so-called mainstream) but of pressing interest for many gay viewers. How do we want to take up drag or role playing? Must we always talk about race in relation to white people? How do we relate to our Black, Latino and Native American brothers and sisters? How do we relate to other Asian men and women in sexual or emotional terms: is integration always the ideal?"[681] Fung's testimony speaks

to the radical shifts in perspective that can occur when the focus of attention is on the particular relation between groups that are marginalized, rather than on the ostensibly universal outlook of the social majority.

Says independent video maker, Wayne Yung:

> I'm actually not that interested in what white or heterosexual audiences think of my images. If you chose to have a target audience, and every director has to make this choice, why would you always privilege the white or heterosexual one? My central audience has always been this postulated gay Asian community. If whites and heterosexuals also happen to enjoy the work, then that's just an added bonus.

Although Yung confirms his prioritization of non-mainstream audiences, he does not dismiss the mainstream, either. In this way, themed film festivals such as TRAIFF have created a space within which alternatives to the status quo have been able to emerge. In the following chapter, I will move beyond a discussion of film festivals to analyse how a different kind of exhibition site adopted a minor transnational strategy, the non-collecting gallery, Centre A.

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[542] The Independent Film and Video Awards was renamed the Incubator for Film and Visual Media in Asia in 2012. See "18th ifva Festival incubator for film and visual media in Asia: Experimental Spirit: Be Brave to Embrace," Hong Kong Arts Centre, Press Release, February 20, 2013. Available at http://www.hkac.org.hk/en/press_releases_detail.php?id=59 (accessed June 4, 2013).

[543] "Mission Statement," Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival. Available at http://www.reelasian.com/index.php/about-us/mission-statement (accessed November 10, 2011).

[544] *The First Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: First TRAIFF, 1997), 1.

[545] Ibid., 1.

[546] "Mission Statement"

[547] Su-Anne Yeo, "Vancouver Asian: Westcoast Film Cultures, on the Rim and at the End of the Line, "in *Reel Asian: Asian Canada on Screen*, ed. Elaine Chang (Toronto: Coach House Press, 2005), 118.

[548] For further discussion of the Hong Kong New Wave, see for example Stephen Teo, *Hong Kong Cinema: The Extra Dimension* (London: British Film Institute, 1997), 137-203; Kar Law, "An Overview of Hong Kong's New Wave Cinema," in *At Full Speed: Hong Kong Cinema in a Borderless World*, ed. Esther C.M. Yau (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 31-52; and Hector Rodriguez, "The Emergence of the Hong Kong New Wave," in *At Full Speed: Hong Kong Cinema in a Borderless World*, ed. Esther C.M. Yau (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 53-69.

[549] Personal interview with Anita Lee (co-founder, TRAIFF) in Toronto, November 10, 2008.

[550] Personal interview with William Huffman (former associate director, Toronto Arts Council grants office) in Toronto, November 7, 2008.

[551] Lee, interview.

[552] Ibid.

[553] Ibid.

[554] Quentin Lee, "*Shopping for Fangs*: UCLA Film Students Quentin Lee and Justin Lin's GenerAsian-X Indie Feature Debut Will Screen at Toronto International Film Festival," Press Release, July 29, 1997.

[555] Lee, interview.

[556] Ibid.

[557] For further reading on Asian American cinema in the 1990s, see for example Jun Okada, *Making Asian American Film and Video: History, Institutions, Movements* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2015) and Gina Marchetti, *From Tian'anmen to Times Square: Transnational China and the Chinese Diaspora on Global Screens, 1989-1997* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006).

[558] I have critiqued this "discourse of sobriety" in Canadian filmmaking in previously published work. See Yeo, "Vancouver Asian," 115-116.

[559] Daryl Chin, founding programmer of the Asian American International Film Festival in New York, famously characterized the Asian American films of the 1970s and 1980s as "noble, uplifting and boring as

hell." See Gavin Huang, "A Case of Mistaken Identity: Asian American Film Festivals and Asian American Cinema," Main Street, Dartmouth College's Pan-Asian and Cross-Cultural Community Blog, August 13, 2012. Available at http://sites.dartmouth.edu/pac/2012/08/13/a-case-of-mistaken-identity-asian-american-film-festivals-and-asian-american-cinema/(accessed September 5, 2012).

[560] Quentin Lee's previous films include *Anxiety of Inexpression* (1992), which Chris Berry characterizes as the "home movie from hell. Lee documents his college life, his sex life, acting in a pornographic film, and so on, all the while relentless analysing and discussing these experiences and his status as a gay man and an Asian American." See Chris Berry, "Asian Values, Family Values: Film, Video, and Lesbian and Gay Identities," *Journal of Homosexuality* 40, no. 3-4 (2001), 226-228.

[561] For further reading on Hong Kong independent cinema in the 1990s, see for example *Hong Kong Screenscapes: From the New Wave to the Digital Frontier*, eds. Esther M.K. Cheung, Gina Marchetti, and Tan See-Kam (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011). For further reading on independent cinemas in Southeast Asia, see for example *Southeast Asian Independent Cinema*, ed. Tilman Baumgärtel (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012), and *Glimpses of Freedom: Independent Cinema in Southeast Asia*, eds. May Adadol Ingawanij and Benjamin McKay (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).

[562] Darrell William Davis and Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh, *East Asian Screen Industries* (London: British Film Institute, 2008), 36.

[563] See for example Helen Leung's discussion of films such as *Yang±Yin*: *Gender in Chinese Cinema (dir. Stanley Kwan, UK-Hong Kong, 1996)* in Helen Leung, *Undercurrents: Queer Culture and Postcolonial Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009).

[564] In her analysis of Aboriginal media, Faye Ginsberg compares classical aesthetics and its mode of distanced contemplation to what she calls, "embedded aesthetics," in which the quality of work is judged by its capacity to embody, sustain and even create certain social relations. See Faye Ginsberg, "Embedded Aesthetics: Creating a Discursive Space for Aboriginal Media," *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 2 (1993): 368.

[565] Lee, "*Shopping for Fangs*, "no pagination. See also Sarah Projansky and Kent A. Ono, "Making Films Asian American: *Shopping for Fangs* and the Discursive Auteur," in *Authorship and Film,* eds. David A. Gerstner and Janet Staiger (London: Routledge, 2003), 263-280.

[566] Lee, "*Shopping for Fangs*, "no pagination.

[567] Ibid.

[568] Hamid Naficy's general critique of diasporas echoes Rey Chow's feminist analysis of *The Joy Luck Club*. See Rey Chow, *Writing Diaspora: Tactics of Intervention in Contemporary Cultural Studies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 98-112.

[569] Lok, interview.

[570] Naficy, *An Accented Cinema*, 16.

[571] See for example Rajinder Kumar Dudrah, *Bollywood: Sociology Goes to the Movies* (London: Sage Publications, 2006); Gayatri Gopinath, *Impossible Desires: Queer Diasporas and South Asian Public Cultures* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); and Jigna Desai, *Beyond Bollywood: The Cultural Politics of South Asian Diasporic Film* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

[572] Esther M.K. Cheung, *Fruit Chan's Made in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), inside back cover.

[573] Chan was responsible for scripting and directing the film, while Li Tun-chuen served as script supervisor and played the character of Sylvester in the film. Lam Wah-duen and O Sing-pui served as cinematographers. See Cheung, *Fruit Chan's Made in Hong Kong*, 5.

[574] Ibid., 5.

[575] Ibid., 6.

[576] A contemporary example of the gangster genre which proved highly successful was *Young and Dangerous*, a five-part series of films directed by Andrew Lau in the mid-1990s.

[577] Cheung, *Fruit Chan's Made in Hong Kong*, 31.

[578] Ibid., 136.

[579] Ibid., 135.

[580] Ibid., 31.

[581] The San Francisco International Asian American Film Festival was renamed CAAMFest in 2013 to reflect the festival's organization by the Centre for Asian American Media. See Frako Loden, "New and Improved! Asian American Showcase Rebrands as CAAMFest," International Documentary Association. Available at http://www.documentary.org/magazine/new-and-improved-asian-american-showcase-rebrands-caamfest (accessed October 31, 2014).

[582] *The First Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: First TRAIFF, 1997), 10.

[583] Naficy, *An Accented Cinema*, 14.

[584] *The Second Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: Second TRAIFF, 1998), 7.

[585] See Dina Iordanova, *Film Festival Yearbook 1: The Film Festival Circuit*, eds. Dina Iordanova and Regan Rhyne (St. Andrews: St. Andrew's Film Studies, 2009), 23-39.

[586] "Role Models: Diversity Interviews: Careers Trippletalk with Writer/Editor Andrew Sun of the South China Morning Post," icubed.us (Global Magazine for Training Teens), June 22, 2006. Available at http://www.icubed.us/node/732 (accessed November 10, 2011).

[587] Lok, interview.

[588] The Hong Kong films that were screened at TRAIFF from 1998 to 2007 include: *Life is Elsewhere* (dir. Simon Chung, Hong Kong 1996); *Stanley Beloved* (dir. Simon Chung, Hong Kong, 1997); *Made in Hong Kong* (dir. Fruit Chan, Hong Kong, 1997); *After the Crescent* (dir. Byron Chang, Hong Kong, 1997); *In the Dumps* (dir. William Kwok, Hong Kong, 1997); *First Love and Other Pains* (dir. Simon Chung, Canada-Hong Kong, 1999); *The Longest Summer* (dir. Fruit Chan, Hong Kong, 1998); *And So and So* (dir. Kwok Wai-lun, Hong Kong, 2000); *Summer Exercise* (dir. Edmond Pang Ho Cheung, Hong Kong, 1999); *Faded Rainbow* (dir. Gilbert Kwong Canada-Hong Kong, 2000); *Leaving Sorrowfully* (dir. Vincent Chiu, Hong Kong, 2001); *A Small Miracle* (dir. Kenneth Bi, Hong Kong, 2001); *Heroes in Love* (dir. various, Hong Kong, 2001); *Kidnap* (dir. Wing Shya, Hong Kong, 2001); *My Beloved* (dir. Stephen Fung and Nicholas Tse, Hong Kong, 2001); *Oh, G!* (dir. GC Goo-Bi, Hong Kong, 2001); *Lunch with Charles* (dir. Michael Parker, Canada-Hong Kong, 2000); *I Am Not What You Want* (dir. Kit Hung, Hong Kong, 2001); *1:99* (dir. various, Hong Kong, 2003); *Rhapsody* (dir. Johnnie To, Hong Kong, 2003); *My Piglet is Not Feeling Well* (dir. Fruit Chan, Hong Kong, 2003); *Always Look on the Bright Side* (dir. Teddy Chen, Hong Kong, 2003); *Believe It or Not* (dir. Tsui Hark, Hong Kong, 2003); *Hong Kong – A Winner* (dir. Stephen Chow, Hong Kong, 2003); *Who is Miss Hong Kong?* (dir. Joe Ma, Hong Kong, 2003); *My Flying Family* (dir. Mabel Cheung and Alex Law, Hong Kong, 2003); *Until Then* (dir. Dante Lam and Gordon Chan, Hong Kong, 2003); *Mcdull 1:99* (dir. Brian Tse, Hong Kong, 2003); *Memories of*

Spring 2003 (dir. Peter Chan, Hong Kong, 2003); *A Glorious Future* (dir. Andrew Lau and Alan Mak, Hong Kong, 2003); *Rice Distribution* (dir. Tammy Cheung, Hong Kong, 2002); *Inner Senses* (dir. Chi-Leung Lo, Hong Kong, 2002); *Buffering* (dir. Kit Hung, Hong Kong, 2003); *Secondary School* (dir. Tammy Cheung, Hong Kong, 2002); *Moving* (dir. Tammy Cheung, Hong Kong, 2003); *July* (dir. Tammy Cheung, Hong Kong, 2004); *Innocent* (dir. Simon Chung, Canada-Hong Kong, 2005); *Canned Despair* (dir. Chi-Wing Hung, Hong Kong, 2004); *After This Our Exile* (dir. Patrick Tam, Hong Kong, 2006); *Corroder* (dir. Rice 5 (Kevin Tsang and Tom Shum), Hong Kong, 2007); *Getting Home* (dir. Zhang Yang, China-Hong Kong, 2006).

[589] See Li Cheuk-to, "Journal: Hong Kong from *Film Commen*t." Available at http://arrchives.tribe.net/thread/8a356ba9-e4f8-4acf-aac7-234c53b2e682 (accessed November 10, 2011).

[590] For a rather polemical perspective on Western preoccupation with the handover, see Evans Chan, "Postmodernism and Hong Kong Cinema," in *Postmodernism and China*, eds. Arif Dirlik and Xudong Zhang (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 294-322.

[591] "Role Models: Diversity Interviews: Careers Trippletalk with Writer/Editor Andrew Sun of the South China Morning Post," no pagination.

[592] Sun, interview.

[593] "Pathanavirangoon Appointed TIFF South-East [sic] Asian Programmer," *Screen Daily*, May 1, 2008. Available at

http://www.screendaily.com/Pathanavirangoon-appointed-tiff-south-east-asian-programmer/4038536.article (accessed November 10, 2011).

[594] Tiffany Wong, "Burgeoning Asian Cinema," *China Daily* (HK Edition), November 27, 2008. Available at http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/hkedition/2008-11/27/content_7244203.htm (accessed November 10, 2011).

[595] "CinemaTalk: A Conversation with Shelly Kraicer."dGenerate Films. Available at http://dgeneratefilms.com/tag/cinematalk (accessed April 4, 2012).

[596] Although he programs for international film festivals that are thematically focussed on Asian cinema and appeal to cinephiles, Kraicer is both self-aware and critical of what he calls, the "uses and abuses of Chinese cinema." See "Shelly on Film: The Use and Abuse of Chinese Cinema, Part One." dGenerate Films. Available at http://dgeneratefilms.com/critical-essays/shelly-on-film-the-use-and-abuse-of-chinese-cinema-part-one (accessed April 4, 2012). See also, "Shelly on Film: The Use and Abuse of Chinese Cinema, Part Two." dGenerate Films. Available at http://dgeneratefilms.com/critical-essays/shelly-on-film-the-use-and-abuse-of-chinese-cinema-part-two (accessed April 4, 2012).

[597] Richard Fung and Midi Onodera, "Looking Back, Looking Forward," in *Reel Asian: Asian Canada on Screen*, ed. Elaine Chang (Toronto: Coach House Press, 2007), 27.

[598] Richard Fung, "Multiculturalism: Reconsidered," in *Yellow Peril: Reconsidered*, ed. Paul Wong (Vancouver: On the Cutting Edge Society, 1990), 1-7.

[599] Richard Fung, "Centre the Margins," first published in *Moving the Image: Independent Asian Pacific American Media Arts*, ed. Russell Leong (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Centre and Visual Communications, 1991), 62-67. Available at http://www.richardfung.ca/index.php?/articles/centre-the-margins-1991/ (accessed August 30, 2009).

[600] Fung, "Centre the Margins," no pagination.

[601] Richard Fung, "Programming the Public," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 5 (1) (1999): 73-93.

[602] The term "sticky rice politics" refers to the debate within the LGBT community about whether gay Asians should date other gay Asians, rather than gay people from other ethnicities. For further discussion, see Wayne Yung, "My Heart the Travel Agent," in *Practical Dreamers: Conversations with Movie Artists*, ed. Mike Hoolboom (Toronto: Coach House Press, 2013), 178.

[603] The queer Asian films that screened at TRAIFF from 1997 to 2007 include: *Shopping for Fangs* (dir. Quentin Lee and Justin Lin, Canada-U.S.A., 1997); *Love Story* (dir. Ayana Osada, U.S.A., 1997); *Life is Elsewhere* (dir. Simon Chung, Hong Kong 1996); *Stanley Beloved* (dir. Simon Chung, Hong Kong, 1997); *The Offering* (dir. Paul Lee, Canada, 1999); *Season of the Boys* (dir. Ho Tam, U.S.A.-Canada, 1998); *Swell* (dir. Carolynne Hew, Canada, 1998);

Telefunk8 (dir. Nicole Chung, Canada, 1998); *Lifesize* (dir. Lynne Chan, U.S.A., 1998); *Boulevard of Broken Sync* (dir. Winston Xin, Canada, 1995); *First Love and Other Pains* (dir. Simon Chung, Canada-Hong Kong, 1999); *The Queen's Cantonese Conversational Course, Lesson 1* (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1998); *Lotus Sisters* (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1996); *Search Engine* (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1999); *Angel* (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1999); *The Queen's Cantonese Conversational Course, Lesson 2* (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1998); *One Night in Heaven* (East End Remix) (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1995); *Peter Fucking Wayne Fucking Peter* (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1994); *The Queen's Cantonese Conversational Course, Lesson 3* (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1998); *Surfer Dick* (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1997); *1,000 Cumshots* (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1999); *Love Letter* (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1999); *Minor Crime* (dir. Nicole Chung, Canada, 2000); *Sea in the Blood* (dir. Richard Fung, Canada, 2000); *Basement Girl* (dir. Midi Onodera, Canada, 2000); *Breakbabies* (dir. Nicole Chung, Canada, 2000); *Blue Haven* (dir. Julian Cautherly, U.S.A., 2001); *Summer Exercise* (dir. Edmond Pang Ho Cheung, Hong Kong, 1999); *Partial Selves* (dir. Gloria Kim, Canada, 2000); *The Milkman* (dir. Ken Takahashi, Canada, 2001); *Faded Rainbow* (dir. Gilbert Kwong, Canada-Hong Kong, 2000); *The Bird That Chirped on Bathurst* (dir. Midi Onodera, Canada, 1981); *Idiot's Delight* (dir. Midi Onodera, Canada, 1983); *Made in Japan (*dir. Midi Onodera, Canada, 1985); *The Displaced View* (dir. Midi Onodera, Canada, 1988); *Ten Cents a Dance* (dir. Midi Onodera, Canada, 1985); *Skin Deep* (dir. Midi Onodera, Canada, 1995); *Basement Girl* (dir. Midi

Onodera, Canada, 2000); *Slightseer* (dir. Midi Onodera, Canada, 2001); *Chopstick, Bloody Chopstick* (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 2001); *Drift* (dir. Quentin Lee, Canada-U.S.A., 2001); *Heroes in Love* (Omnibus); *Kidnap* (dir. Wing Shya, Hong Kong, 2001); *Let Me Start By Saying* (dir. Chris Chong, Canada, 2001); *Her* (dir. Kai Ling Xue, Canada, 2005); *Disposable Lez* (dir. Desiree Lim, Japan, 2000); *Bridge Passage* (dir. Nicole Chung, Canada, 2001); *Books of James* (dir. Ho Tam, Canada, 2002); *Ohm-ma* (dir. Ruthann Lee, Canada, 2002); *I Am Not What You Want* (dir. Kit Hung, Hong Kong, 2001); *Tilted* (dir. Kai Ling Xue, Canada, 2003); *Buffering* (dir. Kit Hung, Hong Kong, 2003); *Banana Boy* (dir. Samuel Chow, Canada, 2002); *The Adventures of Iron Pussy* (dir. Apichatpong Weerasethakul and Michael Shaowanasai, Thailand, 2003); *Game Boy* (dir. Kevin Choi, U.S.A., 2003); *Out for Bubble Tea* (dir. Desiree Lim, Canada, 2003); *A Girl Named Kai* (dir. Kai Ling Xue, Canada, 2004); *1,000 Cumshots* (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 2003); *Life is Elsewhere* (dir. Simon Chung, Hong Kong 1996); *Stanley Beloved* (dir. Simon Chung, Hong Kong, 1997); *First Love and Other Pains* (dir. Simon Chung, Hong Kong, 1999); *Innocent* (dir. Simon Chung, Canada-Hong Kong, 2005); *Sweater People* (dir. Nicole Chung, Canada, 2005); *i have no memory of my direction* (dir. Midi Onodera, Canada, 2005); *Lead Role: Father* (dir. P.J. Raval, U.S.A., 2004); *Books of James* (dir. Ho Tam, Canada, 2006); *Cut Sleeve Boys* (dir. Ray Yeung, UK, 2006); *Peking Turkey* (dir. Michael Mew, Canada, 2006); *Miss Popularity* (dir. Wayne Yung, Germany, 2006); *The Pain of Being Thirsty* (dir. David Yun, U.S.A., 2007); and *No Regret* (dir. Leesong Hee-Il, South Korea, 2006).

[604] Iordanova, "The Film Festival Circuit," 27-28.

[605] Alice Shih, "Tracking Shots: Mapping the Asian Canadian Filmscape," in *Reel Asian: Asian Canada on Screen*, ed. Elaine Chang (Toronto: Coach House Press, 2005), 44.

[606] Ibid.

[607] Oliver Wang notes that the SFIAAFF, which traditionally takes place in March, begins a cycle of Asian American film festivals around the country. See Oliver Wang, "About CAAM," Centre for Asian American Media. Available at http://caamedia.org/about-caam/ (accessed September 5, 2012), no pagination.

[608] This Asian American New Wave included the production and release of an unprecedented four narrative features in 1997. These were: *Shopping for Fangs* (dir. Quentin Lee and Justin Lin); *Strawberry Fields* (dir. Rea Tajiri); *Sunsets* (dir. Michael Idemoto and Eric Nakamura), and *Yellow* (dir. Chris Chan Lee). See Oliver Wang, "The Margins: Class of 1997," Asian American Writers' Workshop. Available at http://aaww.org/the-class-of-1997/ (accessed September 5, 2012), no pagination.

[609] "Role Models: Diversity Interviews: Careers Trippletalk with Writer/Editor Andrew Sun of the South China Morning Post," no pagination.

[610] Stephen Gong, "A History in Progress: Asian American Media Arts Centres 1970-1990," in *Screening Asian Americans*, ed. Peter X. Feng (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 101-110.

[611] The SFIAAFF exhibits approximately 130 works of Asian and Asian American filmmakers or Asian and Asian American themed films per year. See Kent A. Ono and Vincent Pham, *Asian Americans and the Media* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009), 164.

[612] Huang, "A Case of Mistaken Identity," no pagination.

[613] Shih, "Tracking Shots," 36-47.

[614] Sun, interview.

[615] For example, the SFIAAFF traces its roots to Asian Cinevision's New York Asian American Film Festival, which began in 1978. See Oliver Wang, "About CAAM," no pagination.

[616] According to the former festival director of the SFIAAFF, Chi-hui Yang, "We've built audience and industry interest. . . . Unfortunately, very few Asian-American films are released commercially. We have the films. We have the infrastructure to do it, now we're looking at the interest of the distributors." See Lily Ng, "Asian Influence: 25 Years of NAATA's Accomplishments, *documentary.org*, September/October 2005. Available at http://www.documentary.org/magazine/asian-influence-25-years-naata%E2%80%99s-accomplishments (accessed October 31, 2014).

[617] With respect to the influence of international film festivals on the film style of a single auteur, see Jason McGrath, "The Independent Cinema of Jia Zhangke: From Postsocialist Realism to a Transnational Aesthetic," in *The Urban Generation: Chinese Cinema and Society at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Zhang Zhen (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 81-114.

[618] With respect to the lack of aesthetic uniformity among Asian American films, see Peter X. Feng, "Asian American Film and Video: A Cinema of Dispersion," in *Out of the Shadows: Asians in American Cinema*, ed. Roger Garcia (Locarno/Milano: Festival Internazionale del Film de Locarno/Olivares, 2001), 58-64.

[619] Ibid., 64.

[620] *The Second Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival*. Programme Booklet (Toronto: Second TRAIFF, 1998), 7, and *The Third Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: Third TRAIFF, 1999), 11.

[621] The most notorious advocate for an authentic, culturally nationalist Asian American identity is arguably Frank Chin. See Frank Chin, "Come All Ye Asian American Writers of the Real and the Fake," in *A Companion to Asian American Studies*, ed. Kent A. Ono (Malden: Blackwell, 2005), 133-156.

[622] Naficy, *An Accented Cinema*, 65-66.

[623] Huang, "A Case of Mistaken Identity," no pagination.

[624] Wang, "About CAAM," no pagination.

[625] On the explosion of queer Asian American films and videos in the 1990s and the role of film festivals in their circulation, see for example Eve Oishi, "Bad Asians: New Film and Video By Queer Asian American Artists," in *Countervisions: Asian American Film Criticism*, ed. Darrell Y. Hammamoto and Sandra Liu (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000), 221-241, and Eve Oishi, "Bad Asians, The Sequel: Continuing Trends in Queer API Film and Video," *Millennium Film Journal* 41 (Fall 2003): 34-41.

[626] "About Festival: History," Centre for Asian American Media. Available at http://caamedia.org/festival/history-timeline/ (accessed November 10, 2011).

[627] Huang, "A Case of Mistaken Identity," no pagination.

[628] Ibid.

[629] *The Second Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: Second TRAIFF, 1998), 7.

[630] *The Third Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: Third TRAIFF, 1999), 11.

[631] Ibid., 9-11.

[632] *The Sixth Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: Sixth TRAIFF, 2002), no pagination. NB There were no page numbers given in the film festival guide for this year.

[633] *The Tenth Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: Tenth TRAIFF, 2006), 15.

[634] Marijke De Valck, *Film Festivals: From European Geopolitics to Global Cinephilia* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 25.

[635] *The Tenth Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: Tenth TRAIFF, 2006), 2.

[636] Figures taken from the Second to the Tenth Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival Program Booklets (Toronto: Second to Tenth TRAIFFs, 1998-2006).

[637] For further reading on Asian Australian cinema, see for example *Transnational Australian Cinema: Ethics in the Asian Diasporas*, eds. Olivia Khoo, Belinda Small, and Audrey Yue (New York: Lexington Books, 2013).

For further reading on British Chinese cinema, see for example Felicia Chan and Andy Willis, "British Chinese Short Films," in *Sinophone Cinemas*, eds. Olivia Khoo and Audrey Yue (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 169-184.

[638] "New Asian Currents Juror: Chalida Uabumrungjit," Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival Catalogue 2001. Available at http://www.yidff.jp/2001/cat043/01c081-e.html (accessed July 1, 2015).

[639] Chalida Uabumrungjit, "Greetings," *The Tenth Hong Kong Independent Short Film and Video*. Programme Booklet (Hong Kong: Tenth ifva, 2004), 4.

[640] Ibid.

[641] *The Sixth Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: Sixth TRAIFF, 2002), no pagination.

[642] Liz Cach, "Film Festivals, Programming, and the Building of a National Cinema," *The Moving Image* 4, no. 1 (2004): 76-88.

[643] Christopher E. Gittings, *Canadian National Cinema* (London: Routledge, 2002).

[644] Chris Berry, "Tammy Cheung: Hong Kong Watcher," in *Hong Kong Culture: Word and Image*, ed. Kam Louie (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010), 228.

[645] *The Seventh Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: Seventh TRAIFF, 2003), 25.

[646] "Director's Welcome Message," Hong Kong Economic and Trade Office. Available at http://www.hketotoronto.gov.hk/about/directors-welcome-message/index.php (November 10, 2011).

[647] *The Seventh Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: Seventh TRAIFF, 2003), 4.

[648] Ibid., 4 and 6.

[649] *The Seventh Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: Seventh TRAIFF, 2003), 30.

[650] In my interview with him in Vancouver, the media artist Paul Wong also differentiated between independent production in descriptive

terms as "low-budget," and independent production in critical terms as alternative to the mainstream.

[651] Figures taken from the Third to Tenth Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival Program Booklets (Toronto Third to Tenth TRAIFFs, 1999-2006).

[652] Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizens: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

[653] *The Sixth Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: Sixth TRAIFF, 2002), no pagination.

[654] Edmund Lee, "Reel Life: Mary Stephen Interview," *Time Out Hong Kong*, November 10, 2009. Available from <http://www.timeout.com.hk/film/features/29455/reel-life-mary-stephen-interview.html> (accessed November 10, 2011).

[655] The films that screened as part of TRAIFF's "Canadian Spotlight" on Wayne Yung in 1999 were:: *The Queen's Cantonese: Conversational Course, Lesson 1* (1998); *Lotus Sisters* (1996); *Search Engine* (1999); *Angel* (1998); *The Queen's Cantonese: Conversational Course, Lesson 2* (1998); *One Night in Heaven (East End Remix)* (1995); *Peter Fucking Wayne Fucking Peter* (1994); *The Queen's Cantonese: Conversational Course, Lesson 3* (1998); and *Surfer Dick* (1997). The program also featured the world premieres of two short video tapes by Yung tentatively entitled, *1,000 Cumshots* and *Love Letter*. See *The Third Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: Third TRAIFF, 1999), 11.

[656] Ibid.

[657] According to David Ley, the term "Hongcouver" was commonly used by journalists in Vancouver and Hong Kong beginning in 1990 to refer to Vancouver's rapid transformation by migration and investment from Hong Kong, particularly with respect to changes in the former city's real estate market. See David Ley, *Millionaire Migrants: Transpacific Life Lines* (Malden: John Wiley & Sons, 2011). Located at http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=bgwHSfMRjTUC&pg=PT214&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false (pages not specified) (accessed September 5, 2012).

[658] Wayne Yung and Nguyen Tan Hoang, "Queer Hongcouver and Other Fictions" in *Reel Asian: Asian Canada on Screen*, ed. Elaine Chang (Toronto: Coach House Press, 2007), 254.

[659] Richard Fung has argued in various publications about the need to situate Asian Canadian cultural production within a particular national context. See for example Fung, "Multiculturalism Reconsidered," 17-19. He nonetheless acknowledges the need to look beyond the nation with respect to queer Asian representation in the 1980s: "It is from Asia itself that we have seen the few representations of Asian gay characters in cinema; in *Macho Dancer* (1988) from veteran Filipino director and political activist Lino Brocka and ... in the Thai films such as *The Last Song* (1986) and *I am a Man* (1988). Problematic because of their coyness or their sometimes oppressive morality, these films nevertheless acknowledge a homosexual presence in

the societies in which they are made." See Fung, "Centre the Margins," 66-67.

[660] The Asian Canadian short films that screened as part of TRAIFF's "Power Play" program at the thirteenth ifva in Hong Kong were: *Miss Popularity* (dir. Wayne Yung, Germany 2006); *The Contest* (dir. Naoko Kumagai, Canada, 2007); *Good Luck Counting Sheep* (dir. Khanhthuan Tran, Canada, 2007); *The Official Guide to Watching a Saturday Night Hockey Game (For Intermediates)* (dir. Tak Koyama, Canada, 2007); *Flutter* (dir. Howie Shia, Canada, 2006); *Rock Garden: A Love Story* (dir. Gloria Kim, Canada, 2007); and *Souvenirs from Asia* (dir. Joyce Wong, Canada, 2007). See *The Tenth Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: Tenth TRAIFF, 2006), 50-51.

[661] The short films that screened as part of TRAIFF's "Bittersweet Roots" program at the thirteenth ifva in Hong Kong were: *Banana Bruises* (dir. Joyce Wong, Canada, 2006); *Dan Carter* (dir. Alison Kobayashi, Canada, 2006); *Ice Ages* (dir. Howie Shia, Canada, 2006); *Usagi* (dir. Asa Mori, Canada, 2006); *Jaime Lo, Small and Shy* (dir. Lillian Chan, Canada, 2006); *Paper, Scissors, Rock* (dir. Jane Kim, Canada, 2006); and *Tuesday Be My Friend* (dir. Christopher Wong, Malaysia-Canada, 2005). See *The Eleventh Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: Eleventh TRAIFF, 2007), 18-19.

[662] *The Thirteenth Hong Kong Independent Short Film and Video Awards.* Programme Booklet (Hong Kong Thirteenth ifva, 2008), 86-87.

[663] Gloria Kim, "The Reel Deal," *FilmPrint*, January/February 2008, 5.

[664] Bill Nichols, *Representing Reality: Issues and Concepts in Documentary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 3.

[665] Tiffany Wong, "Burgeoning Asian Cinema," *China Daily* (HK Edition). November 27, 2008. Available at http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/hkedition/2008-11/27/content_7244203.htm (accessed November 10, 2011).

[666] Figures taken from the Sixth to Tenth Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival Program Booklets (Toronto Sixth to Tenth TRAIFFs, 2002-2006).

[667] "Introduction," Trinity Square Video. Available at http://www.trinitysquarevideo.com/ (accessed February 2, 2008).

[668] "Our Story," Trinity Square Video. Available at http://www.trinitysquarevideo.com/about-tsv/ (accessed February 2, 2008).

[669] *The Sixth Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival*. Programme Booklet (Toronto: Sixth TRAIFF, 2002), no pagination.

[670] "Message from the Artistic Director," *The Third Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: Sixth TRAIFF, 2002), no pagination.

[671] Email interview with Louanne Chan (director of marketing, TRAIFF) in Toronto, May 11, 2012.

[672] *The Sixth Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: Sixth TRAIFF, 2002), no pagination.

[673] *The Seventh Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: Seventh TRAIFF, 2003), 33.

[674] *The Sixth Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: Sixth TRAIFF, 2002), no pagination.

[675] *The Seventh Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: Seventh TRAIFF, 2003), 17.

[676] *The Sixth Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival.* Programme Booklet (Toronto: Sixth TRAIFF, 2002), no pagination.

[677] Personal interview with Richard Fung (media artist and board member, TRAIFF) in Toronto, November 5, 2008.

[678] "15 Years of Reel Asian," Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival. Available at http://www.reelasian.com/index.php/15-years-of-reel-asian (accessed November 10, 2011).

[679] An explicitly postructuralist and non-developmental conceptualization of identity is evident in Larissa Lai's recent analysis of Asian Canadian cultural production. See Larissa Lai, *Slanting I, Imagining We: Asian Canadian Literary Production in the 1980s and 1990s* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier Press, 2014). This approach contrasts with the culturally nationalist and triumphalist discourse of earlier generations of Asian American scholarship.

[680] A key work here is Stuart Hall, "New Ethnicities," in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, eds. David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen (London: Routledge, 1996), 441-449.

[681] Fung, "Centre the Margins," no pagination.

Chapter Six:
A Non-Collecting Gallery:
Centre A

In the previous two chapters, I have looked at the practice of minor transnationalism in Hong Kong and Toronto through the workings of a non-profit film distributor and a themed film festival, respectively. In this chapter, I look at the practice of minor transnationalism in the city of Vancouver through Centre A – the Vancouver International Centre for Contemporary Asian Art. I argue that the development of Centre A registers a shift from a globalizing strategy of displaying Asian and especially Chinese contemporary art, including video and media art, for Western consumption, to a peripheral-to-peripheral strategy of linking together alternative artistic practices from across Asia and the diasporas in order to facilitate dialogue and debate.

The chapter is divided into three parts. In part one, I look at why Centre A chose to adopt a strategy of minor transnationalism by historically situating the non-collecting gallery in relation to a particular set of socio-cultural conditions in the late 1990s. In part two, I examine how Centre A's minor transnational strategy manifests in two main ways: through individual activists in the form of independent sole traders such as Alice Ming Wai Jim and Ho Tam, and through groups or organizations such as Para/Site art space, in the establishment of minor-to-minor circuits. Finally, I analyze the implications of Centre A's minor transnational strategy by critically interrogating the centre's contribution to new epistemic and ontological categories. I argue that Centre A adopted a minor transnational strategy in order to sustain a visual and media arts practice in the neoliberalized, Pacific Rim city of Vancouver that is alternative and that actively incorporates diasporic Asian cultural production.

Situating Minor Transnationalism in Vancouver

Centre A –Vancouver International Centre for Contemporary Asian Art was established by Hank Bull and Zheng Shengtian in 1999 with a mission to "support and encourage the contemporary arts, with a focus on Asian and Asian-Canadian experience. As a public gallery,[682] it hosts temporary exhibitions, as well as producing conferences, publications, residencies, and educational programs."[683] Between July 2000 and December 2007, Centre A staged sixty-one exhibitions.[684] Although Centre A's remit has been to showcase contemporary art in general, video art or video installation in particular has played a role in twenty-five out of sixty-one of the gallery's exhibitions from 2000 to 2007.[685] My analysis will focus on these screen-based works, although it will make occasional reference to exhibitions that did not specifically feature video.

In order to contextualize Centre A's adoption of a minor transnational strategy, it is necessary to look at circumstances geographically both inside of and beyond the nation-state. Within Canada, beginning from the mid to late 1990s, there was a small but discernible movement of Chinese Canadian artists from the margins of the art world to the regional centre. For example, the National Gallery of Canada hosted a solo exhibition of the work of media artist and arts administrator, Paul Wong, in 1995.[686] Subsequently, the Vancouver Art Gallery (VAG) hosted an exhibition entitled, "Paul Wong: From the Collection," in 2002.[687]

Outside of Canada, there was also a movement of Asian, but especially Mainland Chinese, artists from the margins of the art world to the global centre. The early 2000s were characterized by the emergence of China on the art world stage and by the development of a global market for Chinese contemporary art. This was manifest in the sale of Chinese contemporary art at major auction houses in global cities, and the exhibition of contemporary Chinese art in major art fairs and art museums in the

West.[688] With respect to the development of an art market, Christie's in Hong Kong incorporated contemporary art into its traditional Asian art sale in 2005, and Sotheby's staged a contemporary Asian art sale in 2006.[689] With respect to the exhibition of contemporary art from the P.R.C, the Asia Society in New York hosted the exhibition, "Zhang Huan: Altered States" in 2008,[690] and the Saatchi Gallery in London hosted the exhibition, "The Revolution Continues: New Art from China" in 2008 and 2009.[691]

In Vancouver, this dominant trend of embracing Chinese contemporary art was evidenced in several ways. With respect to the commercial art world, the handover of Hong Kong saw the opening in the city of the Art Beatus Gallery. Billed as the first gallery of its kind to operate simultaneously on both sides of the Pacific, Art Beatus Gallery was founded in Hong Kong in 1992 and opened a second gallery in Vancouver in 1996.[692] The Gallery represents and promotes modern and contemporary art with a unique focus on Chinese contemporary art.[693] Following suit, co-curators Hank Bull and Zhang Shengtian organized the landmark exhibition and symposium, "Jiangnan: Contemporary Art from South of the Yangtze River," in 1998.[694] Involving thirteen different galleries, "Jiangnan" was the first symposium in the city to look comprehensively at the history of art in China in the 20th century.[695] With respect to world of public art galleries, the Vancouver Art Gallery (VAG) underwent a significant change of leadership in 2001 when it appointed a new director, Kathleen Bartels. [696] Formerly the assistant director of the Los Angeles Museum of Contemporary Art (MOCA), Bartels' tenure at the VAG has been characterized by an ambitious plan for expansion and unprecedented economic growth.[697] In 2007 and 2008, VAG hosted solo exhibitions of contemporary Chinese art by two of the "star" Chinese artists on the international art scene: "House of Oracles: A Huang Yong Ping Retrospective" (2007)[698] and "Zhang Huan: Altered States" (2008),[699] curated by the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis and the Asia Society in New York, respectively.

It is important to note that Centre A was originally intended to capitalize on the new boom in contemporary Asian art and to facilitate the integration of Vancouver into the global art economy. It was premised on the classical conceptualization of the museum as a bricks and mortar institution devoted to collection, interpretation, and display.[700] And it was also based on a notion of Vancouver as a "world class city" of culture competitively positioned against other world class cities in North America such as San Francisco and Los Angeles. This particular rationale for Centre A was widely propounded by political and economic elites such as the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada (APFC), a conservative think tank established in Vancouver in 1984,[701] and the local mainstream media, such as *The Vancouver Sun*[702] and *Business in Vancouver*.[703]

However, this founding vision and particular globalization strategy of Centre A was opposed and countered by local Asian Canadian artists such as Laiwan[704] and Paul Wong. As expressed in non-mainstream media outlets, such as *The Georgia Straight*,[705] and in panel discussions such as "Boxing the Local: Asian Canadian Twists,"[706] these dissenting perspectives were premised on an alternative conceptualization of the museum as a community resource rather than a symbol of "soft power," and on a notion of Vancouver as a city of neighbourhoods rather than as destination for investors and tourists from overseas.[707] The clash between the globalizing forces of the international art market for contemporary Chinese art and the localizing forces of local Asian Canadian and Chinese Canadian artists and curators can be mapped onto the framework of the "major-resistant" mode of cultural practice identified by Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih.[708] Within this framework, the global is assumed to be universal, mobile, and predatory, and the local is assumed to be particular, situated, and resistant.[709]

Indicative of the feelings of local artists towards overseas, and particularly Mainland Chinese artists, were the sentiments expressed by Paul Wong:

> The Asian *Canadians* within the Chinese international avant-garde, we're nothing. Because we're not part of the new hip Chinese [diasporics] from *China*.[710] The ex-Tiananmen Square [artist] in New York. The Chinese expat in Paris. As opposed to the Chinese from Hong Kong. We're not sexy enough. So there is a whole other hierarchy that has developed. I'm not Chinese enough. I don't speak Mandarin. I don't read and write.[711]

Former assistant curator at Centre A, Steven Tong, remembers that there was "a lot of hostility on the part of the Chinese Canadian artists towards Mainland Chinese artists who were successful."[712] Wong's and Tong's comments speak to the perceived double exclusion on the part of Asian Canadian and Chinese Canadian artists not only from the "White" art worlds at the local and national levels, but from the Chinese art world at the global level as well.

However, what has been less remarked upon is that the mid to late 1990s also saw the development of a new regional ecology of contemporary art, characterized by the proliferation of regional biennales,[713] art fairs, [714] and alternative art spaces[715] across East and Southeast Asia.[716] With respect to the latter, some of the most prominent alternative spaces include organizations such as Artist Commune in Hong Kong, IT Park in Taiwan, Alternative Space Loop in South Korea, and Plastique Kinetic Worms in Singapore.[717] In their paper presented at the Hong Kong-based symposium, "IN-BETWEEN: International Conference-Exhibit on Independent Art Space," in 2001, Mei Cheung and Crystal Lai differentiate between two generations in the development of independent art spaces in Hong Kong: a generation in the early 1980s, exemplified by organizations such as Zuni Icosahedron, Videotage, City Contemporary Dance Company, Fringe Club,

and Workshop; and a generation in the mid to late 1990s exemplified by organizations such as Artist Commune, 1aspace, Para/Site, and Z+.[718] As I discussed in chapter three of the thesis, a growing emphasis on creativity and local identity by political and cultural elites in the 1990s, and the establishment of funding agencies such as the Hong Kong Arts Development Council, helped to promote the participation of artists and cultural workers whose contributions had previously been overlooked. According to scholars such as David Clarke, Hong Kong contemporary art was marginalized prior to the handover due to the legacy of British colonialism within official cultural institutions such as the Hong Kong Museum of Art, and Sinocentric and classical notions of art.[719] In Hong Kong, galleries and museums previously showed more of an interest in modern art from the West or pre-modern Chinese ink painting, ceramics, or bronzes than in contemporary art by local artists.[720] This has resulted in a dearth of exhibition venues for Hong Kong practitioners of contemporary art practices such as installation art, performance art, media art, and photography.

Paradigmatic of this new generation of contemporary art production and exhibition is the alternative art space, Para/Site. Beginning life in 1996 as an artist-collective called "Artists in Western," Para/Site was the first art space in Hong Kong devoted to installation art.[721] Co-founder Phoebe Man Ching-ying recalls that Para/Site was created in response to local conditions such as a lack of exhibition space for contemporary art, a lack of communication between artists, and the underdevelopment of curatorial practice in the territory.[722] Failing to find a home within established cultural institutions in Hong Kong, Para/Site's first exhibition site was a shop space on 34 Li Po Lung Path in Kennedy Town, a peripheral neighbourhood far from the territory's commercial core. All of the work in its first exhibition in January 1996 was directly related to the site.[723] Para/Site subsequently moved to 4 Po Yan Street in Sheung Wan, a long-established, culturally important neighbourhood "full of dried seafood stores, coffin stores, *qipao* tailors and other traditional businesses of Hong Kong."[724] The founding

members of Para/Site were: Patrick Lee, Leung Chi-wo, Phoebe Man Ching-ying, Sara Wong Chi-hang, Leung Mee-ping, and Tsang Tak-ping.[725]

Like the Hong Kong-based, non-profit film distributor Ying E Chi (YEC) which I profiled earlier in the thesis, Para/Site's objective was not merely commercial or aesthetic, but activist, namely the development of an independent culture in the territory. Since their inception just prior to the handover, arts organizations such as YEC and Para/Site have hoped that the cultivation of an independent culture which values freedom of thought, criticality, and freedom of expression might help preserve Hong Kong's distinct identity under the P.R.C.'s policy of "One Country, Two Systems." As co-founder and artist Phoebe Man Ching-ying asserts, "Art enhances independent thinking and creativity, and serves as a reflection or criticism of reality and calls for the respect of different value systems."[726] In its activities, many of Para/Site's public programs, conferences and symposia, publications, and residencies, have served as important interventions into public issues in the territory such as uneven urban development and heritage preservation.[727] Several of Para/Site's exhibitions have also stirred controversy and discussion, which is significant because social conservatism in Hong Kong is the norm. For example, the exhibition "Constructed Reality: Conceptual Photography from Beijing" held at Para/Site in 2001 sparked debate about whether the photos on display constituted child pornography or art.[728]

I argue that on the one hand, minor transnationalism as a strategy can be understood as a way in which Asian Canadian visual artists and media artists in the 1990s responded to the changing institutional and social norms in the country with respect to the cultural citizenship of ethnic and sexual minorities. As I discussed in my analysis of cultural policy in chapter three of the thesis, a growing emphasis on diversity by political and cultural elites in the 1990s, and the reform of funding agencies such as the Canada Council for the Arts, increased the institutional access of social groups who had

previously been excluded or marginalized. According to artists and activists such as Paul Wong, contemporary art by Asian Canadian artists had been overlooked before the 1990s due to institutional racism within official cultural institutions such as the National Gallery of Canada, and Eurocentric and idealist notions of art.[729] The work of the older generation of Asian Canadian and Chinese Canadian artists tended to assert a strong, unitary identity in order to counter invisibility or abjection, or the experience of being Othered.

On the other hand, minor transnationalism as a strategy can also be understood as a way in which Centre A responded to new opportunities in the international art world. To fully understand Centre A's adoption of a minor transnational strategy, it is necessary to look at the evolution of the centre over time. In what follows, I will discuss the development of Centre A in three distinct phases: a first phase characterized by a founding vision; a second phase characterized by local opposition to this vision; and a third phase characterized by minor transnationalism. The founding vision for Centre A was put forward by co-founder Hank Bull, formerly a member of the artist-run centre, Western Front, and co-founder Zheng Shengtian, a curator with the gallery, Art Beatus, and was shaped by Sadira Rodrigues, the Centre's curator from 2000 to 2002.[730] This vision was based on what Rustom Bharucha, the theatre director, cultural critic, and participant in Centre A's launch event, has termed, the "New Asian Museum."

In his essay, "Beyond the Box: Problematizing the New Asian Museum,"[731] Bharucha distinguishes between two types of Asian museums: first, what he calls "old Asian museums," which are part of the legacy of European imperialism and colonialism,[732] and second, what he calls the "New Asian Museum," which is symptomatic of Asia's ascendance in the globalized present and serves as testament to Asia's burgeoning economic and soft power.[733] According to Bharucha, the model of the "New Asian Museum" is problematic because it merely seeks to compete with, rather than to challenge or rethink, the best in the West by a displaying a new body

of work from Asian countries. This approach tends to depict Asia as unified and progressive, when the region is in fact marked by historical tensions and contradictions, vast disparities of wealth, and hierarchies of culture.[734]

That Centre A was intended as a repudiation of the model of the old Asian museum is made clear by co-founder, Hank Bull: "[Centre A] is not like a museum where you go to look at Asia. This is a museum where you look at the world from an Asian point of view."[735] Bull's comments reflect a shift away from the notion of the museum as a site that facilitates a colonial (and Orientalist) notion of Asia as object, to a site that facilitates a globalist and triumphalist notion of Asia as subject, and as a new economic and cultural force in the world. Rejecting the traditional model of the museum, Centre A was imagined as the manifestation of the "New Asian Museum" instead. Bull recalls: "We wanted to start this thing, the Vancouver International Centre for Contemporary Asian Art . We wanted it to be international because we wanted it to be a major thing ... It was [going to be] all made of white marble, and it was going to collect, for sure … We thought that Vancouver had a great opportunity to create a permanent centre for contemporary Asian art."[736] Both Bull and Zheng had hoped that Centre A, as a collecting institution, would extend the legacy of the temporary exhibition and symposium, "Jiangnan: Contemporary Chinese Art from South of the Yangtze River," which had been staged in Vancouver in the spring of 1998. Coordinated by Bull and Zheng, "Jiangnan" was the first symposium in the city to look comprehensively at the history of art in China in the 20th century. [737] However, the aspiration for Centre A to serve as a repository for "Jiangnan" went unrealized for several reasons, including grassroots opposition and a lack of financial investment, as detailed later in this chapter.

Centre A was also expected to put the city of Vancouver culturally and economically "on the map." Various observers have noted that recent years have seen an increase in city-based cultural tourism; for example,

scholar Chin-tao Wu states that, "local city authorities have utilised cultural heritage and the arts ... to entice tourists to visit their cities, thereby projecting a cultivated image to the world at large."[738] Hank Bull continues, "Where San Francisco or LA might be expected to establish such a museum, here was our chance to do this ... If Vancouver would like to see itself as a gateway city between Asia and North America, what better way than with the creation of a really valuable museum, a museum that would be a kind of destination, like the Guggenheim in Bilbao."[739] Bull's comments here speak to the increasingly important role of museums in larger processes of globalization.

In her article, "Museums and Globalization," Saloni Mathur identifies two seemingly contradictory tendencies within the contemporary exhibition landscape. On the one hand, she laments the kind of globalization typified by the Guggenheim Museum in New York. She notes that under director Thomas Kren's "Global Guggenheim" strategy in the 1990s, the Museum opened branches in New York's Soho area, Las Vegas, Berlin, and Bilbao.[740] These museums are often characterized by iconic architecture, prestigious collections, and a global visitor base that includes tourists.[741] On the other hand, Mathur welcomes a "significant challenge to the authority of the museum by indigenous peoples and other minority groups and an increased attention by Western museums to the contemporary arts of the non-Western world."[742] These challenges are characterized by much more improvised display sites and practices, temporary exhibitions, and a local or regional visitor base.[743] Mathur argues that these challenges have resulted in "different kinds of configurations of power" and that this has changed the dynamics within the art world between centers and margins.[744]

In Vancouver, the clash between these two tendencies was most apparent at the first symposium hosted by Centre A entitled, "Twisting the Box: The New Asian Museum." Billed as the "largest gathering of contemporary Asian art professionals ever convened in Canada,"[745] the symposium was dedicated to a critical engagement with three pressing issues, namely the idea of the "museum," the idea of "Asia," and the idea of

"art." "Twisting the Box: The New Asian Museum" was an international event held from 5 to 6 May 2000 at the Robson Square Media Centre in Vancouver.[746] It saw the arrival in Vancouver of major curators, critics, and members of the art world from China, India, Japan, Korea, France, Great Britain, and more.[747] Key participants in the symposium included Hou Hanru, co-curator with Hans Ulrich Obrist of the seminal exhibition, "Cities on the Move;"[748] the theatre director and critic, Rustom Bharucha; and the curator and scholar, Sarat Maharaj.

While "Twisting the Box" made the case for the "New Asian Museum," one of the symposium's panels, "Boxing the Local: Asian Canadian Twists," was, according to Bull, "a really strong broadside attack against this hypothesis of Centre A." Questioning the legitimacy of the overseas participants invited to the symposium, the panel's speakers[749] asserted their right as resident Asian Canadian artists and cultural workers to intervene in and present alternatives to the "New Asian Museum." Hank Bull recalls that "the [Boxing the Local] panel demanded to know: Who are these [international curators and critics]? Where do they come from? We're the local artists of colour here, we're the ones that have been doing this work on the ground for twenty years now."[750] Bull's comments speak to the strength of feeling on the part of local artists who perceived the Centre A proposal to be top-down, externally-imposed, and exclusionary. According to artist and panel member Jenny Ham, "What we really want[ed] to see [was] a museum that starts locally as a community of emerging and established artists, and then builds its way out to be international."[751] The panel demanded that Centre A be inclusive, indigenous to the city, and grassroots or participatory, beginning the process of transformation that this chapter traces.

Independent Sole Traders and Minor-to-Minor Circuits

Whereas the previous section looked at the historical context for Centre A's adoption of a minor transnational strategy, this section looks at

the way in which this strategy works in practice. In particular, I focus on the role of independent sole traders and, in the following section, the role of minor-to-minor circuits. This part highlights the practices of independent sole traders; the objective of these cultural workers is not simply aesthetic or commercial, but social. The next part focuses on the practices of minor-to-minor circuits; the objective of these minor-to-minor circuits is not to create and sustain economic markets, but rather cultural connection and exchange.

A key purpose of the thesis is to make the case that that minor transnationalism operates on an individual level through the practices of independent sole traders such as the curator and scholar, Alice Ming Wai Jim, and the visual and media artist, Ho Tam. Whereas sole traders facilitate the movement of screen media from the cultural periphery to the cultural core in an attempt to achieve mainstream success,[752] independent sole traders broker the movement of screen media within and between peripheral groups. These individuals' commitment to social and political transformation translates into alternative practices of curation, art criticism, and display. While I have discussed the term "independent sole trader" in earlier chapters of the thesis in relation to the workings of the film festival circuit, here I will discuss the term in relation to the circulation of independent screen media through art museums, galleries, and alternative art spaces.

I argue that independent sole traders are driven to cultivate relations between peripheries for a range of reasons that warrant closer scholarly attention than they have received to date. This is because these reasons sometimes defy the expectations of how Chinese migrants under globalization are expected to behave. In much of the literature about migration and globalization, it is claimed by scholars such as Aihwa Ong and Donald Nonini that "modern Chinese transnationalism" is self-interested and upwardly mobile. Possessing a minor perspective, however, these educational migrants and cultural workers are driven not by profit-

seeking or professional norms, such as status-seeking, but by the desire for personal transformation and social change.

One example of an independent sole trader is the curator and scholar, Alice Ming Wai Jim. Following her doctoral studies at McGill University, where she completed a PhD dissertation, entitled "Urban Metaphors in Hong Kong," Jim took up a research fellowship in the Centre for the Study of Globalization and Cultures at the University of Hong Kong from 2001 to 2002.[753] She later assumed the post of assistant and then associate professor of contemporary art history at Concordia University in Montreal, a position that she currently holds. [754]

What makes Jim an independent sole trader is her commitment to facilitating connections between artists and organizations who work at the margins of visual culture and screen culture, rather than attempting to move such artists and organizations from the margins to the mainstream. Through curatorial strategies such as programming screen media that focus on ethnicity alongside those that focus primarily on gender or sexuality, Jim has helped to reframe the notion of diaspora in less essentialist terms. Furthermore, through organizing panel discussions and symposia that share knowledge and experience within and between diasporas in different locations, or indeed within and between alternative art spaces, Jim has helped to expand and diversify the notion of artist-run culture beyond the limitations of the nation-state.

Centre A's adoption of a peripheral-to-peripheral strategy was made largely during Jim's tenure as curator from 2003 to 2006. For Jim, it was important to enable a shift away from the notion of the museum as a site that facilitates a globalist and triumphalist notion of Asia, to a site that facilitates a notion of what Jim has termed, "comparative diasporas," and what Kuan-Hsing Chen has termed, Asia as Method;[755] I elaborate on these notions in the chapter sections below. This strategy and direction were distinct from both the founding vision of Centre A as a "New Asian Museum" favoured

by elites, and from the vehement opposition to this founding vision by local Asian Canadian artists. Moving beyond the dualism of the global versus local, or globalization from above versus globalization from below, Jim sought to position Centre A as a site to bring together "the local" from different locations in the world. [756] Such a strategy can be mapped onto the framework of the minor transnational mode.

Jim's multidimensional curatorial vision for Centre A was firstly to provide a platform for the work of Asian Canadian visual and media artists, drawing attention to the different generations and destinations of migration within Canada, and thus to the heterogeneity of the Asian Canadians as a group.[757] Of the sixty-one exhibitions in Centre A's archive from July 2000 to December 2007, thirty-three feature contemporary art by artists who are Asian Canadian.[758]

One important example of Jim's commitment to this objective was the exhibition, "Redress Express: Chinese Restaurants and the Head Tax Issue in Canadian Art,"[759] which took place from August 3 to September 1, 2007. The exhibition was accompanied by a symposium, entitled "Current Directions in Canadian Art," which was held from August 2 to 3, 2007 at the Chinese Cultural Centre of Vancouver. Although, on the surface, the discourse surrounding the exhibition might appear to reinforce the Orientalist notion of Chinese Canadians as a monolithic, fixed, and backward-looking group, on closer examination, the exhibition itself is much more complex. Profiling the work of five visual and media artists,[760] the objective of the exhibition was partly to problematize the dominant representations in the mainstream media of Head Tax activists and the movement for redress.[761] These tended to rely on "backwards," undifferentiated, or Orientalist representations of Chinese Canadians.[762] In contrast, the representations of cultural activism in "Redress Express"—through visual culture and screen media by Asian Canadian, and specifically Chinese Canadian, artists from the early 1990s to

the present day—offered alternative representations, ones that were modern, highly specific, and playful yet critical in tone.

In addition, Jim sought to provide a platform for the work of other Asian diasporic artists. To this end, Centre A hosted several exhibitions featuring the work of artists of Asian or Chinese descent living in the U.K., the U.S.A.,[763] and Australia.[764] These include the exhibitions, "William Yang: Australian Chinese," a photographic and performance-based exhibition presented in collaboration with Rumble Productions;[765] "4 Vietnamese American Artists: Charlie Don't Surf," an exhibition of abstract painting, photography, and experimental video about art, the politics of identity, and the Vietnam War;[766] and "Anthony Lam & Erika Tan: Mining the Archive," a multi-media exhibition by two British Chinese artists.[767]

Finally, Jim sought to further position Centre A as a space not only for exhibition, but as a forum for criticism and scholarship, for example, through the publication of catalogues and the hosting of panels and symposia.[768] Exemplary of this commitment was Centre A's third bi-annual symposium entitled, "Mutations<> Connections: Cultural (Ex) Changes in Asian Diasporas." [769] It comprised an exhibition held from June 4 to 17, 2004 at Centre A, and a symposium held from June 4 to 5, 2004 at the Emily Carr Institute of Art, Design and Media (now Emily Carr University).[770] "Mutations<> Connections" brought together cultural organizers, critical theorists, curators, educators, and art spaces from various Asian diasporas in the West—the U.S.A. (the Asian Art Museum in San Francisco and the Asia Society Museum in New York), the U.K. (the Centre for Chinese Contemporary Art in Manchester), Australia, Singapore, and three major cities across Canada. The conference aimed to examine relations within and between these diasporas, and between these diasporas and Asia itself.

According to Jim, the objective of the "Mutations<> Connections" conference was less to oppose or counterpose on the one hand, contemporary art from China, and on the other hand, Asian Canadian

contemporary art or contemporary art from other regions in Asia, as had been the case with the symposium, "Twisting the Box," than to "look *transnationally* at Asian diasporas *across* a number of key Asian communities in the world but also [communities] within 'Asia' itself."[771] Jim uses the term, "comparative diasporas," to describe this critical approach. For her, "comparative diasporas" is a way to respond to *both* the legacies of racism and xenophobia *and* the dangers of cultural nationalism, with its suppression of differences based on race, gender, and sexuality. By using other Asian diasporas as a referent, and sharing knowledge and experience within and between diasporas, it is possible for previously abject subjectivities to be rebuilt.

The term, "mutation" in reference to Centre A's third conference, "Mutations <>Connections: Cultural (Ex) Changes in Asian Diasporas," is significant for the way in which it intervenes in dominant understandings of cultural identity. By framing the discourse around diaspora in terms of mutation, an unplanned and unnatural change, rather than the maintenance of a pre-given cultural essence, Centre A has opened up possibilities to understand living in diaspora as a non-normative, heterogenizing, and open-ended process rather than as an experience of being "caught between two cultures. " I critiqued the adherence to the latter, older notion of diaspora in my discussion of the Toronto Reel Asian Film Festival in chapter five of the thesis.

Another highly significant undertaking for Centre A was the exhibition, "Para/Site: Open Work" which was held at Centre A from February 25 to April 3, 2004. [772] It took place in the context of the international symposium, "In-Fest: International Artist-Run Culture," which was organized by the Pacific Association of Artist Run Centres (PAARC) and was held at various venues in Vancouver from February 25 to 29, 2004.[773] Funded in part by the Hong Kong Arts Development Council, the exhibition was curated by Alice Ming Wai Jim on behalf of Centre A, and David Chan,

in collaboration with the Para/Site Space Collective in Hong Kong. "Para/Site: Open Work" featured several of the art space's past projects that have made this former artist collective a noteworthy case in the history of artist-run spaces in Hong Kong. Just as the "Mutations<> Connections" conference helped to the reframe the discourse around diaspora, the term "parasite" in reference to Centre A's exhibition, "Para/Site: Open Work," was significant for the way in which it intervened in dominant understandings of artistic practice. By framing the discourse around artist-run culture in terms of parasitism, with its suggestion of its dependence on a host community, rather than the maintenance of a strictly autonomous stance, Centre A has opened up possibilities to understand artist-run culture as embedded in particular times, places, and causes, and about artists as social rather than merely individual agents.

My point here is that by adopting a minor transnational practice between diasporic artists and cultural workers in different locations, for example, or between alternative art spaces in Asia and artist-run centres or initiatives in Canada and Australia, Centre A has helped to develop what Walter Mignolo has called "border thinking" or "border epistemology." In his essay, "The Many Faces of Cosmo-polis: Border Thinking and Critical Cosmopolitanism," Mignolo defines border thinking or border epistemology as the recognition and transformation of the hegemonic imaginary from the perspective of people in subaltern positions.[774] He argues that border thinking is an essential tool of a critical cosmopolitanism in a globalized world.[775]

Another independent sole trader is the visual and video artist, Ho Tam. Born in Hong Kong and educated at McMaster University in Canada, Tam later studied in the Whitney Museum Independent Study Program and received a Master of Fine Art from Bard College in New York. Tam's videography includes more than fifteen experimental videos and one feature-length independent documentary, and his work has won numerous

awards.[776] Although he is not a curator with Centre A, he has been a participant in exhibitions at Centre A including "Lessons" in 2002 and "Redress Express: Chinese Restaurants and the Head Tax Issue in Canadian Art" in 2007.

What makes Tam an independent sole trader is his interest in the intersection of different identities, rather than identity per se: "I would like to go beyond working with any one particular grouping. I like to see that one is capable of moving beyond one's own ethnic and cultural background . . . Some of my [video] works explore different kinds of otherness." For example, his video *Ave Maria* (2000) was shot on the New York subway and focused on mothers and children, mostly of colour, to explore motherhood, female subjectivity, and race. *She Was Cuba* (2003) speaks about alienation and the immigrant experience through the story of a Cuban woman. *Dos Cartas Two Letters* (1999) is about a mixed-raced relationship in Peru. And *Miracles on 163rd Street* (2003) takes the viewer into the domestic world of gay Puerto Rican men."[777]

In many ways, Tam serves as a temporal bridge between the oppositional identity politics of the late 1980s and early 1990s and the more open, coalitional politics of the late 1990s and beyond. On the one hand, Tam acknowledges a debt to the older generation of visual and media artists, the pioneers so to speak: "When I think of the contributions and influence of Richard Fung, Trinh T. Minh-ha and many others . . . I mostly want to acknowledge the road that these artists of colour have paved for younger generations like my own."[778] Like Anita Lee, co-founder of the Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival, Tam was a beneficiary of the battles over cultural diversity in Canada in the early 1990s, becoming interim administrator of the Association of National Non-Profit Artist Centres from 1994 to 1995.[779] On the other hand, Tam acknowledges the limitations of social movements based on identity politics because their insistence upon a

"unified front" to counter racism and exclusion necessarily elides differences within minority groups.[780]

What is discernible in Tam's visual and media practice is a strong commitment to both social justice, and a poststructuralist and queer perspective on the world. In part because of his childhood experience in Hong Kong, Tam perceives colonialism and globalization not as uniformly destructive processes, but as contradictory and ambiguous in their effects. Tam's first solo exhibition at Centre A, entitled "Lessons," took place from May 2 to 30, 2002.[781] Part of the international symposium, "Locating Asia,"[782] it featured an exhibition of Tam's photographs of the same name. "Lessons" also featured a screening of Tam's video *Matinee Idol* (1999) which took place on May 5, 2002 at the VIVO media arts centre. Although the medium of "Lessons" is ostensibly photography, I include it here because of its origins as video footage that was shot with a low-resolution camcorder, subsequently played back on a monitor, and then re-shot with a camera.

"Lessons" featured twenty-five colour photographs of students taken at La Salle Primary, a Catholic boys' school in Hong Kong that Tam attended as a child. His reasons for revisiting the past were both personal and political. Tam remembers both good and bad things about the experience of being a student in Hong Kong, and as such, "the photos portray both sides."[783] He recalls: "I went to film the school with the idea of deconstructing the colonial [educational] system—but somehow I ended up feeling emotionally tied to it ... When I thought about the project, I thought it would be very black and white but it ended up being very grey.'"[784] Tam's willingness to engage with the complexity of colonialism is in part what differentiates him from an older generation of Asian Canadian artists including Paul Wong and Laiwan.

Like "Lessons," the video *Matinee Idol* also addresses the past. It depicts long-forgotten footage of the Hong Kong actor Wu Chu-Fan (1911-1993), also known as the Movie King of South China, who was famous

throughout Asia during his heyday.[785] Wu migrated to Canada after his retirement in the 1980s and died in Ottawa in obscurity.[786] *Matinee Idol* critiques both Hong Kong's commercialism, also a product of its colonial status,[787] and its disregard for its own history, and the lack of awareness of Wu Chu-Fan's work on the part of audiences outside of Asia. Says Tam, "You know, sometimes, you just need to be stopped for a moment, and [told to] look back ... there are certain things that need to be preserved. I don't think I'm making a difference in changing globalization, or making it stop. But at the same time, people need to do things about [the neglect of the past] instead of just letting the world go the way it is." The critical and retrospective stance that works across borders as well as through time is fundamental to Tam's ability to work as an independent sole trader.[788]

Although I discuss the exhibition "Redress Express" in more detail later on in the chapter, I will touch briefly here on Tam's participation in the exhibition. Tam's first feature-length work, *Books of James* provides an intimate portrait of James Wentzy, a New York-based artist and activist in the struggle against AIDS. Through his journal writings, drawings, and footage from AIDS Community Television of ACT UP New York, *Books of James* traces both the development of the fight against AIDS as a social movement and the ups and downs of Wentzy's day-to-day life. Its inclusion within the exhibition "Redress Express" is radical because it conjoins two different communities and social movements that would ordinarily have remained separate: the fight against AIDS on the part of gay men in the U.S.A., and the struggle for redress on the part of Chinese communities in Canada affected by the government's Head Tax. By drawing lines of connection between these struggles, Centre A has opened up a discursive site for the production of new, transnational identities, such as queer Asian.

It is important to point out that *Books of James* itself did not address Asian Canadian or Asian identity in any specific way. The deliberate absence of any overt discussion of ethnicity or "race" might seem unusual for an

Asia-specific organization. However, it speaks to Centre A's commitment to engaging with visual art and screen media by Asian Canadians as promoting an epistemological position, rather than embodying a cultural essence or reflecting a social fact. Whereas the founding vision for Centre A as a "New Asian Museum" referred to Vancouver's large Asian and Chinese population in primarily demographic terms, and justified the need for the gallery on this basis,[789] the minor transnational vision for the centre understood "Asian Canadian" not a descriptive term, but as a critical perspective, as "political project," and an open ended frame.[790]

In accounting for his preoccupation with socio-political issues, Tam points to his education in social work and his previous employment in community psychiatric facilities where he was exposed to the use of art in art therapy sessions.[791] He also recalls working in Ossinging, New York, which required him to commute by subway train alongside visitors to the Sing Sing state prison: "To get up there, I had to take the Metro North Train, often travelling alongside mothers, girlfriends, and children who were making visits to their loved one. This experience has touched me deeply."[792] Due to these experiences, Tam is committed to creating awareness around what is marginalized and forgotten. "To me, anybody could make art ... I don't make political work on purpose, but maybe the contribution of my art making is bringing awareness to certain things that people are not aware of, or are ignored, And that sort of includes looking at things from a different angle and perspective."[793] Like Simon Chung, the independent sole trader I discussed in chapter four of the thesis, Tam is concerned with not just depicting the status quo, but with challenging the fundamental precepts and normative assumptions of what is considered mainstream. This activist bent and queer point of view affiliate Tam with cultural producers not just in Canada, but in the Asia Pacific region and beyond.

In the previous chapter, I discussed the film festival not as a neutral showcase for the display of new cinemas, but as a material and discursive

site for the contestation of identities and imaginaries. In this chapter section, I look at the art gallery or museum not as a neutral site for the collection, interpretation, and display of art objects, but as a producer of knowledge about notions of Self and Other, time and space.[794] I argue that by adopting alternative curatorial and exhibition strategies that extend not only to *what* is shown, but *how* it is presented and contextualized, Centre A has helped to circulate discourses about Asia and Canada's implication with the Asia Pacific region that are counter-hegemonic to the dominant discourses produced by political and economic elites. Whereas government and business leaders have tended to depict Canada and especially Vancouver as a gateway to the Pacific Rim, the alternative discourses have depicted Asia as complex and contradictory in its historical and contemporary condition, rather than just as a source of overseas investment, and Asian Canadians and other diasporic artists and cultural workers as agents of cultural renewal and social transformation, rather than just as ambassadors for trade. These alternative curatorial and exhibition strategies include the hosting of temporary exhibitions, the expansion and deepening of critical discourse beyond individual artist talks through the organizing of panel discussions and symposia, and the engagement with issues of site-specificity.

By hosting temporary exhibitions rather than embarking on the collection of art objects, Centre A has helped to challenge the ideology of unity and stability of the nation, or indeed the region, that classical museums and galleries reproduce. In order to underscore the complexity and contestedness of Asia, Centre A has chosen to stage work by artists from locations as diverse as Okinawa, through the exhibition "Champuru: Contemporary Art in Okinawa;"[795] Yogyakarta in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, Java, through the exhibition "Interrogation;"[796] and New Delhi, through the exhibition "Resonance: Contemporary Art from New Delhi" which took place from October 15 to November 27, 2004.[797] In so doing, Centre A has embraced a very broad and disparate notion of "Asia," rather than one that is strictly demarcated or defined. In order to underscore the

plurality of Asian Canadians, Centre A has also chosen to present work by various artists of Asian or Chinese descent that are explicitly created from subjective and often marginalized points of view.

For example, one of the first exhibitions hosted by Centre A was "Michael Tora Speier: Hapa Big Board," which took place from August 1 to 30, 2000.[798] Inspired by the Hawaiian tradition of cultural mixing called "Hapa," the exhibition featured a giant surfboard that explored questions about what it means to be mixed-race. Centre A subsequently hosted the exhibition, "The Living Blanket/*La Couverture Vivant*," featuring a women's quilting project made by women from the Philippine Women's Centre in Vancouver in conjunction with women's groups around the world; [799] and the exhibition, "Shen Yuan," about the artist Shen Yuan's personal experience of her migration from the P.R.C. as an adult and her navigation of shifting gender roles.[800]

Of the exhibition "Hapa Big Board," Hank Bull recalls: One of the volunteers for Michael Tora Speier's exhibition 'Hapa Big Board' came up to me afterwards and said, 'You know what? I've grown up in Vancouver, and it's totally normal here, I mean half the kids in my class were Hapa. But we never talked about it, and that's just the point. I'm a Hapa person, and this [Centre] is the space where I can do that, I really appreciate it.'"[801] The interventionist nature of the exhibition, "Hapa Big Board," is apparent in the way that it focused attention on the convergence of two "racial" identities that are usually discussed as being inherently separate from one another: "White" and "Asian." Bull's recollections speak to how Centre A's approach to curating has created a discursive space for the production of new identities such as being "Hapa" or mixed-race.

By hosting panel discussions and symposia involving multiple perspectives, in addition to hosting talks with individual artists, Centre A has helped to challenge what Pierre Bourdieu has termed the "charismatic ideology of creation,"[802] or the notion of the "artist as genius," so pervasive

in the established discipline of art history and in the field of galleries and museums. Since its inception, Centre A has been committed to creating fora not just for the display of art objects and the interpretation of art, but for the contestation of social and political ideas. Of the sixty-one exhibitions and events Centre A hosted between July 2000 and December 2007, no fewer than fourteen have been accompanied by a panel discussion or symposium (see Table 6).[803] Centre A has published full exhibition catalogues for no fewer than five of these discursive events.[804] As already mentioned, co-founders Hank Bull and Zheng Shengtian also organized the major international symposium, "Twisting the Box," prior to Centre A's launch. Thematically, these symposia have ranged from the status of Korean comfort women and Zainichi (or resident Koreans) in Japan; to the development of contemporary art in Okinawa, Taiwan, and Hong Kong; to issues of poverty and social deprivation in Vancouver; to the impact of the policy of official multiculturalism on cultural production in Canada; to the contemporary representation of the Vietnam War among descendants of Vietnamese refugees now living in the U.S.A.

Table 6: Symposia and Panel Discussions at Centre A, 2000-2007[805]

Year	Symposium or Panel Discussion Title	Curators or Organizers	Exhibition Title	Participants	Cata-logue
2000	Twisting the Box: The New Asian Museum	Hank Bull, Zheng Shengtian for Centre A	None	Various – see chapter and endnotes	Not specified
2001	Korean Family Photographs	Not specified	Korean Family Photographs	Grace Eiko Thompson, Yong Soon Min	No
2002	Locating Asia	Simon Fraser University	Lessons, Matinee Idol	Not specified	No
2003	Home and Away	Vancouver Art Gallery (VAG), Simon Fraser University	Lohkchat! at Centre A and Home and Away at VAG	Yang Jiechang	No

Year	Symposium or Panel Discussion Title	Curators or Organizers	Exhibition Title	Participants	Cata-logue
2004	Place/Displace: Three Generations of Taiwanese Art	Charles Liu and John P. Begley (guest curators for Centre A)	Place/Displace: Three Generations of Taiwanese Art	Not specified	Not specified
2004	In-Fest: International Artist Run Culture	Alice Ming Wai Jim for Centre A, David Chan Ho Yeung for Para/Site	Para/Site: Open Work	Various – see chapter and endnotes	Yes
2004	Mutations <> Connections: Cultural (Ex) Changes in Asian Diasporas	Alice Ming Wai Jim for Centre A	Work by Judy Cheung, Ramona Ramlochand, Henry Tsang	Various – see chapter and endnotes	Yes

Year	Symposium or Panel Discussion Title	Curators or Organizers	Exhibition Title	Participants	Cata-logue
2005	4 Vietnamese American Artists: Charlie Don't Surf	Viet Le	4 Vietnamese American Artists: Charlie Don't Surf	Dinh Q. Le, Nguyen Tan Hoang, Ann Phong, Tran T. Kim-Trang	Yes
2005	Champuru: Contemporary Art in Okinawa	Hank Bull for Centre A and Okinawa Museum of Contemporary Art (OMCA)	Champuru: Contemporary Art in Okinawa	Three artist/curators associated with OMCA	No
2005	Breaking the Fourth Wall: Arts of the Downtown Eastside	Centre A and Downtown Vancouver Association	Breaking the Fourth Wall: Arts of the Downtown Eastside	June Sanders, Irwin Oostindie, Michael Clague	No

Year	Symposium or Panel Discussion Title	Curators or Organizers	Exhibition Title	Participants	Cata-logue
2006	Emergency Biennale in Chechnya	Evelyne Jouanno	Emergency Biennale in Chechnya	Evelyne Jouanno, Mikhail Alexseev, Kristin Cavoukian, and Don Wright	No
2007	Chinese Art on the Move	VAG and Hank Bull, Makiko Hara and Zheng Shengtian for Centre A	Shen Yuan (at Centre A), House of Oracles: A Huang Yong Ping Retrospective (at VAG)	Shen Yuan, Huang Yong Ping, Hou Hanru, and Evelyne Joanno	Yes (Vancouver Art Gallery – VAG)
2007	Challenging the Limits of Tolerance	Liz Park (guest curator for Centre A)	Limits of Tolerance: Re-framing Multicultural State Policy	Not specified	Yes

Year	Symposium or Panel Discussion Title	Curators or Organizers	Exhibition Title	Participants	Cata-logue
2007	Redress Express: Current Directions in Asian Canadian Art and Culture	Alice Ming Wai Jim for Centre A	Redress Express: Chinese Restaurants and the Head Tax Issue in Canadian Art	Various – see chapter and endnotes	Yes
2007	Taiwan: From Within the Mist	Charles Liu, National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts, Taipei Cultural Centre in New York	Taiwan: From Within the Mist	Not specified	Yes

In her analysis of the shifts in aesthetic production and critical awareness of Asian American artists in the 1990s, Margo Machida identifies a number of exhibitions of note. Among these is the exhibition and symposium held at Centre A, "4 Vietnamese American Artists: Charlie Don't Surf."[806] The participating artists in the exhibition included Dinh Q. Le, Nguyen Tan Hoang, Ann Phong, and Tran T. Kim-Trang.[807] The title of the exhibition is an allusion to a line of dialogue from the Francis Ford Coppola

film, *Apocalypse Now* (1979). Quoting the exhibition's curator, Viet Le, Machida notes that for a younger generation of Vietnamese Americans, "the difficult years of war and its aftermath are often little more than an imaginative reconstruction devised chiefly through traces from film, video, and television images, alongside poignant family photographs and stories."[808] I draw attention to the circulation of short films and experimental videos by artists such as Dinh Q. Le and Nguyen Tan Hoang in order to highlight an aspect of media globalization that has to date been virtually ignored. In much of the literature about media globalization, it is claimed by scholars such as Darrell William Davis and Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh that screen production and circulation in the region are increasingly cross-border in order to compete with Hollywood. However, these independent films and videos have not travelled away from their places of origin in order to generate sales or revenue. Rather they have crossed borders in order to promote discussion and debate.

One of the key areas of this discussion and debate is how, or even if, to represent the past. For example, just as American visual and media artists of Vietnamese descent have come to problematize historical events such as the Vietnam War as profoundly *mediated* experiences, rather than simply lived experiences, American independent filmmakers of Japanese descent have come to rethink traumatic historical events as experienced *indirectly* rather than first-hand. One of the best known proponents of screen production that eschews the subject of historical trauma, such as the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, is the independent filmmaker, Gregg Araki. As Jun Okada notes in her recent book, Araki has frequently been criticized for choosing to make films about youth nihilism, such as *Totally F***ed Up* (1993) and *The Doom Generation* (1995), rather than about the historical ramifications of Asian American identity, adopting a stance which Okada has termed one of "counternostalgia."[809] Araki has responded to this criticism by pointing out that the internment of Japanese Americans was a defining feature of his parents' generation, not of his.[810] He has also asserted his right to make films that are imaginative rather than fact-based.[811]

I have already alluded to the inclusion of Ho Tam's documentary, *Books of James* in the exhibition, "Redress Express: Chinese Restaurants and the Head Tax Issue in Canadian Art." Here I also want to touch briefly on another screen object that was part of that exhibition, Ho Tam's first video, *The Yellow Pages* (1993). Like the videos in the exhibition "4 Vietnamese American Artists: Charlie Don't Surf," *The Yellow Pages* is very much a personal response to the cultural politics of the time. The video, which is silent, comprises of twenty-six segments of image and text which depict the experience of Asians in North America in satirical and humorous ways.[812] The video comments on historical events such as the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway by indentured labour from China and the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. It also comments on more contemporary experiences that might be associated with globalization, such as the introduction of Asian food into Western supermarkets and the commercial success of mega-musicals such as *Miss Saigon*. Tam's work is distinctive in the way in which it juxtaposes the profundity of events such as war with the banality of everyday facts of life, such as food labelling, in a manner that both provokes and permits multiple readings. In his willingness to address historical calamities, he resembles an older generation of Asian North American artists and filmmakers. However, in his rejection of a tone of didacticism and sobriety, he belongs to a younger generation of cultural producers successfully fusing popular culture with social insight.

Finally, by emphasizing the way in which visual art and screen media are given meaning and value by the exhibition sites and practices in and of themselves, Centre A has helped to challenge the ideology of the museum as a black box and the gallery as a white cube.[813] Centre A has chosen not to place art within a frame or to project the (screen) image upon a wall, thereby reproducing classical modes of viewing and spectatorship.[814] Rather it has problematized traditional ways of seeing and established ways of apprehending and understanding the world. By presenting screen media and visual culture in ways that draw attention to rather than occlude their

embeddedness in specific spatial and temporal contexts, Centre A has helped to contest the idealist notion that art should be disinterested and separate from life, and either above politics, or detached from issues of social and cultural concern.

For example, the exhibition and discussion, "Breaking the Fourth Wall: Arts of the Downtown Eastside," which was held at Centre A on October 24, 2005,[815] conveyed a much more complex idea of Vancouver than is depicted in the literature produced by global and local interests in finance or tourism. While often branded as a "world class city" that has prospered from capital flows from Asia, Vancouver is also a rapidly expanding urban centre with areas of severe social deprivation that include the neighbourhoods of Chinatown and the Downtown Eastside; in many cases, economic globalization has exacerbated these inequalities rather than helped. For example, since the 1990s, overseas investment in the real estate sector, facilitated by deregulation, has driven property values and housing prices up. This has resulted in the gentrification of previously working-class neighbourhoods such as Chinatown, and the displacement of long-time residents from their homes.[816]

A key purpose of the thesis is to make the case that that minor transnationalism works through economic globalization, not in opposition to it. It needs to be emphasized that although many of Centre A's activities have adopted critical or alternative perspectives, several exhibitions have espoused a more elite-driven point of view. Centre A undertook its first formal collaboration with the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada (APFC) in the spring of 2006. The focus on this partnership was the group exhibition, "China Trade."[817] Sponsored by the Salient Group and the Shanghai Fongrun Foreign Trade Co. Ltd. and curated by Zheng Shengtian, co-founder of Centre A and co-curator of the 2004 Shanghai Biennale, "China Trade" purported to showcase recent developments in contemporary art in China, Taiwan, and Canada.[818] In 2007, Centre A partnered with APFC again

for the group exhibition and symposium, "Taiwan: From Within the Mist," curated by Charles Liu.[819] Featuring the work of twenty-one artists from Taiwan, the large-scale exhibition, sponsored in part by the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office and the Taiwanese Canadian Cultural Society, toured to four cities in the U.S.A. and Canada before returning to Taiwan for a homecoming show. My point here is that the workings of conservative think tanks such as APFC and more community-driven organizations such as Centre A are not mutually exclusive. As I argued in my discussion of the Toronto Real Asian International Film Festival, non-mainstream exhibitors often operate in what Hamid Naficy has termed, the "interstitial mode."[820]

Minor-to-Minor Circuits

Having looked at how Centre A has evolved as a result of the practices of individual artists and cultural workers, I will now look at how Centre A has been shaped by, and in turn helped to shape, the forging of connections with groups and organizations. A key purpose of the thesis is to make the case that minor transnationalism operates at a group or organizational level through minor-to-minor circuits. For Centre A, these circuits have been less about the circulation of art and screen media directly than about the circulation of knowledge and ideas. I argue that as a result of pursuing this peripheral-to-peripheral strategy, issues surrounding the state of living in diaspora, and the nature of being independent or alternative, are no longer being asked or answered in isolation; rather, they are being constructed and contested as part of a transnational and transcultural exchange. This section will focus on two different minor-to-minor circuits: diasporic art research networks in "the West," and symposia of alternative art spaces in Asia and beyond.

One example of a minor-to-minor circuit across "the West" is the International Network for Diasporic Asian Art Research (INDAAR). Based in Sydney, Australia, INDAAR is part of an emerging alternative network of

researchers focussed on diaspora-to-diaspora links. According to its web site, INDAAR offers a context to internationalize research on diasporic art in Australia, Canada, Britain, and the U.S.A. as well as other countries. Through its web site, it shares publications, bibliographies, and information about events.[821] Another example of a minor-to-minor circuit is the California-based Diasporic Asian Art Network (DAAN). According to its website, it seeks to encourage a broader transnational and trans-diasporic as well as domestic orientation. The network situates itself within the Asian diaspora, rather than simply within the U.S.A.; in so doing, it elevates discussion of Asian American art to a global level. In DAAN's view, "the American situation can only be invigorated and enriched by working with other Asian diasporas."[822] An equivalent minor circuit in the U.K. would include the Chinese Centre for Contemporary Asian Art (CCCAA) Research Network, a network organized from the Chinese Centre for Contemporary Asian Art in Manchester.[823]

Curator and scholar Alice Ming Wai Jim has proposed the term, "comparative diasporas"[824] as a framework for rethinking diasporas, rather than simply conceptualizing diaspora as straightforwardly Othered by the nation.[825] She views "comparative diasporas" as a way to respond to *both* the legacies of racism and xenophobia *and* the dangers of cultural nationalism, with its suppression of differences based on ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and other forms of identity. By using other Asian diasporas as a referent, and sharing knowledge and experience within and between diasporas, it is possible for previously marginalized subjectivities to be rebuilt. This transnational turn, in addition to a continued focus on the national, has transformed the discourse of diaspora from one that understands diasporas as excluded by the nation, to one that understands diasporas as being part of communities that are not only based on ethnicity, but gender, sexuality, and class as well.

One of the manifestations of "comparative diasporas" is *Asian Diasporic Visual Cultures and the Americas*, a new journal edited by Alexandra Chang of New York University and Alice Ming Wai Jim. It is dedicated to the critical examination of visual cultural production—including visual arts, craft, cinema, film, performing arts, public art, architecture, design, fashion, media, and beyond—by and about Asian diasporic communities in the Americas, encompassing North, Central and South America, as well as the Pacific Islands and the Caribbean, and largely conceived within a globally connected framework.[826] The journal was launched in spring 2015.

As I have discussed in previous chapters, the cultural theorist Kuan-Hsing Chen has put forward the notion of Asia as Method as a framework for rethinking Asia, rather than simply heralding Asia's ascendancy vis-a-vis the West. For Chen, it is necessary to view Asia as a critical perspective rather than a cultural essence or geographic mass. Importantly, he views Asia as Method as a way to respond to *both* the legacies of colonialism and imperialism in the region *and* the uneven spread of globalization. By using other Asian societies as a referent, and sharing knowledge and experience within Asia, it is possible for previously colonized subjectivities to be rebuilt.

One of the manifestations of Asia as Method is "Space Traffic: Symposium of International Artist Spaces," a major international event that took place from 7 to 9 December 2001 in Hong Kong.[827] Funded by the Hong Kong Arts Development Council, the symposium was organized by Para/Site art space, in conjunction with the artist-run initiative West Space in Melbourne, with logistical support from Asia Art Archive in Hong Kong.[828] The title of the symposium is an allusion to the email correspondence between participants of different art collectives that began in March 2001. [829] A landmark event, "Space Traffic" brought together alternative art spaces from more than ten cities around the world, including Centre A from Vancouver.[830] Its objective was to investigate issues, problems, and possibilities regarding alternative art spaces, and to facilitate

direct dialogue between different art spaces across Asia and the Asia Pacific region.[831]

As a result of participating in the "Space Traffic" symposium in Hong Kong in 2001, co-founder Hank Bull recalls: "Alice Ming Wai Jim and I came back to Vancouver thinking, 'wouldn't it be great if we could organize a similar meeting like this and host it in Vancouver? ... It wasn't exactly cause and effect, but "Space Traffic" did have an influence [on the decision to organize In-Fest]."[832] Jim agrees that the experience of being involved in the "Space Traffic" symposium "strongly informed why we were enthusiastic about bringing Para/Site to Centre A."[833] Hence, it can be seen that the model for these artist-run networks and events has been *other* artist-run networks and events, rather than commercial art fairs or official biennales.

Thus it appears that Centre A has sought to broker connections between peripheral visual and screen cultures as a way of *transnationalizing* artist-run culture, and its values of access and flexibility,[834] rather than globalizing (and monetizing) Chinese contemporary art. I argue that non-collecting galleries such as Centre A have emerged as key sites of contestation about what it means to be alternative under globalization, for example by fostering a cross-border dialogue about issues such as the relationship between contemporary art and social change in local contexts,[835] and about the environment in which alternative art spaces exist.[836] Furthermore, non-collecting galleries such as Centre A have helped to foster ways of imagining the future that subscribe to a different logic than those of governments and corporations, for example by espousing sustainability rather than the Enlightenment ideal of "progress" and unlimited economic growth. I elaborate on the latter point in the chapter sections below.

The early 2000s were characterized by intensified networks and exchanges between artist-run centres and alternative spaces in Asia and beyond, and by the emergence of a cross-border zone of cultural debate.[837] This was manifest in the proliferation of symposia and conferences focussed

on artist-run culture not only in Europe and North America, but in the so-called non-West. The First European Seminar for Artist-run Spaces (FESARS) took place in Stockholm in 1999. "IN-BETWEEN: International Conference-Exhibit on Independent Art Spaces," organized by 1a space, took place in Hong Kong in 2001. And "In-Fest: International Artist-Run Culture," organized by the Pacific Association for Artist Run Centres (PAARC), took place in Vancouver in 2004. The second IN-BETWEEN International Conference, entitled "Globalism and Alternative Spaces," took place in Seoul in 2004.[838]

These networks and exchanges are notable for being organic in development, rather than pre-planned; informal in execution, rather than rigidly structured; and open-ended in terms of outcomes, rather than prescriptive. Recalling the process of organizing "In-Fest," coordinator Keith Wallace states, "I found the [artist-run] centres that I thought were interesting, and then I would discretely find out what they were doing and whether they would make an interesting contribution to the event. In a sense, I didn't know what was going to happen until it happened."[839] Commenting on the running of actual symposia, artist Leung Chi Wo states, "It's not just the conference but it's the in-between moments that are important as they allow for people to talk and chat."[840] The importance of this loose style of exchange is reiterated by fellow artist, Tim Li: "... these moments are conducive for something special to happen."[841]

The following section will focus on two seemingly contradictory rationales for alternative art spaces to participate in these networks and exchanges: first, the building up of organizational capacity, and second, the attempt to ameliorate the bureaucratic excesses of institutionalization.

One rationale for participating in these minor-to-minor circuits is to build organizational capacity. By adopting a minor transnational strategy, art spaces which might be facing threats to their viability can acquire moral and practical support. In Hong Kong for example, artists must cope with a

multitude of challenges, including bureaucratic indifference, an enduring shortage of exhibition spaces, the lack of a strong curatorial and critical community, the lack of media attention, and the lack of a market for local art.[842] According to Keith Wallace, independent curator and co-ordinator of "In-Fest," one of the benefits of these minor-to-minor circuits has been to enable alternative spaces in Asia to overcome limitations, such as an underdeveloped cultural infrastructure, and to build on strengths. The fact remains that alternative art spaces are fragile. They are structurally weak and may be geographically dispersed. Unless an art space is sufficiently robust and can build its organizational capacity over the medium and long-term, it risks ceasing to exist. Minor transnationalism can be seen as a strategy on the part of alternative spaces to boost their institutional longevity, under sometimes unfavourable, perhaps even hostile, local or national conditions. Chi Wo Leung observes that "the Hong Kong art scene is far too isolated, [so] we tried international exchange."[843]

However, another highly significant rationale behind the involvement of organizations in these networks and exchanges is to slow down or lessen the effects of institutionalization. By adopting a minor transnational strategy, art spaces at risk of losing their values of accessibility and flexibility can attempt to retain their radical edge.[844] In Canada for example, there is a relatively stable funding system for artist-run centres, and thus a tendency for artists to succumb to complacency. According to Keith Wallace, "There is need [for artist-run centres] to look at themselves, at how other centres are operating, just to give themselves a little bit of a kick."[845] By being brought into contact with very grassroots organizations outside of the country, more established artist-run centres in Canada have been given the means to renew themselves and to avoid organizational stagnation. This is significant because this desire to remain radical and on the margins of the mainstream, rather than to become more closely integrated into the global economy or into official culture, is what sets this cross-border activity apart from the logics of globalism or regionalism.

Para/Site co-founder, Chi Wo Leung, insists that the meaning of the term "alternative" is temporally and spatially variable, not absolute. In this way, he shuns the romanticized view that artistic creation is an inherently bohemian practice. He says:

> Artistic activities that take place in spaces not originally intended for art, or art spaces in old districts, can only convey the impression of 'alternative' at the beginning and up to a certain point. This 'novelty' will usually fade with in time, as visitors become familiar with a space, it will lose its feeling of the 'alternative,' which attracted them there in the first place.[846]

Leung's comments yield an important insight: that the interventions staged by artists and cultural workers to go against the grain and be "non-mainstream" can only ever be temporary. They are ephemeral and contingent. Unless this commitment is continually renewed, and the intervention updated or transformed as circumstances change, this ideal of being alternative will inevitably lose its potency. Minor transnationalism can be seen a strategy on the part of alternative spaces to renew this commitment to remaining radical, even in the face of increasing institutionalization.

It is important to emphasize that this desire to remain grassroots rather than institutionalized is not limited to artist-run spaces in the West. Whereas Para/Site art space began with no long-term objectives and no permanent space, it has tended towards increasing institutionalization. Although it was originally an artist-run collective governed by a volunteer board, it has since evolved into a curator-run contemporary art space with at least one full-time professional employee.[847] Acknowledges Leung Chi Wo, "We have mutated from a group of young people who were only concerned about making art, to a limited company that places social responsibility at the top of our agenda. This has become the standard model for artist-run spaces, considering the public grants policy and the need to gather resources."[848] Para/Site's first exhibitions were embedded in local histories

and neighbourhoods and highly site-specific. In recent years, however, Para/Site's activities have become increasingly mobile and cross-border, and in both minor transnational and major modes. On a more grassroots level, Para/Site has collaborated with alternative art spaces in other parts of Asia and beyond, including the artist-run centre West Space in Melbourne. However, on a more institutional level, Para/Site participated in the Gwangju Beinnale in 2002 and the Venice Biennale in 2003.[849]

Whereas the original vision for Centre A was for a major collecting institution and tourist destination, Hank Bull now sees Centre A not as a display space, but as:

> A platform for the exchange of ideas, for involving the community, for testing what's art and what's not art. . . . It's no longer good enough to take a photograph, put a frame around it, stick it on the wall, send out an invitation and have an opening, and call that visual arts practice. Visual arts practice has to become much more engaged, and to somehow push the culture forward[850] ... The question, 'What is contemporary Asian art?' doesn't have an answer. Or rather it has many answers. As soon as you put down one, you can deconstruct it and come up with another. I think the challenge for this museum is to preserve that sense of becoming and change.[851]

To sum up, I have shown how Centre A evolved from the concept of a major, multi-million dollar, international art institution with a permanent collection of (Chinese) contemporary art--along the model of the New Asian Museum--to a concept of a much more modest, community-driven, alternative art space that is networked with other alternative art spaces in the Asia Pacific region and beyond, in a minor transnational way.

A Platform for Transnational Dialogue and Debate

This chapter has looked at why and how Centre A has pursued a minor transnational strategy. This conclusion will assess the significance of Centre A's fostering of cross-border, peripheral-to-peripheral links. I argue that through a strategy of minor transnationalism, Centre A has helped to deconstruct the gallery and art museum and to establish a platform for transnational dialogue and debate.

In order to assess the significance of Centre A's adoption of a minor transnational strategy, it is necessary to look at the epistemic and ontological dimensions of this shift. This is particularly important in light of persistent efforts by political and economic elites in the country to brand Vancouver as a "world class city" and as a financial, and to a much lesser extent cultural, gateway from Canada to the Pacific Rim. As I discussed in chapter three of the thesis, in response to geopolitical re-alignments and the growth of the Asian economies in the 1980s, the Government of Canada adopted a range of policies and programs, such as Canada's Year of Asia-Pacific, aimed at promoting relations between Canada and the region. The objective of these initiatives was to facilitate flows of business migrants and finance capital between Canada and Asia, thereby promoting investment and trade. This chapter has shown that by adopting a minor transnational strategy, Centre A has engaged in a different model of globalization, one that seeks to facilitate flows of educational migrants and cultural workers and the circulation of alternative Asian and Asian diasporic visual culture and screen media.

The transnational activity on the part of non-collecting galleries such as Centre A is not about increasing the economic advantage of elites, as would be the case in screen regionalism or globalism. Rather, minor transnationalism on the part of organizations such as Centre A has been about ensuring the continued existence of marginalized—and often uncommodifiable—visual and media practices through collaborating with other organizations on a similar scale and with similar goals. As Yasuko Furuichi explains, this cross-border activity is a "means for survival for new

art."[852] The objective of this activity is to promote the institutional sustainability of these alternative art spaces. By working in this way, Centre A and its partners can also be seen as enacting alternatives to the neoliberal logic of competition, accumulation, and unlimited economic growth.

As a result of the interventions of independent sole traders, Centre A has opened up a dialogue and debate about what it means to be "Asian" or "Canadian" in a world characterized as much by borders as by "flows." By "Asian Canadian," I refer to the term not just as a category of minority ethnic identity, but as an epistemological position from which to critique the so-called "host culture" of Canada, the "home cultures" of various locations in Asia, and indeed, global processes, such as free trade. Likewise, due to the proliferation of minor-to-minor circuits, and the hosting by Centre A of alternative art spaces such as Para/Site, the centre has opened up a dialogue and debate about what it means to be independent or alternative in a globalized visual art world.

In the previous three chapters, I have analyzed why, how, and to what effect educational migrants and cultural workers in Hong Kong, Toronto, and Vancouver have adopted a strategy of forging peripheral-to-peripheral, cross-border links. I have argued that non-profit film distributors, themed film festivals, and non-collecting galleries, are important sites through which minor transnationalism and practices of public and independent culture occur. In the final chapter, I will summarize the findings of my study and propose a number of possible directions for future research.

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[682] According to a discussion in the exhibition catalogue for "Para/Site: Open Work," a public gallery such as Centre A is more institutionalized than an artist-run centre (ARC) such as the VIVO Media Arts Centre. At the same time, Centre A is less institutionalized than a major

regional gallery such as the Vancouver Art Gallery. See Alice Ming Wai Jim, ed. *Para/Site: Open Work*, Exhibition Catalogue (Vancouver: Vancouver International Centre for Contemporary Asian Art, 2004), 24.

[683] *Centre A Newsletter 1* (Vancouver: Vancouver International Centre for Contemporary Asian Art, 2001). For further discussion on the distinction between ARCs and public galleries in Canada, and artist-run initiatives (ARIs) and contemporary art spaces in Australia, see Brett Jones, "In-Fest: Artist-Run Culture." Available at http://arcpost.ca/articles/infest-international-artist-run-culture (accessed May 8, 2015).

[684] Figures taken from archived exhibitions (2000 to 2007), "Archived Exhibitions," Centre A. Available at http://www.centrea.org/index.cfm?go=site.index&section=exhibitions&tag=archive (accessed April 5, 2012).

[685] Ibid.

[686] According to Alice Ming Wai Jim, Paul Wong remains the only Asian Canadian artist to have had a solo exhibition at the National Gallery of Canada. See Alice Ming Wai Jim "Perspectives: Asian Canadian Art Matters," DIAAALOGUE, July 2010 (Hong Kong: Asia Art Archive). Available at http://www.aaa.org.hk/Diaaalogue/Details/863 (accessed November 8, 2010).

[687] "Exhibition of Paul Wong's Work Presents Compelling Views on Sex, Life, and Death." Vancouver Art Gallery, Press Release, July 2, 2002. Available at

https://www.vanartgallery.bc.ca/media_room/pdf/070202b.pdf (accessed November 8, 2010).

[688] For a brief historical overview of the exhibition of Asian art in the West, see Akira Tatehata, "Asian Contemporary Art and Internationalism," in *Grove Art Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). Available at http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T097922 (accessed March 2, 2011).

[689] Melissa Chiu and Benjamin Genocchio, "Introduction: What is Asian Contemporary Art? Mapping an Evolving Discourse," in *Contemporary Art in Asia: A Critical Reader*, eds. Melissa Chiu and Ben Genocchio (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2011), 3.

[690] "Asia Society Presents First-Ever Museum Retrospective of Zhang Huang in New York," Asia Society, Press Release, August 15, 2007. Available at http://asiasociety.org/media/press-releases/asia-society-presents-first-ever-museum-retrospective-zhang-huan-in-new-york (accessed September 8, 2015).

[691] Laura Cumming, "Fitting Home for a Veteran Collector," *The Observer*, October 12, 2008. Available at http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2008/oct/12/art-saatchigallery (accessed September 8, 2015).

[692] "History and Mandate," Art Beatus in Vancouver. Available at http://www.artbeatus.com/english.html (accessed February 19, 2009).

[693] Ibid.

[694] *Centre A Newsletter 1*

[695] Ibid.

[696] Hadani Ditmars, "Kathleen Bartels: The Master Builder," *Canadian Art*, June 30, 2011. Available at https://canadianart.ca/features/kathleen_bartels/ (accessed September 8, 2015).

[697] Ibid.

[698] "Vancouver Art Gallery Presents First Retrospective of Contemporary Chinese Artist Huang Yong Ping," Vancouver Art Gallery, Press Release, March 20, 2007. Available at http://www.vanartgallery.bc.ca/media_room/pdf/House_of_Oracles_Release.pdf (accessed November 4, 2010).

[699] "First Canadian Survey of Work by One of China's Most Respected Artists Opening at Vancouver Art Gallery," Vancouver Art Gallery, Press Release, May 29, 2008. Available at http://www.vanartgallery.bc.ca/media_room/pdf/Zhang_Huan_MediaRelease.pdf (accessed November 4, 2010).

[700] "New Asian Art Museum for Vancouver," *The Asian Art Newspaper*, March 2000, no pagination.

[701] "About Us," Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. Available at http://www.asiapacific.ca/about-us (accessed February 9, 2009).

[702] For an example of this perspective in the city's main newspaper, see John Mackie, "Vancouver Museum Planned for Contemporary Asian Art," *The Vancouver Sun*, August 13, 1999.

[703] For an example of this perspective, see Gabriel Yu, "Asian Art Gallery Could Be a World-Class Undertaking," *Business in Vancouver*, October 24-30, 2000.

[704] Laiwan is an ethnically Chinese, Vancouver-based artist and activist who was born in Zimbabwe and immigrated to Canada in 1977 to escape the war in Rhodesia. She founded the Or Gallery in Vancouver in 1983. See "Laiwan," Women Artists in Canada. Available at http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/eppp-archive/100/205/301/ic/cdc/waic/laiwan/laiwan_e.htm (accessed September 8, 2015).

[705] See for example, Laiwan, "Artist Questions Centre A Mandate," Letters, *The Georgia Straight*, 36, no. 1795, 2002.

[706] "Boxing the Local: Asian Canadian Twists" refers to a panel discussion within the symposium, "Twisting the Box: The New Asian Museum" which was held in Vancouver from 5 to 6 May, 2000.

[707] These themes were explored in the exhibition, "Neighbourhood," curated by Alice Ming Wai Jim, which took place at Centre A from September 9 to October 15, 2005. See Robin Laurence, "Space, Place, History Live in Neighbourhood," *The Georgia Straight*, September 15-22, 2005, 77.

[708] Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih, "Introduction: Thinking through the Minor," in *Minor Transnationalism*, eds. Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 7.

[709] Ibid.

[710] For an analysis of what Melissa Chiu calls, "China's artistic diaspora," that is, the migration of Mainland Chinese artists in the post-Tiananmen period to various cities in the West, including New York, Paris, and Sydney, see Melissa Chiu, *Breakout: Chinese Art Outside of China* (Milano: Edizioni Charta, 2006).

[711] Personal interview with Paul Wong (media artist and co-founder, VIVO Media Arts Centre) in Vancouver, July 4, 2008.

[712] Personal interview with Steven Tong (former assistant curator, Centre A) in Vancouver, March 20, 2010.

[713] There is a debate in the literature as to the extent to which the proliferation of art biennials has fundamentally changed the power relations between centres and peripheries in the art world. For an example of a perspective that argues that biennials have decentred the art world, see for example Irit Rogoff, "Geo-Cultures: Circuits of Arts and Globalizations," Special Issue: The Art Biennale as a Global Phenomenon, *Open* 16 (2009): 106-115. Available at http://www.skor.nl/_files/Files/OPEN16_P106-115.pdf (accessed November 14, 2011). For a more sceptical perspective, see Chin-tao Wu, "Biennales and Art Fairs," *Grove Art Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). Available at

http://www.oxfordartonline.com/public/page/GAO_free_biennials (accessed March 11, 2011).

[714] Chin-tao Wu differentiates between bienniales, in which exhibitions are under the control of curators and are artist-based, and art fairs, in which exhibitions are based upon the participation of commercial galleries, and are developed to facilitate the immediate purchase of artwork. However, he argues that this distinction has become increasingly blurred. See Wu, "Biennales and Art Fairs," no pagination.

[715] Yasuko Furuichi refers to alternative spaces in Asia as "a group of contemporary art spaces which can be loosely identified as artist-run and independent curator-run spaces that do not have direct support from the state and government bodies in general." See Yasuko Furuichi, "Alternative Spaces in Asia," *Grove Art Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). Available at http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T097895 (accessed March 2, 2011).

[716] Melissa Chiu observes that in Japan and Korea, experimental art groups developed much earlier. She points to the examples of Gutai, a Japanese avant-garde group formed in 1954, and the Korean Avant-Garde Association, formed in 1969. See Melissa Chiu, "Asian Contemporary Art: An Introduction," *Grove Art Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). Available at http://www.oxfordartonline.com/public/page/asiancontintro (accessed March 2, 2011).

[717] See for example Yasuko Furuichi, "Directory of Alternative Spaces in Asia," *Grove Art Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). Available at http://www.oxfordartonline.com/public/page/asiancontdir (accessed March 2, 2011).

[718] Mei Cheung and Crystal Lai, "The Two Phases of Art Space Development in Hong Kong." Paper presented at the IN-BETWEEN: International Conference-Exhibit on Independent Art Space, 1a space. Available at http://www.artfactories.net/The-Two-Phases-of-Independent-Art.html (accessed October 13, 2010).

[719] David Clarke, *Hong Kong Art: Culture and Decolonization* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 13.

[720] Personal interview with Ellen Pau (media artist and founder, Videotage) in Hong Kong, April 16, 2009.

[721] *Centre A Newsletter 13* (Vancouver: Vancouver International Centre for Contemporary Asian Art, February-March 2004).

[722] Phoebe Man Ching-ying, "How We Solved One Dilemma After Another – Para Site's Management Principles," in *Para Site 1996-2008*, ed. Phoebe Man Ching-ying (Hong Kong: Para Site Art Space, 2008), 141. On the topic of curation, see also the essay by Oscar Ho, "Imbalanced Infrastructure, Imbalanced Development: Exhibition Curation in Hong Kong," in *Para Site 1996-2008*, ed. Phoebe Man Ching-ying (Hong Kong: Para Site Art Space, 2008), 29-35.

[723] Clarke, *Hong Kong Art: Culture and Decolonization*, 60.

[724] Kacey Wong Kwok Choi, "My Para Site Experience," in *Para Site 1996-2008*, ed. Phoebe Man Ching-ying (Hong Kong: Para Site Art Space, 2008), 153.

[725] "About," Para/Site Art Space. Available at <http://www.para-site.org.hk/en/about> (accessed April 20, 2009).

[726] Phoebe Man Ching-ying, "How We Solved One Dilemma After Another,"141.

[727] For an elaboration of these issues, see for example, Carolyn Cartier, "Power Plays: Alternative Performance Art and Urban Space in the Political Life of the City," in *Hong Kong Culture: Word and Image*, ed. Kam Louie (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010), 38.

[728] Phoebe Man Ching-ying, "How We Solved One Dilemma after Another,"142-143.

[729] See Paul Wong, "Yellow Peril: Reconsidered," in *Yellow Peril: Reconsidered*, ed. Paul Wong (Vancouver: On the Cutting Edge Society, 2000), 7-8.

[730] Robin Laurence, "Eastern Outpost," *The Georgia Straight*, May 2-9, 2002, no pagination.

[731] Rustom Bharucha, "Beyond the Box: Problematizing the New Asian Museum," *Third Text* 14 (2000): 11-19.

[732] Ibid., 12

[733] In this sense of demanding an indictment of both colonialism *and* corporate globalization, Bharucha's critique resembles those of scholars such as Gayatri Gopinath. See Gayatri Gopinath, *Impossible Desires: South Asian Public Cultures* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 9.

[734] Bharucha, "Beyond the Box,"18.

[735] Michael Scott, "Symposium Sets Foundation for Vancouver Art Centre," *The Georgia Straight*, April 27-May 4, 2000, 63.

[736] Personal interview with Hank Bull (co-founder and former executive director, Centre A) in Vancouver, July 6, 2008.

[737] *Centre A Newsletter 1*

[738] Wu, "Biennales and Art Fairs," no pagination. For a further discussion of the cultural politics of biennials from a Taiwanese perspective, see Chin-tao Wu, "Biennials without Borders?" in *Tate Papers* Issue 12, 2009. Available at http://www.tate.org.uk/download/file/fid/7272 (accessed September 15, 2015).

[739] Chris Dafoe, "Symposium Brings Asian Art Museum a Step Closer," *The Globe and Mail*, May 5, 2000, no pagination.

[740] See Saloni Mathur, "Museums and Globalization," *Anthopological Quarterly* 78, no. 3 (2005): 698.

[741] The M+ Museum, part of the West Kowloon Cultural District in Hong Kong, aspires to many of these criteria. The museum building was designed by Swiss architects, Herzog & de Meuron. It boasts the Sigg

Collection which bills itself as the "most comprehensive and important collection in the world of Chinese contemporary art from the 1970s to the present." And the Museum seeks to become a "world-class" facility. See "West Kowloon: M+ Overview," West Kowloon Cultural District. Available at http://www.westkowloon.hk/en/mplus/m-overview (accessed October 13, 2010).

[742] Mathur, "Museums and Globalization," 701. A highly regarded set of readings on museums from a postcolonial and global perspective can be found in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, eds. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington: Smithsonian, 1991); *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, eds. Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kraemer, and Steven D. Lavine (Washington: Smithsonian, 1992); and *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, eds. Ivan Karp, Corinne A. Kratz, and Lynn Szwaja (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

[743] The Community Museum Project in Hong Kong aims to challenge the idea of the museum as an elitist and intimidating institution. Founded in 2012 by Howard Chan, it strives to promote "indigenous creativity, visual culture, and public culture" through "flexible exhibition and public programs, often within specific community settings." See the Community Museum Project web site. Available at http://www.hkcmp.org/cmp/c_001.html (accessed October 13, 2010).

[744] Mathur, "Museums and Globalization," 701.

[745] "Twisting the Box," *The Asian Art Newspaper*, September 2000, no pagination.

[746] Ibid., no pagination.

[747] The list of participants in "Twisting the Box" included: Rustom Bharucha (India), David Chan (Hong Kong), Hou Hanru (China), Manray Hsu (Taiwan), Huang Du (China), Marilyn Jung (Canada), Raiji Kuroda (Japan), Sarat Maharaj (London), Marian Pastor Roces (Philippines), and Apinan Poshyanada (Thailand). See "Twisting the Box," no pagination.

[748] "Cities on the Move" was an exhibition of visual arts, architecture, and film and video co-curated by Hans Ulrich Obrist and Hou Hanru that traveled to multiple cities in North America and Europe before being shown at the Hayward Gallery in London from May 13 to June 27, 1999. It sought to explore the Asian city as a new force for disruption and transformation. See "Cities on the Move," Institute of International Visual Arts. Available at http://www.iniva.org/exhibitions_projects/1999/cities_on_the_move/cities_on_the_move (accessed November 8, 2010).

[749] The list of participants in "Boxing the Local" included: Kirsten Forkert, Jenny Ham, Sook C. Kong, Laiwan, Roy Miki, Cindy Mochizuki, Baco Ohama, Haruko Okano, Leo Quan, Sam Shem, Henry Tsang, Paul Wong, Kira Wu, Winston Xin, Jin-me Yoon and Winston Xin. See Jim, "Perspectives: Asian Canadian Art Matters," no pagination.

[750] Bull, interview.

[751] Janet Smith, "Asian Influences," *The Georgia Straight*, April 27-May 4, 2000, 63.

[752] One example of a "sole trader" with respect to the circulation and display of blockbuster art from Mainland China would be Charles Saatchi, owner of the Saatchi Gallery in London. The Saatchi Gallery hosted the exhibition, "The Revolution Continues: New Chinese Art," from October 9, 2008 to January 18, 2009. Available at http://www.saatchigallery.com/artists/new_art_from_china/ (accessed September 8, 2015).

[753] "Dr. Alice Ming Wai Jim, PhD," Concordia University. Available at http://www.concordia.ca/finearts/art-history/faculty.html?fpid=alice-ming-wai-jim (accessed July 4, 2011).

[754] Ibid., no pagination.

[755] Kuan-Hsing Chen, *Asia as Method: Towards Deimperialization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

[756] Alice Ming Wai Jim (former curator, Centre A) email message to author in Vancouver, October 26, 2010.

[757] Ibid., no pagination.

[758] Figures taken from online archived exhibitions (2000 to 2007), "Archived Exhibitions," Centre A. Available at http://www.centrea.org/index.cfm?go=site.index&section=exhibitions&tag=archive (accessed April 5, 2012).

[759] "Redress Express," Centre A. Available at http://centrea.org/2007/08/redress-express/ (accessed April 21, 2008).

[760] The five artists profiled in "Redress Express" were Gu Xiong, Shelly Low, Ho Tam, Karen Tam, and Kira Wu. See "Redress Express," Centre A. Available at http://centrea.org/2007/08/redress-express/ (accessed April 21, 2008).

[761] I have touched on the problematic of representing issues such as the Chinese Head Tax in previous work. See Su-Anne Yeo, "Vancouver Asian: Westcoast Film Cultures, on the Rim and at the End of the Line," in *Reel Asian: Asian Canada on Screen*, ed. Elaine Chang (Toronto: Coach House Press, 2005), 114.

[762] Alice Ming Wai Jim, ed., *Redress Express: Chinese Restaurants and the Head Tax Issue in Canadian Art*. Exhibition Catalogue (Vancouver: Centre A, 2007), 2.

[763] For further reading on Asian American contemporary art, see for example Margo Machida, *Unsettled Visions: Contemporary Asian American Artists and the Social Imaginary* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), and Alexandra Chang, *Envisioning Diaspora: Asian American Visual Art Collectives, From Godzilla, Godzookie to the Barnstormers* (New York: Timestone 8 Editions, 2009).

[764] For further reading on Asian Australian contemporary art, see for example Ien Ang, Sharon Chalmers, Lisa Law, and Mandy Thomas, eds.,

Alter/Asians: Asian-Australian Identities in Art, Media, and Popular Culture (Melbourne: Pluto Press Australia, 2001).

[765] This exhibition took place at Centre A from January 10 to February 9, 2003. See "William Yang: Australian Chinese," Centre A. Available at http://centrea.org/2003/01/australian-chinese/ (accessed June 24, 2008),

[766] Curated by Viet Le, this exhibition took place from April 9 to May 21, 2005 at Centre A. It was accompanied by a panel discussion on April 10 at the Vancouver Art Gallery. See "4 Vietnamese American Artists: Charlie Don't Surf," Centre A. Available at http://centrea.org/2005/04/charlie-dont-surf/ (accessed June 24, 2008).

[767] Curated by Alice Ming Wai Jim, this exhibition took place from April 22 to May 27, 2006 at Centre A. See "Anthony Lam & Erika Tan: Mining the Archive," Centre A. Available at http://centrea.org/2006/04/mining-the-archive/ (accessed June 24, 2008).

[768] Ibid., no pagination.

[769] "Mutations<> Connections," Centre A. Available at http://centrea.org/2004/06/mutations-connections/ (accessed April 20, 2009).

[770] Ibid., no pagination.

[771] Jim, email message.

[772] "Para/Site: Open Work," Centre A. Available at http://centrea.org/2004/02/parasite-open-work/ (accessed April 20, 2009).

[773] See Brett Jones, "In-Fest: Artist-Run Culture." Available at http://arcpost.ca/articles/infest-international-artist-run-culture (accessed May 8, 2015).

[774] Walter Mignolo, "The Many Faces of Cosmo-polis: Border Thinking and Critical Cosmopolitanism," *Public Culture* 12, no. 3 (2000), 736.

[775] Ibid., 736.

[776] "Bibliography: Ho Tam," Ho Tam: Visual/Video Artist. Available at http://www.ho-tam.com/biography/index.html (accessed April 5, 2012).

[777] Ho Tam and Alice Ming Wai Jim, "Let Your Fingers Do the Walking," in *Reel Asian: Asian Canada on Screen*, ed. Elaine Chang (Toronto: Coach House Books, 2007), 142-143.

[778] Ibid., 137.

[779] Ibid., 141.

[780] Ibid.

[781] The exhibition "Lessons" was organized by the curator Carla Garnet and first mounted at the TPW Gallery in Toronto. It then went on to tour a number of other cities. See "Lessons," Centre A. Available at http://centrea.org/2002/05/lessons/ (accessed June 24, 2008).

[782] "Locating Asia: The Meeting of People, Art and Culture" was the second bi-annual conference organized by Centre A. It comprised an exhibition, performances, and social events at Centre A, as well as keynote addresses and panel discussions at the Morris J. Wosk Centre for Dialogue at

Simon Fraser University. The conference took place on May 2, 2002 and involved a wide range of participants from Vancouver, Canada, and other countries. See *Centre A Newsletter 4* (Vancouver: Vancouver International Centre for Contemporary Asian Art, March 2002).

[783] M.A. Schann, "A Visual Attempt at the Middle Space," *Imprint Online*, 24/26. February 8, 2002, no pagination.

[784] Ibid., no pagination.

[785] "Matinee Idol," Ho Tam: Visual/Video Artist. Available at http://www.ho-tam.com/video/matineeidol.html (accessed June 24, 2008).

[786] According to Tam, the video *Matinee Idol* began life as a series of paintings entitled "Matinee Idols." See Andy Fado, "Provocative Pleasure: The Art of Contact," Ho Tam: Visual/Video Artist. Available at http://www.ho-tam.com/writings/Andy_Fabo.htm (accessed July 4, 2011).

[787] Ackbar Abbas has famously referred to this channeling of energies towards commercial enterprise in Hong Kong as "decadence." See Ackbar Abbas, *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 4-5.

[788] Personal interview with Ho Tam (visual and video artist) in Vancouver, June 24, 2008).

[789] For an example of this perspective, see Yu, "Asian Art Gallery Could Be a World-Class Undertaking," no pagination.

[790] Jim 2010, "Perspectives: Asian Canadian Art Matters," no pagination.

[791] Tam and Jim, "Let Your Fingers Do the Walking," 136.

[792] Ibid., 144.

[793] Tam, interview.

[794] For indicative readings on museums from a range of critical perspectives, see Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995); Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995); and Pierre Bourdieu, Alain Darbel, and Dominique Schnapper, *The Love of Art: European Art Museums and Their Public* (Oxford: Polity, 1997).

[795] Curated by Hank Bull, this exhibition took place at Centre A from November 3 to December 8, 2001. See "Champuru: Contemporary Art in Okinawa," Centre A. Available at http://centrea.org/2005/06/champuru-contemporary-art-in-okinawa/ (accessed April 5, 2012).

[796] Curated by Hank Bull, this exhibition took place at Centre A from January 12 to February 9, 2002. See "Interrogation," Centre A. Available at http://centrea.org/2002/01/interrogation/ (accessed April 5, 2012).

[797] See "Resonance: Contemporary Art from New Delhi," Centre A. Available at http://centrea.org/2004/10/resonance-contemporary-art-from-new-delhi/ (accessed April 5, 2012).

[798] "Hapa Big Board," Centre A. Available at http://centrea.org/2000/08/hapa-big-board/ (accessed April 20, 2008).

[799] "The Living Blanket/*La Couverture Vivant*," Centre A. Available at http://centrea.org/2008/10/the-living-blanket-la-couverture-vivant/ (accessed April 5, 2012).

[800] "Shen Yuan," Centre A. Available at http://centrea.org/2007/04/shen-yuan/ (accessed April 20, 2008).

[801] Bull, interview.

[802] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1996).

[803] Information taken from archived exhibitions (2000 to 2007), "Archived Exhibitions," Centre A. Available at http://www.centrea.org/index.cfm?go=site.index&section=exhibitions&tag=archive (accessed April 5, 2012).

[804] Archived Exhibitions," no pagination.

[805] Ibid.

[806] Margo Machida, "Reframing Asian America," *One Way or Another: Asian American Art Now*, eds. Melissa Chiu, Karin Higa, and Suzette S. Min (New York: Asia Society, 2004), 18.

[807] "4 Vietnamese American Artists: Charlie Don't Surf," Centre A. Available at http://centrea.org/2005/04/charlie-dont-surf/ (accessed June 24, 2008).

[808] Machida, "Reframing Asian America," 18.

[809] Jun Okada elaborates on Araki's perspective in her chapter, "Dismembered from History: the Counternostalgia of Gregg Araki." See Jun Okada, *Making Asian American Film and Video: Histories, Institutions, Movements* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2015), 79-96.

[810] Ariane Simar, "Hard Core Independent: Interview with Gregg Araki," in *Out of the Shadows: Asians in American Cinema*, ed. Roger Garcia (Locarno/Milano: Festival Internazionale del Film de Locarno/Olivares, 2001), 141.

[811] Ibid.

[812] See Jim, "Redress Express," 14.

[813] The seminal work here is Brian O'Doherty, *Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

[814] A key work here is Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990).

[815] "Breaking the Fourth Wall: Arts of the Downtown East Side," Centre A. Available at http://centrea.org/2005/10/breaking-the-fourth-wall-arts-of-the-downtown-eastside/ (accessed April 5, 2012).

[816] The gentrification of Vancouver's Chinatown is the subject of the NFB documentary, *Everything Will Be*, directed by Julia Kwan and released in 2013. See "Everything Will Be," National Film Board of Canada. Available

at https://www.nfb.ca/film/everything_will_be (accessed September 14, 2015).

[817] "China Trade," Centre A. Available at http://centrea.org/2006/03/china-trade/ (accessed April 20, 2008).

[818] Ibid., no pagination.

[819] "Taiwan: From Within the Mist," Centre A. Available at http://centrea.org/2007/09/taiwan-from-within-the-mist/ (accessed April 20, 2008).

[820] Hamid Naficy, *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001), 46-56.

[821] "Resources," International Network for Diasporic Asian Art Research. Available at http://indaar.asianaustralianstudies.org/resources (accessed March 10, 2012).

[822] "Diasporic Asian Art Network: About," Diasporic Asian Art Network. Available at http://www.nyu-apastudies.org/research/DAAN/?page_id=2 (accessed March 10, 2012).

[823] "Resources," Chinese Centre for Contemporary Asian Art. Available at http://www.cfcca.org.uk/resources/ (accessed March 10, 2012).

[824] Jim, email message.

[825] The work of Khachig Tölölyan is indicative of this dualistic approach to conceptualizing diasporas. See Khachig Tölölyan, "The Nation-

State and Its Others—In Lieu of a Preface," *Diasporas* 1, no. 1, Spring 1991: 3-7.

[826] "Asian Diasporic Visual Cultures and the Americas," Brill Publishing. Available at http://www.brill.com/products/journal/asian-diasporic-visual-cultures-and-americas (accessed May 5, 2015).

[827] "Symposium: Space Traffic – Symposium of International Artist Spaces," Asia Art Archive. Available at http://www.aaa.org.hk/Programme/Details/230 (accessed October 13, 2010).

[828] "Space Traffic: Symposium of International Artist Spaces," Space Traffic, Press Release. Available at http://www.biotechnics.org/1spacetraffic.html (accessed October 13, 2010).

[829] Ibid., no pagination.

[830] Ibid. The list of participating organizations in "Space Traffic: Symposium of International Artists' Spaces" included: Artist Commune (Hong Kong), Baguio Artists Guild (Baguio), Centre A (Vancouver), FADs Art Space (Tokyo), instantcoffee.org (Toronto), IT Park (Taipei), Konstakuten (Stockholm), United Net-works.org (Stockholm), Loft New Media Art Space (Beijing), Plastique Kinetic Worms (Singapore), Project 304 (Bangkok), Videotage (Hong Kong), West Space (Melbourne), Western Front (Vancouver), YYZ Artists' Outlet (Toronto), and Asia Art Archive (Hong Kong). See "Symposium: Space Traffic – Symposium of International Artist Spaces," no pagination.

[831] A publication co-produced by West Space and Para/Site was published following the symposium. See *Space Traffic: Artist-run Spaces Beyond a Local Context* (Melbourne and Hong Kong: West Space and Para/Site Art Space, 2002).

[832] Ibid., 44.

[833] Ibid.

[834] See for example, Brett Jones, "Reflections on Change in an Artist Run Space," in *Para Site 1996-2008*, edited by Phoebe Man Ching-ying (Hong Kong: Para Site Art Space, 2008), 16.

[835] This theme was among the topics discussed on the first day of the symposium, "IN-BETWEEN: International Conference-Exhibit on Independent Art Space." See for example, Andrew Lam, "Asian Alternative Space: World Alternative City," IN-BETWEEN: International Conference-Exhibit on Independent Art Space, 1a space. Available at http://www.artfactories.net/Asian-Alternative-Space-World.html (accessed October 13, 2010).

[836] This theme was the subject of inquiry on the second day of the symposium, "IN-BETWEEN: International Conference-Exhibit on Independent Art Space." See "Introduction to the Seminar," IN-BETWEEN: International Conference-Exhibit on Independent Art Space, 1a space. Available at http://www.artfactories.net/Introduction-to-the-seminar.html (accessed October 13, 2010).

[837] Furuichi, "Alternative Spaces in Asia," no pagination.

[838] Centre A did not participate in the symposium, "IN-BETWEEN: International Conference-Exhibit on Independent Art Space"; however, representatives from Melbourne (West Space) and Toronto (Mercer Union) did.

[839] Jim, *Para/Site: Open Work*, 45.

[840] Ibid., 24.

[841] Ibid.

[842] These constraints are discussed by Chi Wo Leung in his article, "Para/Site and Hong Kong Art Spaces," trans. Yeung Yang, *Yishu Journal* 3, No. 1 (March 2004): 56-62. See also Oscar Ho, "Imbalanced Infrastructure, Imbalanced Development," 29-35.

[843] Ibid., 61.

[844] In my interview with him, Kim Tomczak, co-founder of the Toronto-based artist-run centre, Vtape, spoke to the inability of many artist-run centres to respond quickly enough to emerging issues and changing perceptions, due to the demands of having to program a year to two years in advance. He observed that themed film festivals rather than artist-run centres are now much better placed to showcase new, cutting-edge work. Personal interview with Kim Tomczak (co-founder, Vtape) in Toronto, November 10, 2008.

[845] Jim, *Para/Site: Open Work*, 47.

[846] Leung, "Para/Site and Hong Kong Art Spaces,"60-61.

[847] Tobias Berger was appointed Para/Site's first professional executive director and curator in 2005. See Tobias Berger, "Roller-coastering," in *Para Site 1996-2008*, ed. Phoebe Man Ching-ying (Hong Kong: Para Site Art Space, 2008), 159.

[848] Ibid., 61.

[849] "Introduction," Para/Site Art Space. Available at http://www.para-site.org.hk/about-us/history/introduction (accessed April 20, 2009).

[850] Ibid., no pagination.

[851] Dafoe, "Symposium Brings Asian Art Museum a Step Closer," no pagination.

[852] Furuichi, "Alternative Spaces in Asia," no pagination.

Conclusion

This thesis has brought independent screen media into the discussion of media globalization in East Asia and the Asia Pacific region since 1997 by exploring how three non-mainstream sites and processes of screen distribution and exhibition have been shaped by, and helped to shape, the advent of globalization and the rise of Asia. By looking at the circulation of people and media through these sites—namely a non-profit film distributor in Hong Kong, a diasporic film festival in Toronto, and a non-collecting gallery in Vancouver—the study has shed light upon an underexplored strategic response of non-elites to the dominant practices of media deregulation, privatization, and free trade in the global era. This strategy, which I call a minor transnational one, entails the linking together of peripheral screen cultures and marginal groups to other peripheral screen cultures and marginal groups. The thesis has analyzed this minor transnational approach by looking at the role of educational migrants and cultural workers within these sites, in the form of independent sole traders, and the role of arts organizations that distribute and exhibit non-commercial screen media, in the form of minor-to-minor circuits.

The key objective of this study has been to help to explain why, how, and with what effect short films, independent documentaries, and low-budget feature films from Hong Kong and Canada have increasingly travelled beyond their places of origin post-1997, despite their relative non-conformity with official culture or lack of appeal to commercial markets. In this type of media globalization, which involves non-commercial rather than for-profit screen media, the tendency to cross borders is driven less by the desire for economic or political advantage, as is the case with globalism or regionalism, than by a desire (or often a necessity) of non-elites to create transnational affective alliances with other like-minded groups. This does not mean, however, that processes of economic globalization such as deregulation are irrelevant to the circulation of non-mainstream screen

media. On the contrary, the thesis extends current understandings of globalization in East Asia and the Asia Pacific region by exposing the tensions within and between the agendas of governments and conglomerates. By negotiating and sometimes taking advantage of these tensions, independent filmmakers, video artists, and cultural workers are able to advance individual, and importantly for my argument, collective concerns.

The thesis has presented this discussion in seven chapters. In them, I have tried to lend insight into different dimensions of minor transnationalism that distinguish this approach from other responses to media globalization, such as globalism or regionalism. In each of the case studies, I have sought to answer why, how, and with what effect the distributor or exhibitor adopted the strategy of creating networks within and between peripheral screen cultures and marginal groups.

The first chapter, "Screen Circulation, Globalization, and Public Culture in the Asia Pacific Region: Key Issues and Debates," analyzed three existing areas of scholarship that were relevant to the thesis: screen distribution and exhibition studies, globalization studies, and issues of the public sphere and public culture. It argued that dominant models of screen circulation cannot account for the vitality and diversity of contemporary media on the move, and likewise, that mainstream theories of globalization cannot account for the ways in which processes of flexible citizenship and flexible accumulation might (inadvertently) advance the interests of non-elites in addition to those who already hold political or economic power. It claimed that a cultural studies approach to non-commercial distribution and exhibition, rather than a political economy or creative industries approach to market-driven or official sites and practices, would bring into focus the circulation of media objects that have not been much studied to date. Likewise, it claimed that a minor transnational approach to Arjun Appadurai's concepts of ethnoscapes and mediascapes, rather than a major

resistant or culturally nationalist and overtly resistant approach to analyzing minorities or non-mainstream screen cultures, would shed light on different ways of participating in globalization that had not yet been fully analyzed or understood.

The theoretical and practical difficulties of researching the cross-border movement of non-mainstream media and people were set out in the second chapter, "Peripheral Screen Cultures in Transnational Perspective: Methodological Challenges and Responses." It argued that existing methodologies that take for granted a state-centric or market-oriented approach, and that rely on official or commercial sources, were inadequate for tracking the circulation of objects and humans whose reasons for moving may not be primarily driven by profit-seeking or global competition. Adapting the work of Judith Halberstam, the thesis proposed a multi-sited scavenger methodology as a way to meaningfully engage with the grassroots nature of this type of media globalization that has so far remained under-explored. It suggested that the best way to empirically capture this phenomenon in the study was through case studies, document research, and face-to-face interviews.

The third chapter, "Situating Minor Transnationalism within Global and Regional Flows: Structural Transformations in Canada and Hong Kong," analyzed the macro-level or structural conditions of possibility for the minor transnationalism in my study to occur. It argued that any analysis of cultural globalization in East Asia and the Asia Pacific region in the 1990s, that is, the intensified circulation of educational migrants and independent media, should *also* take into account processes of economic globalization and geo-political events such as the rise of Asia and the handover of Hong Kong to China. By looking at specific government policies and corporate practices in Canada and Hong Kong, such as the declaration of Canada's Year of Asia-Pacific and the establishment of the Hong Kong Economic and Trade Development Office in Toronto, and their effect on cultural institutions,

namely the reform of the Canada Council for the Arts and the establishment of the Hong Kong Arts Development Council in the SAR, it showed how political and economic developments helped to redistribute the material and symbolic resources available to ethnic and sexual minorities and independent producers in these contexts.

Chapter four showed how the re-emergence of a local and independent filmmaking practice in Hong Kong in the late 1990s was linked to the practices of non-commercial distributors. It looked at the case of the non-commercial distributor, Ying E Chi (YEC), as the product of the activist practices of cultural workers and independent sole traders such as Simon Chung and Tammy Cheung. It conceptualized YEC not in opposition to commercial distributors in Asia or the West such as EDKO Films, but as part of minor-to-minor circuits, specifically in relation to its transnational links with organizations such as Fanhall Films in the P.R.C. Rather than comparing the distributor's independent practices of screen selection, competition, and mediation with more mainstream practices, it examined the creation and evolution of the Hong Kong Asian Film Festival (HKAFF) over a four-year period, in order to illuminate the tension between a regional screen industries approach and a minor transnational one.

Chapter five showed how the development of a less essentialist and more complex identity for Asian Canadians in Vancouver and Toronto, as well as a more critical social imaginary, was linked to the practices of themed film festivals. It looked at the case of the diasporic film festival, the Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival (TRAIFF), as the product of the activist practices of cultural workers and independent sole traders such as Andrew Sun and Richard Fung. It conceptualized the festival not in opposition to major international film festivals, but as a part of minor-to-minor circuits, that is, in relation to its transnational links with organizations such as the San Francisco International Asian American Film Festival in the U.S.A. By analyzing specific departments within TRAIFF's catalogues from 1997 to

2007, it showed how the programming beliefs and actions of the festival's cultural workers influenced new forms of screen production and consumption, such as queer Asian.

Chapter six showed how the emergence of a diasporic and alternative visual and media art practice on the west coast of Canada was linked to the activities of non-collecting galleries and alternative art spaces. It looked at the case of the non-collecting gallery, the Vancouver International Centre for Contemporary Asian Art, otherwise known as Centre A, as the product of the activist practices of independent sole traders such as Alice Ming Wai Jim and the visual and media artist, Ho Tam. It conceptualized Centre A not in opposition to major collecting institutions in the West such as the Asia Society in New York or indeed in Asia, but as part of minor-to-minor circuits, specifically in relation to its transnational links with organizations such as Para/Site art space in Hong Kong. By analyzing specific practices of curation and presentation over the gallery's exhibition history, it showed how the beliefs and actions of Centre A's executive director and curators led to new forms of identification and belonging, ones based on more experimental and marginalized perspectives.

Directions for Future Research

In proposing a re-thinking of screen distribution and exhibition, as well as a reconsideration of the nature of media globalization, the thesis has made a contribution to the existing literature. It has also opened up areas for future scholarship.

In comparison to the study of screen production, the study of sites and practices of non-mainstream screen distribution and exhibition remains under-explored. Further research into screen distribution and exhibition is necessary in order to deepen understanding of the significance of these practices, especially for non-elites and marginalized groups. Such research

would also help to shift scholarly attention and activist energies away from the filmic text as the primary object of research and thus away from the often problematic debates about the "positive" or "realistic" representation of women, LGBT people, and ethnic minorities. By continuing to focus on the ways in which screen distribution and exhibition in both mainstream and alternative contexts are meaning-making and value-adding processes in their own right, it is hoped that new objects of research and inquiry will be brought into view.

In this regard, it is relevant to ask whether other modes of non-mainstream screen distribution and exhibition can foster new forms of identification and belonging, or whether these meaning-making and value-adding processes are exclusive to non-profit film distributors, themed film festivals, and non-collecting galleries.

For example, within the field of screen distribution and exhibition, one important development that has been surprisingly overlooked to date is the broadcasting of live and recorded events into cinemas, a phenomenon also known as live broadcasting or "alternative content."[853] Existing scholarship on this development has tended to focus on the success of major cultural institutions and content providers, such as the Metropolitan Opera and to adopt classical film theory frameworks of medium specificity.[854] Furthermore, the rapidly proliferating industrial data about this phenomenon has not yet been analyzed from a critical perspective. Research from a cultural studies perspective into what Martin Barker has chosen to call "livecasting,"[855] that is, from the perspective of looking at the ways in which live cinema events not only herald new political economies of the screen, but also usher in new identities and social imaginaries, would help us to come to grips with the changing meanings of cinema-going in the digital age. Given the ways in which cinema institutions and screen cultures are being restructured and reconfigured by economic trends as well as by digitalization, it makes sense to look at how these developments are

reinforcing existing social and cultural hierarchies, creating different hierarchies, or fostering alternatives to them.

The phenomenon of live broadcasting into cinemas might at first glance seem to replicate the core-periphery relations of the colonial era and to reinforce the authority of high cultural forms such as the opera, theatre, and ballet. However the emphasis within this thesis on postcolonial and diasporic formations would encourage us to pay critical attention not only to flows of culture from major cities in the West, such as New York, London, and Moscow, but also from cities such as Tokyo. For example, further research might examine how the transmission of cultural forms such as kabuki to Japanese Canadian audiences in urban centres in Canada through cinema broadcasts might potentially transform social relations in ways that further problematize the boundary between East and West. There are sizable communities of Canadians of Japanese descent in cities such as Vancouver and Toronto. They constitute important audiences for the cinema screenings of kabuki that have taken place since 2009. Under the banner of "Cinema Kabuki," and supported by the Japan Foundation, these screenings have broadened public access to a four-hundred year old performing art that rarely tours outside of Japan due to the size and scale of kabuki production.[856] A hypothesis worth investigating is the possibility that cinema broadcasting has the potential to engage diasporic audiences by enabling them to experience so-called traditional cultural forms such as kabuki in a collective, public space. This cultural reanimation of Japanese Canadian audiences is especially significant in light of the government persecution and dispossession of this group as "enemy aliens" during World War II.[857]

On a conceptual level, the framework of minor transnationalism remains very much an alternative theory of globalization. Further research is necessary in order to test the robustness of the framework and to ensure that it can contribute to wider debates about media globalization. It is relevant to ask whether the phenomenon of minor transnationalism manifests through

independent sole traders and minor-to-minor circuits in different socio-historical and geographical contexts, or whether its manifestation in these forms is limited to the three case studies highlighted in this thesis of YEC, TRAIFF, and Centre A. By analyzing the circulation of educational migrants and non-commercial screen commercial media through other similar sites, it would be possible to ascertain the generalizability of the theory. This is especially important given the socio-historical changes that have taken place in Hong Kong in recent years, changes that many local intellectuals and activists perceive as regressive. These include the increasing political influence of the P.R.C. within the SAR, for example with the proposals for the reform of the electoral system;[858] the introduction of "patriotic" moral and national education in schools and universities,[859] the dramatic influx of tourists and migrants from the Mainland to the territory;[860] and increasing state censorship of unofficial film festivals (or "film exhibitions") in the P.R.C..[861]

Within the field of globalization, one productive locus of activity that has yet to be fully explored is the emerging economic markets of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa, otherwise known as the BRICS.[862] At present, however, scholarly analysis has tended to adopt a regional screen industries approach, focusing on the coproduction of blockbuster films, for example between China and India, or "Chindia."[863] There has been very little (if any) attention paid to the non-mainstream distribution of short films, independent documentaries, or low budget feature films among and between these contexts.[864] Research into the circulation of people and media using a framework of minor transnationalism would open up the possibility of rethinking the BRICS as enabling an alternative project, that is, as a critically postcolonial rather than just neoliberal globalist formation. It would help to reconceptualise the BRICS as a nascent space for the development of public cultures, rather than just as a free trade zone between post-financial crisis global superpowers, most especially, China. Given the rapid and potentially destabilizing economic development taking place in these

countries, it seems important to shed light on screen sites and practices that might act as catalysts for critical dialogue and debate.

One example of such minor transnational cultural connections under the umbrella of BRICS is the West Heavens project. According to its web site, West Heavens is "an integrated cross-cultural exchange programme. It aims to untangle and compare the different paths of modernity taken by India and China."[865] The term, "the West Heavens" is used to underscore the historical interactions between China and India, for example with respect to the movement of Buddhism, and to the contemporary possibilities for cultural exchange. The West Heavens project seeks to facilitate high level communication between the two countries' intellectual and art circles, and to promote interaction and cross-referencing between the two countries through social thought and contemporary art.[866] Since 2010, the project has organized more than one hundred events, including forums, exhibitions, film screenings, and workshops, and has published more than ten books.[867] The event, "West Heavens: India China Summit on Social Thought" took place in 2010 and included an art exhibition and a series of intellectual fora.[868] This event followed two previous projects: "Edges of the Earth: Migration of Asian Art and Regional Politics, An Investigative Journey in Art" in 2003,[869] and "Farewell to Post-Colonialism," at the Guangzhou Triennial in 2008.[870]

According to the West Heaven's website:

> After a century of revolutions and reforms, as a "modern" culture China is still strongly under the spell of a bipolar East/West mentality. This frame of mind has helped China to see itself through the mirror of the West, but it has also seriously impaired other dimensions of cultural perception. A similar predicament faces India, and several other Asian countries to different degrees. Intra-Asian exchanges are now

> urgent, both for further self-understanding and opening local resources hidden by established discourses.[871]

Another reason why a study of the BRICS is compelling is that it would allow for further investigation into the structural relation between the movements of finance capital on the one hand, and the changing dynamics of cultural migration and independent screen circulation on the other, as well as into the implications of world events such as the global financial crisis in 2008. This thesis has claimed that economic deregulation, privatization, and free trade are not straightforwardly destructive processes, as is argued in much of the political economy literature; rather they have contradictory effects. The emphasis in this thesis on the disjunctures within and between state policies and corporate practices, and the differences that can result, encourage us to pay critical attention to the ways in which seemingly neoliberal configurations can lead to unforeseen possibilities for social change. Just as the rise of the Asia Pacific region and East Asia as an economic market in the 1990s was accompanied by reforms in cultural policy and investment in the cultural infrastructure of cities in Canada and Hong Kong, we might ask whether the developing economies of cities in South Africa, China, India, Russia, and Brazil in the twenty-first century might also be shaping the conditions of possibility for the production and circulation of alternative aesthetic practices. One example of a structural transformation that could lead to greater cultural exchange is the Agreement on Cultural Cooperation which provides for an executive Cultural Exchange Program (CEP) between India and China.[872] The latest CEP was signed in December 2010 and includes exchanges of visits of performing artists, officials, writers, archivists and archaeologists, organizing cultural festivals, film festivals and exchanges in the field of mass media, youth affairs, and sport.[873]

On a methodological level, a multi-sited scavenger methodology remains marginal to approaches that rely solely on national frameworks and official or industrial sources. Additional research is necessary in order to

further transnationalize studies of independent screen media and to further "ground" studies of media globalization. It is relevant to ask whether a multi-sited scavenger methodology needs to be limited to document analysis and face-to-face interviews on a case-by-case basis, or whether it can be broadened to include ethnography and the semi-structured questionnaire. By continuing to focus scholarly attention on the role of educational migrants and cultural workers in processes of globalization and by undertaking more extensive forms of *both* qualitative *and* quantitative study, it would be possible to strengthen the validity of the methodology. This is especially important in light of the expansion of international education worldwide, not only on the part of long-standing, well-established institutions in the so-called West, but on the part of colleges and universities in the non-West such as China, Hong Kong, and South Korea. The launch of overseas campuses on the part of several universities in the U.K. and the U.S.A. has further eroded the distinction between what we understand to be "the West," and what we understand as "Asia." According to its web site, the University of Nottingham became the first foreign university to establish an independent campus under new legislation passed in China in 2003.[874] The Ningbo campus was opened to students in 2004 and held an official opening ceremony in 2006.[875] Similarly, Stanford University claims to be the first university in the U.S.A. to have a permanent, dedicated structure, the Stanford Centre at Peking University, located on a Chinese university campus.[876]

One social group that has the potential to lend itself to further cultural analysis of minor transnationalist cultures is that comprised of international students and scholars from China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan who informally distribute and exhibit independent screen media for the educational market in "the West." An example of the work undertaken by some members this group is the "Tenth Anniversary of the China Independent Film Festival U.K. Celebration" which took place May 12 to 15, 2014 at various venues in Nottingham and featured film screenings, an archival exhibition, a

workshop, and a master class.[877] Scholarly accounts do exist of the organization of educational screenings of Mainland Chinese independent cinema in the U.S.A. I refer here particularly to the film program, "Urban Generation: Chinese Cinema in Transformation," organized by Zhang Zhen of New York University and presented at the Harvard Film Archive, the Walter Reade Theatre at Lincoln Centre in New York City, and the National Gallery of Art in Washington DC in February and March 2001.[878] Zhang argues that "such film programs at universities, archives, museums, diaspora communities, and other art house programs ... could inadvertently create new, albeit "minor" and contingent, publics ... "against" the backdrop of globalization as both a homogenizing as well as differentiating process."[879] However, much less attention has been paid to similar activity in the U.K. or in other national contexts. Furthermore, there is a need to understand the role of students and scholars in the circulation of non-commercial screen media not just from the P.R.C. but from other areas of East Asia. Surveying these students and scholars, and also possibly observing their cultural practices in a more classically ethnographic sense, would expand the base of knowledge upon which the theory of independent sole traders is based. This is especially important given the small size of the interviewee sample in the thesis. Likewise, mapping out the ways in which these transnational networks either run parallel to each other or overlap would extend our understanding of how minor-to-minor circuits function.

Within such a study, one line of inquiry might be the role of new technologies in the linking together of peripheral screen cultures and marginal groups to other peripheral screen cultures and marginal groups. Up till now, research has focused on the use of social media by NGOs and social activists to demand democratic reforms within specific national or urban contexts, for example the anti-Mubarak protests in Egypt in Tahrir Square.[880] The emphasis here has been on the way in which social media such as Twitter and Facebook have facilitated the re-appropriation of public space. One of the drawbacks of this type of analysis, however, is that it

inadvertently reinforces the assumption that digital media are transnational whereas on-the-ground activism is local. Research has not yet focused enough on the use of social media by arts organizations, independent filmmakers and videomakers, and other cultural workers, to advance aesthetic and political agendas within spaces that are geographically situated yet avowedly transnational in character, such as film festivals[881] and visual and media art galleries. The emphasis here would be on the way in which YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter have enabled both people and media to cross borders, in addition to enabling them to assemble in so-called real time and place. Further research such as that suggested above would enable us to explore the extent and diversity of the minor transnational cultural practices and practitioners that I have begun here. It is my hope that such work will enable us to begin to understand the full complexity of the new cultures of transnationalism that globalization has, often unwittingly, facilitated.

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[853] There is a lack of consensus among analysts and scholars as to how to refer to or characterize this phenomenon. Industry players and trade publications have tended to refer to it as "alternative content" in order to distinguish it from the mainstream content that is conventionally exhibited in cinemas, that is, feature narrative and, to a lesser extent, documentary films. Academic publications have tended to refer to the phenomenon variously as "digital broadcast cinema" (DBC) or "livecasting." With respect to DBC, see Paul Heyer, "Live from the Met: Digital Broadcast Cinema, Media Theory, and Opera for the Masses," *Canadian Journal of Communication*, Vol. 33 (2008): 591-604. With respect to livecasting, see Martin Barker, *Live to Your Local Cinema: The Remarkable Rise of Livecasting* (London: Palgrave Pivot, 2012).

[854] See for example Anthony Sheppard, "Metropolitan Opera's New HD Movie Theatre Transmissions," *American Music* (Fall 2007): 383-87, and Kay Armitage, "Operatic Cinematics: A New View from the Stalls," in *Audiences: Defining and Researching Screen Entertainment Reception*, ed. Ian Christie (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 218-224.

[855] See Barker, "Live to Your Local Cinema."

[856] For information about "Cinema Kabuki" in Toronto, see "Cinema Kabuki in High Definition on the Big Screen," Japan Society of Canada. Available at http://www.japansocietycanada.com/CINEMA_KABU.K.I.pdf (accessed April 20, 2014). For information about "Cinema Kabuki" in Vancouver, see John Endo Greenaway, "Cinema Kabuki Returns to Vancouver After a Sold Out Run," *The Bulletin: A Journal of Japanese Canadian Community, History, and Culture*. Available at http://jccabulletin-geppo.ca/cinema-kabU.K.ireturns-to-vancouver-after-sold-out-run/ (accessed April 20, 2014).

[857] For background on this historical event, see Kirsten McAllister, "Narrating Japanese Canadians In and Out of the Canadian Nation: A Critique of Realist Forms of Representation," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 24, no. 1, 1999: 79-103.

[858] In 2014, the Hong Kong SAR government's insistence that future candidates for the position of Chief Executive must be preapproved by the P.R.C. was one impetus (among others) for the so-called Umbrella Movement. The movement had a range of demands; however, the most

prominent of these were the guarantee of open elections and "true universal suffrage." The protest leaders included two professors (Benny Lai Yiu-ting of Hong Kong University and Chan Kin-min of Chinese University of Hong Kong) and a Baptist minister (Reverend Chu Yiu-ming) under the banner of "Occupy Central with Peace and Love." The protest leaders also included students Joshua Wong Chi-fang of Scholarism and Alex Chow Yong-kang of the Hong Kong Federation of Students. See Jonathan Kaiman, "Who Guides Hong Kong's Umbrella Revolution' Pro-Democracy Movement?" *The Guardian*, September 30, 2014. Available at http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/30/hong-kong-pro-democracy-protest-leaders-occupy (accessed October 1, 2014). For scholarly accounts of the Umbrella Movement, see for example the themed-issue of the journal, *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, Volume 16, Issue 3, 2015.

[859] The Hong Kong SAR government has sought since 2007 to introduce "national education" courses into the primary and secondary school curriculum, aimed at strengthening students' "national identity awareness and nurturing patriotism towards China." In 2012, the reforms met with widespread public opposition in various forms, including marches, occupations, and hunger strikes. This opposition was coordinated by a coalition comprised of Scholarism—a student group founded by Joshua Wong Chi-fung and Ivan Lam Long-yin—the National Education Parents Concern Group, and the Professional Teachers Union. See Albert Cheung, "Hong Kong's Young Activists Bring Hope of Democracy," *South China*

Morning Post, September 14, 2012. Available at http://www.scmp.com/comment/insight-opinion/article/1036067/hks-young-activists-bring-hope-democracy (accessed April 20, 2014).

[860] According to recent reports, approximately 760,000 Mainland Chinese have settled in Hong Kong through the one-way permit visa scheme since 1997. See Stuart Lau, "Mainland Chinese migrants since 1997 now make up 10 pc of Hong Kong Population." *South China Morning Post*. March 21, 2013. Available at http://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/article/1195642/mainland-chinese-migrants-1997now-make-10pc-hong-kong-population (accessed April 20, 2014).

[861] Various Chinese cinema scholars and critics have observed that the independent film sector in the P.R.C. is under threat. See for example, Shelly Kraicer, "Shelly on Film: Fall Festival Report, Part One: Keeping Independence in Beijing," December 7, 2011. dGenerate Films. Available at http://dgeneratefilms.com/category/shelly-kraicer-on-chinese-film (accessed April 20, 2014); Shelly Kraicer, "Shelly on Film: Fall Festival Report, Part Two: Under Safe Cover, A Fierce Debate." December 7, 2011. dGenerate Films. Available at http://dgeneratefilms.com/category/shelly-kraicer-onchinese-film (accessed April 20, 2014); Ying Quan, "Surviving in the Shadows," *The China Story*. September 10, 2012. Available at http://www.thechinastory.org/2012/09/surviving-in-the-shadows/ (accessed April 20, 2014); and Lydia Wu, "How Does It Survive? The 10th Beijing Independent Film Festival." *Senses of Cinema*. Issue 68, September

2013. Available at http://sensesofcinema.com/2013/festivalreports/how-does-it-survive-the-10th-beijing-independent-film-festival (accessed April 20, 2014).

[862] The acronym of the BRICS was coined by Jim O'Neill, a former economist with Goldman Sachs, in 2001. See "Building Better Global Economic BRICS," *Global Economics Paper No. 66*. Goldman Sachs. Available at http://www.goldmansachs.com/our-thinking/archive/archive-pdfs/build-better-brics.pdf (accessed April 18, 2014). See also, Gillian Tett, "The Story of the BRICS." *Financial Times Magazine*. January 15, 2010. Available at http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/112ca932-00ab-11dfae8d-00144feabdc0.html (accessed April 18, 2014).

[863] The portmanteau term "Chindia" was coined by Jairam Ramesh, Secretary of the Economic Affairs department of the Indian Government, in 2005. See Jairam Ramesh, *Making Sense of Chindia: Reflections on China and India* (New Delhi: India Research Press, 2005). It presents an overview of current and future geopolitical interactions between China and India and the huge potential for trade. See Daya Kishan Thussu, "De-Americanizing Media Studies and the Rise of Chindia," Global Media Worlds and China. *Javnost–The Public* 20, no. 4. 2013: 31-44.

[864] With respect to cultural connection and exchange between independent screen cultures in India and Southeast Asia, see for example "Comparing Experimental Cinemas," a collaboration between Shrishti School of Art, Design and Technology; Experimenta India; and the Centre for

Research and Education in Arts and Media at the University of Westminster. The collaboration included a symposium that took place from December 18 to 19, 2014 in Bangalore and sought to "facilitate the establishing of a network of exchange and support among practitioners and researchers, who are largely, but not exclusively, based in the Asia-Pacific region." The symposium involved participants from India, Indonesia, Japan, Hong Kong, Malaysia, New Zealand, South Korea, Thailand, Vietnam, and the U.K. See "Comparing Experimental Cinemas: A Symposium," Shrishti School of Art, Design and Technology. Available at http://srishti.ac.in/cec/ (accessed September 15, 2015).

[865] "About Us," West Heavens. Available at http://westheavens.net/en/aboutusen (accessed April 20, 2014).

[866] Ibid., no pagination.

[867] Ibid.

[868] "India-China Summit on Social Thought," West Heavens. Available at http://westheavens.net/en/publishing/648 (accessed April 20, 2014).

[869] "West Heavens," Asia Art Archive. Available at http://www.aaa.org.hk/WorldEvents/Details/16537 (accessed April 20, 2014).

[870] Ibid., no pagination.

[871] "About Us," no pagination.

[872] "Cultural Relations between India and China: The Tradition of Continuity." Embassy of India, Beijing. Available at http://www.indianembassy.org.cn/Sub_DynamicContent.aspx?MenuId=37&SubMenuId=0 (accessed April 20, 2014).

[873] Ibid., no pagination.

[874] "China Campus," University of Nottingham. Available at http://www.nottingham.ac.U.K./about/campuses/chinacampus.aspx (accessed April 18, 2014).

[875] Ibid., no pagination.

[876] "Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies," Stanford Centre at Peking University. Available at http://scpku.stanford.edu/ (accessed April 18, 2014).

[877] "Report: China Independent Film Festival Celebration," School of Modern Languages, Newcastle University. Available at http://www.ncl.ac.U.K./sml/about/events/item/chinese-film-festival (accessed April 18, 2014).

[878] This film program involved the screening of about twelve films, including both award-winning titles and new premieres. See Zhang Zhen, "Introduction: Bearing Witness: Chinese Urban Cinema in the Era of 'Transformation (*Zhuangxing*)," in *The Urban Generation: Chinese Cinema and Society in the Twenty-first Century*, ed. Zhang Zhen (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 23-24.

[879] Ibid., 25.

[880] Paolo Gerbaudo claims that social media has led to the "symbolic reconstruction of a new sense of public space." His other case studies include the *indignados* protest in Spain in 2011, and the Occupy Wall Street Movement in the U.S.A. in the same year. See Paolo Gerbaudo, *Tweets and the Streets: Social Media and Contemporary Activism* (London: Pluto Press, 2012), 168.

[881] The cross-border character of film festivals is evidenced by the fact that many of them self-identify as "international."

Appendix A: List of Primary Sources of Documents

Publisher	**Type/Title of Document**	**Date Published**
Government of Canada	Various	Various
Canada Council for the Arts	Various	Various
City of Vancouver, Office of Cultural Affairs	Annual Review/Arts Report Creative City	1997-2007
Toronto Arts Council	Annual Report Creative City	2000-2007
Hong Kong Arts Development Council	A Decade of Arts Development in Hong Kong Hong Kong: Culture and Creativity	2006 2006
Vancouver Asian Film Festival	Festival Catalogue	1997-2007
Out on Screen Film Festival	Festival Catalogue	1997-2007
Inside Out Film Festival	Festival Catalogue	1997-2007
Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival	Festival Catalogue	1997-2007
Hong Kong Asian (Independent) Film	Festival Catalogue	2005-2007

Festival		
Hong Kong Independent Film and Video Awards (Hong Kong Arts Centre)	Festival Catalogue Brochure	1995-2007
Holiday Pictures	Film Catalogue	Date unknown to 2005
Ying E Chi	Film Catalogue Brochure	1997-2007 (online)

Appendix B: List of Interview Subjects

Name	Title	Place/Date Interviewed
Sharon Bradley	Distribution assistant, Video In/Video Out	Vancouver, June 26, 2008,
Hank Bull	Co-founder and former executive director, Centre A	Vancouver, July 6, 2008
Tammy Cheung	Independent filmmaker and founder, Visible Record	Hong Kong, April 10, 2009
Vincent Chui	Independent filmmaker and co-founder, Ying E Chi	Hong Kong, April 6, 2009
Simon Chung	Independent filmmaker and co-founder, Ying E Chi	Hong Kong, April 4, 2009
Christa Dahl	Video artist and volunteer, VIVO Media Arts Centre	Vancouver, July 4, 2008
May Fung	Visual artist and creative education director, Lee Shau Kee School of Creativity	Hong Kong, April 6, 2009
Richard Fung	Media artist and board member, Toronto Reel Asian International Film Festival (TRAIFF)	Toronto, November 5, 2008

Name	**Title**	**Place/Date Interviewed**
Mark Haslam	Media and visual arts officer, Ontario Arts Council	Toronto, November 14, 2008
William Huffman	Former associate director, Toronto Arts Council grants office	Toronto, November 7, 2008
Jonathan Hung	Director, InD Blue	Hong Kong, April 16, 2009
Teresa Kwong	Director, Hong Kong Independent Film and Video Awards	Hong Kong, April 7, 2009
Laiwan	Interdisciplinary artist	Vancouver, April 4, 2010
Anita Lee	Co-founder, TRAIFF	Toronto, November 10, 2008
Barbara K. Lee	Independent filmmaker and founder, Vancouver Asian Film Festival (VAFF)	Vancouver, July 6, 2008
Karin Lee	Media artist	Vancouver, September 18, 2007
Quentin Lee	Independent filmmaker	Los Angeles, March 19, 2010
Kathy Leung	Director of programming, VAFF	Vancouver, July 20, 2007

Name	Title	Place/Date Interviewed
Peter Leung	Former executive director, VAFF	Vancouver, July 24, 2007
Keith Lok	Independent filmmaker, former board member, TRAIFF	Toronto, July 12, 2008
Anson Mak	Film, video, and sound artist	Hong Kong, April 7, 2009
Richard Newirth	Director, cultural services, City of Vancouver	Vancouver, April 1, 2010
Kal Ng	Independent filmmaker and co-founder, Ying E Chi	Hong Kong, April 10, 2009
Oscar Ho	Former exhibitions director, Hong Kong Arts Centre	Hong Kong, April 8, 2009
Ellen Pau	Media artist and founder, Videotage	Hong Kong, April 16, 2009
Raymond Pathanavirangoon	Former programmer, TRAIFF	Toronto, November 6, 2008
Walter Quan	Coordinator, British Columbia Arts Council arts awards program	Vancouver, July 3, 2008
Aubrey Reeves	Director of programming, Trinity Square Video	Toronto, November 7, 2008

Name	Title	Place/Date Interviewed
Gabriel Schroedter	Distribution coordinator, VIVO Media Arts Centre	Vancouver, June 26, 2008
Jason St. Laurent	Director of programming, Inside Out Film Festival	Toronto, November 17, 2008
Andrew Sun	Co-founder, TRAIFF	Hong Kong, April 1, 2009
Ho Tam	Visual and video artist	Vancouver, June 24, 2008
Sid Chow Tan	Co-founder, Community Media Education Society	Vancouver, March 29, 2010
Kim Tomczak	Co-founder, Vtape	Toronto, November 10, 2008
Steven Tong	Former assistant curator, Centre A	Vancouver, March 30, 2010
Paul Wong	Media artist and co-founder, VIVO Media Arts Centre; founder, On Edge Productions	Vancouver, July 4, 2008
Venus Wong	Former general manager, Ying E Chi	Hong Kong, April 2, 2009

Filmography

The Adventures of Iron Pussy (dir. Apichatpong Weerasethakul and Michael Shaowanasai, Thailand, 2003)

After the Crescent (dir. Byron Chang, Hong Kong, 1997)

After Raining (dir. Andrew Yang, Hong Kong, 2001)

After This Our Exile (dir. Patrick Tam, Hong Kong, 2006)

Always Look on the Bright Side (dir. Teddy Chen, Hong Kong, 2003)

A Lot like You (dir. Eliaichi Kimaro, Tanzania-U.S.A., 2012)

American Beauty (dir. Sam Mendes, U.S.A., 1999)

And So and So (dir. Kwok Wai-lun, Hong Kong, 2000)

Angel (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1999)

Anxiety of Inexpression and the Otherness Machine (dir. Quentin Lee, U.S.A., 1992)

Apocalypse Now (dir. Francis Ford Coppola, U.S.A., 1979)

Bamboo, Lions and Tigers (dir. Richard Patton, Canada, 1981)

Banana Boy (dir. Samuel Chow, Canada, 2003)

Banana Bruises (dir. Joyce Wong, Canada, 2006)

Banana Queers (dir. Tony Ayres, Australia 2002)

Basement Girl (dir. Midi Onodera, Canada, 2000)

b420 (dir. Mathew Tang, Hong Kong, 2005)

Believe It or Not (dir. Tsui Hark, Hong Kong, 2003)

Bending Over Backwards (dir. Heather Keung, Canada, 2008)

Between the Laughter (dir. Barbara K. Lee, Canada, 2006)

The Bird That Chirped on Bathurst (dir. Midi Onodera, Canada, 1981)

Birds (dir. Luo Li, Canada, 2004)

Bishonen (dir. Yonfan, Hong Kong, 1998)

Blue Haven (dir. Julian Cautherly, U.S.A., 2001)

Books of James (dir. Ho Tam, Canada, 2002)

Boulevard of Broken Sync (dir. Winston Xin, Canada, 1995)

Breakbabies (dir. Nicole Chung, Canada, 2000)

Breeze of July (dir. Stanley Tam, Hong Kong, 2007)

Bridge Passage (dir. Nicole Chung, Canada, 2001)

Buffering (dir. Kit Hung, Hong Kong, 2003)

Canned Despair (dir. Chi-Wing Hung, Hong Kong, 2004)

Chopstick, Bloody Chopstick (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 2001)

Chungking Express (dir. Wong Kar-wai, Hong Kong, 1995)

Conjugation (dir. Emily Tang, China, 2001)

The Contest (dir. Naoko Kumagai, Canada, 2007)

Corroder (dir. Rice 5 [Kevin Tsang and Tom Shum], Hong Kong, 2007)

Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon (dir. Ang Lee, Taiwan-Hong Kong-U.S.A.-China, 2000)

Cut Sleeve Boys (dir. Ray Yeung, U.K., 2006)

Dan Carter (dir. Alison Kobayashi, Canada, 2006)

The Day the Pig Fell Into the Well (dir. Hong Sang-soo, South Korea, 1996)

The Delta (dir. Ira Sachs, U.S.A., 2003)

Diasporama (dir. Yau Ching, Hong Kong, 1997)

The Displaced View (dir. Midi Onodera, Canada, 1988)

Disposable Lez (dir. Desiree Lim, Japan, 2000)

Dog Days Dream (dir. Ichii Masahide, Japan, 2007)

Dong (dir. Jia Zhangke, China-Hong Kong, 2007)

The Doom Generation (dir. Gregg Araki, U.S.A., 1995)

Double Happiness (dir. Mina Shum, Canada, 1994)

The Dreaming House (dir. Keith Lok, Canada, 2005)

Dreamtrips (dir. Kal Ng, Hong Kong, 2005)

Drift (dir. Quentin Lee, Canada, 2000)

Durian Durian (dir. Fruit Chan, Hong Kong-France-China, 2000)

Eclipse (dir. Vai Yin Pun, Hong Kong, 2006)

Ethan Mao (dir. Quentin Lee, Canada-U.S.A., 2004)

Eve and the Fire Horse (dir. Julia Kwan, Canada-Hong Kong, 2005)

Everything Will Be (dir. Julia Kwan, Canada, 2013)

Face/Off (dir. John Woo, U.S.A., 1997)

Faded Rainbow (dir. Gilbert Kwong Canada-Hong Kong, 2000)

Far from Heaven (dir. Todd Haynes, U.S.A., 2002)

Fine China (dir. Ho Tam, Canada, 2000)

First Love and Other Pains (dir. Simon Chung, Hong Kong, 1999)

Floored by Love (dir. Desiree Lim, Canada, 2005)

The Flowers of War (dir. Zhang Yimou, China- Hong Kong, 2011)

Flutter (dir. Howie Shia, Canada, 2006)

Game Boy (dir. Kevin Choi, U.S.A., 2003)

Getting Home (dir. Zhang Yang, China-Hong Kong, 2006)

A Girl Named Kai (dir. Kai Ling Xue, Canada, 2004)

Gitmek: My Marlon and Brando (dir. Hüseyin Karabey, Turkey, 2008)

A Glorious Future (dir. Andrew Lau and Alan Mak, Hong Kong, 2003)

Good Luck Counting Sheep (dir. Khanhthuan Tran, Canada, 2007)

Happy Together (dir. Wong Kar-wai, Hong Kong-Japan-South Korea, 1997)

Hardboiled (dir. John Woo, Hong Kong, 1992)

He and She (dir. Peter Chan, Hong Kong, 1994)

Her (dir. Kai Ling Xue, Canada, 2005)

Hero (dir. Zhang Yimou, China-Hong Kong, 2002)

Heroes in Love (dir. Wing Shya, Stephen Fung and Nicholas Tse, and GC Boo-Bi, Hong Kong, 2001)

Hold You Tight (dir. Stanley Kwan, Hong Kong, 1997)

Hong Kong – A Winner (dir. Stephen Chow, Hong Kong, 2003)

How to Make Kimchi According to My Kun Umma (dir. Samuel Kiehoon Lee, Canada, 2003)

I am a Man (dir. M. L. Bhandevanop Devakul, Thailand, 1988)

I Am Not What You Want (dir. Hung Wing Kit, Hong Kong, 2001)

Ice Ages (dir. Howie Shia, Canada, 2006)

Idiot's Delight (dir. Midi Onodera, Canada, 1983)

I Don't Want to Sleep Alone (dir. Tsai Ming-liang, Malaysia-China-Taiwan-France-Austria, 2006)

i have no memory of my direction (dir. Midi Onodera, Canada, 2005)

In the Dark (dir. Ho Tam, Canada, 2003)

Infernal Affairs (dir. Andrew Lau and Alan Mak, Hong Kong, 2002)

Inner Senses (dir. Chi-Leung Lo, Hong Kong, 2002)

In the Dumps (dir. William Kwok, Hong Kong, 1997)

In the Shadow of Gold Mountain (dir. Karen Cho, Canada, 2004)

Innocent (dir. Simon Chung, Canada-Hong Kong, 2005)

Invisible Waves (dir. Pen-Ek Ratanaruang, Thailand-Netherlands, 2006)

Invisible Women (dir. Tammy Cheung, Hong Kong, 1999)

Jaime Lo, Small and Shy (dir. Lillian Chan, Canada, 2006)

The Joy Luck Club (dir. Wayne Wang, U.S.A., 1993)

July (dir. Tammy Cheung, Hong Kong, 2003)

Jumping Jet (dir. Andrew Yang, Taiwan, 2002)

Junior High School (dir. Tammy Cheung, Hong Kong, 2006)

Kidnap (dir. Wing Shya, Hong Kong, 2001)

King of Spy (dir. Chu Ka Yat, Hong Kong, 2008)

La Salle Primary (dir. Ho Tam, Canada, 1998)

Last Boy Last Girl (dir. Yuki Hayashi, Canada, 2006)

The Last Song (dir. Pisan Akarasainee, Thailand, 1986)

Lead Role: Father (dir. P.J. Raval, U.S.A., 2004)

Leaving in Sorrow (dir. Vincent Tsui, Hong Kong, 2002)

Let Me Start by Saying (dir. Chris Chong, Canada, 2001)

Lifesize (dir. Lynne Chan, U.S.A., 1998)

Like It Is (dir. Paul Oremland, U.S.A., 2003)

Lolo's Child (dir. Romeo Candido, Canada, 2002)

The Longest Summer (dir. Fruit Chan, Hong Kong, 1998)

Lotus Sisters (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1996)

Love Is Not a Sin (dir. Doug Chan, Hong Kong, 2002)

Love Letter (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1999)

Love Story (dir. Ayana Osada, U.S.A., 1997)

Love Will Tear Us Apart (dir. Yu Lik-wai, Hong Kong, 1999)

*Lovers on the Road (*dir. Jessey Tsang, Hong Kong, 2008)

Lunch with Charles (dir. Michael Parker, Canada-Hong Kong, 2000)

Lust, Caution (dir. Ang Lee, U.S.A.-China-Taiwan)

Macho Dancer (dir. Lino Brocka, Philippines, 1988)

Made in Hong Kong (dir. Fruit Chan, Hong Kong, 2001)

*Made in Japan (*dir. Midi Onodera, Canada, 1985)

Magic Boy (dir. Adam Wong Sau-ping, Hong Kong, 2004)

The Map of Sex and Love (dir. Evans Chan, U.S.A.-Hong Kong, 2001)

Mcdull 1:99 (dir. Brian Tse, Hong Kong, 2003)

Memories of Spring 2003 (dir. Peter Chan, Hong Kong, 2003)

Merry X'mas (dir. Jevons Au Man Kit, Hong Kong, 2007)

The Milkman (dir. Ken Takahashi, Canada, 2001)

Minor Crime (dir. Nicole Chung, Canada, 2000)

Miss Popularity (dir. Wayne Yung, Germany 2006)

Moving (dir. Tammy Cheung, Hong Kong, 2002)

My Beloved (dir. Stephen Fung and Nicholas Tse, Hong Kong, 2001)

My Flying Family (dir. Mabel Cheung and Alex Law, Hong Kong, 2003)

My Mother is a Belly Dancer (dir. Lee Kung-lok, Hong Kong, 2006)

My Piglet is Not Feeling Well (dir. Fruit Chan, Hong Kong, 2003)

Mysterious Object at Noon (dir. Apichatpong Weerasethakul, Thailand-Netherlands, 2000)

Night Corridor (dir. Julian Lee, Hong Kong, 2003)

Night in China (dir. Anqi Ju, China, 2006)

No Regret (dir. Leesong Hee-Il, South Korea, 2006)

The Offering (dir. Paul Lee, Canada, 1999)

The Official Guide to Watching a Saturday Night Hockey Game (For Intermediates) (dir. Tak Koyama, Canada, 2007)

Oh, G! (dir. GC Goo-Bi, Hong Kong, 2001)

Ohm-ma (dir. Ruthann Lee, Canada, 2002)

One Night in Heaven (East End Remix) (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1995)

1:99 (omnibus film, dir. various, Hong Kong, 2003)

1,000 Cumshots (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1999)

One-Way Street on A Turntable (dir. Anson Mak, Hong Kong, 2007)

Orientations (dir. Richard Fung, Canada, 1984)

Out for Bubble Tea (dir. Desiree Lim, Canada, 2003)

The Pain of Being Thirsty (dir. David Yun, U.S.A., 2007)

Paper, Scissors, Rock (dir. Jane Kim, Canada, 2006)

Partial Selves (dir. Gloria Kim, Canada, 2000)

Perfect Life (dir. Emily Tang, Hong Kong-China, 2008)

Peking Turkey (dir. Michael Mew, Canada, 2006)

Perth: The Geylang Massacre (dir. Djinn (Ong Lay Jinn), Singapore, 2005)

Peter Fucking Wayne Fucking Peter (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1994)

The Power of Kangwon Province (dir. Hong Sang-soo, South Korea, 1998)

The Queen's Cantonese Conversational Course, Lesson 1 (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1998)

The Queen's Cantonese Conversational Course, Lesson 2 (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1998)

The Queen's Cantonese Conversational Course, Lesson 3 (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1998)

Rain Dogs (dir. Yu-hang Ho, Malaysia, 2006)

Rhapsody (dir. Johnnie To and Wai Ka-fai, Hong Kong, 2003)

Rice Distribution (dir. Tammy Cheung, Hong Kong, 2002)

Rock Garden: A Love Story (dir. Gloria Kim, Canada, 2007)

Paper, Scissors, Rock (dir. Jane Kim, Canada, 2006)

Platform (dir. Jia Zhangke, Hong Kong-China-Japan-France, 2000)

Sea in the Blood (dir. Richard Fung, Canada, 2000)

Search Engine (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1999)

Season of the Boys (dir. Ho Tam, U.S.A.-Canada, 1998)

Secondary School (dir. Tammy Cheung, Hong Kong, 2002)

Shopping for Fangs (dir. Quentin Lee, Canada-U.S.A., 1997)

Skin Deep (dir. Midi Onodera, Canada, 1995)

Slightseer (dir. Midi Onodera, Canada, 2001)

A Small Miracle (dir. Kenneth Bi, Hong Kong, 2001)

The Soul Investigator (dir. Kal Ng, Canada, 1994)

Souriya Namaha and the Revisited Journey (dir. Peter Chanthanakone, Canada, 2004)

Souvenirs from Asia (dir. Joyce Wong, Canada, 2007)

Stanley Beloved (dir. Simon Chung, Hong Kong, 1998)

Still Life (dir. Jia Zhangke, China-Hong Kong, 2006)

Strawberry Fields (dir. Rea Tajiri, U.S.A., 1997)

Summer Exercise (dir. Edmond Pang Ho Cheung, Hong Kong, 1999)

Sunsets (dir. Michael Idemoto and Eric Nakamura, U.S.A., 1997)

Surfer Dick (dir. Wayne Yung, Canada, 1997)

Sweater People (dir. Nicole Chung, Canada, 2005)

Swell (dir. Carolynne Hew, Canada, 1998)

Telefunk8 (dir. Nicole Chung, Canada, 1998)

Ten Cents a Dance (dir. Midi Onodera, Canada, 1985)

The Third Heaven (dir. Georges Payrastre, Canada, 1998)

Three Narrow Gates (dir. Vincent Chui, Hong Kong, 2008)

Three Times (dir. Hou Hsiao-Hsien, France-Taiwan, 2005)

Tilted (dir. Kai Ling Xue, Canada, 2003)

Toilet Paper (dir. Vai Yuik Pun, Hong Kong, 2006)

*Totally F***ed* Up (dir. Gregg Araki, U.S.A., 1993)

Tuesday Be My Friend (dir. Christopher Wong, Malaysia-Canada, 2005)

Under the Willow Tree: Pioneer Chinese Women in Canada (dir. Dora Nipp, Canada, 1997)

Until Then (dir. Dante Lam and Gordon Chan, Hong Kong, 2003)

Upside Down, Downside Up (dir. Heather Keung, Canada, 2008)

Vancouver's Chinatown (dir. Bernard Devlin, Canada, 1954)

Vietnam, 1997 (dir. Khanhthuan Tran, Canada, 2005)

Warlords (dir. Peter Chan, China- Hong Kong, 2007)

When Beckham Met Owen (dir. Adam Wong Sau-ping, Hong Kong, 2004)

Who Is Miss Hong Kong? (dir. Joe Ma, Hong Kong, 2003)

Wonderful Times (dir. Kubert Leung, Hong Kong, 2006)

Yang±Yin: *Gender in Chinese Cinema* (dir. Stanley Kwan, UK-Hong Kong, 1996)

Yellow (dir. Chris Chan Lee, U.S.A., 1997)

The Yellow Pages (dir. Ho Tam, Canada, 1994

Young Offender (dir. Elizabeth Wong Lo Tak, Canada-Hong Kong, 1993)

0506HK (dir. Quentin Lee, Canada-U.S.A.-Hong Kong, 2007)

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