



UNIVERSITY OF
LIVERPOOL

**Questions of Chineseness: A study of China
Wind Pop Music and the Post-1990s Generation
in the PRC, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the UK**

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*A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at
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Declaration

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Liverpool. The research described here in was conducted under the supervision of Doctor Haekyung Um and Professor Sara Cohen at the Department of Music, between January 2014 and December 2017. This research study has been reviewed and approved by the Committee on Research Ethics in University of Liverpool. I hereby certify that this thesis has been composed by me and is based on my own work, to the best of my knowledge original, except where acknowledgements and references are made to previous work. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree, diploma, or qualifications at any other institutions.

Part of this work has been presented in the following publications:

Lin, C. and Um, H. (2017) 'From Blue and White Porcelain to Island's Sunrise: Post-1990s Audience's Perceptions of Chineseness and Taiwaneseess in Taiwan's Popular Music', *Journal of East Asian popular culture*, 3(2).

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Abstract

This thesis examines how ‘Chineseness’ is constructed in China Wind pop music, and how this practice is perceived by a post-1990s audience across Hong Kong, Taiwan, China and the United Kingdom. It will also investigate how China Wind pop music is presented and performed on various stages, such as the music reality TV show *The Voice of China*. Three main research methods are employed in the thesis: ethnography on music audiences and music industry workers; analysis of songs; and the production and screening of an ethnographic documentary.

China Wind music has been popular since 2000, and was first popularised by Taiwanese Mandopop singers, gradually developing into a specific ‘sound’ distinguishable from other pop songs. Traditional Chinese music elements are employed to create a historically ‘authentic’ sonic product, while the lyrical content often involves praising traditional culture or the presentation of a sense of ‘Chinese pride’ in China Wind songs. This thesis focuses on two iconic songs, Wang Leehom’s ‘Heroes of the Earth’ (2005) and Jay Chou’s ‘Blue and White Porcelain’ (2007) to investigate the musical and textual devices employed, as well as their visual representation in music videos.

Through four case studies in Hong Kong, Taiwan, China and the UK, this thesis suggests that for different individuals and in various contexts, the construction and perception of Chineseness in popular music requires a multidimensional understanding since Chineseness can function like a chameleon-like resource for identity construction. The production and consumption of China Wind pop music is also an arena for numerous forms of nationalistic sentiment and aspiration, including official and popular nationalism. Chineseness in China Wind pop music is de-centred in its production location and can vary in its place of consumption. However, it may become increasingly re-centred as the growth of the PRC market enforces a particular presentation of Chinese culture. Uncovering micro-histories of those audience and industry workers engaged with China Wind pop music can help to conceptualise, challenge, deconstruct, and perhaps subvert the notion of Chineseness as a singular and unified conception.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation examines the diverse imaginations of ‘Chineseness’ in communities that listen to China Wind pop music in different geographic locations, including China (The People’s Republic of China, PRC), Hong Kong, Taiwan and the United Kingdom, while further exploring ever-changing presentations of Chinese identity. Focusing on the post-1990s generation, this research explores how popular music as a cultural product forms the imagination of a nation, as well as how this process is perceived by the audience. This chapter is a general introduction to this research, outlining the research questions and thesis structure.

Since the year 2000, China Wind (*zhongguofeng* 中國風) pop has been used as a label for a style of popular music with a distinguishable Chinese flavour. The word *feng* (風) has several meanings in Chinese, including ‘wind’ and ‘style’. With its national and global success, China Wind pop music has become a popular music style prevalent in Chinese-speaking communities worldwide. Taiwan’s Mandopop industry is considered as the location where this style first established itself as a popular form. Fusing itself with music genres such as R&B, rock and hip hop, China Wind songs have developed a specific sound by employing traditional Chinese music elements while their lyrical content often involves laudatory references to Chinese traditional cultural artefacts or achievements. The Taiwanese singer Jay Chou (周杰倫) is the most renowned China Wind pop artist. In collaboration with his song-writing partner, the lyricist Fang Wen-Shan (方文山), Jay Chou has produced China Wind pop songs which present a ‘safe’ sense of Chineseness whilst being careful not to confront the Chinese state (Fung, 2008). Jay Chou’s China Wind pop songs also articulates a ‘parcel’ of what Chinese are supposed to learn (Chow and de Kloet, 2011) while constructing a decontextualized and then re-contextualized ‘collage’ of ancient China (Chung, 2011).

Although popular music that fuses with traditional Chinese lyrical or musical elements has long existed, the China Wind pop music this research focuses on has enjoyed great commercial success and started a trend in Chinese-speaking areas since the 2000s. It emerged at a critical time, namely in response to a search for Chineseness in the Mandarin pop music industry. China Wind style has been a trend that many pop artists started to catch up with, and its presence is also found in music and the Chinese literature curriculum across Taiwan,

Hong Kong and China. Additionally, China Wind pop music is also presented and performed on national or international stages, such as the Chinese Spring Gala, music reality TV show *The Voice of China*, and the concert held for the Beijing Olympics in 2008. As mentioned above, when Jay Chou, the most renowned China Wind pop artist, joined the coaches of *The Voice of China* and explicitly praised China Wind music, the shows were streamed online and viewed live around the world. The sense of connection between the viewers, which now transcends geographical borders, was palpable.

On 7 October 2015, the final of *The Voice of China* (Season 4) took place in the Bird's Nest in Beijing, a national stadium with a capacity of 80,000. At the beginning, all contestants sang a song called 'I Love You, China' (我愛你中國) written by one of the coaches, Wang Feng (汪峰). As the competition went on, it became evident that a strong sense of Chineseness was being displayed, represented and celebrated given the choice of music and the stage presentation. It is not difficult to notice that celebrating 'Chinese culture' is the main theme of the show, as the visual effects consist of Chinese calligraphy with dancers wearing cheongsam (旗袍 *qipao*, a Mandarin gown) with red fans in hand and the sound of the erhu fiddle incorporated into an R&B ballad, etc. Jay Chou, one of the coaches and who encouraged many of his fans to view the show, said to a finalist, the Australian Chinese Li An: 'Chinese music is the coolest. You should sing more China Wind' (*zhongguofeng*). Season 4 of the show attracted an average viewership of 4.8% out of the total PRC television audience (Han, 2015), and it was reported that the televised final competition was watched live by 100 million people via online streaming platforms alone. The television viewership for the final was more than 6% out of the total PRC television audience. In the short film played in the Bird's Nest and broadcasted to the audience right before the competition started, the narrator spoke with a passionate voice:

Wherever there is Chinese blood, there are footprints of *The Voice of China*. Even thousands of rivers and mountains cannot divide the continuity of Chinese culture (*zhonghua*); hundreds of words and songs cannot express how the blood and pulse of *Huaxia* sons and daughters are deeply intertwined.¹
(*The Voice of China*, Season Four Final)

¹ Researcher's own translation from the original Chinese.

凡滲透過華人血脈的地方，都有遍佈著好聲音的足跡。萬水千山，隔不斷中華文化的淵遠流長；萬語千言，唱不完華夏兒女的血脈相連...

Both *Zhonghua* (中華) and *Huaxia* (華夏) have connotations of a cultural entity with a longer history than the contemporary Chinese nation state, while the show searched for Chinese musical talent not just in China, but also in places where there is ‘Chinese blood’. The China Wind was blowing in the Bird’s Nest that evening as many China Wind pop songs were sung, while nationalist sentiments continued to be expressed throughout the competition. Arguably, the presentation of Chineseness is authorised. When it comes to whose Chineseness would be presented, and whose is taken into account, negotiation between different stakeholders, involves cooperation, subversion and contestation.

Nevertheless, this pursuit of a culturally united China seems almost paradoxical considering the country and culture’s long and complex temporal and spatial context (Lan, 2007). Firstly, in the case of Taiwan, the perceived production centre of China Wind music, since the 2000s the process of Taiwanisation and de-Sinicisation were gradually accepted as a mainstream value, rather than embodying radical politics. Secondly, the civil societies of Hong Kong and Taiwan have both experienced major conflicts and tensions with China. In 2014, the Umbrella Movement emerged in Hong Kong. A series of subsequent actions by the administrative government in the following years – including jailing student leaders and disqualifying pro-democracy legislators – met with strong public opposition. Hong Kong’s ‘one country, two systems’ relationship to the Beijing government and its future status has been fundamentally questioned. Earlier in the same year, the Sunflower Movement in Taiwan, which protested against a controversial free trade deal with China, broke out, led to the pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) winning both the presidential and legislative elections in 2016. In both Hong Kong and Taiwan, the political participation of a younger generation, who have a stronger local identity compared to previous generations, has also signified that there was scant chance of turning back to a unified ‘Chinese’ identity spanning geographical and national boundaries. Finally, between 2003 and 2013 China has been overseen by the Hu-Wen administration, Party General Secretary Hu Jintao (胡錦濤) and Government Premier Wen Jiabao (溫家寶). Hu and Wen promoted a harmonious society as their socioeconomic vision, however this approach was criticised by many for sacrificing individual freedoms in the interest of stability. Under Xi Jinping’s (習近平) leadership from

2013 onwards, there has been an increased suppression of free speech and greater control of state media. These frictions and ambivalences have revealed the paradox of ethnic politics alongside absolutist aspects of Chineseness.

Scholars have investigated the meaning of being Chinese and the representation of Chinese culture for many years. For example, it is suggested that Chineseness is: multiple (Chow, 1998a); its construction is without a centre as overseas Chinese can provide valuable cultural inputs (Tu, 1991) and it should be seen as an open signifier (Ang, 1998). In other words, its meaning is contextual and continuously shifting. However, during the rise of China – and particularly in 2008 when the Olympic Games took place in Beijing – the global imagination of the country, as well as its relationship between the ‘Chinese homeland’ and the diasporas, seemed to change drastically. According to Ang (2013), the absolutist sign of Chineseness has been reinforced rather than diminished. The production and consumption of China Wind pop music reflects the different dimensions of a global cultural flow, including the competing political narratives of the state, the people, and the diaspora. Appadurai (1996) has suggested the dimensions of global cultural flows include an ethnoscape, mediascape, technoscape, finanscape and ideoscape. These concepts provide a useful framework to investigate key issues in relation to China Wind pop music, in which important aspects of this popular music flow can be examined. These include: who is listening to this music; how it is mediated; what role global capital flows play in the process; and what ideologies are commodified in its musical style.

This research takes into consideration the above-mentioned (and complex) notion of Chineseness in its contemporary geopolitical contexts as well as examining the critical role that Chinese Wind pop music plays in the musical construction of identity. Following on from this, the dissertation explores the following questions:

- 1) How has its post-1990s audiences in China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the UK experienced China Wind pop music and what do they think of it?
- 2) What emotions and imaginations are triggered when the audience experienced the music and what meanings were generated in the music’s consumption in different settings?
- 3) Does China Wind pop music provide any sense of belonging or reconfiguration of perceived cultural boundaries in the locations studied? If so, in what way?

This research has a special focus on the post-1990s generation. This research will still benefit from recruiting participants from this age group across the different locations for the following reasons. In addition to being primary school students or teenagers when China Wind pop music started to become popular in the 2000s, the post-1990s generation are distinct social groups and segments of the popular music audience in the Chinese-speaking world. Three of the key research sites – Hong Kong, Taiwan, and China – have distinct political histories which, in turn, have influenced the post-1990s generation's experience of popular music. At the same time, there are some general trends which situate this age group in the locations studied in a specific position in relation to their respective popular cultures.

In the PRC, those young people who were born post-1990s grew up during drastic economic change: first they were born after 1989, the year of the Tiananmen Protest at the end of a wave of democratic movements, a watershed in contemporary Chinese cultural history, while they also came of age when commercialised popular culture was gradually attracting more and more public interest (Lu, 1996). As de Kloet and Fung (2017) argue, they grew up at a time of no more revolutions. Across the strait, the post-1990s generation in Taiwan experienced democratisation and the slowdown of economic growth. As martial law was lifted in 1987, this generation was born after authoritarianism and grew up when Taiwanisation was being gradually emphasised in both education and cultural policy. Meanwhile, the post-1990s generation in Hong Kong were largely familiar with both Hong Kong and Anglo-American popular culture, and many of them also witnessed a significant change during their primary schooling with the transfer of Hong Kong's sovereignty from Britain to the PRC in 1997. They also experienced the socio-political changes that followed. All of these personal and political histories are inextricably intertwined with their engagement with popular music.

Regardless all the differences, the popularity of some Mandopop artists across these locations is significant, this can be shown by none of the interviewees in this study, has not heard of any Jay Chou's China Wind pop songs, and all of them are able to talk about the music, and share with me about their personal preference and judgement on the style. How mass media and popular culture can be shared in these locations is evident, and this provides an opportunity for researchers to explore the multi-sited reception of the same type of music academically. However, employing a generational approach in a multi-sited research may run a risk of undervaluing the differences between participants drawn from different research

locations, for instance, the post-1990s generation may be a more decisive era to audience in one location than that of another.

To search for answers to these questions, I went on a research trip to explore the post-1990s music audience and music industry workers in four research locations, which included Taiwan, Hong Kong, China and the UK. What is interesting about popular music that has experienced huge publicity such as China Wind pop, is its transnational audience that reaches beyond geographical boundaries. Even the post-1990s generation I encountered in these four locations grew up in very dissimilar political, social and economic contexts, yet they have all listened to or heard of China Wind pop songs. This can be demonstrated given that, after interviewing 92 music audience members and industry workers, all of them have heard of China Wind pop songs and were able to name a few iconic tracks. This popularity (or familiarity) of China Wind pop allows researchers to glimpse the ambiguities previously mentioned, as well as examining how ‘the sound of China’ as well as the Chineseness embedded in popular music is heard, perceived and interpreted.

In order to present an in-depth portrait of these cultures and communities, three key research methods were employed as the central means to answer the research questions: an ethnography of music audiences and music industry workers; song analysis; and ethnographic documentary filmmaking. Through the study of China Wind pop music, this research investigates the relationship between popular music, nationalism, Chineseness, and how the audience perceive or respond to the latter (see Chapter 3, Section 3.1). Additionally – and rather importantly – in order to investigate how music is actually heard by diverse audiences, an analysis of the music, lyrics and music videos of China Wind pop songs is provided. The use of musical instruments, lyrics, as well as the artists’ public image and speech are also taken into account (see Part Two, ‘Analysis of China Wind Music’). This enriches the existing literature, as relatively few analytical studies of China Wind pop music have been undertaken. Furthermore, visual anthropology methods offer a unique combination of documentary making and screening, which is not only a research output but also a research method that enables the collection of feedback in different locations (see Chapter 8). Through developing field relationships with the researched and the intimate study of audiences and music industry workers, this research explores the interrelatedness of the social, political, cultural, individual and collective dimensions of music consumption and production.

This thesis is divided into five parts: Introduction; Part One, 'Theories and Methods'; Part Two, 'Analysis of China Wind Music'; Part Three 'Case Studies'; and the Conclusion. The chapter divisions are as follows:

Chapter 1, the Introduction, outlines the general background of this research and explains why China Wind pop music and its audience are worth investigating at this critical time, as well as discussing the key research questions. It also introduces the thesis structure.

Part One, which consists of two chapters, discusses the theoretical and methodological foundation of this research. Chapter 2, the Literature Review, critically examines key theoretical concepts relevant to the study of perceptions of Chineseness in China Wind pop music. It includes the existing literature that has made theoretical contributions to the following key issues: identity, nationalism, Chineseness, and Chinese popular music. The review also examines conceptual and contextual understandings of the nature of identity, and why different types matter in the context of China Wind pop music. Additionally, it engages with how different forms of nationalism shape and influence the way individuals develop their narratives about nations and cultures in the contemporary Chinese context. It then addresses key debates about Chineseness, and how these are embodied across four locations with very different cultural politics and histories. Finally, previous studies of Chinese popular music will also be investigated as a backdrop to this thesis.

Chapter 3 outlines the thesis research methodology which includes three principal methods: (1) ethnography including interviews and participant observation; (2) textual analysis of music, lyrics, and music videos; and (3) a shared anthropology (Rouch, 2003) using an ethnographic documentary. These methods enable a more in-depth exploration of what the music audiences experienced at the moment of music consumption, and what they took away from these experiences. This chapter will reflect on why these research methods are both useful and valuable and how this research project has put them into practice. It will introduce the research design, which has guided interviews with 92 people across the various research locations.

Part Two, 'Analysis of China Wind pop music', offers more discussions of China Wind pop music. Chapter 4 reviews the existing literature with a special focus on the popularity, lyrics, audience reception, and videos of China Wind pop music. Two China Wind pop songs, Jay Chou's 'Blue and White Porcelain' (2007) and Wang Leehom's 'Heroes of the Earth' (2005),

are examined in depth to further unpack how different/multiple dimensions of Chineseness are musically articulated, disseminated and recognised. The public image of the artists, their music videos, and some of their other works are also considered in order to comprehensively investigate the socio-cultural impact of China Wind pop music.

Part Three, 'Case Studies', consists of four chapters dealing with the respective research locations, namely Taiwan, Hong Kong, China and the United Kingdom. Each chapter offers a brief political history, outlining the development of local music industries and music culture, thereby sketching the cultural and musical context of each location. This is followed by an in-depth description and analysis of interviews with music audiences and industry workers, as well as participant observation of music performances. This has the researcher to examine how Chineseness is perceived in the process of popular music's production and consumption, especially in relation to China Wind pop music. How the post-1990s music audience experienced China Wind pop music, reflected on their school education, and remembered themselves listening to the music in social or private settings, are relayed through extensive interviews. In addition to the music audience, how musicians and industry workers are involved in the construction of Chineseness is also investigated.

For example, in Chapter 5 dealing with Taiwan, the interviews with JVR Music, the record label Jay Chou, his manager JR Yang (楊峻榮), and the lyricist Fang Wen-Shan founded, allow insight into how China Wind music is produced and marketed. Chapter 6 argues that the audience does not have a particularly strong bond with Jay Chou's China Wind style. To them it is an innovative style which does not suggest questions of identity. However, the discussion of mainland Chineseness was raised, and the case of the Hong Kong singer G.E.M. was often mentioned, with interviewees heavily criticising her music for presenting a 'mainland sound'. She is an artist who sang primarily in Cantonese and then switched to Mandarin, gaining huge success after participating in a mainland talent show. Her perceived loss of authenticity and the audience's opinion of her career and public image illustrate the tensions between mainland China and Hong Kong. The chapter argues that a constructed mainland Chineseness is distinct from the musical Chineseness perceived in China Wind pop music while, for the Hong Kong audience, the perceived mainland Chineseness in pop music is far more contested and controversial. Chapter 7, which discusses China, features an interview with the director of the music reality show, *The Voice of China*, which illuminates how Chineseness is displayed on one of the biggest stages in China. Chapter 8, 'The UK and

Beyond', examines how transnational fandom also plays a part in the way musical Chineseness is utilised through the making and screening of an ethnographic documentary and attending Jay Chou's concert in London.

Chapter 9, the Conclusion, first provides an overview of the thesis, then it discusses how China Wind pop music performs certain versions of Chineseness in a music market where popular and official nationalisms are intertwined. It also examines the ways in which China Wind pop music encourages its listeners to renegotiate cultural or national imaginations across the geographic locations where this research was conducted. It also argues that the construction and perceptions of Chineseness in popular music requires a multidimensional understanding. Finally, the dissertation limitations and future research prospects are discussed.

Due to increasing internet censorship, and the crackdown on publishers and dissidents by the Chinese state, the PRC's level of freedom of speech has been further eroded. To pursue the questions this dissertation has attempted to answer at this time, has the potential to enable new understandings of how the representation of Chineseness is used as a valuable resource to inform a domestic Chinese society about the glories of China, while simultaneously demonstrating Chinese soft power to other nations. Popular music could be a valuable point of reference in this enquiry. During the three and a half years that this research took, the PRC's pursuit of economic globalization has been on going, however, resistance from Hong Kong and Taiwan – or even the Chinese diaspora – have resulted in certain tensions and frictions. This context suggests that we need to examine the roles of popular cultures and music, and the meanings popular music creates for its consumers and producers in relation to the presentation of Chineseness. This thesis may act as a footnote to this critical time, while raising important questions for the future, such as whose Chineseness is presented and whose is left out, what dimensions and factors should be taken into consideration in order to understand Chineseness in popular music, and how might musicians and audiences position themselves when different forms of Chineseness are constructed. Although these questions need to be pursued on a continuous basis, the following chapters may shed some light on these issues through timely observations.

Part One: Theories and Methods

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In 2006, *Curse of the Golden Flower* (2006), a film by Zhang Yimou, a fifth-generation Chinese film director, had its cinematic release. Featuring Zhang's iconic colourful style of expression, the storyline revolved around a Chinese emperor during the Tang dynasty. The theme 'Golden Armour' (2006) is a hip-hop/rap song with rock riffs on electric guitars. The sound of Chinese flutes and Guzheng provide a hint of Chineseness in the interlude, while the lyrics echo the film's scenes of violence:

The blood covers the armour

I kill the enemies in tears

A city full of Chrysanthemum

Whose land is it?

血染盔甲 我揮淚殺

滿城菊花 誰的天下

The closing theme song, 'Chrysanthemum Terrace' (2006), is a ballad accompanied by an orchestra comprising Western classical and Chinese traditional instruments. While the lyrics depict a man's longing and affection for a woman, the layers of string instruments build a romantic and sublime atmosphere. Many cover versions of the song can be found on Youtube and Youku, including one by the PRC male police choir as well as the LA-based Overseas Chinese choir, and so on. For some, the song seem to evoke a sense of nationalism alongside allusions to Chinese culture; however, some of interviewees in this research claim that the film's songs seem to portray stories from another era that have 'nothing to do with us'.²

Both of the songs featured in the film are China Wind songs by the Taiwanese pop star Jay Chou, who also starred in the film. Meanwhile, Zhang, the film's director has been described as projecting Chineseness on a global stage and thereby 'represents the invention of a new

² Penny, personal interview in National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, 27 October 2015.

kind of globalised propaganda' (Harrison, 2006, p.572). The violent scenes in *Curse of the Golden Flower* have also been criticised as 'embodiments of fascist aesthetics' (Ma, 2010, p. 59). These China Wind songs featured in the film, apparently to play a role in a soft power project, but they are more than just promotional tools for the film; as the examples cited show, these songs were sung, re-sung, and disseminated in particular communities for personal or collective consumption. There has been plenty of critical discussion about Zhang's politics and his particular interpretation of Chineseness (Harrison, 2006; Ma, 2010; Larson, 2012). However, which type of nationalism is embodied in China Wind songs, what identities are represented, what meanings are generated to their listeners, as well as what the popularity of China Wind songs says about contemporary Chineseness and whether it will change over time, are all yet to be problematised.

The example of these two songs by Jay Chou illustrate the main inquiry of this thesis, namely the investigation of Chineseness in Mandarin pop music. This chapter covers four main theoretical discussions and historical dynamics, including identity, nationalism, Chineseness and Chinese popular music. As the example illustrated, these issues are interrelated with each other. In order to develop an understanding of how China Wind pop music is perceived and produced, these four themes are the key analytical focus in this thesis, for these issues are often manifested very differently on each of the ethnographic site and exhibit their specificities.

First and foremost, the nature of identity and why different types matter in the context of China Wind pop music will be addressed. These types of identities are often inter-related. The most frequent topics in this thesis are national and cultural identities, place in the age of globalization, and how music helps negotiate these identities. The thesis will also draw on the relationship between place and identity as gleaned from the audience's experiences. Those layers of identities that serve as ongoing processes when they listen to music will be further investigated in relation to the existing literature.

This chapter will then move on to discuss the nature of nationalisms, and how their different forms shape and influence the way individuals develop their narratives about nations and cultures. This section will review the literature that addresses how the state, people, digital technologies, the internet, and popular culture play important roles in forming nationalist narratives, with a special focus on official and popular nationalism respectively in

contemporary China. The argument proposed here is that the content and consumption of China Wind pop music enriches the understanding of these narratives.

Next, this literature review will examine the key debates about Chineseness and how it is culturally manifested across various locations very different cultural politics and histories. The section will review theoretical frameworks proposed by previous scholars, thereby addressing the relationships and dynamics among ethnic Chinese populations while critiquing the advantages and disadvantages of these frameworks. It will also address how taking inter-Asia cultural flows into consideration might be useful for the theorisation of contemporary Chinese popular culture. It will also underline how Chineseness, while de-centred, might simultaneously be re-centred given the rise of China. Last but not least, previous studies of popular music, particularly those of Chinese popular music, will be reviewed and examined. This chapter will offer an overview of the key literature that addresses various issues of Chinese popular music and identify genres and styles that are central to music culture. These discussions include Mandopop, Cantopop, Chinese rock music and *Gangtai* music. These genres were formed and labelled in special socio-political contexts. More in-depth discussions will be presented while referring to the existing literature in later chapters. Part Two will review the literature on China Wind pop music, including debates on gender representation in music videos, while analysing two China Wind pop songs as case studies. Additionally, music industries and genres which have evolved in or been associated with specific locations studied here will be presented in Part Two.

2.1 Identity

The concept of identity has been utilised in many fields and linked with many issues, such as personal development and ideology. It is a useful construction, yet it has also triggered innumerable debates both inside and outside of academia. The psychoanalyst Erik Erikson (1968) views identity as something that highlights individual uniqueness while providing a sense of who we are, both as individuals and as members of other social groups. He also believes identity is developed through various life stages while changing in line with the communal culture. Breakwell's (1986, 1992) identity model argues that it is a biological organism that changes over time and develops through accommodation, assimilation, and

evaluation of the social world. Echoing these ideas, anthropological and cultural studies have explored both individual and collective aspects of identity. Stuart Hall (1990) claims that

Instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices then represent, we should think, instead, of identity as a ‘production’, which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted with in, not outside, representation (p.222).

Issues around what identity is, if it is useful as a theoretical concept, what constitutes it and for what reasons, have been pursued in various scholarly fields, including studies on gender, ethnicity, race, class, nationality and so on. Although it appears to be useful, the term ‘identity’ has been a troubling theoretical concept. Butler (1995) and Gilroy (2000) have both warned that the term bears some risk as it tends to rely on some form of cultural specificity. The terminology also seems to offer space to the untested expectations of cultures, ethnicities, genders or nations, as well as allowing anti-anthropological assumptions of sameness. Understanding the danger of creating of an absolute identity defined by social categories, many studies (Hall 1989, 1990, 1996; Gilroy 1993, 2000; Frith 1996; Stokes 1994; Kuper, 1999) agree that identity is not a ‘thing’ but a process that is constantly changing. The common postmodern concept of identity is that it is changeable, fluid and constructed (Hall, 1996; Kuper, 1999; Gilroy, 1993; Calhoun, 1994). Studying gender identity, Butler (1988) points out that identities can be performed in front of both a social audience and the actors themselves. Most studies also agree that identity formation is not merely a private matter and is profoundly influential in one’s social life. As Calhoun (1994) argues, the formation of identity prepares one to enter the public arena. As a person enters this public arena, Hogg and Abrams (1988) also highlight that which forms of identity appear to be more relevant to this is a contextual process. They suggest that social identity comprises different social identifications and categories; which of these identifications will become salient depends on the context.

Identity politics is seen as a double-edged sword. The ambiguity of the concept is evident in the seemingly contradictory outcomes of identity politics, as it can be utilised to wage war (Gliroy, 2000; Kuper, 1999), yet postmodern identities are fragmented, fractured, hybrid and decentred (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995). Its potentially destructive outcome highlights another troubling quality of ‘identity’ politics, which is its capacity to develop as a functional identification. As Gilroy (2000) exemplifies, national or racial identification can be solicited

when identity is produced and stabilised. In this light, identity thus stops being an ongoing process of social interaction; instead it ‘becomes a thing to be possessed and displayed’ (p.103). Regarding this paradox, Clifford (2000) describes some outcomes of identity politics, such as assertive identity movements, which can appear to be the symptom of a more general disease. Nevertheless, he argues that self-assertion movements by the less powerful will include negotiations concerned not only with separation but also interaction (p.106).

As contested as it is, the concept is still widely employed to investigate various matters. Hall (1996) suggests that the concept of identity has experienced ‘erasure’ in the face of deconstructive critiques. The concept cannot be utilised without confronting these deconstructive critiques, but without such a concept ‘certain key questions cannot be thought at all’ (p.2). Since identities are commonly seen to be unstable and fluid, other than debating their nature, many studies have investigated ‘how’ identity is utilised as a resource or identification and also how it is constructed, thereby they have found identities to be constructed within discourses (Foucault, 1970) and patterns of representation (Hall, 1996). Alongside identifying common experiences or shared histories within a given group, identities are also constituted through difference (Hall, 1996) and the act of exclusion.

2.1.1 Place and Identity

As this thesis investigates how the consumption of China Wind pop music reflects music audiences’ local identities, the relationship between place and identity is worth investigating. In Twigger-Ross and Uzzell’s (1996) analysis, place has been related to identity mainly in two ways. The first involves place identification, which can be discovered in a person’s expressed identification with a place, such as where they are from and local to. This expresses a particular type of group membership as it functions as a form of social identification. For instance, many China Wind pop music audience members interviewed in this study identify themselves as Chinese, Taiwanese or Hong Kongers. The second mode relates to what Proshansky and Fabian (1987) have termed ‘place identity’, which describes a person’s socialisation in the physical world. Following Breakwell’s (1986) model of identity, Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) suggest that place is an active part of the construction of a person’s identity that represents continuity and change, as well as the distinctiveness of a given place. Other principles that govern identity as proposed by Breakwell include self-esteem and self-efficacy, which are also seen as being reflected in the daily functioning of a

person's identity. In this respect, the physical environment is crucial for a person's well-being.

However, in the study of localities and places, it sometimes appears unproblematic to use the distinctiveness of societies and cultures as a means to divide spaces. Regarding this, Gupta and Ferguson (1997) argue that the isomorphism of place and culture is difficult. These problems are highlighted when studying subjects who cross borders. In this study, there are many interviewees who have migrated and expressed that they feel local in more than one place. Although the existence of subcultures in a particular society has been widely recognised, the fundamental assumption of the singularity of a culture in which a hierarchy of various subcultures can be found, is questionable. So just as there is an assumption that a multicultural society in which a dominant mainstream culture exists, these assumptions can be problematic because they reinforce the idea that a place should have its own distinguishable culture.

Studies on tourism and cultural geography have already contributed to the notion of 'place' and how it has been informed by human activities (Urry and Larsen, 2011; Lew, 2017). What is distinctive about a place can be created or manufactured in some cases. As Lew (2017) argues, place-making has been associated with a range of different actions that in turn create a sense of place. Some are organic actions on the part of individuals and some are organised by governments or tourist agencies. The actions taken to create a sense of place take different forms, ranging from the tangible, such as urban design, to the intangible, such as the imaginary. John Urry's (2011) notion of the 'tourist gaze' also emphasises that this powerful force operates in the largest culture industry globally, a dynamic which can bring change to places. He argues that places are (re)produced through performances, while given cases as exemplified by how the mediated gaze of a place has reshaped Venice through the tourism industry. In summary, the sense of place cannot be interpreted solely as a natural feature that contributes to identity construction; it is also a resource that can be utilised, mediated and commercialised. This is evident in the case of China Wind pop music where a sense of place is performed musically and lyrically, while music videos also assist people to visit the places where they were filmed.

Ethnographic research methods can also help to question these pre-conceived notions about locations and cultures (Cohen, 1993), to explore their interrelations while highlighting other parameters involved in the construction of particular identities. Gupta and Ferguson's (1997)

argument serves as a reminder that, in discussions around place and identity, we need to take other factors into account, including class, gender and race:

We need to account sociologically for the fact that the ‘distance’ between the rich in Bombay and those in London may be much shorter than that between different classes in ‘the same’ city. Physical location and physical territory, for so long the only grid on which cultural difference could be mapped, need to be replaced by multiple grids that enable us to see that connection and contiguity- more general, the representation of territory – vary considerably by factors such as class, gender, race, and sexuality and are differentially available to those in different locations in the field of power (p.50).

2.1.2 Globalisation and Identity

Globalisation, in a more general sense, refers to a process characterised by the interaction between people, ideas, cultures, nations, corporations and so on, driven by advances in telecommunications and transport (Albrow, 1990). According to Giddens (1990), globalisation can be defined as ‘the intensification of worldwide social relations,’ whereby more and more places across the world have been drawn into a global system, thus leading to ‘time-space compression’ (p.64). Although many aspects of globalisation are intertwined in discussions of its political, economic and cultural aspects, this thesis addresses the impact of cultural globalisation due to the dissertation’s focus on popular music. As a result, theories and the literature dealing with cultural globalisation will be examined in the following paragraphs. However, transnational music companies often emphasise the potential economic value created generated by globalization, while as they pursue a global or transnational market, issues such as censorship and governmental intervention become hard to avoid when catering to some local markets, such as China. Therefore, while investigating the operations of such transnational networks, their political implications also have to be taken into account. The later section on Chineseness will examine how these regions interact ideologically and economically in pop music production and consumption.

The central point of contestation in theories of cultural globalisation has been between homogenisation and heterogenisation (Appadurai, 1996). A similar question can also be asked in relation to identity, namely whether easier access to foreign cultures and products will lead to a promotion of identity sameness among people across national boundaries, or if the opposite will be the case. Crane’s (2002) cultural globalisation models have shed some

light on the various processes of cultural transmission and their consequences in relation to these processes. These models include, firstly, cultural/media imperialism which is seen as leading to cultural homogenisation; secondly, cultural flows, which function as two-way flows that create a hybridisation of cultures; thirdly, reception theory, whereby the actors – such as the audience and gatekeepers – interact in a multidirectional process, thus facilitating a negotiation of cultural meanings; and finally, the cultural policy model, whereby the framing of an identity is strongly encouraged by actors such as cities, museums and other agencies. These strategies lead to cultural competition and negotiation. De Kloet and Fung (2017) suggest that the four models proposed by Crane are still valid according to their study on Chinese youth cultures. They also argue that the global is deeply implicated in the local in terms of fashion, popular music, TV and so on. However, the intensification of the PRC's power has manifested itself in its state-cultural industry relationship. This shows that the production of a particular Chinese culture reflected in cultural products which do not only follow a commercial logic, but also a governmental one (p.93).

In the face of such complex global cultural flows influencing each aspect of locality unevenly, Appadurai (1996) argues this complexity has much to do with the existence of disjunctures between economics, culture and politics. He has proposed a framework for exploring these disjunctures by examining five dimensions of global cultural flow, including ethnoscaples, mediascaples, technoscaples, finanscaples, and ideoscaples. As individuals engage with cultural products in these five dimensions, Appadurai (1996) argues that groups can move to another place yet stay linked to one another through media capabilities. Thus, the staging ground of identity has been influenced by the interplay of commerce, media, national policies and so on. He concludes that the central feature of global culture today is the politics of the mutual effort of sameness and difference.

Globalisation has profoundly influenced cultural industries, and the music sphere is no exception, with many transnational record companies actively participating in global cultural flows. Negus (1996) argues that popular music can communicate across cultural and geographical boundaries, while events like the Live Aid concerts highlight how globalisation could help create a transnational public sphere, where music serves as a form of affective communication concerned with important issues. However, the impact of globalisation is complex and uneven. Whereas the audience for recording popular music has grown globally, local music practices never seem to cease to exist, whereas Hesmondhalgh (1998) argues that

cultural imperialism is still embedded in industrial practices. Examples include the widespread use of English as the language of pop music and the predominantly Anglophone star-making process. The result of such practices is ‘the assumption and/or acceptance that specifically European/North American practices are universals’ (p.180). Hesmondhalgh goes on to warn that the unequal access to production, distribution and consumption in the music industry should not be overlooked. A certain scarcity of access also restricts non-Anglophone artists from accessing the system of global consumer capitalism.

As urban youths enter into this system of global consumer capitalism, they also have access to the internet, through which they are able to listen to music from an international repertoire. Given that the local and the global are often intertwined in mediascapes, de Kloet and Jurriëns (2007) have coined the term ‘cosmopatriotism’ while characterising a ‘cosmopatriot’ as someone who ‘navigate[s] between ironic loyalty to the state and their sense of longing for and belonging to the world’ (p.13) by drawing on examples from East and South-East Asian popular cultures. Cosmopolitanism and patriotism meet in the convergence of global cultural flows and are always under negotiation. Thus, the debate regarding whether it is cultural hegemony or multiplicities that are embodied in popular culture consumers’ identities, is always riven by ambiguities. In light of cosmopatriotism, Shin (2009) also proposes the notion of the ‘cosmoAsian,’ a state of being which is ‘both aesthetically cosmopolitan and culturally Asian’ (p.117). Differing from cosmopatriots, the cosmoAsians engage with transcultural interexchanges that make space for new forms of transnational Asian popular culture without essentialising national culture and while mobilising new identities. Both terminologies point to popular culture that is both global and local in its essence; they also exemplify how identities are fluid, changing over time, while interacting closely with mediascapes and cultural products. Popular music is a noteworthy example of such an interaction.

2.1.3 Music and Identity

There have been many discussions about how music plays a role in the articulation of various kinds of identities. Other than assigning a distinctive and a fixed identity in music to passive listeners, Frith (1996) suggests that music constructs a sense of identity as ‘an experiential process’ (p.125). The process is social and simultaneously aesthetic, one in which the self is mobile. A considerable amount of literature has examined aspects of identities and the way in

which they engage with music, including individual (DeNora 1999, 2000; Frith, 1996), ethnic (Gilroy, 1993), national (Stokes, 1994) and gender identities (McClary, 1991; Frith and McRobbie, 1990; Walser, 1993). Previous research has provided rich analyses and an important foundation to build on, and the following section will highlight a few areas which the thesis engages with. Firstly, there is the question of how a sense of local or collective identity can emerge through participation in music activities. Both Finnegan's (1989) study on Milton Keynes and Cohen's (1991) study on Liverpool explore how music-making can act as a medium that connects identities to places; Bennett (2000) also explores the relationship between popular music and youth culture in the context of locality.

Then there is the issue of how identities are negotiated in musical practices based on diverse genres. Cottrell (2004) has adopted an ethnographic approach to studying professional western art musicians in London, while Becker (1982), as an amateur jazz musician in Chicago himself, proposes that different agents take part and cooperate in cultural production. These agents constitute art worlds that vary in size and convention. Frith (1981) also describes the rock n' roll music experience as community-based while arguing that the 'myth' of rock music is a self-exploration fantasy about ways of life and possibilities in these communities.

In addition, there is a concern with how gender identities are embedded in the production and consumption of music. McClary (1991) has explored the sexual politics in Western classical music from musical theories through to sonatas' procedures, and famously argues that music is a gendered discourse. The way sexuality and gender are constructed in musical experience have also been analysed in particular genres. Frith and McRobbie (1990) have argued that the production of rock music is male dominated while the performance of the genre is male orientated. Walser (1993) also analyses the gendered identities constructed in heavy metal. These studies have posed important challenges and reveal the limits to the representation of certain identities in music.

Last but not least, music is also a resource for the construction of national identities, which is exemplified by the creation and experience of national anthems (Anderson, 1983) and how music can be used as a means of control (Warren, 1972). Parallel to using music as a tool to govern, music can also be regarded as a risk to the state. The history of state-led music censorship also highlights how music can be seen as a carrier of an ideology that threatens the state (Cloonan and Garofalo, 2003; Korpe, 2004; Lin, 2013), a threat that needs to be

managed. In turn, Stokes (1994) emphasises how music can articulate a knowledge of other people, places, and the listeners or musicians' relations to these. He also argues that music not only provides the means by which people recognise identities and places, it also underlines the boundaries that separate them. Stokes (1994) also argues that 'musical styles can be made emblematic of national identities in complex and often contradictory ways' (p.13); in the seldom unproblematic process of defining a national style, one risk is that the style's construction might serve as a form of internal cultural colonialism. The latter is also problematised in this thesis. Although China Wind pop music is not promoted primarily by the official state, how it is represented and employed on national stages and adapted in music education is an issue worth examining.

As for the identities of the individual music audiences that this thesis will pursue, DeNora's (1999) study of music and self-identity offers several insightful reference points. Recalling Foucault's (1988) concept of technologies of the self, and viewing the latter as practices whereby individuals represent to themselves their own self-understanding, DeNora concludes that music can serve as a technology of the self in terms of on-going identity and emotional work. Such work includes self-modulation, constituting memories, and so on. Echoing Frith, DeNora underlines that music does not function simply as a sign pointing out the existing state of the Self, rather it is a building material for these states while music materials can also 'provide templates for elaborating self-identity' (p.49).

Discussions in relation to music and identity have developed over time. How digitalisation and the formation of virtual communities across geographical boundaries influence the way music and identities negotiate has also been explored in recent times. This is also a key issue to be investigated in this thesis, which is how music reality shows and concert tours provide a transnational stage for China Wind pop music. The reason why the notion and layers of identities are central to this thesis is exemplified by the tensions evident in these definitions, unceasing arguments, and how these changes are informed by both cultural politics and ongoing technological development. Because identities are fluid and fragmented, the same music can trigger different versions of an 'imaginative rediscovery' (Hall, 1990) of histories and nations. In the case of China Wind pop music, identity politics in the regions studied here have stimulated powerful movements. Meanwhile, identity is also encoded in mass-mediated music and then decoded by individual consumers, thus signifying how identity, as an

experiential process that is both social and individual, is informed by the encounter with popular music.

2.2 Nationalism

China Wind pop music has some distinguishable cultural characteristics that are also, arguably, nationalistic. This section will first review the literature on how various forms of nationalism can be conceptualised as an ideology that is influential in Chinese popular culture. Starting with an investigation of how a group of people can share a sense of belonging to a nation, this section will focus on the power of media to construct a particular kind of national imagination. It will also reflect on the relationship between nationalism, patriotism, and racism. Secondly, how Chinese nationalism evolved and developed in the late 19th century will also be introduced in order to specify how and what kind of nationalisms have been most impactful in the localities under study. Finally, among various theories that address typologies of nationalisms, the section will finally explore how the investigation of the practice of official nationalism (Seton-Watson, 1977; Anderson, 1983) and popular nationalism can be a useful theoretical concept to use in the study of the consumption, production, and promotion of China Wind music in an ‘emerging national culture’ (Fung, 2007).

2.2.1 Imagined Communities

Nationalism is notoriously challenging to define. However, the ideology is central to discussions of how Chineseness is constructed and perceived in China Wind pop music. In theories dealing with nationalism, Benedict Anderson’s (1983) definition of a nation as an ‘imagined community’ has been one of the most influential formulations. His emphasis on how the development of print media influenced the construction of national identities provides a useful stand point in this research. Anderson’s concept has a special focus on the economic aspect of a society as well as the role communication technologies play. This following section will introduce the theory’s historical contexts while outlining how it is relevant to the thesis.

Nation, nationality, and nationalism are three interrelated terms which are widely referred to in discussions around contemporary politics. Nationalism as an ideology or discourse is considered by many scholars as having become prevalent and influential in Western Europe and North America in the latter half of the 18th century (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994; Anderson, 1983). German romanticism, which inspired a populist cultural renaissance, swept Europe and provided a foundation for many nationalistic movements. In German romanticism, nations were distinctive cultural communities with specific characteristics, and languages used acted as important identity markers (Hobsbawm, 1990; Harris, 2009). Key events such as American independence (1776) and the French revolution (1789) marked the rise of nationalism, however nationalist movements throughout the world have been mobilised in many different communities and contexts.

In the nineteenth century, the wave of romanticism spreading across Europe led to the formation of many emerging nation-states, such as Germany, Italy, Poland, and Greece. In the twentieth century, post-colonial nationalism was on the rise while western colonies in Africa and Asia sought independence from their imperialist colonisers. Anderson (1983) claims that the colonising state's way of imagining history offered an example for emerging anti-colonial nationalist elites. As Smith (2013) suggests, nationalism's 'chameleon-like ability [...] transmutes itself according to the perceptions and needs of different communities and of competing strata' (p.13). This might be the reason why nationalism is difficult to define, but it is a powerful force in contemporary history, one that shapes contemporary nation-states. Even in different contexts and eras, it finds its own way to manifest itself.

While a community is presumed to share a set of collective memories, values, and a cultural heritage, Renan argues that these memories are at times selective, thereby suggesting that forgetting is as crucial as remembering in any nation-building process (Renan, 1882, cited in Anderson, 1983; Bosworth, 2013; Smith, 2013). In addition to pointing out that the nation itself has a mechanism that canonises historical events, Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) further argue that in the modern development of a nation, while creating a national identity, certain cultural traditions have been 'invented'. Some seemingly old and authentic cultural practices are reinvented for the purpose of giving them new meanings in a given society. Both views question the authenticity and naturalness of a national community, in which Anderson (1983) has suggested a 'sacrificing love' emerges; individuals and soldiers are willing to die for a given nation.

Anderson claims that a nation is imagined as limited, as sovereign, and as a community in which individuals share a sense of belonging without knowing or having contact with one another in person. Anderson argues that the evolution of print capitalism in the late 18th century helped to frame boundaries between nations as newspapers were printed and distributed in specific vernacular languages. In Anderson's theory, the way in which the media addressed 'the public' as a unit strengthened the very imagining of the nation. The media of print capitalism, such as newspapers, also changed the perception of time, namely as linear and calendrical days. Anderson also emphasises the importance of languages, which help in the creation of symbols and history. Anderson's theory offers crucial insights to this thesis due to its special stress on language and media. He underlines that, through a shared written language, the media addresses a people as 'the public,' thereby consolidating the 'nation'. In addition, classifications made by colonising states and the museumification of cultures have also contributed to the process of imagining. Appadurai (1996) also emphasises how different media contributed to forming nationalistic sentiments, by providing 'systematic knowledge from books, newspapers, maps, films, and television programmes, [which] made the citizens imagine their own belongingness to a national society' (p.161).

Many intellectuals are aware of the downside of nationalism while tracing back its history and development. George Orwell (1945) defined it as classifying habit which labelled human beings like insects, then identifying oneself as having the duty to advance the interests of a single nation; Nairn (1977) characterises nationalism as an incurable pathology: it is as inescapable as 'neurosis' in the individual and 'has a capacity for descent into dementia'. (p. 359) However, just as many commentators condemn the destructive power of nationalisms, some suggest that the assertion that 'nationalisms cause wars' may be misleading and overly simplistic. Seton-Watson (1977) has pointed out that, instead of nationalist tensions between existing nation-states, the conflicts and frictions between national movements in a sovereign state are the main source of wars (p.469). Appadurai (1996) also reminds us that there is no indisputable version or understanding of nationalism that is universally accepted and which covers all contexts. He argues that one person's imagined community can be another's political prison. This is demonstrable given that Taiwanese and Hong Kongers might feel conflicted as they are referred to as Chinese in discussions of China Wind pop music. For them, Chinese identity is losing ground, as is the identification of being 'Chinese'.

Although nationalism might appear dangerous at times, contemporary international relations based on interactions between nation-states have not yet been replaced by any other structures or relationships. Smith (2013) argues that even given their capacity for division and destruction, nationalism and the nation still provides the only realistic socio-cultural framework in the modern world, while a global culture fails to offer the ‘rootedness’ and ‘security’ that ‘a territorial culture community across generations can provide’ (pp. 159-160). This sense of ‘rootedness’ echoes Anderson’s concept, which emphasises that rather than being established solely to promote a given political agenda, national identity is a powerful, ongoing ‘production’ (Hall, 1990). This production has proceeded at a drastic pace in China since the late 19th century. The following section examines the formation of Chinese nationalism and its theorisation.

2.2.2 Chinese Nationalism

The idea of ‘China’ has always been controversial. How China has been conceptualised will be addressed further in the following section on Chineseness. Although frequently portrayed as an ancient civilisation which has experienced contemporary turbulence, the notion of China as a culture and a nation-state is problematic. Harrison (1969) argues that the traditional Chinese self-image in most imperial dynasties can be defined as a form of ‘culturalism’ based on a common historical heritage and acceptance of shared beliefs, but not as nationalism, which is based on the modern concept of the nation-state. Meanwhile, modern Chinese nationalism is widely recognised as having emerged and developed during the late 19th century Qing dynasty, when China was facing external threats from the West and, later on, Japan. On the one hand, some reformists, such as Kang Youwei (康有為) and Liang Qichao (梁啟超), asked for the opportunity not only to strengthen the dynasty by advocating the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, but by employing ideological changes and introducing western thinking to the Qing government. On the other hand, some revolutionists, Sut Yat-Sen (孫中山) included, advocated getting rid of the ‘Manchus rulers’ and the forming a new republican government, while ownership of the new nation should belong to Han ethnic people who were represented as having always been located in ‘China’, rather made up of invaders from the North. The slogan widely used during the revolution was ‘Get rid of the barbarians, restore China’ (驅除韃虜, 恢復中華), strongly implying that Manchus, the ‘barbarians’, were the ‘others’ residing on Chinese land while ethnicity was used an

identity marker for legitimate Chineseness. Therefore, there was a need for the Han people to take back control. Feudalism would be abolished indicating progress while the democratic systems of powerful nations were a worthwhile model for China. At the time, national awareness was built on a Han-centred ethnicity, which proved a powerful catalyst for the revolutions to come.

Competing nationalisms have arisen in contemporary China. These differences could be the result of conflicts between state powers or regional histories. The revolutionaries overthrew the Qing dynasty and established the Republic of China in 1911, controlling mainland China until the ruling party, the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT) led by Chiang Kai-Shek, lost a civil war to the Communist Party of China (CPC), led by Mao Zedong, and withdrew to Taiwan. Since then, the newly founded PRC's nationalism and that of the ROC have competed against each other, while both of them claiming ownership of Chinese culture.

A wide range of scholars have addressed the complexities of Chinese nationalism today. Unger (1996) argues that it is plural and multi-layered, 'comprised of many inter-stitching sentiments: Han-ethnic identification, a culturalist pride, open-minded optimism and anti-foreign resentment' (p. xvii). Shih (2010) describes twentieth-century Chinese nationalism as an obsession with the wound caused by Western colonisation and Japanese invasion, a preoccupation that has simultaneously oppressed peripheral subjects and ethnic minorities. Ray Chow (1998a) echoes Shih's observation in her study of Chinese literature, calling this tracing back to historical bitterness as the 'logic of the wound'.

In addition to the divide resulting from the civil war, there is more than one version of nationalism in Mainland China. In his article 'Where is Chinese nationalism?', focusing on post-1911 China, Friedman (2008) describes contemporary Chinese nationalism as a 'geographical project'; he analyses different types of nationalism that have evolved in the south and north of China that reflect local interests. Friedman argues that, since 1911, different versions of Chinese nationalism evolved that reflected the political agendas of various domestic regions. Therefore, southern nationalism could be perceived as 'a project of professionalisation' (p.726), leading to a commercialised, cosmopolitan future with wealth and power; meanwhile its northern counterpart dreams of a strong nation based on justice and without reference to lineage and religion, which was led by Mao. He concludes that, in terms of nation building, the northern discourse remains powerful and dominant, while China's foreign policy also reflects southern priorities, including commercial success and

westernisation. These Chinese nationalisms have imagined very different Chinese futures and inevitably compete against each other.

Friedman's theorisation is of great value to the study of Chinese nationalism, as it addresses the issue that, when it comes to nationalism, analysing 'China' as one unit might be flawed. However, to define nationalism as a geographical project might run the risk of falling into the dichotomy of a north/south division, as if southern (or northern) nationalism has carried a fixed set of values since 1911, which could be controversial considering that the KMT settled in Taiwan post-civil war, therefore the centre of southern discourse migrated; 'northern' ideologies were also challenged in the democratic movements of the late 1980s and then reshaped over more recent years. The necessity of still connecting such values to the geographical north might be questionable. In sum, Chinese nationalism is an ongoing project shaped and informed by many social sectors and historical events. The following section will explore the role the Chinese state plays in defining the ideology of nationalism, including in the process of nation building as well as in forming public discourses.

2.2.3 Official Nationalism

The neologism 'official nationalism' was firstly coined by Seton-Watson (1977) to illustrate the leaders of powerful nations in the nineteenth century who considered it their role to impose their nationality on all subjects, while drawing these people upward into their own superior culture. In a wider context, as Hayward (2009) has argued, the phrase 'official nationalism' refers to a conception of nationalism that highlights the centrality of the state, while it is an ideology of the nation-state defined by governmental elites (pp.19-20). Of its many different forms, this thesis will discuss the concepts of both official and popular nationalism in a Chinese context in order to explore the intersections between heterogeneous nationalisms which inform the production and perceptions of China Wind pop songs. Instead accepting the concept as a given entity that applies to this study, the purpose is to borrow the construction of this term in order to highlight which states have attempted to construct a nationalism embodied in popular music. Echoing Seton-Watson (1977), Anderson argues that the key to situating official nationalism is 'to remember that it developed after, and in reaction to, the popular national movements' (p.86). In his case studies, this refers to those movements that proliferated in Europe since the 1820s. These nationalisms were formed 'after the appearance of popular linguistic-nationalisms' and as 'responses by power-groups'

who are threatened with marginalization in the popular, emerging imagined communities (pp. 109-110).

The concept of official nationalism has generated debates between scholars of Chinese politics and history regarding how it corresponds to contemporary Chinese nationalisms, especially as it was originally proposed to address a type of nationalism prevalent in other nations. Duara (2005) claims that official nationalism is evident in the Manchurian-dominated Qing dynasty when there 'there [was] an effort to be Chinese' in order to govern (p.46). A top-down approach to forming a national identity was therefore employed. In the case of Hong Kong, Wu (2014) argues that after the transfer of sovereignty in 1997, Beijing's policies towards Hong Kong demonstrated the practice of official nationalism with the goal to eliminate specificity in what has been an essentially aggressive work of state- and nation-building. While Darr (2011) examines different nationalisms in contemporary China, he claims that the official nationalism exhibited by state policy seeks to 'preserve China's territorial integrity' (p.20), while the popular nationalism emerging among the populace could be leaning towards anti-foreigner sentiment, or even lead to hostile foreign policies.

Official nationalism has been seen as a controversial and sensitive topic in the PRC, which is exemplified by the editorial handling of the simplified Chinese version of Anderson's *Imagined Communities* in 2003. Before it was published in the PRC, Shanghai People's Publishing House, a huge state-owned conglomerate, deleted the ninth chapter of the book in which Anderson addresses issues around official nationalism and imperialism. The conglomerate also censored some of the translator's (Wu Rwei-ren) text. Anderson (2006) notes that these alterations took place without informing either the writer or the translator, and without their obtaining their consent (pp.222-223). Since censorship takes place in many different levels – including the state, the publisher, and occasionally the writer themselves – it is sometimes difficult to identify which exact sector enabled the deletion of the chapter. Nevertheless, the deletion indicates the 'inappropriateness' of the specific chapter, where China is not even mentioned in the texts. To some extent, the reaction of a threatened power group to plurality is embodied in this censorship while exemplifying the practice of official nationalisms, which, in Anderson's (1983) words, are 'conservative policies adapted from the model of the largely spontaneous popular nationalisms that preceded them' (p.110).

In an article Anderson (2001) wrote to compare and analyse Western and Eastern nationalisms, he mentioned that there are ideological differences between 'official' and

‘popular’ nationalism in many countries. However, in locations with as huge a population as Mainland China, the issues underlying these differences are very complex. The next section will discuss popular nationalism in China and the ways in which it has manifested itself.

2.2.4 Popular Nationalism

Smith (2013) characterises nationalism as ‘chameleon-like’, as it manifests itself in different ways and in various guises. There is usually more than one version of nationalism in a given nation-state. While analysing how Chinese nationalism influences music products and their consumption, it is important to identify the existence of a more bottom-up, decentralised, and impromptu kind of nationalism as compared to official or state nationalism. As for popular nationalism in China, Townsend (1996) argues that it is powerful, while state nationalism is weaker than official communications proclaim; the aspirations of both nationalisms are not always in accord.

Some literature refers to this bottom-up nationalism as ‘populist’ in nature, instead of ‘popular nationalism’. In turn, the relationship between popular/populist and state nationalism has been widely researched. Yu (2014) suggests that populist nationalists tend to propagate an exaggerated version of history that often portrays imperial China as benevolent and superior to other cultures, while then using this history as a foundation for national pride. Popular nationalism does not exist only as a counter narrative to official nationalism, it also exerts political pressure, especially in relation to foreign policy. Li’s (2009) study on cyber-nationalism in relation to the western media’s coverage of the ‘Tibet riots’ suggests that the political expressions of Chinese netizens also has a substantial influence on the PRC government’s policy decisions, as these same netizens receive and disseminate information online, lose hope in the Western media, and then turn to support the state. Online political expression in today’s China, as both Hyun and Kim (2015) and Li (2009) suggest – while seen as coming directly from the public and not the official sector – can still serve the purpose of stabilising the state through the partial inclusion of the public.

Popular nationalism and cyber nationalism have become more and more prevalent and intertwined. One of the watershed moments is 2008, the year in which the Beijing Olympics and Tibetan unrest reflected the political expression of patriotic sentiments in dissimilar ways: some triggered online debate and criticism of the West; some even led to street protests

against western criticism of human rights issues in China (D'Hooghe, 2011). These protests against the perceived bias of the western media took place in the US, Germany, the UK, France and so on (China Daily, 2008). Regarding the protest in Guangdong owing to propaganda officers pressuring the editors of a local newspaper, *Southern Weekly*, in 2013, Gao (2013) describes the PRC as 'a land of many nationalisms', while protesters 'presented themselves as patriots' and counter-protesters considered the formers as 'traitors of the nation' for criticising the government (p.30). These contrasting sentiments, beliefs, and actions illustrate the ambivalence of one's love for one's nation.

Some scholars suggest the internet is where nationalism has been redefined (Unger, 1996; Gries, 2004; Hughes, 2006). The term 'Little pink' became a catchword to refer to those young netizens who comment patriotically and wage cyber war, usually by flooding social media such as Facebook or Twitter, making comments supporting the Chinese state and abusing people with different opinions (Economist, 2016; Ruan, 2016). The 'Little Pink' phenomenon demonstrates how powerful popular nationalism and how rapid the response of netizens can be respectively. This echoes what has previously been mentioned, namely de Kloet and Jurriëns' (2007) neologism 'cosmopatriotism,' while they characterise those who 'navigate between ironic loyalty to the state and their sense of longing for and belonging to the world' (p.13) as 'cosmopatriots', thereby demonstrating the importance of cyberspace as a nationalist battlefield. *The Economist* (2016) also argues that pop culture is often an arena for these young nationalists to express their opinions; it could be argued that the cyberspace also reinforces a given pop culture magnifying popular nationalism. The sentiment of popular nationalism goes hand in hand with a commercialised Chineseness; both of them can be marketable resources in a transnational market, a discussion which will be explored further in the next section on Chineseness.

2.3 Chineseness

When examining how sinologists have traditionally engaged in the construction of Chinese identity in literature, Rey Chow (1998a) argues that they have tended to characterise an entire group of people in order to discuss a culture, which locks individuals into a determination that is both immutable and intangible in origin. She questions this practice as problematic and racist, a critique which resonates with Edward Said's influential work *Orientalism* (1978), in

which he argues that the study of the ‘Orient’ has created cultural representations based on an ideology that intends to govern. Therefore, an ‘oriental culture’ is essentialised and reduced in order to be studied, and the West – historically the imperialists and colonisers – reproduced these images and knowledge of the oriental through various channels, including media, film, or academic works.

However, the challenges we face today when deconstructing the notion of Chineseness is not entirely the result of an orientalist approach to understanding a particular culture. Firstly, how Chineseness is constructed and who refers to themselves as the Chinese has been historically unstable. Allen Chun (1996) points out that what it means to be ‘Chinese’ among different groups has changed over history. From referring to oneself as *han-ren* (漢人), *tang-ren* (唐人), to *chung-guo-ren* (中國人), specific contexts have produced these terms in order to cater to a variety of imagined identities. This exemplifies that Chinese identities are constructed and have always been changing. While consolidating *Chung-hua-min-tsu* (中華民族) as a unified group of people beyond a specific nationality is a relatively new notion, Chinese culture is not just imagined but also ‘institutionalised and authorised’ (Chun, 1996, p. 114). To identify how these power relationships function and give rise to identities, it is important to examine local and specific contexts, thereby exploring how cultural narratives are articulated. In this thesis, in order to understand how Chineseness in China Wind music is perceived across the PRC, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the UK, it is crucial to look back on the political histories and nation-building of each location, thus identifying how Chineseness is articulated in each context. This will be introduced in each subsequent chapter.

Secondly, Chineseness as presented in China Wind pop songs can no longer be understood as a direct result of ‘Orientalism’, although it might still reflect the western gaze on Chinese culture given the use of pentatonic scales, deliberately emphasised cultural objects (such as porcelain), and Gong-Fu practitioners in music videos. As Chow (1995) critiques, the self-orientalist approach in the production of cultural products – including the fifth generation of Chinese filmmakers such as Zhang Yimou or John Woo – is a ‘tactic of display [and] a signifier for cross-cultural fetishism’ (p. 59). Chu (2008) has also summarised that this ‘Chineseness’ has to be understood in the context of global capitalism, while this ‘strategic essentialism’ should not be the final goal but a transitional phase in order to fight against global hegemony. Although this ‘strategy’ might share similarities with the one China Wind music employs, the main audience of China Wind pop music is still Chinese-speaking

communities. The construction of Chineseness in China Wind songs might still be perceived as rather 'self-orientalist', however it mobilises imaginations about the 'Chinese people' as a unified entity from the inside out. The following sections will draw on influential theories from the literature that provide a framework for the theorisation of Chineseness.

2.3.1 Cultural China and the Greater China

When it comes to questions of who contributes to the construction of Chinese culture today, the vocal proponent of Neo-Confucianism, Tu Wei-Ming (1991), argues that 'the Middle Kingdom syndrome' has made it difficult for the Chinese leadership to abandon its superior sense of being at the centre of its own historical imagination. Therefore, Hong Kong, Taiwan and the Chinese diaspora construct creative new versions of Chineseness, but which are seen as peripheral. Tu goes on to challenge this centre-periphery relationship while seeking to de-centre the understanding of Chineseness by proposing 'symbolic universes' of cultural China. The first universe consists of Taiwan, Hong Kong, the PRC, and Singapore, locations where the population is predominately ethnic Chinese; the second universe consists of Chinese communities around the world; the third universe refers to academics, journalists, or others who interpret Chinese culture for other communities. This insight acknowledges that the 'peripheries' have a critical role in interpreting and defining Chineseness for Mainland China.

While Tu Wei-Ming's (1991) focus has been on those intellectuals who contributed to the production of knowledge, the loose taxonomy of 'Greater China' concentrated originally on economic activities in regions including the PRC, Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan. Wang Gungwu (1993) argues that the 'Greater China' concept is a product of speculation concerned with the re-emergence of China as a powerful political player after its shift to a market economy. While global capitalism has facilitated the circulation of products, transportation, and business flows beyond the border of a nation-state, in Ong's (1993) terms, those who have 'flexible citizenship' are able to cross borders, taking their capital with them. Harding (1993) also identifies other themes in the discourse around Greater China, which include the possible reunification of a Chinese state and the emergence of a global Chinese culture. Although some critics object to using 'Greater China' as a term to describe systematic interactions in the region due to the existence of disintegrative forces, Harding notes that 'the concept was intended in a benign economic sense and its very vagueness is one of its greatest virtues' (p. 683).

Tu's (1991) notion of peripheries setting the cultural agenda for the centre and contributing to Chineseness in 'cultural China', is criticised by Chun (1996) as advocating pan-national fundamentalism (p. 133), regardless of the differences evident in each society. Ang (1998) has also argued that such a notion may seem like de-hegemonising geopolitical China, but the logic in fact implies a new centre of Chinese modernity, 'a de-centered center, whose name is cultural China, but China nevertheless' (p. 231).

2.3.2 Pop Culture China

Chua (2001) argues that 'pop culture China' is symbolically without a centre, as multi-lingual Chinese cultural products have been produced and gained popularity in various locations, including among various diasporas. However, this does not mean that every member has the same role in the market. Taking the popular music industry as an example, Chua suggests that Hong Kong and Taiwan were the production centre providing the content, while the PRC and Singapore largely made up the market. However, the huge and growing market the PRC has to offer after its opening-up has gradually reshaped the scenario, and now the market is considerably more powerful and demanding in terms of the construction of Chineseness. For instance, the collaboration between Hong Kong filmmakers and the Mainland has transformed the style of Hong Kong films while, strategically speaking, Mainland-HK film co-productions enable films to be screened in Mainland cinemas rather than having to compete with other imported films as part of the international quota. This new form of collaboration in the film industry is the result of a top-down strategy and its influence on the content of cultural products is significant. Another example of how the market might influence the way Chineseness is articulated is the bypassing of censorship, however publishers – and at times the musicians themselves – have to be aware of not crossing a line. Chua (2001) also argues that, in the case of pop music, there is usually no deep identity involvement at the consumption end, yet the circulation of these cultural products is facilitated in a transnational network in these different locations. This echoes Harding's (1993) comments concerning the Greater China discourse's economic 'vagueness' (p. 683) while, in the case of China Wind pop, this same vagueness as crafted in the music and lyrics corresponds with the economic ambiguity by achieving success in the Greater China.

Scholars have demonstrated that, in the realm of the arts, Chineseness is marketable (Gao, 2015; Fung, 2007; Chu, 2012; Chow, 2009). Popular music is no exception. In post-socialist

China, the authoritarian capitalism that the state promotes through its economic policies has become more and more influential. Baravovitch (2003) points out that, in order to understand popular culture, it is important not to see the complex relationship between capitalism and the state as mutually exclusive in the Chinese context. He argues that since popular culture is not an object over which a specific group has ownership, it is problematic to divide culture into ‘popular’ as opposed to ‘official’ (p.271). In Gao’s (2015) article on Chinese patriotic songs, he uses Taiwanese-American singer-songwriter Wang Leehom and Beijing rock star Wang Feng as examples to illustrate how their songs can automatically become accomplices of the government’s propaganda machine. He sees these popular songs which deploy patriotic sentiments as a discursive cultural project involving the voluntary participation of the state, the consumer, and the marketer. How the Chinese state participates in this process of articulating Chineseness will be discussed in section 2.3.5 Re-centring Chineseness.

2.3.3 Sinophone Studies

‘Sinophone’ has become a buzzword in the study of the wider Chinese-speaking community’s culture. The concept has also been widely utilised but also heavily debated in scholarship on modern literature, cinema, media, and cyberspace (Shih, 2004, 2007, 2011; Ch’ng, 2014; Chen, 2015; Leibold, 2015), however, relatively little academic work on the idea and music is evident. Shih (2004) defines Sinophone literature as ‘written in Chinese by Chinese-speaking writers in various parts of the world outside China, as distinguished from “Chinese literature” – literature from China’ (p. 29). Shih (2011) has also pointed out problems with the term ‘diaspora’, for two reasons: firstly, it masks the present condition of colonialism; secondly, the term implies loyalty to a motherland. Sinophone culture is produced using many registers that epitomise implied differences and diversity, while the concept also acknowledges multilinguality as Sinophone involves multiple sounds and orthographies. The Sinophone includes various languages without conforming to the logic of a particular hegemonic ‘Chinese’ language – usually meaning Mandarin Chinese – as superior to all other Sinitic languages. Shih also believes the concept has the ability to reveal the implicit China-centrism embedded in discussions of national literature or cinema while drawing attention to the openness of linguistic communities and eschewing monolingualism, ethnocentrism and colonialism (p.717). Achieving recognition through representation for minorised cultures is, for Shih, the goal when theorising the Sinophone. Although this activist

scholarship, as Shih (2007) claims, challenges the construction of ‘Chineseness’ within the China- and Han-centrism respectively long embedded in the cultural understanding generated by delinking a nation and a language, many questions still arise. One key criticism regards Sinophone articulation’s lingual-centric approach: even though the Sinophone includes various languages, it is still defined by one’s spoken languages. Lim (2011) argues that it also counts as a form of essentialism, which undermines cultural production and cultural identity when using a language that is not one’s own (p.38). Another major criticism concerns the Sinophone geographical framework that excludes China (namely the PRC). Zhang (2009) argues that Shih’s construction of the Sinophone can be contested: Shih endorses the notion of a counterhegemonic Sinophone while implying that cultural production in the PRC is hegemonic and that of the Sinophone is heterogeneous. In turn, Zhang argues instead that the cultural production taking place inside China can also be counterhegemonic. Additionally, Lincot (2007) also suggests that those players in the Sinophone world who contribute to cultural production are not unrelated to China’s socio-political stability, not to mention China’s soft power policy which is deployed in the international political arena. Regarding Shih’s (2011) argument that ‘diaspora’ has an expiration date as one cannot remain diasporic for hundreds of years, Chen (2015) also poses additional questions. She stresses the existential condition of the diaspora in relation to mediated representations of the first generation’s stories and rituals. Chen argues that this continuity does not demand a sense of loyalty and these representations do not require any ‘organic memory’. This ‘prosthetic memory’, as she proposes, still constitutes the diaspora’s condition.

Although the Sinophone includes various communities given linguistic proximity, it effectively challenges notions such as *liangan sandi* (兩岸三地), literally ‘two coasts and three places’, that bind heterogeneous places such as Hong Kong and Taiwan into a given entity (Wong, 2010)³. However, the study of popular music poses several questions to the Sinophone’s theoretical framework. As discussed previously, the lingual-centrism Sinophone articulation implies can be problematic. Lim (2011), Zhang (2009) and Lincot’s (2007) criticisms all appear to be valid in terms of the study of popular music as, firstly, the mixed use of languages is very common on a musical album, performance, or even a song. A

³ According to Wong (2010), *liangan sandi* is ‘a brilliant linguistic sleight of hand referring to the PRC, Taiwan, and Hong Kong as if it were a single entity’. (p.28) He also points out that there is a new term now, *lianga sisi*, ‘two coasts and four places’, which adds Macao, but *sandi* is still more common. The term is used by our interviewee later in the thesis. See 6.3.

Beijing rock band can sing in English (Nova Heart) and a singer from Taiwan can sing in Hakka, Taiyu (Taiwanese-Hokkien), and Mandarin, and all on one album (e.g. Jutoupi's *I Am an Idiot* (1994)) not to mention the question of instrumental music. Secondly, without including the PRC in the conceptual framework, it is difficult to generate a comprehensive understanding of the cultural and economic flows of Mandopop as its massive market implies many audiences.

Another reason that the concept of Sinophone might not be applicable for the study of popular music is that contemporary popular music has been on the receiving end of many influences from cultural globalisation, as music genres, production and distribution are constantly crossing borders, whether in the sense of nationality or culture. The production of popular music usually involves different teams and tasks can be assigned to industry workers based in various locations. K-Pop is a valuable example as it often outsources music composition globally, manufactures its products locally, and then distributes the music globally (Park, 2013). Using linguistic features as a genre's key indicators, even in a broader sense, can still mask the multi-locality taking place within a popular music culture while oversimplifying the production process as well as its consumption patterns.

Although the lyrical and lingual aspect of songs often reveal important information about musicians and their audiences' production and political contexts, labelling music in accordance with the languages used can sometimes be problematic. Although Mandopop and Cantopop are labelled predominantly by the language used, industry practices have been driven by complex geographic, economic, and political factors in particular eras. The genres stand for more than just a choice of language but also reflect complex social contexts. An example of this dilemma is the long-running dispute over Taiwan's Golden Melody Awards which sets categories according to linguistic differences, with the best Taiyu (Taiwanese Hokkien) and Guoyu (literally 'national language', referring to Mandarin) albums respectively constructed as individual categories. The case of the Golden Melody Awards demonstrates the complexity involved, given that in Taiwan's history some languages as well as their music cultures were oppressed for the sake of nation building. They are now more acknowledged and celebrated. These categories were seen as a strategy to bring attention to these musics and cultures which had previously been marginalised. Some argue that having a separate category will only continue to marginalise minority status languages; others see this as benefitting the musicians producing this music due to enhanced media exposure.

In conclusion, the production of popular music usually involves team work. Such production conditions typically imply multiple locations. Additionally, the music audience could also be a transnational one. Jones (2012) emphasises the impact of neoliberalism coinciding with digitalisation on music industries in ‘the West’, while this process can also be identified in the context of Mandopop. Hence, even though the Sinophone resists ‘the hegemonic call of Chineseness’ (Shih, 2011, p.717), it has left the question of regional economic flows and the cultural imagination unanswered.

2.3.4 ‘Inter-Asia Referencing’

As much as the Sinophone is a useful theoretical concept to relocate a decentred Chineseness outside of China in order to examine plurality, focusing exclusively on locally-produced products using Chinese languages in order to understand popular music cultures in the locations studied would be flawed given the impact of inter-Asian cultural flows. The patterns of exchange and circulation between Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, China, Singapore and so on, exist not only in popular music, but also in film and television dramas (Chua, 2012).

As the de-westernisation of knowledge production was previously advocated for the study of cultures, certain scholars (Iwabuchi, 2014; Chua, 2010, 2012) are also concerned that cultural studies in an Asian context have tended to be reduced to a Western-Asian framework. Instead of de-westernisation, ‘inter-Asia referencing’ has been proposed as a more productive practice, one that advocates knowledge production through ‘reciprocal learning from other Asian experiences’ (Iwabuchi, 2014, p.47). Many studies (Fung, 2007; Keane, Fung and Moran, 2007; Iwabuchi, Tsai and Berry, 2017) have underlined the importance of examining these inter-Asian cultural flows. These studies point out that Japanese or Korean popular cultures – whether constituted by films, television programmes, or music – have been exported to many other regions, thereby bridging linguistic differences, which arguably can be seen as a form of soft power (Chua, 2012, 2017). Taiwan and Hong Kong also produce Chinese-language music and TV dramas (Chua, 2004, 2012) that are circulated predominantly in Chinese-speaking regions. The PRC has also been displaying its soft power through its media culture, such as the production of music talent shows that include diasporic Chinese (e.g. *The Voice of China* – see Chapter 7 for a case study).

While our understanding of the circulation of popular culture could benefit from an investigation based on a broader transnational framework, co-production across national boundaries has also been prominent, the latter usually relying on transnational capital that can hardly be defined as a single-nation investment. However, cultural production can still serve to shape the cultural imagination of others, and these imaginations are disseminated in popular culture flows. In turn, de Kloet and Fung (2017) offer examples based on how Chinese pop music acts reference Japanese and Korean idols. For instance, SNH48 has been modelled after the Japanese girl band AKB48; TF boys, a Chinese boy band references K-pop boy bands, respectively representing the Japanese and Korean cultural imaginations. In addition, de Kloet and Fung argue that cultural products – although seemingly apolitical and non-threatening to the authorities in the PRC – embody the plurality of cultural practices among young Chinese while providing a space for the audience to talk and interact (p.122).

The advantage of using inter-Asia referencing as a theoretical tool is its ability to initiate and emphasise cross-border dialogues. By acknowledging the inter-connections between localities in this loose cultural geography, such referencing may serve as a strategic focal point, thereby generating cross-border dialogues. Iwabuchi (2017) also proposes ‘trans-East Asia as a method’, which echoes Chen’s (2010) call to reconceptualise ‘Asia as a method,’ not as an object to be studied. He argues that this approach not only engages with popular culture connections in East Asia, it also stresses issues such as how cultural globalisation’s power configurations are shifting (p.281).

This is not to say that this cultural geography engenders a specific East Asian cultural identity or that it no longer intersects with Euro-American cultural products. In fact, in popular music alone, the influences of western popular music, especially Anglo-American music, has been prominent in the emergence of certain music genres (de Kloet, 2010; Moskowitz, 2010) and in the local history of certain music industries (Ho, 2003; Steen, 2015). Chun’s (2012) research on International Community Radio Taipei (ICRT), a radio station that served U.S. military personnel in Taiwan, reflects the complexities of such Western influences. He argues that the musical culture ICRT helped to shape is not strictly speaking Western culture, because in the age of transnationalism the negotiation of meanings and values between different local agents are always on-going, even though the origins of such a station and its music content are not in doubt. Regarding this impossibility to separate the local from the global, Cho (2017) proposes ‘double inscription’ as a distinctive feature of the cultural logic

of East Asian pop culture, one in which the global is always and already implied in the national and the regional (p.19). In many East Asian states with post-colonial histories and strong American post-Cold War cultural influences, such as South Korea and Taiwan, this condition could even be expanded, given that the ‘multiple inscription’ of the local was already deeply embedded in a multi-national context.

However, the notion of examining East Asian cultural flows is not without limitations. This ‘double inscription’, although valid and useful, applies to many more nation-states with colonial histories outside of East Asia. As Iwabuchi (2017) remarks, researchers should be aware of issues of marginalization in relation to uneven access to popular culture in East Asia. In addition, popular culture consumption in other areas – such as the diaspora – still requires examination. For instance, Singapore has long featured in the study of East Asian popular culture flows, but Malaysia – a South East Asian nation with a considerable ethnic Chinese population and a musical movement in which young artists emphasise both their Malaysian and Chinese identities (Ch’ng, 2014) – is rarely included and examined. Finally, there is a risk of excluding non-Asian influences, thereby reinforcing the imagining of Asia or East Asia as culturally unified regions.

In the context of Mandopop, there are various examples of Malaysian Chinese singers who moved to and started their music careers in Taiwan, including Penny Tai (戴佩妮), Fish Leong (梁靜茹) and so on, not to mention the audiences who participated in the consumption of their music. Wu (2017) also draws attention to how music censorship in Taiwan under martial law (1949-1987) indirectly encouraged exchange and cooperation between the music industries of Taiwan, Indonesia and Thailand due to some artists having restricted career prospects in Taiwan for political issues. It is not only that many Indonesian, Thai or Filipino pop songs were introduced to the music markets in Taiwan and Hong Kong with new lyrics adapted to local languages, singers such as Teresa Deng have also recorded Indonesian songs. If the cultural geography of East Asia was to be interpreted strictly, certain events and activities would be excluded. Questions regarding the cultural intersections between South East Asian cultures, migrating populations, and East Asian popular culture still need to be explored empirically.

However, the analysis of inter-Asia referencing can be valuable for the study of Chineseness in China Wind pop music, as it provides an additional anchor for the investigation of popular culture, rather than being confined to comparisons between Chinese-speaking areas or based

on a generalised Chinese/Western dichotomy. Inter-Asia referencing also emphasises the importance of transnational popular cultural flows between local markets, while popular culture circulation, consumption, and imaginations will also influence production as well as content. Even China Wind music – a style that aims to present a certain sense of Chineseness – can employ a mixture of cultural elements in some cases, with some of these reflecting a strong Japanese influence. This will be addressed at greater length in Part Two, ‘Analysis of China Wind pop music’, in which China Wind music, its gender representations, and the influence of Japanese music videos will be the focus of the discussion.

2.3.5 Re-centring Chineseness

There have been continuous and rather heated debates around Chineseness in the age of global modernity, debates ranging from its presentation to interpretation. These have included discourses on Chinese culture and Chineseness in a variety of art forms and locations, including film (Chu, 2012; Chow, 1995; Lu, Qi and Fan, 2014), literature and translation (Chow, 1998a; Cheung, 2011), contemporary arts (Marsden, 2015), and music (Lau, 2015; Fung, 2008; Hung, 2009; Chow and de Kloet, 2013). As Ang Ien (2001) has put it, Chinese people, including those in diaspora, ‘are constructing a new and hybrid identity, [while] nowhere is this more vigorously evident than in every popular culture’ (p.13).

As the Sinophone articulation has the tendency to focus on Chinese plurality outside of the perceived centre, the influence of China on the Sinophone is a topic that needs to be explored. Whilst this rising nation has become a major player on the international political stage, it has also captured the world’s attention both culturally and economically; some even claim that the 21st century will be China’s century (Beckley, 2011). In this light, many researchers have emphasised that although the representation of Chineseness can be plural, this plurality is frequently challenged by its rise as a global superpower, and this is also evident in everyday popular culture.

One thing noted to researchers is the public’s attitude regarding other nation-states as well as their own, particularly in the PRC. Chow (1998a) argues there is a tendency to doubt everything Western in modern and contemporary Chinese culture, which she calls ‘the logic of the wound’ (p.4). She also argues that the obsession with ‘Chineseness’, which is a form of Sinocentrism, has the tendency to draw an imaginary boundary between China and the rest of

the world (p.5). For Ang (2013), the rise of China has brought changes to mainland China's relationship with the diasporas, given that its rise 'has increased the assertiveness of mainland Chinese nationalism' (p.29). This will challenge the plurality of Chineseness, as Ang argues that an absolutist sign is being reinforced by the reductive logic of a diaspora in an age of China's rise (p.20). Critiquing the rhetoric of root-searching among the ethnic Chinese in postcolonial Singapore, Song (2007) also suggests that westernized overseas Chinese are forced to assume a 'shame' in their own 'impurity'. He argues that by celebrating rootlessness and shamelessness, it is possible to find new ways of negotiating Chinese identities. The previous section on popular nationalism discussed a few examples of the reinforcement and re-centring of Chineseness. Among the Chinese youth, de Kloet and Fung (2017) argue that a common 'national complex' has emerged in a rising China, a syndrome that produces 'a structure of feelings in which one overestimates one's own nation and subscribes to its noble intentions, accompanied by a lack of self-criticism' (p.7).

Apart from the popular perceptions of China as a global power, the Chinese state is also actively pursuing the improvement of its global image. A series of economic, cultural and diplomatic measures have been adopted in order to pursue what Joseph Nye has termed 'soft power' (Wang, 2011). These include the establishment of Confucius Institutes worldwide while engaging more actively with international events, such as hosting the Beijing Olympics in 2008. Since 2003, official discourse about a 'peaceful rising' and 'harmonious society' have communicated the type of image China wants to convey and this, as Wang (2011) argues, marks a departure from Nye's original conceptualization, as soft power is being applied to domestic policies as well as to international relations. As a result of these developments, Nye (2012a, b) has remarked that China's global image is still divided and is seen in negative terms, particularly among Western nations, due to issues such as human rights violations.

Regarding how this re-centred Chineseness is perceived and constructed, we can look at developments in censorship and media production. In 2017, Cambridge University Press was asked to take down 300 articles from the Chinese website China Quarterly dealing with sensitive topics such as Taiwan, Xinjiang, Tibet and the Tiananmen Incident. Although it is a distinct strategy to hide these articles from domestic readers and internet users, the Chinese censor directly engaged with an international publisher and demanded the removal of contents, which has been regarded as reflecting Xi Jinping's 'authoritarian shift' (Phillips,

2017). As the Chinese state is in favour of presenting a certain image to global society, censorship issues arise. This case emphasises how both capitalist logic and China's policy can lead to the reinforced assertiveness of mainland Chineseness as determined by the state. The frictions between Hong Kong and China also highlight how China is trying to co-opt the 'peripheries' into a Sinocentric logic, while in fact the peripheries are pushed away while also refuting the version of Chineseness the perceived centre has promoted. This issue will be discussed in depth in Chapter 6 (Hong Kong).

This re-centring of Chineseness challenges the Sinophone articulation, given that China has become one of the important driving forces in the construction of Chineseness. At the same time, it also challenges the 'Cultural China' theory as well as that of 'Greater China,' as local identities are strengthened in the geographical peripheries, which has changed the ways people in such locations conceptualise their relationship with China. In order to further explore what being Chinese means in relation to the rise of China, it is essential to take into account both resistance to, and subversion of, this re-centred Chineseness.

2.4 Chinese Popular Music

2.4.1 Popular Music

The last section of this literature review will focus on academic studies of popular music, especially Chinese music, the latter being the main subject of this thesis. This section will include a discussion of what is popular music, from which angle it can be studied, and a brief introduction of the literature on Chinese popular music. More in-depth reviews of China Wind pop music will be presented in Part Two of the dissertation.

Many scholars have engaged with the question 'What is popular music?' Kassabian (1999) argues that 'popular' has meant many things to many people, although its 'populist' sense' has been at the centre of popular music studies (p.122). Each of these notions have different social functions while developing dissimilar narratives. These notions include 'popular as folk', 'popular as counterculture,' and 'popular as mass'. These categories are helpful for us to examine what type of popular music and what aspect of the 'popular' we are investigating. Sometimes they overlap. In the case of China Wind music, it is a music written by musicians as a form of self-expression while simultaneously being incorporated into Chinese literature or school music curricula, which can also function as a species of oppression.

Additionally, the term popular music, compared to other types of music such as classical, is often associated with industrial society and commercial practices. Tagg (1982, 2000) notes that popular music can be differentiated from folk music or art music in many aspects, including the type of society the music takes place in alongside its specific modes of financing, production and distribution. He emphasises that popular music is only possible in an industrial monetary economy as well as capitalist societies subject to 'free enterprises'. Jones (2012) also argues that what these companies involved in commercial practices offer for sale are 'symbolic goods' (p.46), and the construction of such goods is central to the production of popular music.

Popular music is recognised both as a cultural product and a type of symbolic good circulated in the market. Understanding what popular music does to the audience has also been a scholarly concern. In addition, this thesis has a special focus on how the audience uses and interacts with a particular style of music. In terms of what popular music does to its listeners, Adorno (1941) famously underlines that it – as opposed to 'serious music' – is standardised, pre-digested and pseudo-individualised. His critique was based on his observation of 1930s America, where jazz and dance music was widely popular and mass produced. However, Middleton (1990) notes that Adorno's observations were strongly informed by Germany during the 1930s, when music and film aided mass destruction and were also used as a means of oppression. His analysis is, therefore, context specific. Adorno also argues that serious music requires technical competence, effort and concentration to listen to, whereas popular music acts as a 'social cement' that discourages its audience from thinking, thereby causing regression in its hearing. Regarding this serious warning about the effects popular music has on the audience, scholars actually argue that the 'audience' is never encountered in Adorno's work (DeNora, 2003; Middleton, 1990). DeNora (2015) suggests that the focus on actual musical practice in terms of how specific agents interact with music is needed, and only in this way will researchers be able to consider how music 'performs' social life while affording specific modes of thinking and feeling (p.348). This thesis also shares this interest in – as Middleton (1990) phrases it – the 'real moments of consumption practice' (p.60), in this case how the music audience makes use of China Wind music as a resource in their everyday lives.

Tagg (2000) also notes that studying popular music is interdisciplinary in nature, which requires consideration of the genre's social, psychological, historical and economic aspects,

as well as involving the listening attitude connected to the sound event (p. 74). The study of popular music is complex, because popular music should not be seen as an experience or a product that means the same to every group that encounters it. The meanings music and musical activities produce varies and have to be contextualised. How this research identifies what the audience experiences when they encounter this specific music will be further explained in the following chapter. The next section introduces the literature written on Chinese popular music.

2.4.2 Chinese Popular Music

The most studied genres of contemporary Chinese popular music include Chinese rock music, Cantopop and Mandopop. As each of these will be further introduced in the later chapters on China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, this section will outline critiques relevant to the dynamics that prevail in the locations studied in the thesis, with a special focus on the audience. Many of these studies employ ethnographic methods in their investigation of Chinese popular culture through music.

Although rock music has not been regarded as mainstream in the Chinese-speaking sphere, its symbolism as a form of opposition has intrigued scholars in the West. Many other themes in relation to rock music also arise. Jones' (1992) study identifies the distinction between rock music and pop music (Tongsu music 通俗音樂) in the context of the PRC, where the former has played an iconic role in the Chinese democracy movement of the late 1980s, while the latter is a genre closely associated with state ideology. Jones also argues that popular music in China is an ideological battlefield. In turn, de Kloet (2010) has explored different rock music scenes in China during the 1990s. His book title, *China With a Cut*, refers to the *dakou* (打口) culture of the 1990s. At the time, there were factories in China destroying unwanted CDs from the West. Some of these CDs with cuts at the margin still flooded the market illegally. Therefore, Chinese youth had the opportunity to be exposed to new music and different lifestyles. The ethnographic account de Kloet (2010) has created has not only offered insights regarding the diversity of these music scenes, it has also highlighted how the global met the local in Chinese rock music. He argues that rock music can be regarded as a 'hard' cultural form, which has a perceived Western origin. In the face of a rock mythology based on authenticity, this 'hard' cultural form is more likely to transform those who are involved in its associated events. Here, the 'popular' could be categorised as what Kassabian (1999) calls a

‘counterculture’, while de Kloet also addresses how those involved in certain scenes do not appreciate Mandopop as it is perceived as overly commercial.

Although Jones (1992) has recognised the popularity and influence of Teresa Teng’s music in China in the early 1980s, in his later analysis he has not investigated the fact that Mandopop from Taiwan and Cantopop from Hong Kong have been popular, regardless of the fact that they were made illegally and censored by the Chinese state. While he emphasises this distinction between rock and Tongsu music, music from the outside also constitutes a crucial aspect of popular culture. This over-simplified distinction between the official and the popular was later challenged by Baranovitch (2003), who argues that instead of a confrontation between the state and self-employed artists, there is a symbiosis between them as the state and the market walk ‘hand in hand’ (p.233), with the popular and the official overlapping in today’s China (pp.271-272).

In *China’s New Voices*, Baranovitch (2003) explores issues such as ethnicity, state politics and gender in popular music culture from the late 1970s to the 1990s, a time of drastic change given the introduction of the market economy. While examining the display and construction of identities in popular music culture, he challenges the official/popular, Han/non-Han, and hegemony/resistance frameworks often employed in the study of popular culture. In this light, the dichotomy between rock and pop music, with the former standing for opposition and the later commercialised and compromised, should also be questioned instead of simply accepted.

Mandopop, often perceived as originating from Taiwan, is a genre of popular music sung in Mandarin Chinese. Its roots can be traced back to Shanghai’s jazz music (Steen, 2013; Moskowitz, 2010). Some scholars suggest that, due to the association in post-1949 China between popular music and ‘decadent bourgeois individualism’, contemporary pop music was largely introduced into the PRC from Hong Kong and Taiwan from the late 1970s onwards. Although it is often censored in the PRC, people still listen to pop music through various channels and this has been labelled as *Gangtai* music (Baranovitch, 2003; de Kloet, 2010), meaning pop music from Taiwan and Hong Kong, however this label is criticised as representing a Mainland-centric perspective (Moskowitz, 2010). In addition, it does not emphasise the distinctive features of popular music in Hong Kong and Taiwan, while this specific label was formed in a very particular socio-economic context and fails to reflect all the music produced in Taiwan and Hong Kong. However, this label can also be a useful

concept when investigating the impact, reception and dissemination of popular music in the PRC.

Researchers have also explored the representation of gender in popular music. Baranovitch (2003) has examined the plurality of female images in popular music by investigating singers from the PRC, such as Na Ying (那英) and Chen Ming (陳明), while neglecting artists from Hong Kong and Taiwan. In addition, *Gangtai* pop has enjoyed great popularity in the PRC since the late 1970s. Popular musicians have actively participated in and contributed to the popular music scenes, which were also an ideological battlefield at the time due to state censorship of 'decadent' *Gangtai* music. Moskowitz (2010) points out that *Gangtai* has influenced the PRC's musical and cultural ethos in a profound way, while the distinction between *Gangtai* pop coming from the 'commercial south' and PRC music emerging from the 'political north' (p.26) is not just a question of geography, it also reflects a gender dynamic. He argues that the music industry in mainland China itself became a battle zone between *Gangtai* pop and the PRC's focus on a national culture, where the self-defined masculinity of the PRC's music industries confronts *Gangtai*'s feminised pop.

Moskowitz's (2010) study highlights the role of Taiwan's Mandopop (which he uses as a general category for pop music in Mandarin) in Chinese popular music culture, which reflects its massive popularity and cultural implications, however, most previous studies have neglected this substantial influence. He identifies the phenomenon that Taiwan – an island in the shadow of the PRC's political and economic might – dominates the musical tastes of a huge nation, thus acting as a cultural 'counter-invasion'. Moskowitz also describes this phenomenon as 'the tail wags the dog' (p.1), with the Taiwanese tail dictating to the PRC dog by providing an alternative cultural ethos that is both gendered and economic. In terms of the contemporary scene, we might ask if this 'tail' symbolises a connection between the PRC and Taiwan. If so, is the tail an embodiment of the Greater China discourse as well as an outcome of Chinese transnationalism under the logic of capitalism? Regardless of what the 'tail' represents about pop music and its audience at the peak of Taiwan's Mandopop production, another question concerns how much of this is still valid today. To try answer these issues, it is necessary to take transnational cultural flows and the subsequent construction of cultural imaginations into account; it is also important to further investigate the identities, beliefs and experiences of the music audience. This will be the focus of this thesis.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has identified the main theoretical scope of this thesis while the theoretical concepts used serve to further investigate the context in which China Wind songs such as ‘Golden Armour’ or ‘Chrysanthemum Terrace’ were produced and became popular. In order to critically analyse China Wind pop and its various production and reception contexts, issues of identity, nationalism, Chineseness, the historical background and the social meanings of contemporary Chinese popular music, will be examined in each case study respectively. The following chapter will identify the methodology and how this thesis will approach the issues mentioned above.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter will introduce the methodology of this research. The following three key methods are employed in this research: ethnography for popular music studies; textual analysis of music, lyrics, along with music videos; and shared anthropology through an ethnographic documentary. They serve to construct a knowledge and understanding of China Wind music as a social and cultural practice, while simultaneously investigating its content and how the latter is interpreted and utilised by the individuals studied here. The chapter will start by introducing the theoretical concepts behind these methods and how they are useful in this research. Then, in the final section, the research design and how the fieldwork is conducted will be outlined. Additionally, reflections on the application of these methods, as well as the challenges encountered in the field will be discussed. This chapter will conclude by discussing how empirical observation can help to rethink the advantages, disadvantages, and possibilities of the chosen methodology through an ongoing reflexivity.

3.1 Ethnography and Studies of Popular Music

Given that this researcher adopts an anthropological approach and views music as a social practice, ethnography is the main method deployed in this research to explore how the China Wind music audience and industry workers engage with this style of music. Through ethnography, I, as a researcher, aim to understand these groups' local perspectives on China Wind pop music. Ethnography is defined by Willis and Trondman (2002) as a family of methods involving direct and sustained social contact with agents, which includes the rich writing up of the encounters involved. To use Geertz's (1973) term, the 'thick description' of this encounter should not only be descriptive but also interpretive. Fetterman (2010) notes that ethnographers adopt a cultural lens to interpret observed behaviours, which are then placed in a culturally relevant and meaningful context. Accordingly, the most characteristic aspect of ethnography is fieldwork. The experience of the latter involves the researcher spending time in the field in order to observe, participate, and attempt to understand the way of life from a local perspective.

According to O'Reilly (2005), the main method of ethnography is participant observation and interviews. Madden (2010) has noted that 'Talking with people, being with people, and observing people are not divisible ethnographic actions. The sum total of all these actions

creates participant observation in its broadest sense' (p.77). Ethnography is an established practice in many disciplines, while it has its strongest link with anthropology (Willis and Trondman, 2002), which Herzfeld (2001) describes as the study of common sense. What differentiates this pursuit of 'common sense' from some frequent practices in other social science disciplines is reflected in Geertz's observations on anthropology (1973): 'it is not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning' (p.5).

However, anthropology has long been criticised as the child of western imperialism and a form of scientific colonialism (Galtung, 1967; Lewis, 1973; Stocking, 1991). Some colonialists, missionaries, anthropologists and folklorists who were encouraged to go into unexplored 'fields' have, over time, assisted or carried out imperialist and colonising projects. As for ethnomusicologists, many of them entered non-Western locations to preserve a sound they decided was likely to be endangered or on the cusp of disappearing. In the wake of Foucault's (1976) critique of the power-knowledge relationship, feminist deconstruction and anti-colonial critiques, the politics and ethics of anthropology have been questioned. In addition, Said's renowned *Orientalism* (1978) challenges Western constructions of knowledge about orientals as the 'Other,' with orientalists adopting a 'textual attitude' towards the studied, the governed, and often the colonised. Regarding the potential risk implied in this power-knowledge relation, fieldworkers struggle with the relationship between representation and experiences, with many scholars highlighting the significance of reflexivity (Hodkinson, 2005; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Davies, 1998; Willis and Trondman, 2002). The concept of reflexivity, according to Nazaruk (2011), refers to self-critique and meta-textualisation, while Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) argue that it acknowledges that researchers' orientations are shaped by their socio-historical contexts.

There is a long tradition of employing ethnography as a methodology in studies of music. Ethnomusicology is the study of music in culture (Merriam, 1964), while ethnomusicologists often focus on cultural and social aspect of music, and fieldwork – the direct inspection of the studied – is considered crucial to the body of knowledge generated. However, ethnomusicology has often been concerned primarily with non-Western cultures and most specifically with non-literate societies (Merriam, 1964). Since the late 1970s, the study of popular music, which was deemed to be previously overlooked by musicology and ethnomusicology (Hesmondhalgh and Negus, 2002), started to gain attention in the academic world. On the one hand, scholars started to analyse the structures and ideologies within the popular music of various genres. Some early examples include Middleton's (1972) work on

pop and Blues, Frith's (1978) book on rock music, and Tagg's (1979) studies of television music. On the other hand, there has been a proliferation of studies exploring how music cultures operate. The traditions of the Chicago School were gradually established, with Becker's (1982) study of how jazz musicians negotiate their identities highlights the way urban sociology and subculture theory can contribute to the study of music. Becker's notion of 'art worlds' emphasises how spatiality and commonality influence how artists produce works of art. In the late 1970s and after, scholars from the Birmingham School (Hall and Jefferson, 1976; Willis, 1978) conducted fieldwork to study the consumers of youth subcultures, including music, and these critics went on to claim that the role of music consumers is not as passive as members of the Frankfurt School, such as Adorno, had argued; in other words, consumers can refashion themselves as producers. By appropriating commodified forms of music, consumers may also express rebelliousness, resistance and class consciousness (Grazian, 2015).

To investigate the consumption of music, scholars have also explored personal and individualised experiences of music. DeNora (1999, 2000) has suggested that music operates as a 'technology of Self', which can build self-identity, create memories, and enable individuals to define who they are. Meanwhile, Finnegan (1989) uses the term 'pathway' to reflect the relationships between music and people; people choose music as a pathway, as it provides an arena for activities and contexts (cited in Cohen, 1993, p. 128), not forming a closed community that can be shared and shaped solely by one fixed group. Music pathways take audiences somewhere, thereby interacting and perceiving new things along the way. Some studies also focus on how music operates in the context of 'everyday life' (Cohen, 1993; DeNora, 2000; Bennett, 2005), namely the habitual, the ordinary, the taken-for-granted (Felski, 1999). Another concept which is often utilised in the study of popular music cultures is the 'music scene'. As Cohen (1999) argues, although the notion of 'scenes' is sometimes used interchangeably with 'communities' and 'subcultures', the concept is linked to discussions of the interrelatedness between the local and the global, understanding local culture as geographically mobile, rather than as homogenous or rooted. This thesis also deals with how local music scenes in each of the locations studied respond to, disconnected from, or co-existed with China Wind pop music by participating in music performances and interviewing musicians.

Although different genres of music may serve as pathways for different audiences, local music scenes can be distinctive but simultaneously connected to the global. Frith (1983) has

suggested that ‘in distinction to other forms of music, it is only pop music whose essence is that it is communicated by a mass medium’ (p.6). For instance, in this research, China Wind pop music is mediated and presented in different forms, ranging from karaoke singing, pop music that teenagers listen to with peers, to national celebrations or music competitions. The social and the individual in this context are intertwined, and this complexity and fluidity can perhaps be best probed by ethnography. Grazian (2015) argues that ethnography provides a tool for the examination of how people consume music in real time within spatial contexts of social interaction. According to him, this is crucial for the understanding of music, because ‘even the most rigorous quantitative studies of consumptions can fail to account for how individuals actually experience music in their moments of consumption’ (p.113).

Cohen (1993) also emphasises the importance of spatial and social interconnections in studies of both the production and consumption of music:

Individuals produce and consume music within specific social contexts (households, neighbourhoods, etc.), at specific times or historical moments, within specific networks of social relationships (involving kin, peers, colleagues, etc.), relationships that have different dimensions (social, political, economic). People’s experiences of music, the uses they have for it, and the meanings they construct around, or through it, are bound up with these specificities, and with the interconnections between them (p. 135).

However, the relationship between the representations of the studied and the lived experience of the studied, can be problematic, due to a variety of reasons. According to Cooley (1997), the ‘shadows’ join individual fieldworkers in a web of histories: personal histories, the histories of the academic field, and the histories of those studied (p.5). Hesmondhalgh (2002) has also critiqued the tendency towards individualism and de-politicisation in those literatures (DeNora, 2000; Cohen, 1997) focused on how music is experienced. Caught up in the complex web of interconnections and disjunctures, this research is no exception and offers no escape from these lingering shadows: the shadows of the Anglo American-centric popular music historiography, the shadows of the post-colonial gaze on music and people, and the shadows of asymmetrical field relations, which are embodied in my self-identified position as a researcher from Taiwan looking at China Wind pop music and its consumers.

These complex social relations and how reflexivity is practiced in this research, will be outlined in more detail in the third section of this chapter, while the fieldwork design will be introduced in the following section. It might be the case that whether ethnography can represent the social world accurately and objectively has been questioned (Tyler, 1986) but, through ethnography, ‘researchers can be even more aware of their own biases’ by intensively experiencing another culture, thus enhancing their own self-understanding (Cohen, 1993). Cohen has further observed, ‘In this sense, ethnographic research may be more instructive than macro-economic “objective” theories imposed upon a culture’ (p.133). As investigated in the Literature Review (Chapter 2), what it means to be Chinese and how Chineseness is perceived in the locations studied here, have been troubling issues. Thus, the application of ethnography in this study was designed to conduct micro-level research, thereby generating in-depth findings from the participants. These findings reflect how their identities are fluid and constantly changing, which can be best investigated by using qualitative methods. As O’Reilly (2005) has observed when comparing different methods employed in social science research, ‘it is those subjectivities, those subtle changes of mind, ambiguities of feelings, those ambivalences, confusions and strongly held beliefs, which are most interesting to the researcher’ (p.114). These beliefs and ambivalences are at the heart of this research. They are yet to be explored and questioned.

3.2 Musical, Lyrical and Music Video Analysis

Although the main focus in this research is on the audience’s perception of music, the relationships between melodic, orchestrational, lyrical and visual aspects of the music products will also be explored in order to identify what the audience perceives and responds to. The analysis will have a special focus on how Chineseness is constructed and mediated in the artists’ songs, music videos, and public images. This section will outline the theoretical discussions of the above mediums, the key terms identified, and the methods employed. A further examination of China Wind pop music will be developed in case studies based on Wang Leehom’s ‘Heroes of the Earth’ (2005) and Jay Chou’s ‘Blue and White Porcelain’ (2007) in Part Two.

Walser (2003) mentions a common suspicion of what analysis can do for the understanding of music by jokily stating that writing about music is similar to dancing about architecture. For industrialised and mass-mediated pop music – such as China Wind pop music – it is true

that the music is often highly accessible in the audience's everyday life due to its popularity, while even the meanings of certain lyrics can be made sense of post-translation. This leads to a broader debate about the function of music analysis: since all music can be experienced and listened to directly, how and why music should be analysed is sometimes debated (Walser, 2003; Björnberg, 1998; Frith, 1996; Middleton, 2000). To respond to this, Walser (2003) uses the analogy of mapping to explain what analysis can do for music: maps are drawn to serve specific purposes and to show particular relationships (p.25). Just like mapping, he claims that musical analysis is useful because of the reduction of some details, which serves to highlight the analytical subject. As previously mentioned, the relationship of China Wind pop music to Chineseness is the primary inquiry of this research, therefore it will be investigated through analysis.

In this study, the analysis of music is not restricted to the compositional details. Walser (2003) points out the music should not be separated from society as it is inherently social. Brackett (2002) also points out that the notion of analysing 'the music itself' is misleading due to the fact that music is always perceived. Regarding this, the methodological paradigm for the analysis of affect in popular music proposed by Tagg (2000, p.81) provides a framework that examines the meanings of music in a socio-cultural field, while he also takes into account the interests and aims of the emitters as well as the receivers. In addition, he sees music as a communicational process, in which music is not a singular subject to analysed, rather it can be analysed in different stages, including music as conception, notation, sounding object, and perception.

Another key term useful for this dissertation is 'genre'. Genres exist as a group of stylistic codes and conventions in relation to a particular moment in time (Fabbri, 1981; Brackett, 2002). They can overlap and are constituted in different contexts, including by critics, musicians, audiences, and so on. Genre-specific authenticities are also authenticated by different agents: it could be the performer themselves, the performance audience, or an absent other (Moore, 2002). Apart from analysing only one particular song, taking an inter-objective comparison into the scope of the discussion (Tagg, 2000) – such as another song – can be useful in terms of developing an understanding of a music style alongside the particularity of individual works. In this case, the structural elements can be compared. In Part Two of this thesis, the songs of two artists who have actively promoted China Wind pop music – Jay Chou and Wang Leehom – are presented as case studies. In the process of analysing these two songs and the different elements they have employed, broader stylistic issues of China

Wind pop songs will also be discussed. By engaging with these inter-objective comparative materials, it is possible to establish a better understanding of China Wind pop music as a trend at a particular time and in relation to its socio-cultural field.

The analysis on lyrics and music videos are crucial as both Chinese languages and visual imagery were heavily utilised to represent Chineseness in the case of China Wind pop music. The poetic lyrics of China Wind pop songs are the most discussed and recognisable trait of the style, while both journalistic and academic writings have emphasised such uniqueness (Lan, 2007; Chung, 2011). To cite an example, the lyricist Fang Wen-Shan, who works with Jay Chou on many of his China Wind songs, has published two books on his own lyric writing (2008a, b). In turn, Moskowitz (2010) argues that most Chinese-speaking audiences, when listening to Mandarin pop music, focus far more on the lyrics than on melodies. China Wind pop lyrics, given their dense form of writing and references to classical literature, have even been employed as secondary school materials in both Taiwan and China (Fung, 2007). These additional publications in relation to the music exemplify that there are different parties acknowledging the genre-specific authenticity of China Wind pop music other than its popular listening audience. Moskowitz (2010) also suggests cultural biases have often been embedded in Western scholars' critiques of Mandopop, and these prejudices usually originate from a lack of understanding of the genre's lyrical meanings. Thus, to provide a more comprehensive study of Mandopop, an analysis of the lyrics of China Wind pop song have the potential to contribute to a better understanding of the social meanings they communicate their audience.

In this research, lyrics translated into English will be analysed. I have used translations from a fan website as a basis for the songs addressed in this research, which in turn have been adapted after discussions with an editorial professional. This user-generated fan website, Jay Chou Studio⁴, provides English language translations of all his songs. Although officially closed down in May 2017, Jay Chou Studio has consistently provided translations, an updated discography, and Jay Chou news since 2003, which is the most comprehensive source of Jay Chou-related information available online for non-Chinese readers. This accessibility is valuable. However, since the translations are provided by fans, the quality of translations differ from one song to another. The process of adapting these lyrics into the form presented in the later chapters is also part of the analysis given that some of the

⁴ See: <https://web.archive.org/web/20170609012334/http://jaychoustudio.com/>

references to Chinese classical literature or various literary devices such as puns are untranslatable. The notion of intertextuality is useful in order to understand the interrelations between China Wind pop songs and Chinese literature, films, and geography, particularly as the meanings of many of the songs are shaped by other artistic forms. The English lyrics presented in this study focus on portraying the poetic sentiments while tacking to the original Chinese meaning as closely as possible, while simultaneously simplifying some of the texts in order to avoid potential confusions originating in this intertextuality, given that readers have different capacities in terms of tracing the relations between the texts.

Last but not least, one other aspect that will be analysed is the images presented in the music videos. In order to analyse music videos, it is crucial to investigate the relationship between the music, the words used, and the picture/image (Cook, 1998; Vernallis, 2004). Cook (1998) suggests that the making of a music video can be thought of as making music using the video medium, with the final product including words, pictures and performances. In musical multimedia, one analytical method suggested by Vernallis (2004) is to take an object and imagine changing a given cultural parameter – whether it is race, sexuality or class – and then seeing what new meanings emerge. For instance, the image of a woman waiting for someone, or a white male in a martial arts contest competing against an ethnic Chinese male have featured in some China Wind pop music videos. Using this method that Vernallis (2004) proposes to explore the meanings of music videos, it is possible to examine how, through the selection of certain parameters, the images and actions represented in China Wind music videos are decoded by viewers and what cultural meanings are conveyed.

3.3 Shared Anthropology

An ethnographic documentary, according to Crawford (1992), is a ‘film which has a specific relevant to anthropology but which is in one way or another part of documentary film-making in general, [while it is] made for the cinema and ideally intended for a wide audience, which means both a specialized and a non-specialized audience’ (p.74). Making an ethnographic documentary was not originally my plan. However, as the fieldwork went on, I realised that the visual presentation of the place, the music, and the videos all constituted the experiences of the Chineseness that I was interpreting. After obtaining informed consent from some participants and receiving some financial support from the University of Liverpool’s Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, I started to shoot footage along my journey. After I

returned to Liverpool on 8 February 2016, I went through a four-month post-production period and held a premiere screening on 9 June 2016. In these four months, the works I had completed included: going through all the footage, writing a script, finding a filmmaker to partner with me to take charge of editing and post-production, obtaining authorisation to use Jay Chou's China Wind music videos from JVR Music, and translating the lyrics from Mandarin Chinese into English for the purpose of subtitling. Apart from the interviews, another set of footage was produced when I made observations by going to concerts, workshops, and visiting buskers.

'Chasing the China Wind: A Musical Journey' (hereafter CCW) is an ethnographic documentary. Both the making and screening of the film extend the engagement with the field enquiries, as it the film encouraged this researcher to discuss her fieldwork with the general public, and sometimes with the participants themselves. Loizos (1992) argues that 'recording, probing, and sometimes being an agent or actor in an event allows us, through the addition of subtitles, to form a better understanding of the nature of the inquiry, and therefore of the quality of the material obtained' (p. 60). Therefore, this film is itself a research method while it makes field enquiries more accessible and the description of the field 'thicker' in the Geertzian sense.

However, it is not a substitute for written ethnography, and there are also methodological restrictions. For instance, during the making of CCW, industry workers avoided being filmed. This was mainly because they were informed by their professional ethics, which indicate that industry workers do not tend to speak to 'outsiders' about their industry practices in front of a camera. With the trust gradually built up during the fieldwork, some were willing to be interviewed but chose to retain their anonymity. However, filmmaking is also seen as a way of communicating with a broader audience. This opened the door to the opportunity to contact and engage with JVR and Jay Chou's manager, JR Yang, and the discussions with him became quite an important part of my research.

In the beginning, the film was intended as a resource to communicate the research to the general public who might be interested in the project, by illustrating these research sites' historical and political background and contexts. After the completion of the film and a few public screenings, CCW became a useful tool that has helped me to re-examine my reflexivity and place anthropological practices in the context of the broader research project. This process is best illustrated by the notion of 'shared anthropology' as proposed by Jean

Rouch (2003). Rouch sees cinema as a form of producing knowledge 'with' rather than 'of' his participants. In ethnomusicology, researchers such as John Baily (1985) also employ filmmaking in their research, in his case by documenting an Afghan refugee musician in Pakistan. As an ethnographer and a filmmaker, Rouch believes that the specific film the researcher has made about the given participants offers an extraordinary opportunity for direct communication, given that it receives immediate feedback from participants and viewers. 'Shared anthropology' also involves this process of using film as a medium to generate ongoing conversations. According to Rouch, this approach is 'the only morally and scientifically feasible anthropological attitude' (p.44), as the traditional practice of anthropology has not usually given the studied access in order to further reflect on, or respond to, the written ethnography. For him, cinema is a form of knowledge which enables communication between many individuals, including the research participants, which will contribute to the ongoing reflexivity required of ethnographers.

The main focus of this ethnographic documentary concerns how post-1990 audiences across Taiwan, Hong Kong, China (the PRC), and the UK engage with Jay Chou's China Wind music. This film narrows down the scope of discussion by editing and focusing on the work of just one China Wind artist. In order to present what China Wind music is, I obtained authorisation from JVR Music to use its music videos in this documentary, and the film includes some interviews that the researcher conducted. The three stages of ethnographic writings (data → contextualisation → text), according to Crawford (1992), in many ways parallel ethnographic documentary production (footage → editing → film). Marcus and Fischer (1986) claim that both approaches face similar challenges in terms of reflexivity, focus, and editing (p.281).

Analysis of how these three stages of documentary making correspond with and influence the three stages of written ethnography in practice will be discussed in Chapter 8, which will argue that this approach is valuable for studies of non-Anglo-American popular music by identifying how the local repertoire is produced in the transnational music industry. The subtitles, translations, narrative editing, and post-screening discussions are useful tools to generate better understanding of the research enquiry. They also help to bridge the linguistic and cultural gaps while pursuing these issues. Eventually, the film helps to encourage the discussion of issues around transnationalism, (in)authenticity, and the East/West dichotomy in particular cross-cultural contexts.

3.4 Chasing the Shadows: China Wind Pop Music

This section will first introduce the dissertation's fieldwork design, then it will discuss several practical issues I encountered in the field, such as my perceived identity as a researcher from Taiwan, my status as a returning home researcher to one of the research sites, and how gender might have impacted on my fieldwork practice. Regarding these issues, different strategies developed in the field to obtain better quality data will be taken into account. In terms of the challenges to ethnomusicological fieldwork at different stages, Cooley (1997) reminds us that fieldworkers need to be aware of the 'shadows,' suggesting that 'as individual workers, our shadows join with others, past and present, in a web of histories: personal histories, the histories of our academic field, and the histories of those we study' (p.5). Some of the 'shadows' of this research were highlighted in the Literature Review (Chapter 2), particularly in relation to the fractured and unsettling understanding of 'being Chinese'. Instead, this section has a particular focus on the shadows cast over ethnographic practices in the field.

3.4.1 Fieldwork Design

This research targets the post-1990s generation who reside in those locations where China Wind music is listened to. These locations share similarities in terms of the consumption of popular culture (Chua, 2012), but they can be heterogeneous in relation to their local political dynamics. A generation has been defined as a cohort of people born in the same period and influenced by same significant political or economic events (Mannheim, 1952). Sociologists and psychologists argue that the defining factors of a given generation are based on the collective memories of these events (Costanza et al., 2012) while marketing research – particularly on Chinese consumers – often employs a generational approach when identifying consumer groups (Huang and Lu, 2017; Shan, Jiang and Wei, 2016). As this thesis will discuss later, China Wind music became part of the interviewees' collective as well as personal memories. However, ethnographic methods help to reveal the details and meanings of these experiences and the memories they leave behind, as well as their diversity and sense of collectiveness. In addition, the common discourse regarding the notion of generations as used in the media and in everyday language, especially in Mainland China, also reinforces the notion that cultures are generational, with groups categorised as post-1980s (八零後) or post-

1990s (九零後) (De Kloet and Fung, 2017; Wei, 2001). For instance, the post-1990s generation is often labelled as ‘independent’, ‘internet-savvy’ or ‘spoiled’ (Yuan, 2008).

However, the generational approach is not entirely unproblematic. As this research is multi-sited, in different locations music audiences may have different views on how to divide age groups and assign behaviours associated with a given generation differently. A multi-sited research can draw attention to the specificities of the post-1990s generation’s social and cultural contexts in each respective locality. For instance, Taiwan has a very specific categorisation when it comes to generations. The year 1912 is numbered as minguo (民國) year 1 as it was the year the Republic of China was founded (2017 is Minguo year 106). The minguo system is widely used in the Taiwanese education sector and civil service. A type of generational label was created due to this system, whereby grade 7 (七年級) includes those people born between minguo 70 and 79 (1981-1990), and grade 8 (八年級) represents people born between minguo 80 and 89 (1991-2000). The grades 7 and 8 generations have been labelled as ‘naturally independent’, exhibiting general support for a distinctly Taiwanese identity. A report written by the Hong Kong Idea Centre (2013) also refers to the post-1990s generation in Hong Kong as ‘the fifth generation Hong Kongers’ who tend to be more cautious regarding further economic and political integration with mainland China. The above generational differentiations in Taiwan and Hong Kong underline that the idea of generations has to be contextualised at a local level. However, the post-1990s generation who live in the locations studied here, although heterogeneous in many ways, do consume some of the same pop music content while the circulation of popular cultures has also increased. Generations still serve to identify groups who experience some shared defining events, albeit from different perspectives, for instance, being born after the Tiananmen Square protest and being very young when the sovereignty of Hong Kong was transferred.

In the six-month fieldwork trip, I went to three research sites: Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China. After the end of the six months, I continued to research in the UK using different approaches, namely filmmaking and participant observation in music performances. Table 1 shows the key facts of my fieldwork, including the number of research participants, the types of consent I obtained, and the gatekeeper institutions I worked with.

| | Taiwan | Hong Kong | China | The UK |
|----------------------------------|--|----------------|------------------------------|---|
| Timeframe | 16 Sept.- 3 Nov. 2015 8 Jan.- 8 Feb. 2016 | 3-27 Nov. 2015 | 30 Nov. 2015- 7 Jan. 2016 | 9 Feb. 2016- 29 June 2017 |
| Total number of participants | 34 | 21 | 35 | (2) Approx. 180 viewers in four screenings |
| Number of audience interviewees | 28 | 11 | 29 | (2) |
| Number of music industry workers | 6 | 10 | 6 | 0 |

Table 1. Fieldwork Key Details and Schedule ⁵

All the audience participants in this study were university students, whom I reached out to with the help of gatekeepers. The gatekeepers in my field research are mostly local institutions that provided me with access to their student communities. For the audience participants, no previous musical experience or training other than music listening was required, and all of them were aged 18-25. Informed consent was obtained before the interviews. The names of the participants have been changed to preserve their anonymity, except when some agreed or requested that their identities be revealed. Additionally, producers and music industry workers were interviewed to obtain their professional viewpoints and experiences working in Hong Kong, Taiwan and China, as most of them travel to perform and produce music.

In this study, the researcher acted as an observer to understand participants' experiences using what is defined as the 'ethnographic gaze', the specific way ethnographers have trained their observations on others (Madden, 2010, p. 96). The aim was to obtain a broader picture of how China Wind music is perceived by popular music audiences and how these perceptions are influenced by factors such as diverse backgrounds, genre preferences, and listening habits. Admittedly, the boundary between participant observation and interviews can become blurred on occasion. Apart from attending music performances and going to classes with the students, group interviews sized between 2-4 (myself excluded) were often conducted, as many of participants chose to be interviewed with their friends. During the

⁵ The number in the brackets refers to the interviewees in the film who gave their informed consent to our conversations being audio and video recorded. Although more than 180 people participated in the screenings and many of them gave feedback, it is a different level of consent and the events were not recorded.

discussions, it was common for interviewees to ask each other follow-up questions and carry on raising issues they were interested in. In these cases, I conducted a participant observation of their interactions. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) argue, 'participant observation is not a particular research technique but a mode of being-in-the-world characteristic of researchers' (p. 249). For this study, participants were observed while interacting with other interviewees.

There are apparent advantages of conducting group interviews. As Morgan (2001, cited in Hollander, 2004, p.632) has stated, 'The same people might say different things in individual interviews than they would in a group discussion'. Friend groups (focus groups) were chosen for this study over individual-based settings because group interviews promote the free exchange of ideas. According to Kong (1998, cited in Crang and Cook, 2007, p. 91), there are some places in the world that people are less used to, or encouraged to debate or contribute ideas, thus focus group research can be valuable as it provides an environment where everyday conversations can take place. In this setting, the interviewees might potentially feel more comfortable expressing themselves.

Semi-structured and free-flowing interviews were conducted with these groups. Although the researcher prepared two sets of questions, one for the audience and another for industry workers, throughout the interviews interviewees were encouraged to respond in a leisurely way so that, as O'Reilly (2005) describes, each session was more like a conversation than an interview. The key questions for audience groups were as follows:

- (1) Since when have you started to listen to music and what are your musical preferences? Have they changed with time? Have any internal or external factors contributed to these changes?
- (2) What do you remember about China Wind songs? Do you like them, in the past and now? Why?
- (3) Does China Wind music remind you of any memories or stories? If so, what are they? Do you associate the feelings you have about China Wind music with your own social/personal identity? If so, in what way?
- (4) What song best represents you?

The choice of interview language and location help to foster a sense of unrestraint among participants. The primary language for most interviewees in China and Taiwan was Mandarin

Chinese, so in these two locations interviews were conducted in Chinese to ensure effective delivery without encountering a language barrier. However, Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University (XJTLU) is a university that uses English as its language of instruction, and as there are students there who do not speak much Mandarin Chinese, one student was mainly interviewed in English. In Hong Kong, most interviewees' primary language is Cantonese. As I did not have the linguistic capacity to interview in Cantonese, most interviews were conducted in a mix of English and Mandarin Chinese. One participant was interviewed only in English. As for the interview locations, I tended to select areas where the interviewees could easily access, such as coffee shops near the university or social spaces within academic departments. These spaces were social and less restrictive, which allowed the interviewees to have freer conversations with me and with one another.

An overt approach was taken whereby the identity of the researcher was disclosed and explained to all participants. Interviewees were assured of their anonymity in advance, unless they were willing to be identified. However, those who agreed to be filmed understood that they would be identified. The researcher obtained full informed consent (see Appendix 1) from each interviewee prior to conducting their respective interviews. A potential problem with this research method is that interviewees can become interested in a specific topic and ask me to share personal opinions and knowledge that could influence their thoughts indirectly, thereby hampering the objective to discover what participants think, and instead persuading or shaping their responses. A strategy employed to cope with this potential problem, included an early question that the researcher asked, namely 'What do you remember about China Wind pop music?' If someone had little relevant experience and memories to share, I refrained from explaining details or facts while including their lack of experience in the results.

As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) suggest, knowing who has the power to open up access means they are considered by others to have the authority to grant access, which is an important sociological insight. The gatekeepers in my field research are mostly local institutions that provided me with access to their student communities, except in Beijing, where a student at Peking University introduced me to his friend groups. In all these research sites, formal or informal relationships with the gatekeepers were formed prior to entering the field. For example, at National Chengchi University (Taiwan) and the Chinese University of Hong Kong (Hong Kong), personal connections with the faculty were built first. Through contact with individual academic staff, I was allowed to join them in class, which allowed me

to get to know some of their students. At Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University, I was invited as a visiting research student and was introduced formally to different faculties, through which I was able to access various classes in order to meet students. In both Liverpool and London, I met with students as well as non-academic viewers through the documentary screenings. Due to the gatekeepers concerned, the interviewees I recruited are mostly communications studies students. The academic training they receive tends to help them to problematise and analyse media representation, which is exemplified in many of the case study interviews. It is crucial to bear in mind that what the student interviewees have in common is more than just the opportunity to experience higher education. In addition, many of them are also trained in a specific discipline.

Table 2 details the institutions or individuals who acted as gatekeepers while the anonymity of individuals is maintained.

| | Taiwan | Hong Kong | China | The UK |
|-------------|---|---|--|---|
| Gatekeepers | College of Communication, National Chengchi University (Taipei) | School of Journalism and Communication, The Chinese University of Hong Kong | Department of English, Culture and Communication (ECC), Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University (XJTLU, Suzhou) Yan-Cheng Jian, a student at National Peking University (Beijing) | School of the Arts, University of Liverpool (Liverpool) |

Table 2. Gatekeepers in Taiwan, Hong Kong, China, and the UK

Although gatekeepers provide the important initial connection with the studied, through which many connections are made, it is also noteworthy that in some cases the gatekeepers can be concerned with the representation of the communities, consequently potentially eroding the independence of the ethnographer (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Fetterman, 2010). However, in this research, this issue was not evident. Perhaps due to the inclination of academic institutions to support research and given the contacts have been established for an appropriate amount of time, I was not asked about the research output in any way, neither did I feel guided or pressured. In fact, the gatekeepers sometimes shepherded the students to speak to me and introduced me to the student communities less as a researcher who wanted to

learn, but more as a staff member or a senior student who had experiences to share. This power relation and the potential issues it implied will be addressed in the next section. The importance of ongoing reflexivity will also be emphasised, alongside some other issues encountered in the field.

3.4.2 Reflexivity in Ethnography

3.4.2.1 The Returning ‘Home’ Researcher

Classical fieldwork, widely recognised advocated and theoretically framed by Malinowski, requires at least a year, or according to Van Mannen (1988), six months to two years in the field (Fetterman, 2010) in a society that is unfamiliar to researchers. The fieldworkers will make the psychological transference from ‘they’ to ‘we’ during this time (Van Mannen, 1988). However, in this research, instead of going to a faraway place, I have ‘returned’ to locations where I can relate to the majority of the population to a certain extent, whether ethnically, linguistically or culturally. However, it is not uncommon that more and more fieldworkers start to conduct ‘insider research’ (Hodkinson, 2005) or ‘fieldwork at home’ (Stock and Chou, 2008). This initial proximity between the researched and myself can be beneficial in some situations, for instance, witness the level of acceptance of my involvement and observation making in the groups I encountered. However, during the period of my fieldwork, I have constantly questioned and reflected on my ‘insider’ status. Due to the fact that my research involves four different sites where I have had different levels of ‘proximity’ to the researched, this has had a significant impact on the social interactions I encountered in the field. At the same time, this proximity or ‘nativeness’ is also perceived by the studied, which often shapes their ways of engaging with certain researchers. Regarding this, reflections on the management of impressions and expectations in different locations during my fieldwork will be discussed in this section.

Stock and Chou (2008) point out that one of the significant differences for ‘returning home’ researchers – besides motivation and role, language and feedback, and chances of application – is the intensity of the research. Other social interactions outside of engaging with the study, such as meeting family and friends, can be inevitable. As previously discussed, while making initial contact before entering the field, I sought out gatekeepers based on social ties. Due to my familiarity with Taiwan and its musicians, I enjoyed more resources and potential access

there than in China and Hong Kong. However, in China and Hong Kong I had more sense of urgency in terms of extending the network as I could not rely on the resources I already had.

The main reason why I started my fieldwork journey in Taiwan and stayed there for the longest period, is that I wanted to start somewhere that I was more confident in terms of gaining access, and where I might be able to gain potential access to other gatekeepers in Hong Kong and in China while doing research. This strategy did in fact pay off, due to a childhood friend in Taiwan who put me in touch with her family in Hong Kong, who generously provided me with accommodation and invaluable contacts with industry workers. My 'returning home', is not only a status that I have to clarify as I define my field relations, it is also perceived by the subjects I engage with in the field. This status is both performative and performed. Another challenge to the fieldworkers involves the management of impressions as exemplified by the 'insider/outsider' impression, which I now turn to.

3.4.2.2 Impression Management

Atkinson (1997) has found it necessary to manage contrasting impressions of expertise and ignorance. My nationality and Taiwanese-ness are social categories that were observed, particularly in contrast with Mainland China. When the informants spoke about music scenes in China, some of them compared Taiwan with the Mainland in order to provide me with guidance. When speaking of their musical experience when in school, it was quite common for the informants to suggest 'the famous artists at the time mostly came from your Taiwan.' I was asked about travel information a number of times regarding participants' potential plans to visit Taiwan on holidays. In XJTLU, because some students are actively considering studying at the Liverpool campus, interest in the UK also led to them asking more questions regarding the places I have encountered or lived in. Due to the tension between Mainland China and Hong Kong, any mention of Chinese culture and making suggestions regarding its relation to Hong Kong could be perceived negatively and trigger different responses. One of the gatekeepers who introduced me to musicians, related the impression she had concerning our initial communication. When she first read my research participant recruitment statement, she thought I must be a Mainland Chinese PhD student who wanted to study this subject emphasising the values of employing Chineseness in music. She said she did not think I was Taiwanese until she learned more about the project.

For my research, the impressions participants had regarding my educational background also needed management, as some participants considered that I was a ‘music expert’ seeking out other experts who might share their knowledge of music. Some participants kindly expressed concerns about their limited knowledge about music, leading them to question if this would make them ‘less’ worthy for a music researcher to study. It took me some time to convince some of them that I was not looking for experts in music or avid fans. The other type of impression that has had a significant impact on my field relations concerns my nationality and personal history. Different informants placed me in several social categories – Taiwanese, PhD student, living in the UK – thereby forming certain initial impressions, which might even set the agenda for our interactions. In some cases, the impression of shared proximity (e.g. speaking the same language or graduating from the same university) can be beneficial, but in other cases it can be problematic. For instance, when I was interviewing university students in National Chengchi University in Taiwan, I was introduced to some students as a researcher who used to study there by the professors/gatekeepers. As a result, during our interactions, almost all the participants called me ‘學姐’ (*xue jie*). This term does not have a precise English translation but roughly means ‘female senior alumni’. This is a token of respect and formality, as well as a register of common courtesy in Taiwan. The term was usually used in the early stages of our interactions, even when we were merely scheduling a place to meet for the first time: ‘Chen-Yu *xue jie*’ was the recipient address used in several emails.

Referring to me as *xue jie* is regarded as appropriate in this social and cultural context, but it creates another field relations dimension, which seems to require a level of respect on the part of the researched to the researcher according to an unspoken rule. Apart from its sub-context, it suggested a different kind of relationship than was evident in interactions with informants in other locations, and what could be even more complicating is the power relations embodied in such a register. Knowing that this dimension might have potential influence on my interactions with these students, I made an intentional effort to join them in some of their classes over the three months. I positioned myself as another student in class; I took notes, asked questions, and most of the time just sat in the class and observed. When we met up, the locations were usually student restaurants and coffee shops. Through this process, my aim was to spend time with the students in such a way that they could view me as a learner and observer, rather than as a senior figure pressuring them into any kind of given response. This predetermined politeness decreased little by little during my time there.

For a comparative study like this one, the importance of adjusting strategies in each location in a flexible manner cannot be overemphasised. As mentioned previously in this section, impression management is a crucial part of this adjustment. However, it is impossible to eliminate all these perceived differences that generate various impressions. Although, having some degree of similarity to the studied might help to establish trust and familiarity, in some cases working with differences or even being in a marginal position will bring creative insight to a study (Lofland, 1971). The next section outlines a case based on my social interactions in the field and how this was informed by gender and my outsider status.

3.4.2.3 Gender and Marginality

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) suggest that researchers cannot escape the implications of gender, although the latter differ from setting to setting. In some fields, researchers of a particular gender may experience barriers. In my research, I often went to universities and music venues or companies to conduct fieldwork. In the above social spaces, this barrier is often not as prominent. My status as a female researcher overall did not bar me from observing or participating, however, the social interactions in the field are still gendered and constantly informed, not only by my gender, but also by other social categories.

Before I explain how gender has influenced my ethnographic practices, some background regarding gender-related social interactions experienced during my fieldwork will be illustrated. The three primary contacts in Taiwan, Hong Kong and China were all male academic staff, who later on introduced me to other staff in their institutions. Out of eleven academic staff who introduced me to their students, only three of them are female. However, the majority of the students who agreed to be interviewed were female. As I went to listen to live music in these cities, the majority of the music venues I visited⁶ staged rock music performances more often than other genres. The musicians and managers that I spoke with were also predominantly male.

How these social interactions in the field are gendered can be best exemplified by my experiences attending two gigs of a Shanghai-based surf rock band, the Psyders, when I explored the music scenes of different cities. I knew of this band through their drummer,

⁶ Mao Livehouse and YugongYishan (愚公移山) in Beijing, Yuyingtang (育音堂) in Shanghai, Lagacy (傳) and Small Place (小地方) in Taipei, Hidden Agenda, Perfect 5th Cafe in Hong Kong.

Danny, a musician from the UK who was studying in XJTU, while the other two band members are Chinese. The first gig I went to was in Yuyingtang, Shanghai, where five bands were performing that evening. By the end of the gig, many people were dancing to the music, some drunk, some moshing when the metal bands played. To speak to the audience and the musicians, I was walking between the venue and the outside area, where people can smoke and have a short break from the music. Danny, who I met only for the second time after being first introduced, came looking for me a couple of times, putting his hand on my shoulder, suggested apologetically and kindly that he lost me in the crowd too often, seemingly implying that in a masculine environment like this, a female researcher who came to observe is to be taken care of by someone familiar with the codes and norms.

The second time I saw the Psyders play, it was in Mao Livehouse in Beijing. The Psyders were playing in Mao Livehouse for the first time and this coincided with my fieldwork in Beijing. As I was already introduced to the other band members, they kindly invited me to go for a drink with them and some Beijing musicians at a private bar owned by one of the musicians, right by Mao Livehouse and which was open only for this group of guests that evening. I was the only female in the room. In the beginning, all the musicians were interested in what I did, what brought me here and how I knew the band. While I was the only female, my initial contact, Danny, was the only non-Chinese. The lead singer of the Psyders attempted to include Danny in their conversations by telling the rest of the musicians that he knows Chinese, and the other musicians were curious and trying to test how much Danny knows the language. As the night went on, most of them had quite a few drinks, and many of them started to speak more quickly or in Shanghainese or Beijing dialect. Danny spoke Mandarin Chinese at a casual conversation level and I did not know Shanghainese. Both of us started to be marginalised from the band's conversations. He seemed frustrated, and headed to the bar area where there was a laptop that he could choose the music to play. I was aware of his frustration and went to accompany him shortly after. The two of us formed an English-speaking bubble after we both seemed to fail to participate in the conversations between the musicians and, subconsciously, the social role of gender identity seemed to direct me to the responsibility of consoling my interviewee and group gatekeeper. Such examples can illustrate how gender and social categories are performed in the field.

The 'protectiveness' shown in the first gig was not just related to my status as a researcher, an outsider who was observing a band, but also as a female situated in a space where the music and the social behaviours of the participants were marked by masculinity. At the post-gig

drinks, the social interactions were not only marked by the gender roles, but language skills, travel and life experiences. The ‘marginality’ that Danny and I experienced means very different things to us due to our respective roles as an in-group band member and as a researcher. As he felt obliged to make an effort to break into the group, I had to manage this marginality and my position in the fieldwork, regardless of the sense of insecurity triggered by it. However, many scholars suggest that marginality, for ethnographers, is not necessarily a negative space to inhabit; Freilich (1970) defines the ethnographer as a ‘marginal native’, and Lofland (1971) suggests that researchers can generate creative insights despite marginal positions. In my case, such differences enabled the above events, which brought my attention to these socially constructed norms. Studying female ethnographers’ role in the field of criminology, Bucerious (2013) also argues that achieving the status of an outsider trusted with ‘inside knowledge’ may offer a different but important perspective compared to an insider’s vantage point.

In the following chapters, my written ethnography is informed by social interactions which reflect various boundaries that separate my status in contrast with the informants in the field, whether it is as a female researcher in the field where the powerful gatekeepers are predominantly male, or an insider researcher accepted by one group of informants but not others. These constant negotiations will be presented in relation to each location and setting in the subsequent chapters.

Part Two: Analysis of China Wind Music

Chapter 4: Analysis of China Wind Music

As mentioned in the Introduction and Literature Review, there has been some academic discussion of China Wind pop music. This chapter will start by further investigating the terminology used to refer to the music style and examine these usages. The chapter will then move on to discuss how the construction and negotiation of Chineseness is an interplay between three sectors, namely the regional, the popular, and the national. Next, this chapter will analyse two China Wind pop songs, Jay Chou's 'Blue and White Porcelain' (2007) and Wang Leehom's 'Heroes of the Earth' (2005), to further unpack how the Chineseness-es in their music are carefully articulated and disseminated. This chapter will then engage with gender representations in more China Wind pop music videos by referring to the existing literature and analysing how gender is performed in some China Wind songs, particularly those by female artists. Finally, the chapter will conclude by arguing that Chineseness in popular music requires a multidimensional understanding, which includes political, economic, and identity-related dimensions.

4.1 Problematizing China Wind

The term *zhongguofeng* (中國風), literally means 'China Wind'; the term 'feng' can have several different meanings, one is 'wind', and the others are 'style', 'character', or 'trend'. As a result, *zhongguofeng* can be simply understood as 'Chinese style'. Some of the literature refers to China Wind pop music directly as *zhongguofeng* music (Zhiyan, Borgerson and Schroeder, 2013), or as 'Chinoiserie' music (Chung, 2011). The English term coined by the academics to refer to this music style was 'China Wind' (Chow and de Kloet, 2011) or 'China Winds' (de Kloet, 2010, p.210) while *zhongguofeng* was used to describe this style of music in various forms of Chinese writings for a long time, ranging from journalistic pieces and UGC (user-generated content) (China Daily, 2017; YouTube (ssss12598), 2012). Following the expression 'blowing in the China Wind' in Chow and de Kloet's (2011) article, this thesis uses 'China Wind pop music' as a more specific descriptor or label for a popular music style, as it provides the given style with a more clearly defined context. This context includes a few areas important for studies of music meanings, such as where these meanings

generated and negotiated, as well as how they are constructed by various parties, such as musicians, audiences, and media outlets (Stokes, 1994). This will further assist when contextualising the particularity of China Wind pop music in the time and places where it has become popular. The following section will discuss the complexity and ambiguity of the terms used to refer to China Wind pop music, which will allow the problematisation of the concept of a singular and intrinsic ‘Chinese style’ in music.

In turn, *zhongguofeng* is a romanised term which represents the way that popular culture insiders where the music derives from talk about this music style. Nevertheless, the common implication and application of the term is as an adjective to describe almost anything featuring certain Chinese characters and exhibiting a ‘Chinese style’, such as clothing, furniture, porcelain, gardens and so on. As a very broad term, *zhongguofeng* does not offer a clear timeframe either, as it does not signify which era of Chinese style is being referred to. Semantically, especially to those readers more familiar with western art history, the connotation of ‘Chinese style’ might recall associations with ‘Chinoiserie’. Chinoiserie is a trend whereby Chinese art or its imagination has exerted influence on the European arts since the 17th century. As the editors of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (2017) relate, other than imported Chinese art work, Chinoiserie usually represents European interpretations of Chinese styles. Honour (1961) has also noted that at the end of 16th century, only very rich merchants could afford a piece of imported Chinese porcelain for their homes. With the increase in oriental imports, there was a growing market demand for Chinese objects from the 17th century onwards; as a result, European craftsmen started to imitate oriental wares to supply the market at a time when the insufficient volume of eastern objects was reflected in the exceptionally high prices of Chinese artefacts.

Chung’s (2011) thesis entitled ‘Hearing Chinoiserie: The discourse analysis of Chinese pop music during 2000-2010’ uses the term ‘Chinoiserie songs’ to refer to China Wind pop songs. He analyses the lyrics of Fang Wen-Shan, and then argues that the ‘China’ in this music can be seen as a ‘reverse embezzlement claimed by the Chinese’. He uses the term Chinoiserie to identify this stream of music’s strength as related to its aesthetic experiences. However, this can be slightly misleading when the analysed subject is a style of industrialised music that has evolved in a capitalist framework (Jones, 2012) and produced for mass distribution (Tagg, 2000). China Wind music is a style of aural and intangible music; Chinoiserie artefacts are visual and tangible objects. On top of that, the supply and demand is different

than that of Chinoiserie; where the producers and consumers of Chinoiserie are mostly Europeans, those of China Wind pop music are mostly Chinese.

Unlike the Chinoiserie artefacts of the 18th century, which was a trend gradually popularised in various art forms over a few centuries and across various European countries, China Wind pop is a style of music which has been popular since the 2000s and mainly in Chinese-speaking communities, obviously a far shorter time span and might be a passing fad due to the logic of popular music production/consumption. It is in itself inappropriate or inapplicable to draw comparisons or parallels between the two. However, the term Chinoiserie can highlight a few aspects in this music style: firstly, the delicate mixture of cultures embodied in the artefacts of the style. China Wind pop fuses Chinese music instruments and lyrical references with genres such as R&B, hip-hop, and rock; meanwhile Chinoiserie is usually viewed in relation to baroque or rococo styles (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2017). Secondly, this type of fusion has revealed the economic aspect of 'taste'. China Wind pop has been produced at a time when Chinese-speaking regions have experienced a growth in the international repertoire evident in their local markets. According to a breakdown of repertoire by local, international and classical categories (Sekine, 2007), from 2000 to 2004, the percentage of international repertoire consumed rose from 45% to 55% in China; from 45% to 54% in Hong Kong, and from 28% to 40% in Taiwan (IFPI, 2005, cited in Sekine, 2007, p.246).

The taste for pop music shifted when the international repertoire familiarised the audience with various genres, and China Wind music stands out due to its well-crafted incorporation of styles, referred to as 'Oriental-flavoured R&B' by TIME magazine (Drake, 2003). In the case of Chinoiserie fashion, the driving force behind the increasing demand for imitation Chinese arts, was a result of the 'legitimate taste' of the ruling class (Bourdieu, 1984), namely the upper-class that could afford to purchase these artefacts traded between East Asia and Europe. Finally, content-wise, both styles reflect an imaginary China projected towards certain social groups. MacKenzie (1995) has described Chinoiserie as the construction of an imaginary Orient to satisfy a western vision, while China Wind pop, as Chung (2011) argues, also presents a China which is far from a clearly distinguishable object, but a 'virtual China' with codes of 'Chineseness' that can be obviously recognised by its intended audience in China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and so on. This concept of a virtual China is also politically safe (Fung, 2008).

Tagg's (2000) proposed model for analysing popular music stresses looking at the 'interests, need, and aims' of both 'emitters' and 'receivers' of popular music, which is necessary for mass distribution to a large group of listeners, thereby it becomes a commodity in an industrial monetised economy (p.81). The 'emitters' of China Wind pop that I study in this thesis are musicians and record labels, whether local or transnational, while the 'receivers' are mainly Chinese-speaking communities. The 'aims' of the emitters in projecting such a cultural identity and the 'interests' of the receivers finding pleasure in the songs, are very different from those associated with Chinoiserie artefacts. For the latter, although appreciated for their exoticism in a slightly similar way compared to the self-orientalising strategies employed in China Wind songs, the 'interests' of the buyers are different. The interests of the buyers for Chinoiserie artefacts are not based on any sense of shared history or identity, but the appetite is for orientalist imageries and the social status these artefacts represent. On top of that, most of Chinoiserie's producers and all the buyers were Europeans. A textual analysis of China Wind music presented in case studies later in this chapter will further engage with differences in terms of how these imaginations and imageries work in the songs analysed here.

Even though the taxonomy 'China Wind pop' may emphasise this music style as a product of a particular time and context, in other words a metaphorical 'wind' unpredictably blowing between regions, it still does not imply 'which China' is being represented. As Stokes (1994) claims, the branding of a particular style of 'national music' is never unproblematic. Music plays a role in the construction of national and regional identities. The notion of the regional, local, and national are constantly changing and informed by circumstantial inclusion and exclusion. This process decides what elements represent a given national culture and if these elements are 'Chinese enough'. In the following section, a few examples will be provided to emphasise how Chineseness is chameleon-like, as well as discussing how the regional, popular, and national respectively can be resources for different versions of Chineseness, and how the interplay between the three enables them to evolve and crossover. The meaning of 'China' or 'Chinese style' is always negotiated by different sectors, while the traditions of these sectors are also unstable. Thus, as Derrida (2001) has claimed using the concept of 'différance', the meaning of 'Chinese style' is never complete and always postponed, as a signifier endlessly points to various signifiers, not the fixed signified.

4.1.1 The Regional

Stokes (1994) claims that music traditions possess spatial and temporal dimensions. Various styles and forms of Chinese music are no exception. As the geographical and cultural concept of China changes, an understanding of musical tradition is also highly informed by the political history which produces various versions of competing Chineseness at different times and in a variety of locations. Frederick Lau (2008) warns that juxtaposing West/East or Han Chinese/ethnic minorities in rigid binaries will freeze out multiple realities and modernities. As most of Jay Chou's China Wind songs tend to employ cultural elements predominantly based on the Han people who were historically located in the south, the 'China' portrayed in the music juxtaposed with the 'West' is a construction in which the multiplicities of China are reduced. Given the pursuit of a 'national music' or 'national style' in post-1949 China (Liu, 2010), Lau (2015) also argues that 'regional music' (*difang yinyue* 地方音樂) and 'ethnic music' (*minzu yinyue* 民族音樂) as labelled by the state, have been treated as objects of exoticism or elements to construct Chineseness, whether from insiders or outsiders' perspectives. He problematises 'regional music' as a genre by developing two case studies discussing the meaning, symbolism, and ethos of two 'regional music practices': *xianshi* music (弦詩音樂) in Chaozhou and *jiangnan sizhu* (江南絲竹) in Shanghai. The two styles are drastically different and have produced new local meanings when their music cultures have migrated (Lau, 2015). The following case studies will further explore how *jiangnan sizhu* was employed in Jay Chou's China Wind songs, such as 'Blue and White Porcelain', which will exemplify the interplay between a 'regional' and 'national' Chineseness.

4.1.2 The National

Guy (2005) also addresses how Peking opera was branded as 'national' opera in Taiwan after the KMT retreated to the island, thereby serving the state ideology that the ROC has an agenda to 'restore' the mainland and 'return' home. The official discourse around Peking opera places it in a position superior to other forms of opera, such as *Gezaxi*, which also reveals the mentality of the KMT, the ruling authoritarian party at the time, namely that the 'national' should be above the 'local'. Here, Peking opera reflects one of the multiple realities about how the performing arts, once considered regional, are decontextualized, reinforced, and reconstructed as a symbol in order to legitimise ROC Chineseness. In the later sections,

the analysis of Wang Leehom's song 'Heroes of the Earth' (2005) will provide examples of how China Wind musicians present a form of pan-Chinese nationalism that is no longer pro-ROC incorporating the musical elements. However, the elements of Peking opera are seen as family heritage by many China Wind pop artists, including Wang Leehom and David Tao (陶喆), who were influenced by their parents growing up in KMT-led Taiwan. From here we can see how Peking opera was once a regional art form, which later became national, and then became a popular form.

4.1.3 The Popular

For the music audience, music also offers a sense of place and belonging. The audience may identify some genres as 'more Chinese' than others when they listen to the music, thus serving as a process of inclusion and exclusion. As de Kloet's (2010) ethnographic research implies, some mainland Chinese audiences consider Chinese rock as more Chinese than Chinese pop, while pop music symbolises Hong Kong and Taiwan. Just as in the case of China Wind music, what authenticates music as 'Chinese' for many is the incorporation of traditional Chinese instruments; Northwest Wind (西北風) rock also became a genre praised for its authentic Chineseness. This distinction between 'the Chinese and the Other' to coin a phrase, reveals the instability of Chineseness as a label. As Ang (1998) proposes, Chineseness is an open signifier in the diverse local conditions in which ethnically Chinese people construct hybrid identities. The meanings of 'being Chinese' can differ from 'Chinese as a race', 'Chinese as a culture', and 'Chinese as PRC'. The sense of ownership over a culture as well as the extent of its Chineseness as perceived in songs can be circumstantial, but reflects the diverse and complex conditions listeners are situated in.

Another type of music, *Gufeng* (古風), seeks to present a sense of Chineseness located in the Internet age, and the literal translation of the phrase is 'Ancient Wind' music. It is a rather new style of music influenced by China Wind pop music, composed mostly in the Chinese five-tone scale, with lyrics structured to imitate Chinese poetry. Most of the composers and singers distribute their work online, through forums for lovers of *Gufeng* music. Amateur songwriters, singers, animators, and voice actors often work together on these forums to co-produce *Gufeng* music and its videos. This type of interaction brought about a sense of community, and this was appreciated by the fans. In terms of the appreciation of China Wind

music, and as Chua (2001) has observed about pop music, it evidences ‘no deep identity investment on the consumers’ part’ (p.117). In other words, the audience do not usually identify themselves as fans of ‘China Wind’ music but fans of the artists, while for the producers, the aim is to expand the potential market, not to deepen the connections between prosumers. Chapters 5 and 8 will focus more on how *Gufeng* music is perceived by audiences in Taiwan and China.

There are various characteristics that make *Gufeng*- Ancient Wind music- distinguishable from China Wind songs. For example, some *Gufeng* songs feature spoken words, composing melodies on existing classical poems, with the lyrics usually in classical Chinese. Similarities between the two music styles include Chinese five-tone scale, Chinese instruments, and singing using sliding tones. Based on the cooperation between mostly amateur music producers, voice actors and playwrights, the production of *Gufeng* music is occasionally part of a bigger project to which these participants contribute voluntarily online.

The previous sections have already discussed the importance of recognising the existence of ‘unofficial’ or ‘regional’ cultures, whereby the perception of Chineseness is not only a cultural matter, but also a political one. Although the traditional concept of propaganda, which functions as top-down control to help shape an official national consciousness, has now become less influential in the popular music market, the temptations involved in musicians being co-opted into the market system can still serve as a form of censorship (Baranovitch, 2003). What should be queried when examining China Wind music, however, is whether the construction of Chineseness is aided by the state, the capitalist mechanism that enables the production/distribution of popular music, or the artists’ creative practices. The possibilities are that these interactions are not mutually exclusive. We may also ask: in what way is Chineseness is shaped by different stakeholders, and what logic shapes the music? The answers to these questions might help deconstruct the cultural and conceptual hegemony of Chineseness in music.

When de Kloet (2010) used the plural ‘China Winds’ (p. 210) to characterise the Taiwanese singer Jay Chou’s music style, this plurality helped to highlight the central issue of representation in such music, namely what type of Chineseness is being sung and how? Since ‘Chineseness-ss’ (Chow, 1998a) presents multiple realities and meanings, to examine how it is constructed in China Wind pop, it is important to avoid seeing it as an essentialist category, by carefully examining the following aspects of music: musical and lyrical content; who are

the emitters and receivers of the music; and how it is perceived, will serve to present multiple realities of Chineseness-ss. The following sections will outline contextual and textual information about China Wind pop music.

4.2 China Wind in Taiwan's Mandopop

China Wind songs usually employ traditional Chinese music elements while the lyrical content often depicts or refers to traditional cultural objects, such as calligraphy and Chinese porcelain, or the presentation of a sense of 'Chinese pride'. Jay Chou and Wang LeeHom, China Wind's key artists, mainly developed their career in Taiwan (Chow and de Kloet, 2011; Fung, 2008; Lan, 2007), while the genre became popular from 2000 onwards when Jay Chou released his ground-breaking debut album featuring a China Wind song, 'Wife' (娘子). With the follow-up efforts of Jay Chou and other artists, these songs started to develop a specific 'sound' that is distinguishable from other Chinese pop songs (Chung, 2011). The phenomenon of China Wind created much discussion in the PRC and Chinese-speaking market and has been described as 'unprecedented' (Lan, 2007).

Although Taiwan was mainly considered as China Wind's point of origin, contributions to the style are not confined to the island. Singers in Hong Kong, such as Joey Yung (容祖兒) and Denise Ho (何韻詩), also have songs that employ Chinese elements (Chow and de Kloet, 2011), whether lyrical, musical, or visual. Although Jay Chou has been referred to as the 'Father of China Wind' (Cao, 2006, as cited in Chow and de Kloet, 2011), the genre is just one of his signature styles. As many Mandopop artists tend to use many styles and genres in their repertoire, Jay Chou's album usually consists of a mix of tracks using various styles, including hip-hop, rock ballads, and 'K Songs' (ballads that can be sung on KTV, spaces where people sing karaoke in private rooms instead of in a bar). K Songs often involve elements of western classical music alongside references to and interpretations of European culture. Many successful China Wind works, such as 'East Wind Breaks' (2003), 'Blue and White Porcelain' (2007), 'Hair Like Snow' (2005), and 'Chrysanthemum Terrace' (2006), are composed by Jay Chou with Fang Wen-Shan writing the lyrics. They are viewed as one of the best Mandopop songwriting duos.

Due to what Moskowitz (2010) has termed the ‘singer-songwriter system’ in Mandopop production, some artists sing songs composed by a number of different songwriters and put them on their albums. Strategically, the record label wants to include a range of styles to appeal to the broadest possible audience. As a result, many pop artists have sung one or two China Wind pop songs, such as the female vocal group S.H.E’s ‘Chinese Language’ (中國話) (2007) and Coco Lee’s (李玟) ‘Dao-Ma-Dan (刀馬旦) (2001). Some artists do occasionally compose their own China Wind songs, such as David Tao, a Taiwanese-American singer whose mother is a renowned Peking opera actress and film star trained in a state-founded Peking opera school, and the China Wind pop songs he has written include ‘The Art of War’ (2005), which he recorded with 12 Girl Band. ‘Susan Said’ (蘇三□) (2005) is another song in this style, in which the lyrics refer to the plot of a renowned Peking opera play, ‘Susan left Hongtong county’ (蘇三起解), and the song also incorporates the melodic segment from the play in the chorus. Other China Wind songs that have received great publicity include the Singaporean-Chinese singer JJ Lin’s ‘River South’ (2004), and Kenji Wu’s ‘A General Order’ (2006).

China Wind music is not the only or earliest style of popular music in Taiwan that sings about ‘China’. For example, university campus folksongs in the 1970s reflect a nationalistic and nostalgic longing for the ‘Chinese homeland’ which originated in a very different context and which will be discussed in Chapter 5 dealing with Taiwan. From claiming to possess national treasures (*guobao* 國寶) in the National Palace Museum (Chun, 1996) and proclaiming Peking opera as a ‘national opera’ form, between 1949 and 1987 the island’s identity has been tightly bound up with Chinese identity. Apart from reflecting the KMT’s cultivation of a certain cultural Chineseness, the reasons behind Taiwan’s leading position in Mandopop production from the 1970s to 2000s are also economic in nature. In the second half of the 20th century, both local and transnational companies (TNC) as music labels were gradually established in Taiwan. Taiwan’s ‘economic miracle’ created the space that made a thriving recording music industry possible. While the majority of the island’s population speak Mandarin Chinese, as is the case in the PRC, recording labels in Taiwan took advantage of the gradual opening-up of the latter’s music market, and started to produce Mandopop music that later on became increasingly popular, not only in Taiwan, but also in other Chinese-speaking communities. This environment has facilitated their music’s

distribution and exposure while enabling a style like China Wind to reach beyond Taiwan's market.

China Wind's popularity and its presentation of a 'safe sense of Chineseness' (Fung, 2008, p.79) are an interesting phenomenon and, as Lan (2007) has pointed out, coincides with the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) winning the 2000 presidential election, a period when a 'Taiwan consciousness' grew stronger. In order to further unpack the China Wind phenomenon, the following section will provide musical and textual analysis of two China Wind songs: Jay Chou's 'Blue and White Porcelain' (2007) and Wang Leehom's 'Heroes of the Earth' (2005). These two songs present dissimilar perspectives and use distinctive elements to construct a collage of China. The artists' careers and public images, how they brand their own China Wind work, and how the market responds to their work will also be considered.

4.3 Jay Chou's 'Blue and White Porcelain' (2007)

The artist most renowned for China Wind pop, Jay Chou, was born and raised in Taipei. Jay Chou started playing piano from the age of four and he specialised in western classical music in high school. He showed an early talent for song writing and composed the melodies for his entire first album and some of the lyrics. The success of this album, which he released when he was nineteen, paved the way for him to become 'Asia's hottest pop star' (Drake, 2003, n.p.).

'Blue and White Porcelain' was written by Jay Chou with lyrics by Fang Wen-Shan and was released in 2007 on his eighth album *On the Run*. This was the moment when Jay Chou's signature China Wind style was clearly established, and fans and the media then came to expect that there would be one or two songs of this style on all of his albums. Like most of Jay Chou's China Wind songs, this song uses a major pentatonic scale and various Chinese instruments. For example, while it is accompanied by arpeggios on electric guitar, strings, drums, the *guzheng* zither and Chinese flute lead the melody in the prelude, interlude, and ending.

The layers of strings (including erhu, guzheng, and synthesised strings) create variation between different parts of the song. More and more layers of strings are added, thereby

building up the song. In the last repetition of the chorus, the strings play the melody in unison with Jay Chou’s singing on some lines.

Unlike some Mandopop ballads that seek expressivity in the vocal range by hitting high notes, ‘Blue and White Porcelain’ is a gentle song with a relatively shorter vocal range. Jay Chou’s singing voice throughout the song is tender and soft. He adds some techniques that are rarely heard on his other songs. For instance, the distinguishable ‘sliding tone’ can be heard in the chorus. Everett and Lau (2004) described this skill as gliding between two notes in a continuous motion, which indicates a relationship between intonations in Chinese languages and opera singing.

The first two lines of the chorus of ‘Blue and White Porcelain’ exemplify how the lyrics and sliding note functions. The words in bold are where Jay Chou sings sliding notes.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|--|------|-----|------|-----|----|--|-----|-----|-----|--------------------|----|
| 1 st line | 天 | 青 | 色 | 等 | 煙 | 雨 | | 而 | 我 | 在 | 等 | 你 |
| | tiān | qīng | sè | děng | yān | yǔ | | ér | wǒ | zài | děng (S) | nǐ |
| | The azure colour is waiting for the misty rain, I'm waiting for you | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 nd line | 月 | 色 | 被 | 打 | 撈 | 起 | | 暈 | 開 | 了 | 結 | 局 |
| | uè | sè | bèi | dǎ | lāo | qǐ | | yūn | kāi | le | jié (S) | jú |
| | The chimney smoke rises gracefully, separated by the river millions of miles apart | | | | | | | | | | | |

Table 3. Sliding Notes and Lyrics of the Chorus of ‘Blue and White Porcelain’

As Chinese poetry usually has a fixed number of words for each line, contemporary popular lyrics occasionally use this format to structure rhythm and rhyme. Although most China Wind pop lyrics do not rigidly apply this rule throughout the whole song, parallelism sentences, such as the above, are often found somewhere in the songs, more often than not in the chorus. Jay Chou’s occasional sliding notes give a hint of traditional operatic singing without overpowering the solid slow four beat R&B ballad structure.

‘Blue and White Porcelain’ won ‘Song of the Year’ at the 2007 19th Golden Melody Awards in Taiwan, one of the international Chinese-speaking community’s most influential music awards. It was also nominated as the ‘Best Arrangement of the Year’. Baby Chung (鍾興民), the arranger of ‘Blue and White Porcelain’ and many other China Wind songs, including

‘Nunchucks’ (2001) and ‘Orchid Pavilion’ (2008), often works with both mainstream pop musicians and film composers, and is known for being fluent in arranging music pieces for Western orchestration as well as Chinese plucked and bowed string instruments. The use of instruments in ‘Blue and White Porcelain’ is very similar to the combination of *Jiangnan Sizhu*. ‘Jiangnan’ is the traditional name for Southern regions such as Jiangsu and Shanghai; ‘Sizhu’ literally means ‘silk and bamboo’, referring to string and wind instruments. With only a few exceptions, both the lyrics and instrumentation of most of Jay Chou’s China Wind songs reflect a southern version of Chineseness, which employs elements from Han culture around Jiangnan, south of the Yangtze river after the Song Dynasty (10th-13th century).

Table 4. outlines the orchestration for ‘Blue and White Porcelain’. It highlights the type of instrument sounds used in the song and how Baby Chung’s arrangement for the string layers gradually builds the foundation for the vocal and creates a Chinese atmosphere.

| Key: A Major Pentatonic | Intro | | Verse 1 | | | | C | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|---|--------------------------|---|--|--|---------|-------------------------------|--|--|--|-------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Orchestration | Guzhen g (melody, later m.) | Chinese flute (m.) | EG arppregio Bass Drums (Foundation, later on F) | | | G. F | Guzheng Chinese flute F | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Strings arppregio, percussions, bass | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Vocal/ Lyrics | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Interlude | | Verse 2 | | | | Chorus | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Chinese Flute + Strings (Heterophony, both playing the same melodic line in unison.) | | F | | | | +Strings +Guzheng | | | | Guzheng Chinese flute F | | | | Guzheng Chinese flute EG arppregio F | | | | |
| | 4 | | 4 | | | | 4 | | | | 4 | | | | 4 | | | | |
| | Chorus => B Flat | | Out | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | +Strings F | | F | | | | Guzheng (m.) F | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 4 | | 4 | | | | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Table 4. The Orchestration for ‘Blue and White Porcelain’

The lyrics reflect a sense of beauty in the description of the scenery and use Chinese art forms as metaphors, such as paintings of court ladies in the Tang dynasty, calligraphy in the Han dynasty, and the porcelain, all of which are used as metaphors for romantic love. The chorus is as follows:

The azure colour is waiting for the misty rain
I'm waiting for you
The chimney smoke rises gracefully
Separated by the river, millions of miles apart
The base of the vase is inscribed with calligraphy
Imitating the graceful old dynasty
Just pretend I am longing for my meeting with you
The azure colour expecting the misty rain
I am waiting for you
I try to touch the moon's reflections in the water
Blurring the ending
As if the Chinese flower pot is passed on over generations
Caring only about its own beauty
Your eyes carry a smile.⁷

天青色等煙雨 而我在等妳
炊煙裊裊升起 隔江千萬里
在瓶底書漢隸仿前朝的飄逸
就當我為遇見妳伏筆
天青色等煙雨 而我在等
妳月色被打撈起 暈開了
結局
如傳世的青花瓷自顧自美麗 妳眼帶笑意

In the music video, a present-day antiques auction is taking place in which a blue and white porcelain vase is up for sale, while a man and woman experience déjà vu reflecting on their

⁷ English translations from Jay Chou Studio (<http://jaychoustudio.com/>), adapted with the assistance of Tadgh O'Sullivan.

previous lives in ancient China. Blue and white porcelain vases are suggested as eternal and significant for this relationship, which has spanned centuries. As in many of Jay Chou's songs – including 'Hair Like Snow' (2005), 'East Wind Breaks' (2003) and 'Orchid Pavilion' (2008) – there is little attempt to offer insights into Chinese modernity or the present state of China, but rather the focus is on an imagined past that is ancient and sophisticated. In these music videos, a nostalgic Chineseness is often romanticised. This same Chineseness is commercialised (Ching, 2000) and becomes a pan-national product circulated through the music industries.

Fung (2008) suggests that Jay Chou's Chineseness is 'safe, compromising, and non-confrontational' (p.79) in relation to the PRC, while Chung (2011) implies that the cultural content is intentionally ambiguous, seeking a Chinese atmosphere with which most ethnic Chinese residing outside the PRC can identify with. While listening to China Wind pop music, an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1983) is invoked. To some interviewees in this research, the music creates a sense of nostalgia and belonging to a supposedly '5,000-year-old culture', and to them this sense of belonging creates an imagined bond between the audience. This understanding of Chinese culture as one entity is also a common nationalist narrative employed by music talent shows such as *The Voice of China*. It also overlooks the fact that Chinese culture has been re-authorised and institutionalised. This imagined community can consist of members from the different 'symbolic universes' of cultural China – Taiwan, Hong Kong and ethnic Chinese communities around the world – each member having a unique political history and playing a different role in the formulation of national discourses. As the later chapters will reveal, not all the audience shared the same view regarding this 'imagined community'. Irrespective of such differences, a globalised pop music industry has facilitated the sale of pan-national Chinese music products to these divergent communities (Chua, 2001).

4.4 Wang Leehom's 'Heroes of the Earth' (2005)

Trained as a classical pianist at an early age (similar to Jay Chou), Wang Leehom studied at Berklee College of Music and has actively incorporated Chinese music instruments in pop songs and created a style which he called 'Chinked-out' in 2005. While Wang Leehom was born and raised in New York, his parents grew up and were educated in Taiwan and later immigrated to the USA.

‘Heroes of the Earth’ opens with synthesised Peking opera high-pitched singing and accompanied by the sound of *bang gu* (板鼓), a type of percussion instrument that is usually played by the leader of the orchestra in Peking opera. This is a drum with bamboo sticks and the drummer usually controls the tempo, at times accelerating or slowing down the rhythm. Then the heavy distorted bass plays a syncopated pattern which is repeated in each rap section in the song, which is then joined by the sound of *sheng* (笙), which is a common instrument in Peking opera. Later on, a catchy chorus featuring *sheng*, a set of percussions including electronic drum beats, gongs (鑼) and cymbals (鈸). As is the case in Walser’s (1995) analysis on hip-hop music, the ‘Heroes of the Earth’s introduction also has an established groove, layered with instruments, which provided a stable platform for rapping, and as the vocal drops out, the rapping comes in. The bassline maintains the rhythm, while Wang Leehom makes a vivid statement about this new genre of music that he’s experimenting with and presenting:

Picking up four bros on the way, on my 24-inch tyres
Tonight my destination is clear, bringing Chinked-out to all around the world
Adding in Peking opera and Kun opera, bringing hip-hop to a new level
New attempts, new genres, yet new heroes of the earth
Tuning up the radio, you will hear the sound of Wu Sheng⁸
The resonating spoken dialogue is trending, it’s hard to imitate him
His vocal music is the one and only, this art form is extraordinary
Hope to let all the Huaren around the world, sing our hearts out
Sing our hearts out

我出門了載四個哥兒們 鍍鉻輪框 24 吋
今晚我的目的明確 帶 Chinked-out 到全世界
加入了京劇崑曲 hip-hop 進入新的格局
新的突破 新的曲風 才有新的蓋世英雄
把收音機開最大聲 聽見的聲音又是武生
道白的共鳴又最流行 要模仿他 真的不容易

⁸ Wu sheng (武生) are the acrobatic male roles in Peking opera.

他的唱法獨一無二 這種藝術屬一屬二

希望幫助全世界的華人 唱出大家的心聲 我們大家的心聲

While mentioning the spoken dialogue in Peking opera in his rapping, a sampled verse recorded by a Peking opera actor, Lee Yen (李岩), resembles Peking opera's spoken dialogue, which follows as an interlude connected to the chorus; the verse consists of four lines and each line has five characters. The first character of each line put in sequence will compose a new phrase: 'King Leehom'. As in Chinese, Wang's last name (王) also means 'a king'. This is a common word play strategy in Chinese poetry.

While the combination of guest verses in hip-hop songs is a common strategy to introduce surprises, a guest rapper, MC Jin, USA-born and who also developed his music career in New York, contributes a 12-bar verse based on the same rhythmic pattern. MC Jin composed lyrics for this verse in English and Cantonese. The following lines also resonate with the sentiment behind the term 'Chinked-out', which honours Chinese culture as revolutionary, subversive, time-honoured, and precious:

This is something special, my culture is so contagious

They wanna know about us, we've been around for ages

Table 5. outlines how the layers of Peking opera (PO) percussions and the repetition of PO dialogue as well as patterns have created a hip-hop sound with a Chinese flavour:

| D Major | Pre-Intro | Intro | Chorus | Verse 1 | PO sample (In F Major Pentatonic) | Chorus | Chorus |
|--|---|--|---|---|---|---|--|
| Orchestration | PO percussions Panned Panning spaceship effect Crowd cheering | Bass Drumbeats (Foundation Pattern 1: FP1) Sheng | Bass Drumbeats (later FP2) Sheng PO Percussions | FP1 PO percussions Cymbals Bell | Cymbals Bell Piano [In F Major Pentatonic] Synth (strings) FP1 | FP2 Sheng PO Percussions | FP2 Sheng PO Percussions Synth |
| Vocal | PO dialogue 'King Leehom' | Rap [Mandarin]: 'Come on, everybody says 'here come the heroes of the earth.'... | Backing vocalist + Rap [Mandarin]: 'The world is the stage'... | Rap [Mandarin]: 'Adding in Peking Opera and Kun Opera, bringing Hip-hop to a new level'... | PO dialogue 'King Leehom' | Backing vocalist + Rap [Mandarin]: 'The world is the stage'... | Backing vocalist + Rap [Mandarin]: 'The world is the stage' 'There is one hero of the earth is coming up stage, where are you, MC Jin?' |
| PO sample (In F Major Pentatonic) | Chorus | Chorus | Verse 2 (Guest: MC Jin) | PO sample (In F Major Pentatonic) | EG solo | EG solo | Chorus |
| Cymbals Bell Piano [In F Major Pentatonic] Synth (strings) FP1 | FP2 Sheng PO Percussions | FP2 Sheng PO Percussions Synth | FP1 PO percussions Cymbals Bell Sheng | Piano Synth (strings) Cymbals Bell PO percussions FP1a | EG FP2 | F2 Strings | F2 |
| PO dialogue 'King Leehom' | Backing vocalist + Rap [Mandarin]: 'The world is the stage'... | Backing vocalist + Rap [Mandarin]: 'The world is the stage'... 'There is one hero of the earth is coming up stage, where are you, MC Jin?' | Rap [English/ Cantonese]: 'my culture so contagious/ they want to know about us/ we've been around for ages' | PO dialogue | Rap [Mandarin]: 'Here come the heroes of the earth' 'The world is the stage' | | |

Table 5. The Orchestration for 'Heroes of the Earth'

Wang's voice comes in with the line 'Here come the heroes of the earth' in the intro; throughout the song, the two rap lines 'Here come the heroes of the earth' and 'the world is the stage' functions as 'turnarounds', a common strategy in various genres characterised as black music – such as blues, jazz, hip-hop – at the end of the section/verse, which introduces the new one (Carlin, 2006). The same elements commonly associated with Hip-hop culture can also be seen visually in the music video, where Wang wears a hoodie, baggy trousers and a hip-hop chain. The street dancing scene features a short glimpse of a dragon dance, which also highlights this 'street style' fashion.

His outsider status – namely as an Asian American who 'comes back to Chinese culture' yet with a diasporic mentality – has been both a challenge and resource for Wang. The reason why his 'Chinked-out' term did not resonate with most of his audience – despite being mentioned repeatedly in his lyrics and interviews; Grace Wang (2012) argues, that this is due to its specific resonance in US racial discourses, which many of his audiences will not have experienced. As a result, whether in online forums or academic commentaries, many still refer to Wang Leehom's style as China Wind (*zhongguofeng*) rather than 'Chinked-out'.

In 2008, Wang Leehom wrote the English language theme song ‘One World One Dream’ for the Beijing Olympics and performed at the closing ceremony. In Taiwan, he was not only selected by the Ministry of Education to help launch a ‘character-building plan’ in 2009 (Wang, 2012), he was also the Taipei pavilion goodwill ambassador at the Shanghai World Expo 2010 (Focus Taiwan, 2009). While he was able to gain exposure as a cultural ambassador for both Taiwan and China, he has also avoided any backlash given the complexity of cross-strait politics. His transnational status created a space for his participation in both Chinese nationalism and Asian-American cultural politics. (Wang, 2012) At the same time, his resistance of racism (Wang, 2012) is embodied in his Asian American experience. This in turn has shaped his market strategies, public image, and musical performances. Another case in which Wang featured a version of Chineseness into his song, is his adaptation and rearrangement of a song titled ‘Descendants of the Dragon’ (2000). It was originally written by Hou Dejian (侯德建), sung by Li Jianfu (李建復), and released in 1978. The original version of this song was released just after the USA cut its diplomatic ties to the ROC, and the lyrics reflected a longing for the homeland, the mainland China that the ROC lost, with the latter as a self-proclaimed descendant of the dragon. Wang’s additional lyrics change the meaning of the song – ‘Grew up in the land of others, growing up I am a descendant of the dragon’ – communicating a sense of long-distance nationalism on the part of a diasporic subject longing to identify with his origins.

4.5. Gender Representation in the China Wind Music Videos

Today the music video holds a key position in terms of how gender codes are represented, and China Wind pop music is no exception. Chow and de Kloet (2011) also touch on gender representation in China Wind pop music videos. They argue that while the discursive formation of China Wind music is assisted predominantly in relation to Taiwanese artists such as Jay Chou, Wang Leehom and Kenji Wu, Hong Kong’s China Wind music videos feminise and problematise Chineseness. They analyse six Hong Kong China Wind music videos, including ‘Small’ (2007) by Joey Yung and ‘Daiyu Smiles’ (2007) by Vincy (泳兒), in contrast with China Wind videos by the above Taiwanese artists. One example discussed by Chow and de Kloet, ‘Fragrance of Rice’ (2008) (稻香) by Jay Chou, is not commonly perceived as a China Wind song. The article also singles out the music videos of male artists from Taiwan, comparing them with those of female artists from Hong Kong. The

representation of gender and Chinese culture in the work of female artists in Taiwan or male artists in Hong Kong were not taken into account. Nevertheless, the article (Chow and de Kloet, 2011) provides an invaluable close reading of media texts as a site of struggle (Hall, 1982). It also challenges the representation of Chineseness in Jay Chou's music video as 'luring the audience into a masculinist version of history' (p.70).

However, to further investigate the ways in which Chineseness is embodied in music videos or the visual aspects of music performances, the chosen examples might be too limited to proclaim the existence of a 'sharp gender division between Hong Kong (female-dominated) and Taiwan (male-dominated)' as Chow and de Kloet (2011, p.68) conclude. When taking into account more music videos which have employed the sense of Chineseness as a cultural, aesthetic or commercial resource, it is clear that the gender codes used in media texts are more complex than a mere Hong Kong/Taiwan divide. How femininity in China Wind music videos are often across different locations exhibited through hybridity is not yet explored. Huang (2015) analyses the widespread phenomenon in Mandopop music videos or live performances whereby Chineseness is performed alongside or using symbols associated with Japanese culture, such as kimonos, especially in productions outside the PRC. These hybrid symbols are used in order to portray a Chinese atmosphere. This cultural mismatch signifies how playfulness and hybridity are pursued in the managing of Chineseness, albeit in some audiences more than in others. In the case of Taiwan, familiarity with Japanese culture due to its colonial history becomes a resource for this mismatch. Huang argues that such visualised cultural hybridity is exemplified by the Singaporean singer Sun Ho (何耀珊)'s 'China Wine' (2007), and Taiwan's Elva Hsiao (蕭亞軒)'s 'Start to Love' (2003). In turn, the Taiwanese artist Lala Hsu (徐佳瑩)'s concert performance (2015) has her singing an early Taiyupop song adapted from a Japanese folk tune while wearing a kimono against the visual backdrop of a Chinese wedding.⁹

The fusion of elements associated with Japanese culture in attempt to display Chineseness – such as the use of *sakura* or fan dances – can also be found in Jolin Tsai's music work, such as her song 'Myth' (2005)¹⁰ and the accompanying visuals, clothing, as well as choreography in her 'Play' world tour (2015-2016). One of the most significant examples that Huang also mentions is Jolin Tsai's 'I'm Not Yours' (2014). Featuring J-Pop diva Namie Amuro, the

⁹ See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yf7oJVP0M0E>.

¹⁰ See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6lbcDIArWe0&list=RD6lbcDIArWe0&t=69>.

music video is based on a story from Song dynasty classical literature. In the story, a mysterious female hotel host poisons the guests and turns them into animals. This music video simultaneously visually constructs Chineseness and Japaneseness, with the two divas dancing and poisoning the male characters at a grand banquet, singing the lyrics in English: 'Hey I wanna rule my world, I don't wanna be your girl. And I just wanna be myself, I'm not your girl'. This music video can easily be associated with Lady Gaga and Beyoncé's 'Telephone'. The similarities between the songs include the music style, as they are both based on dance music with a strong beat featuring two female pop stars. The videos also include scenes focussed on crime and dominant female characters poisoning other characters. Railton and Watson's (2011) observation how in 'Telephone' the two artists portray a 'community between women as a powerful, dangerous, thrilling space' (p.146) could also apply when reading 'I'm Not Yours'.

Whether the gender representation of these artists empowers or objectifies women remains controversial, however these examples challenge the legitimacy of a reputed 'sharp gender division between Hong Kong and Taiwan' as suggested by Chow and de Kloet (2011, p.68). Factors other than the origin of a singer, such as the transnational cooperation they engage in, their target audience, and the cultural proximity resulting from colonial histories, should be taken into account while analysing their engagement with Chineseness. Diverging from Chow and de Kloet (2011), Huang (2015) argues that a negotiation takes place between orthodoxy/hybridity, which is embodied in the Sinophone interpretation of Chineseness in contrast with that of Mainland China, the perceived centre of Chineseness. He argues that the 'impure' elements used by Sinophone singers contrast with the pursuit of an orthodoxy revealed in the production of Mainland pop cultural products, such as a historical drama. Another example he cites concerns the Taiwanese girl group S.H.E, who were heavily criticised by Mainland fans for wearing modern kimonos during their Shanghai concert due to political sensitivities between China and Japan.

Although Chow and de Kloet's (2011) argument regarding Hong Kong's inherent discomfort with the dominant narratives of Chineseness is valid, Huang's focus on fashion helps to reveal the uneasiness of multiple locations. Although Huang's work does not touch on the most well-known China Wind stars, such as Jay Chou and Wang Leehom, he argues that the way the Sinophone interprets Chineseness displays a willingness to resist cultural hegemony based on his investigation of clothing in music videos. In the music videos he analyses,

‘Kimono China’ replaces ‘Orthodox China’. Although China Wind pop music is still largely associated with Jay Chou’s songs due to its popularity and branding, investigating the music videos of many other musicians reveals a contestation and discomfort with a masculinist and orthodox Chineseness in the work of Hong Kong artists as well as others from Taiwan and Singapore. Instead of arguing whether Chineseness is feminised in the Hong Kong China Wind videos exhibited, and asking whether these representations are more feminine than their Taiwanese counterparts, it might be more legitimate to suggest that femininity in the works of the above examples are often hybridised in their employment of ‘impure’ elements that also depart from an orthodox Chineseness. In a way, these uses of impure elements reflecting what Song (2007) has identified as celebrating shamelessness. In turn, these music videos’ visual representation and fashion design, have opened up new ways of negotiating Chinese identities.

4.6 The Multidimensionality of Chineseness in China Wind Pop

This chapter analysed two China Wind pop songs in order to illustrate the genres and cultural elements merged in its musical and textual content. Thus, the combined aspects of Chinese music instruments using pop, hip-hop, rock or R&B styles in China Wind songs are inevitably a product of fusion as highlighted by the latter’s inherent intertextuality. However, these two songs are not meant to serve as examples that distinguish Jay Chou and Wang Leehom’s musical styles, instead they reflect some identifiable traits in China Wind pop as well as underlining how ‘the musical channel’ (Tagg, 2000) in their creative practices affects how ‘Chineseness’ is communicated in popular music.

Apart from ballads such as ‘Blue and White Porcelain’, Jay Chou sings hip-hop and rap songs with a strong beat, such as ‘Fearless’ (霍元甲) (2006) while ‘Chinese Herbal Manual’ (本草綱目) (2006) is another of his rap songs that follows a series of genre conventions, such as sampled electronic drumbeats, repeated bass patterns, a catchy chorus with varied rap verses. It also features a more explicit message honouring Chinese culture with the opening line, ‘If Hua Tuo was reincarnated, the disease of xenophilia will be cured; foreigners come to learn the Han Chinese language, our national consciousness is on the rise’ (如果華陀再世/崇洋都被醫治/外邦來學漢字/激發我民族意識).

Wang Leehom's 'Chinked-out' songs, such as 'Descendants of the Dragon' (龍的傳人) (2000), 'Viva Huaren' (華人萬歲) (2007) and 'Open Fire' (火力全開) (2011), make unambiguous statements about his intention to 'create a new [musical] vibe the whole world can identify as being Chinese' (Wang, 2012, p.12). But Wang Leehom also has R&B ballads featuring Sizhu string instruments, which in terms of its orchestration is similar to Jay Chou's China Wind songs such as 'Sun and Moon of My Heart' (心中的日月) (2004), 'Error in A Flower Field' (花田錯) (2005), and 'Bo-ya Cuts the Strings' (伯牙斷弦) (2010).

The above are examples of different types of China Wind pop songs by Jay Chou and Wang Leehom. Even though there are similarities in terms of textual and musical content evident when cross-referencing their songs, there are still elements that highlight musical and linguistic authenticity. For instance, Wang Leehom's songs often include lyrics partly in English (e.g. 'Heroes of the Earth' and 'Open Fire') as well as Cantonese or occasional dialects, while Jay Chou mostly sings in Mandarin with occasional terms in various dialects (e.g. 'The Nunchucks').

Wang's transnationality, as an Asian American, is not only articulated in his fluent English, but also in the personal and ideological motivations evident in his songs. Meanwhile his efforts to incorporate Chineseness has a clear goal, which is to reverse the negative connotations of 'Chink' while 'creating a sound that is both international and Chinese' (Wang, 2012, p.11). In this process, he positions himself through lyrics by disclosing his own story as a second-generation Asian immigrant in New York ('Descendants of the Dragon'), embracing Chinked-Out as a genre ('Heroes of the Earth' and 'Viva Huaren'), and his goal to 'let the Chinese be heard'. In his own words, his motivation is to be 'an ambassador for Chinese culture' (Oxford Union, 2013)¹¹, an ambition he has clearly defined.

In contrast, Jay Chou's song lyrics – mostly written by Fang Wen-Shan – do not usually project his own role or position. Even the songs praising Chinese culture usually refer to stories of famous figures in Chinese history, such as martial artists Huo Yuanjia and Bruce Lee, or the physician Hua Tuo. Fang Wen-Shan's lyrics are known for portraying fictional scenes with detailed references to objects, whether based in the past or more contemporary

¹¹ In April 2013, Wang Leehom gave a talk about Chinese pop music and how pop culture can strengthen the relationship between the East and West in Oxford University. This event was organised by Oxford Union. See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p6UDLOXwbNk>.

scenarios. Their sophisticated choice of words, as Chung (2011) argues, serves to gather de-contextualized elements while constructing a re-contextualized ‘collage’ of Chineseness, surrounded by a nostalgia that channels an imagined past.

Both Jay Chou and Wang Leehom are artists with high levels of creative autonomy in relation to writing and producing their own music compared to other singers in the Mandopop industry, where most of the songs are produced in a singer-songwriter system (Moskowitz, 2010). Analysing Jay Chou and Wang Leehom’s China Wind songs provides not only an insight into their musical and textual contents, but also illustrates how the Chineseness in their music is fashioned by ‘extra-musical meaning’ (Tagg, 2000, p. 81) and conventions that define a genre (Fabbri, 2012). These two cases reflect how a style of pop music is marked by cultural pride can be created in a given political and economic context while the musicians simultaneously emphasise, articulate, and construct new cultural meanings (Stokes, 1994).

This chapter has investigated the ‘national’ cultural characteristics in China Wind songs and two artists’ discourses on various occasions in order to explore how Chineseness is constructed and mediated in popular music. Jay Chou’s China Wind songs usually praise Chinese culture subtly using allusions to famous Chinese figures, while Wang’s lyrics collect de-contextualized elements and reconstruct a sense of nostalgic Chineseness channelling an imagined past. Many of Wang Leehom’s China Wind songs, apart from looking at the past, more explicitly addresses the present, thus reflecting his desire to bring Chinese music to the West. In their songs, Wang reveals where he situates himself in the cultural context as a self-identified Chinese American while Chou usually remains more ambiguous.

The construction and perceptions of Chineseness in popular music requires a multidimensional understanding. Other than the music, which the audience experiences as a sounding object that constitutes one important dimension of Chineseness, there are at least three other dimensions to be considered. Firstly, in relation to the political dimension, official and popular discourses have impacted on the formation of placeness. Emerging out of the complex histories of the PRC and ROC, dissimilar rhetorics and historical understandings regarding the essence and presentations of Chinese culture were developed across the straits. The rising anti-Mainland sentiments in Hong Kong in recent years, and the political dynamic in the Chinese diaspora after the rise of China, have both contributed to the formation of different types of discourse. How these discourses are informed by local or international

politics influence the way Chineseness is performed in popular culture, and are an important aspect for the understanding of Chineseness in relation to the political dimension.

Secondly, the economic dimension determines the structure and pop culture flows within the music industries. As Chua (2001) argues, the production of Chineseness is centre-less. However, product flows heavily influence how Chineseness is disseminated and from where. Jay Chou's China Wind style is a good example of how Taiwan took advantage of the existing Mandopop industry and authorised a certain Chineseness in popular culture. However, the wave of music originating in Taiwan's Mandopop industry should not be interpreted as presenting a 'Taiwanese Chineseness', as if essentialist cultural meanings can be traced back to the music's point of origin. The popularity of Taiwan's China Wind pop reflects a form of economic/popular culture flow in a specific period of time, which reflects how Chineseness in popular music is authorised and by whom. In recent years, music reality TV shows such as *The Voice of China* and *I Am a Singer* have attracted many viewers from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Artists from Hong Kong and Taiwan have also performed on these shows. Any studies of these shows need to take the political economy of the entertainment industries into consideration. Chapter 7 on China will continue the discussion of how the political economy of these shows influence the performance of Chineseness.

Finally, the identity dimension whereby self/other identifications are articulated by the artists, is also a crucial aspect of this multidimensional understanding. Chineseness in pop music is plural, but when it is constructed in a multi-dimensional space, it becomes an unsettling and chameleon-like resource, which was – and may still be – adopted in diverse social-political contexts to facilitate the creation of pop music. Although China Wind music pop might be a stylistic passing fad with little identity investment as Chua (2001) argues, Chineseness in China Wind pop – at times reaching beyond the intentions of its producers – functions as an 'open signifier' (Ang, 1998) to its intended or unintended audiences. In Wang Leehom's case, his voice calling for a new sense of Chinese cultural nationalism was heard more clearly than his criticism of US racism. This reveals that an understanding of artists' identities is important, as are the identities of the audience. Experiences and interpretations derived from the audience's perspective will be presented in the following chapters.

Part Three: Case Studies

Chapter Five: Taiwan

This chapter illustrates how Chineseness in popular music, particularly in relation to China Wind pop music, was perceived by a young audience in Taiwan. It will also unpack how Chineseness is constructed in Jay Chou's China Wind music by interviewing JR Yang, the co-founder of his production company, JVR Music. Beginning with a brief introduction to the political history of Taiwan, the chapter will then examine several generic streams of popular music in Taiwan that are broadly categorised by linguistic communities due to their specific cultural and political histories. These streams include Taiyupop, Hakka music, Mandopop, indigenous music, indie, and independent music labels. The chapter will then investigate Chineseness in terms of music production and consumption, emphasising how school education in Taiwan has encouraged familiarity with the Chineseness evident in China Wind songs, and how a sense of ambivalence, disturbance and disconnectedness can be triggered simultaneously. Through a case study on the indie band Fire Ex's song 'Island's Sunrise' (2014), the chapter highlights how Taiwanese-ness is constantly reshaped and negotiated as a competing narrative in Taiwanese identities, with this process embodied in the audience's experience of popular music.

5.1 Political and Social History of Taiwan

Taiwan, the main island situated east of Mainland China, north of the Philippines, has been regarded as a place of strategic importance since the 17th century, when the island was under both Dutch and Spanish colonial rule. Before then, Taiwan was inhabited by Taiwanese aboriginals and some studies suggest that it was the homeland of the Austronesian languages (Blust, 2009) and closely connected to the peoples of the Philippines (Morris, 2004). While the Spanish settlement dominated the north of Taiwan, the Dutch settled in the south. Morris also notes that both of the colonial powers encouraged Han immigration from Mainland China in order for them to grow and sell rice. After the East India Company arrived in 1622, the ethnic Chinese population grew from a 1,000 to 25,000 by 1650. A new sense of 'Chinese consciousness' emerged when Koxinga (Zheng Chengkong 鄭成功) decided to make the island a base to overthrow the Qing (清) dynasty and restore the Ming (明).

However, Taiwan was taken by force and became a prefecture within Fujian province under the Qing dynasty in 1684. The latter lasted for 212 years, and ended when the Qing lost the first Sino-Japanese War and Japan demanded possession of Taiwan. Under the Treaty of Shimonoseki signed in 1895, the islands of Taiwan and Penghu became Japanese colonies. Taiwan's fifty years under Japanese colonisation had a strong influence on the economy and education system. After 1937, and while the war between republican China and Japan continued to escalate, the coloniser made intense efforts to shape a local identity loyal to imperial Japan. This attempt to reshape Taiwanese identity is usually referred to as 'Japanisation' or the Kominka Movement, in which local languages were prohibited and people were forced to change their names from Chinese to Japanese. During World War II, Taiwan's male population were recruited into the Japanese army. After Japan was defeated, Taiwan's sovereignty was transferred to the Republic of China (ROC) in 1945, which ended the last imperial dynasty, the Qing, founded in 1911.

Only four years after Taiwan came under the rule of the ROC in 1945, the KMT lost the civil war to the Communist Party of China (CPC). Chiang Kai-Shek, the president of the ROC at the time, relocated to Taiwan along with two million soldiers, businessmen, and refugees. Taiwan became the ROC's base, and the KMT declared martial law in 1949 while enforcing nationalist-inspired education in schools. During the early years of KMT rule, the ROC government claimed to be 'the guardian of traditional Chinese culture' (Chun, 1996, p.116), a culture 'undamaged' by the CPC during the Cultural Revolution and under KMT protection through nationalistic education and extensive media control. From 1949 to 1987, the official discourse of Taiwan's national identity was built on the ROC's unquestionable embodiment of 'China' and its authentic Chineseness. Languages other than Mandarin – namely Taiwanese-Hokkien (more widely referred to as Taiyu) and Hakka – were officially sanctioned; cultural propaganda restricted communist literary activities, and the Committee of Chinese Cultural Renaissance was established.

Taiwan experienced an economic boom in the 1960s and 1970s, which was referred to as the 'Taiwan miracle'. However, before martial law was lifted in 1987, the ruling Chiang Kai-Shek and his son were described as forming a 'soft authoritarian regime' (Morris 2004, p.27; Winckler, 1984), while censorship, a crackdown on dissents, and suppression of opposition voices were also taking place. The transformation to democracy started gradually after 1987. In 2000, Chen Shui-Bian (陳水扁), the presidential candidate of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), won the election. The DPP was formed by a group of politicians many of whom

were persecuted under martial law. It was a significant moment for Taiwan's democracy when a pro-independence and pro-Taiwanese consciousness party that had challenged the Chiangs became the ruling party. During Chen Shui-Bian's term, voices seeking Taiwanese localisation grew stronger, which added further complexity to the relationship between the PRC and Taiwan. In 2008, the KMT candidate Ma Ying-Jeou (馬英九) won the election, being re-elected in 2012; he served as president until 2016. The biggest criticism labelled against him was that he was 'pro-China'. A student-led protest against the government pushing through a free trade deal with the PRC in 2014, later called the Sunflower or 318 Movement, impacted severely on his and the KMT's approval ratings. In 2016, the DPP candidate Tsai Ing-Wen (蔡英文) was victorious and became the first female president of Taiwan. For the first time in Taiwan's history, the DPP won both the presidency and the majority of seats in parliament.

Taiwan's history is one of resistance and friction. While Koxinga saw the island as a site from which to restore the Ming dynasty, Japan took Taiwan as a base for its southern expansion into South East Asia during the war. Meanwhile, the early Kuomintang (KMT) regarded Taiwan as its last chance to preserve an authentic Chinese culture, a temporary location before 'reclaiming the mainland' (反攻大陸). Many languages and cultures in Taiwan – such as those of Hokkien or Hakka immigrants – were suppressed during the rule of both the Japanese and early KMT, the latter during the martial law period (1949-1987). Radio and television services were restricted to very limited hours in terms of airing any non-Mandarin programmes. Meanwhile, the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Committee was established 1967 as a reaction to the onset of the Cultural Revolution in the PRC. Indigenous cultures were also brutally repressed under different rulers, while various nation-building discourses have left a complex legacy and many challenges in relation to Taiwan's national and cultural subjectivity.

In 1971, the ROC lost its seat in the United Nations when the PRC was recognised as representing China, thus isolating Taiwan internationally. Luo Dayou's song, 'Orphan of Asia' (1983), reflected the situation accurately:

Orphan of Asia weeping in the wind
No one is playing games with you fairly
Everyone wants the toys you treasure
My dear child, why are you weeping?

亞細亞的孤兒在風中哭泣；沒有人要和你玩平等的遊戲；
每個人都想要你心愛的玩具；親愛的孩子你為何哭泣。

Ever since then, the PRC has stood firm on a ‘one China policy’ and claimed that since Taiwan is an ‘inseparable part’ of China, they will take Taiwan by force, if necessary. Given this threat and the difficult relationship, resistance against ‘China’ emerged alongside democratisation. When the so-called ‘natural independence’ (天然獨) or ‘naturally independent’ generation grew up and became voters, most of whom were born after the lifting of martial law, general support for a Taiwanese identity anchored outside of China, became stronger than before. The term ‘natural independence’ was coined by both DPP politicians and the media to describe a younger generation growing up in a society in which Taiwanese independence is a mainstream ideal (Su and Chung, 2015). It is this same generation who became the face of the Sunflower (318) Movement, following in the footsteps of predecessors who raised questions about the legitimacy of both the PRC and Taiwan being imagined as representing the Chinese community. Appadurai (1996) also touches on these identity issues when he comments on the disjunctures created by cultural globalisation, suggesting that one person’s imagined community can be another person’s political prison. In this case, the imagined Chinese community can be a political prison for Taiwan.

The meaning of being Chinese in Taiwan has varied over time: from an ethnic descriptor under colonial rule, to a class indicator under Japanese occupation, to a responsible answer to a patriotic call to restore and preserve during the early KMT era. When researching how Chineseness is constructed and perceived in pop music in Taiwan, it is essential to examine and contextualise the relationship between Taiwan and the ever-changing concept of China as a nation over different periods, and not simply to presume that Taiwan has inherited Chinese culture or, as some might suggest, that the island is more ‘authentic’ than the PRC’s China. The next section will draw on the history of popular music in Taiwan, focusing on the period when its music business was gradually industrialised. Many of these music styles and contents also reflect this identity transformation regarding being ‘Taiwanese’ or ‘Chinese’.

5.2 Popular Music in Taiwan

Given its various waves of immigration, Taiwan’s music cultures display influences from different ethnic groups, ranging from Hokkien Province in China, Japanese colonialism, the

post-1949 Mainland army and refugees, the American army's English language radio station (ICRT), and the indigenous Taiwanese, the latter having genetic and linguistic ties to the Austronesian peoples. By 2017, there are 16 officially recognised indigenous tribes, each of them having a different language. However, due to Taiwan's technological and economic development, mass-mediated popular music and an industrialised recording industry started to take shape in the 1930s, while the growing film industry created a demand for song recordings in Taiwanese-Hokkien, and this gradually drew in record companies, such as Columbia and Victor to start recording Taiyupop in colonial Taiwan (Jian and Guo, 2004).

Taiyu (台語), which literally means 'the Taiwanese language', refers to Taiwanese-Hokkien or Southern Min, the language most spoken in Taiwan at the time. The majority of the population (more than 70%) have Hoklo ancestry from Southern Min (閩南), where the Southern Min language (閩南語) is many people's first language. The earliest Taiwanese

recordings under Japanese colonisation are mostly in Taiwanese-Hokkien, and received widespread publicity. These songs included 'Moonlight Blue' (月夜愁), 'Spring Breeze' (望春風), and 'Flower in A Rainy Night' (雨夜花), all of which were issued in the 1930s.

After the KMT's arrival, music in languages other than Mandarin Chinese – including Taiyupop – were restricted due to the cultural policies associated with martial law. This is exemplified by the 'Campus Folksongs Movement' (校園民歌運動)¹² in the 1970s and early 1980s. The singers and songwriters, mostly university students, embraced originality and wanted to 'sing our own songs' (Cheung, 2015; Ho, 2003) at a time when Anglophone music was already popular. Some campus songs were nationalistic in content and coincided with the ROC losing its UN representation. It was regarded as a time of adversity and many musicians composed songs with messages that endorsed the KMT government, speaking of 'a greater Chinese identity that linked China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan' (Moskowitz, 2010, p.34). Ho (2003) has identified this folk genre as a 'revolutionary catalyst in the rise of the modern Mandarin popular music industry' (p.244), while also underlining that Taiwan's folk culture as presented in these songs is reduced to Han culture alongside ignoring the regional socio-economic context.

¹² It is also called 'Chinese Modern Folksongs Movement' (Ho, 2003) and 'Campus Songs Movement' (Moskowitz, 2010).

After campus songs became popular, major label companies at the time, such as Rock Records (滾石唱片), started to incorporate these styles and songs into their production. The gradual commercialisation of campus songs laid the foundation for Mandopop and the industries that supported and produced it. Business practices in the music industry also impacted on music content, and in the later 1980s the arrival of transnational companies (TNCs) such as Sony, BMI, Polygram, Warner and EMI, shaped the music industry in Taiwan's general practice. These five TNCs along with Rock Records – the only local company and the largest Asian record company at the time (Chua, 2001) – accounted for 80% sales of total sales in the domestic music market in 1998 (Taiwan Publishing Almanac, 1999, cited in Ho, 2003).

Starting in 1986 as a local record company based in Taipei, by the late 1990s Rock Records had become a transnational Asian music enterprise with various production companies and branches in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and China. It became Asia's sixth largest music company following the Big Five (Wang, 1999). Wang also argues that the advantage of a local record company such as Rock Records or Forward Music is in its flexibility that comes with a smaller scale, meaning it can respond to the market quickly. One example is that transnational companies usually invest in Mandarin popular music, while local ones can produce music in other local languages.

Moskowitz's (2010) work highlights the popularity of Taiwan's Mandopop in the PRC, and as well as in Singapore, Malaysia, and Chinese-speaking communities worldwide. While Mandopop was (and still is) the major mass-mediated and industrialised music genre in Taiwan, it is important to recognise that various music styles have evolved from different ethnic cultures, thus reflecting Taiwanese music's complexity and multiplicity. The following sections explore these different styles of music that have evolved from Taiwanese-Hokkien, Hakka, and other indigenous cultures by introducing several streams of popular music in Taiwan, including Taiyupop, Hakka music, Mandopop, indigenous and indie music. These categories do not necessarily correspond to music genres in the sense of shared styles or musical conventions, but reflect Taiwan's political history which was significantly impacted by language policies over time.

5.2.1 Taiyupop

Although repressed, Taiyupop – or pop music in Taiwanese-Hokkien – was still popular among some groups during the martial law period. Moskowitz (2010) points out that the common impression that Taiyupop’s listeners tended to be older generations residing in rural areas, reflected the influence of the KMT’s language policy, which regarded Taiyu as inferior to Mandarin. According to Moskowitz, Taiyupop was influenced by Japanese Enka in terms of its musical style and melancholic content, and later strongly influenced Mandopop (p.37). KMT policies also restricted Hakka and aboriginal music entering the music industry’s production chain. In the mid-1980s, the nativist social movement and the emergence of a Taiwanese democratic state created a space for Taiyupop to revive and transform (Ho, 2009, 2015). Some of the music of the time, including Blacklist Workshop’s album *Madness Songs* (1990) or Jutoupi’s *I am an Idiot* (1994), featured social criticism and were banned. Since the 1990s and with the impact of these pioneering albums and the change in political climate, Taiyupop no longer focuses on ‘sadness’ (悲情), but covers a wide range of topics. This has been referred to as the ‘New Taiwanese Songs Movement’ (新台語歌運動) (Ho, Wai-Chung, 2006; Ho, Tung-Hung, 2003).

5.2.2 Hakka Music

After 2000, the DPP president Chen Shui-bian started to introduce a series of cultural policies that recognised Hakka traditions (Chuang, 2013). Hakka singers, including Lin Sheng-Xiang (林生祥) and Chen Yungtao (陳永濤), not only write in Hakka, but also emphasise and value Xiangtu (□土), which literally means ‘country soil’ or ‘hometown soil’ (Lin, 2011). Lin Sheng-Xiang’s social activism has included his protest against the Meinung Dam’s construction in the 1990s, which is reflected in his music. For example, the employment of a ‘Hakka eight tone’ (客家八音) ensemble in a rock band setting displays a syncretism that crosses music styles and genres. Chung has described these consistent efforts to present and represent the uniqueness of Hakka culture as ‘Hakka radicalism’, which ‘seeks to remind us of the otherness within’ (Chuang, 2013, p.131). This cultural phenomenon along with the new wave of Hakka music raise questions around whose Taiwanese-ness is represented in the post-martial law era. If the mainland Chinese-ness which the KMT used to exalt fades away, does Hokkien-Taiwanese-ness alone become the legitimate cultural and social representation

of Taiwan as well as hegemonic in nature? Hakka and indigenous music in Taiwan both serve as a reminder of diverse voices and cultures.

5.2.3 Indigenous Music

Indigenous or aboriginal Taiwanese have had long music traditions. The dispute over copyright issues concerning the 1996 Atlanta Olympics theme song, 'Return to Innocence' (1994) by the German electronic project Enigma, was due to the unauthorised sampling of singing by Amis musicians Difang and Igay Duana (Tan, 2012). This episode reflects issues around the music of aboriginal Taiwanese, particularly when it is treated merely as a resource to be appropriated in order to create an atmosphere, usually that of 'innocence', rather than a living culture that needs to receive due credit.

Apart from music contestably categorised as 'world' or traditional music, many indigenous singers have received substantial publicity singing Mandarin pop or rock music, including A-mei Chang (張惠妹), Power Station (動力火車), and Chang Cheng Yue (張震嶽). At the 2000 inauguration of the first DPP president, Chen Shui-Bian, A-mei Chang performed the National Anthem of the Republic of China on stage and this was a strong political symbol of the reconciliation between the ROC and ethnic groups in Taiwan, which had been Chen's intention. However, as a music star who is popular across different Chinese-speaking communities, her singing was read as a betrayal of a unified Chinese identity which offended the PRC. Consequently, she was blacklisted in the PRC and accused of being a supporter of Taiwanese independence (Guy, 2002). This tension highlights issues not just around nationality, but also relating to the ethnicity of indigenous people in Taiwan, who are not ethnically Chinese but Austronesian.

What was highly politicised was not just that the national anthem was sung by an indigenous singer, but also the use of indigenous music by political parties to embody their agendas.

During the KMT presidential election campaign in 2012, one of the party's commercials used the Puyuma singer Samingad Puruburubane's (Mandarin name 紀曉君) 'Myth' as its campaign song, and Samingad Puruburnbuane publically protested against the use of her song in the election campaign. In another KMT's commercial, indigenous style singing was also employed singing lyrics that stressed 'whether you are Holo, Mainlanders, indigenous,

or Hakka, may the God of this land protect the people throughout the generations'. These incidents demonstrate how indigenous music is often used as a powerful political symbol.

At the 2016 inauguration of the second DPP president Tsai Ing-Wen, the rendition of the national anthem was led by four groups of student representatives, including the choir of the Timur Elementary School, an indigenous school¹³. This new rendition was fused with a Payuan song of the Paiwan people throughout the performance. The Timur choir sang prayers for the land in Puyuan, and the national anthem, was mostly sung by the other three groups. This performance was again a strong statement of reconciliation and an embodiment of Taiwan's diverse 'voices', and overall it received positive feedback. However, at another inauguration performance, a theatre staging of Taiwan's history, the master of ceremonies read the following script, which was heavily criticised and triggered protests: 'When the Portuguese, Dutch and Spanish came to Taiwan, they also brought Western religions and subsequently transformed the indigenous people's customs, which were rough and vulgar'. This incident frustrated many that had higher hopes for the new government supporting indigenous rights. Unfortunately, Moskowitz's (2010) critique that 'racism [is] embedded in the praise of aboriginal music' (p.39) – whether from audiences or political parties – still stands. Indigenous images, music and cultures have become fetishes 'devoid of content' (p.39). The relationship between Taiwan's popular music and its ethnic politics still requires critical inspection.

5.2.4 Mandopop

The previous chapter has discussed how China Wind pop has become a popular music style in Taiwan's Mandopop industry. This section will address how 1980s Mandarin popular songs in Taiwan became transnational. As previously discussed, the political history of Taiwan has seen Mandarin Chinese favoured in education and media broadcasting, while is also termed as 'the national language' (*Guoyu* 國語). This gave Mandarin pop an advantage in the music industry compared to music in other languages. The politicisation of languages affects musical canonisation. In Taiwan, languages are intertwined with given musical genres, which also signify imbalanced resources and power in terms of music production. The Golden Melody Awards, the most significant Taiwanese music awards, was first

¹³ See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=APstJvITkT8>.

established in 1990. The awards categories for ‘Best Guoyu Album’ and ‘Best Guoyu Male/Female Singer’ have been established for 27 years, while categories such as ‘Best Hakka Singer’ were added in 2003, and ‘Best Taiyu Album’ was introduced in 2005.

Unsurprisingly, and despite various music genres and languages, Taiwan’s Mandopop has generated very impressive sales while also becoming musically prominent in the PRC. The PRC’s opening-up, which began in the late 1970s, coincided with the growth of Taiwan’s Mandopop production, with the Mainland becoming a new market for the Taiwanese music industry. After martial law was finally abolished in 1987, a ‘Taiwanese democratic taste’ (Ho, 2003, p.520) emerged alongside artistic expression as well as freedom from censorship and political interference, which in turn introduced Taiwanese popular music to a larger audience. Taiwan’s position has always been weaker than PRC’s in terms of its political and military might, however Mandopop dominates the PRC music market. Thereby, ‘exporting a transnational musical ethos that is radical in comparison with the state-controlled music industry in the PRC’, accounted for approximately 80% of Chinese-language music sales in the PRC from 2002 to 2010 (Moskowitz, 2010, p.2). Many of the key artists who became influential in Chinese-speaking communities worldwide since the 1990s are from Taiwan and were first signed to local Taiwanese record labels, including A-mei Chang (Forward Music), Jay Chou (Alpha Music), and Mayday (五月天) (Rock Records).

However, it is not only local record labels that have contributed to local repertoires. As Ho (2003) has observed, TNCs have also made substantial efforts to explore talent in order to gain market share, and in turn they also exported an international repertoire to Taiwan. One of the big TNCs, Sony Music, recorded sales of 1.2 billion New Taiwan Dollars (\$40 million U.S.) during the fiscal year 1997-98. In the case of Coco Lee, a Hong Kong-born American artist who started her music career in Taiwan, her album *Di Da Di* (1998) sold a million units, while the *Titanic* film soundtrack sold 1.2 million copies (Wong, 1998). Although the business practices of transnational corporations increased the transnational music repertoire, artists such as Coco Lee, David Tao or LA Boyz are resident in different nation states while their audiences are cross-regional. In the early 2000s – and by comparison with Hong Kong, Singapore, and the PRC – Taiwan’s local repertoire was more dominant in its own domestic market (Sekine, 2007) compared to the international imported repertoire, which may have provided opportunities for local music acts while Taiwan itself developed as a centre for Mandopop production. Even though sales of recording music are shrinking significantly due

to digitalisation and piracy, Jay Chou's sixth album, *November's Chopin* (十一月的蕭邦) (2005) still achieved 1.5 million pre-sales, an Asian record according to Sony BMG (Genova, 2005).

5.2.5 The Indie Music Scene and Independent Music Labels

The term 'independent' or 'indie' originated in the punk movement in the UK, when small record labels produced music, proclaiming their authenticity and alterity in contrast to 'the mainstream'. Indie as a label for a given music genre, according to Hesmondhalgh (1999), was coined due to its style of industrial organisation while reflecting popular culture's rejection of the idea that only large companies can make records (Jones, 2012). Ho (2003) suggests that in the 1970s the record industry in Taiwan was a rather different context compared to the UK. He lists a few reasons for these differences, including a lack of popular political mobilisation given martial law, along with the lack of alternative distribution networks. Thus, 'independent' as a musical label in Taiwan at the time, did not have similar connotations. Ho's analysis of a Taiwanese label, Crystal Records, underlines how an aesthetic claim to be independent can be a marketing strategy for a small company, while the latter still collaborates with major companies. As previously mentioned, Rock Records might be categorised as an independent to begin with, but it transformed itself into a transnational company at a later stage.

One reason behind these differences is the co-existence of TNCs and local labels. As previously mentioned, Rock Records, a locally established transnational label, was categorised as an indie (Levin, 1995) in contrast with the TNCs. Around the 2000s, digitalisation and the internet had a significant impact on Taiwan's recording industry, in some ways very similar to other countries: file-sharing led to a decline in revenue, while major companies – including Rock Records – suffered the most (Culpan, 2001). As Strachan (2007) argues, the system of 'micro-independents' and bedroom producers has also thrived in this context. One example marking this change is the Street Voice website, originally a Taiwanese site for musicians to post up their work and which has now extended its services to Hong Kong and China while also curating music festivals. In 2016, the rock band No Party for Cao Dong (草東沒有派對) released their first album, *The Servile* (醜奴兒), which was only distributed through unconventional channels such as coffee shops. All of their albums and concerts in Taiwan sold out quickly with their success underlining the impact of micro-independents.

The spatial attributes of indie music are also an important marker, and ‘live houses’ in Taiwan play a significant role in this scene. As Jian (2017) has noted, one of the most remarkable venues in Taiwan, the Underworld (地下社會), has been an important spot for indie bands. The Underworld opened in 1996, coinciding with the decade in which Taiwan’s earlier generations of rock bands became active. These bands include LTK Commune (濁水溪公社) and ChthoniC (閃靈), two groups who are provocative in relation to Taiwan’s politics, and Mayday, the latter being the leading pop/rock band in the Chinese-speaking world. Other venues that joined the nightlife scene in Taipei include Witch House, Riverside, the Wall, and Legacy, while the Underground eventually shut down due to issues associated with urban gentrification and opposition from local middle-class residents (Jian, 2017); another venue, Legacy, opened in 2010 inside Huashan 1914 Creative Park. The establishment of this cultural park was assisted by Taiwanese government’s investment in cultural and creative industries at the time. A legal music venue that could accommodate an audience of a thousand, music acts signed by large labels have also performed in Legacy. These two venues provide examples of how policy can affect, alter, or refine a sense of independence.

Another issue is that an ‘independent sound’ is, aesthetically speaking, never easy to identify and categorise. After some artists whose music is considered more ‘independent’ became popular not only in Taiwan but also in China, including the band Sodagreen, singer-songwriters Cheer Chan (陳綺貞) and Dessert Chang (張懸), the term ‘Little Fresh’ (小清新) came to characterise a musical style, sound, as well as image. Associated with the notion of indie pop, this music is often accompanied by acoustic guitar and usually depicts more lighthearted themes. There are many different bands in Taiwan, but those associated with the ‘Little Fresh’ aesthetics has left a strong impression on the PRC’s music audience¹⁴. This phenomenon exemplifies the construction of ‘cultural imaginations’ among music audiences in different locations, and this will be addressed again in the Conclusion (Chapter 9). Hesmondhalgh (1999) concludes from his case studies that post-punk production aesthetics

¹⁴ Zhang Xiao-zhou, a Chinese music critic and writer, wrote an article named ‘Little fresh reunite big China’ (2013) for his column in QQ.com., in which he associated the aesthetics of ‘Little fresh’ with indie-pop, and in the context of contemporary Chinese-speaking regions, as depoliticised. He critiqued an event in which the Taiwanese singer Dessert Chang cancelled her concerts in Beijing after holding a ROC flag passed by the audience in Manchester, UK. See: <https://xw.qq.com/cmsid/CUL2013111300377002>.

can be useful in terms of arriving at a better understanding of Taiwan's 'indie' music: partnership and professionalisation cannot be directly interpreted as a compromised aesthetic without further investigation of different eras' cultural politics. In today's Taiwan, music produced by smaller labels keep challenging the TNCs and the major companies. However, 'indie' also functions as a prevailing term or marker employed by various stakeholders.

In our time interviewing, terms such as 'indie bands', 'mainstream music', 'independent record labels' were frequently used by interviewees. Although Jay Chou owns his own label and production company, the general perception of this Mandopop star is that he is, to some extent, 'independent' but also mainstream and commercial. Regardless of the difficulty in finding markers to distinguish the 'independent' from the 'mainstream' in music production practices, the line between the image of the two is not blurred. As Hesmondhalgh and Meier (2014) argue, the idea of 'the alternative', which is closely intertwined with 'independent', is still powerful in terms of evoking a more democratised cultural production. For instance, Cheer Chen and Dessert Chang are Taiwanese examples of this 'alternative' image, yet they were both signed to major labels while their music tends to be considered as indie. However, whatever layer of independence is implied and in what context are usually left unanswered. It is evident that in today's Taiwanese music market, market segmentation functions as an effective tool to differentiate music consumers, thereby attracting those who prefer this alternative image. The economic value of such a notion is self-evident.

5.3 Audience and Industry Workers

5.3.1 JVR Music: Transnational Chineseness

Sitting in JVR music's headquarters, a top floor office in a busy financial area in Taipei, the co-founder of JVR Music and Jay Chou's manager since his debut album (1999), JR Yang, shared with me his experience with Jay Chou and his thoughts on how his music had taken so many locations by storm. Jay Chou was signed to Alfa Music International, which was founded in 1995. In 2007, Jay Chou, the lyricist Fang Wen-Shan, and JR Yang left Alfa Music and co-founded JVR. JVR is predominantly a production and management company, while JVR artists' music is published by Sony Music. Artists signed to JVR Music include Jay Chou, Cindy Yen (袁詠琳), Celeste Syn (洗佩瑾), and Patrick Brasca (派偉俊). Although other singers signed to the company have achieved a certain success in the local market, Jay Chou's influence has no comparison.

What initiated this interview was an e-mail I sent outlining that I was a UK-based academic researcher who wanted to make a short documentary about China Wind music and its regional audience. I sent this e-mail to the company's public email address; after two days, I received a response from a secretary, who said that the CEO would have time for an interview. Compared to other music production companies of a similar scale in Taiwan, it is uncommon that JVR has one e-mail address open to the public while the CEO agreed to a personal interview via this channel. When I arrived at the ground floor reception, there were fans taking photos with the JVR logos on the wall, while the security carefully reminded them not to step in the area near the lift unless they had permission. I told the security that I had an appointment with Mr. Yang; after making a phone call upstairs to confirm, he let me in.

JR Yang¹⁵ started by mentioning that many people assumed that they knew the formula for success in the market right at the start, asking how this all happened, while for him, their success was down to luck. JVR have never tried to predict what the market wants or believed they could achieve this. He described the process of music-making in the recording studios as 'isolated' and 'closed' (封閉), as something set apart from the outside world (the market), while not knowing what would or wouldn't be popular:

If you ask whether we will put in Chinese music elements on purpose in our production in the future, we did not put them in intentionally, and will not do it on purpose. Music has to do with the artists, some are suitable for one style while others are not. Therefore, you cannot impose unsuitable elements on them. They would not be themselves. So, when we trace back to the beginning, I can tell you, we were in a very closed and isolated space in an office and studios while making music. We were simply locked in the studio, and did what was best in our imaginations, or what we could achieve. Luckily, what we did with Jay Chou gained substantial recognition, so there were great results coming from it. What we did at the time was actually easy.

While asked about China Wind, one of Jay Chou's signature styles, JR attributed the use of Chinese elements to other singers. Throughout this thesis, and as explained in the previous chapter, I use the term 'China Wind' instead of 'Chinese style', *zhongguofeng*, or

¹⁵JR Yang, personal interview in JVR Music, Taipei, Taiwan, 22 January 2016. Most of the interviews were conducted in Mandarin Chinese, unless specified otherwise, and later translated into English by the researcher.

‘Chinoiserie’ to specify the particularity and popularity of the style. However, JR Yang claimed that *zhongguofeng* is a label that has stuck to Jay Chou due to complex industrial circumstances, but it was never invented by an individual artist or coined by Jay Chou. He further explained that JVR Music did not intentionally impose this taxonomy on him. JR Yang also emphasised historical connections with previous pop songs using Chinese sentiments, and referred to *zhongguofeng* as a style that is broadly Chinese. As a result, I use *zhongguofeng* rather than China Wind in the following quotes from him, however these two terms appeared to be the same when spoken in Mandarin:

Zhongguofeng music is not ‘invented’ by Jay Chou. Fei Yu-ching (費玉清) sang songs of this style a long time ago. It was approximately after the 1990s that *zhongguofeng* seems to be added on like an ‘equals’ sign next to Jay Chou, as if he ‘created’ something called *zhongguofeng* (China Wind). Luckily... I have to say it again it is luckily, but it was not the case in the beginning. Jay Chou is a music maker, he makes music that he thinks...in his own words, is very ‘dope’ and ‘cool’. Therefore, he makes all kinds of music. In fact, when you listen to his music, there is western classical, hip hop, rap, and ballads, but coincidentally, people making *zhongguofeng* music did not achieve this level of popularity. I cannot say it is the best *zhongguofeng* ever made because whether music is good or bad is decided by the given era. In the time he’s been in the industry, more people have listened to Hua-wen (the Hua language 華文) music, more people like this style of music (*zhongguofeng*). That is why this label sticks to him.

As much as JR Yang is aware of previous music acts employing Chinese elements in pop music, he is also convinced that the popularity and success of a particular style of music is somehow determined by the period that it is situated in. Chua’s (2001) notion of ‘Pop Culture China’ does not just correspond to how Jay Chou’s China Wind style has thrived, but also recalls how his other different styles of music have achieved great popularity, even before China Wind. The timing, namely the 1990s, coincided with the PRC’s open policy and the growing trade relationship between Taiwan and China, thereby leading to the dissemination of information as well as transnational flows of pop culture which made the music’s circulation possible.

As JR Yang emphasised in the interview, Jay Chou’s music has never been confined to China Wind style, while his ballads are with strong R&B and Western classical influences. To

describe his own music, Chou usually uses the term ‘*diao*’, literally meaning the male genitals but also commonly used to describe something innovative and unprecedented. For instance, his first single, ‘Lovely Woman’ (2000), was a R&B ballad, accompanied by piano, synth pad, acoustic guitar riff, electronic drumbeats, and rich layers of harmonies, which Jay Chou sang over and over again at his concerts, referring to it as ‘my first song’. This debut album, released in 2000, was described by TIME magazine as having ‘soulful, surprisingly sensual ballads and quiet pop tunes delivered with a poise that would make Craig David stand up and take notice’ (Drake, 2003, n.p.). The worthwhileness of understanding the varieties of Jay Chou’s music styles, is that it offers an opportunity to extract the China Wind phenomenon from an industrial political economy perspective, rather than simply attributing its success to the synchronisation of a safe and approachable Chineseness and a ‘Greater China’ open market.

JR Yang also referred to the language Jay Chou uses as *Hua-wen* instead of using the term ‘Chinese’; he also used the phrase *Huaren* (華人) repeatedly to describe those locations where Jay Chou’s music is most influential:

Hong Kong in the past, Taipei in the past, and Beijing in the past, were three completely different worlds. As for now, because of the dissemination of information and economic and transportation developments, this enables people to fly around, so the three locations have become less different. That is why, after the 1990s, Jay Chou’s music had the chance to thrive in these three places, and in fact more than these three: Singapore, Malaysia, anywhere there are *Hua-ren*. This has a lot to do with how information is disseminated.

As Chun (1996) argues, there have been different terms used to refer to dynamic communities of ethnic Chinese, and the use of these terms is important both on a semantic and pragmatic level. As explained in Chapter 2, phrases such as ‘people of the Han’ (*Hanren*, 漢人) and ‘people of the Tang’ (*Tangren*, 唐人) are both widely used. *Huaren* (華人), which originated in the concept of *Hua-hsia* (華夏), emphasises the cultural pride of the Han people. This use of these terms evokes both ‘political legitimacy and historical destiny’ (Chun, 1996, p.116), while stressing cultural uniqueness that serves to anchor Chineseness in Taiwan. While ‘People of the Middle Kingdom’ (中國人) is no longer able to include ethnic Chinese who have experienced various travel routes, life experiences, and consumer

behaviours, *hua* as a cultural descriptor that indicates a civilizing centre in predynastic times that united different polities and people from diverse ethnicities (Chun, 1996). This functions as a way to broadly define the potential audience scattered across various regions and nations as connected by the consumption of popular music. The phrase is traditionally framed against the *yi* (夷), the barbarian and the foreign. At a time when the meaning of Chineseness is unstable, complex, and fragile, the notion of *hua* serves as a way-out for the pop music industry, while helping it to target an audience and market.

While *hua* represents a vaguely constructed community that broadly includes ethnic Chinese across national borders, those ‘Others’ who do not belong to this in-group are mainly foreign nationals. In the interview with JR Yang, it was clear that people who produce Western or Anglo-American music – *laowai* (老外) to use his terms – are perceived as authenticating the value of popular music. *Laowai* can be translated as ‘old outsider’ and is a slang term for ‘foreigner’ in Mandarin Chinese. This conceptualisation does not only have an impact on the industrial sector producing and promoting music; sometimes it manifests itself more directly, namely in the music itself or in artists’ speech. When Jay Chou was a coach on *The Voice of China* (2015), he encouraged his team’s participants to ‘Sing more China Wind, Chinese music is the coolest!’ Along with this rhetoric, *laowai*, Chinese culture or the *hua* community’s Other can be both subverted and competed with. JR Yang described *zhongguofeng* as a new hybrid species that has emerged from this competition:

Actually, the contemporary popular music, all of it is western stuff. Why are there guitars in Chinese music? Drum sets? Bass? It should be *guzheng*... that is what we would call Chinese music. Chinese music used to be composed in *gōng* (工), *shāng* (商), *jué* (角), *zhǐ* (徵) and *yǔ* (羽), the five-tone scale, so what we do now is western music.(...) ¹⁶ If we use an agricultural product as our metaphor, *zhongguofeng* music might be a new species of vegetable. Foreigners (*laowai*) may not know them; some of these vegetables are unfamiliar to their own tastes. But for us it is something to be proud of.

Even though it was noticeable that both JR Yang and Jay Chou spoke of China Wind style with a distinct sense of cultural pride, the genre being distinguishable from other music styles

¹⁶ In the interests of clarity and accuracy, ‘...’ represents an interviewee's deliberate hesitation, ‘(...)’ indicates a researcher-inserted ellipsis.

Jay Chou uses, China Wind has seemed to decline in popularity in the Mandopop market from the 2010s. In a recent interview, David Tao (2018), a singer who has also produced music in the China Wind style, has suggested that China Wind pop has not been heard for a while and perhaps it is time to ‘bring it back’. Even without follow-up China Wind songs as successful as Jay Chou’s work in the 2000s, the strong association between China Wind pop and listeners’ sense of pride and cultural proximity are still evident on national stages, such as the closing ceremony of the Beijing Olympics or talent shows such as *The Voice of China*. If music styles have an ancestral home, the question about the way popular music travels poses a dilemma: how long does it take for popular music produced outside of the western world – particularly the Anglo-American world – to be identified as local? What methods can we use to measure its localness? Can we define it by music style, genre, or the language the lyrics were written in? Scholars have long criticised the West/Rest paradigm in discussions of pop culture (Chen, 2010; Iwabuchi, 2014, 2017; Chua, 2010; Cho, 2017). The dichotomy between East and West has served as a foundation for critiques and theorisation, even when researchers called for de-westernisation (Iwabuchi, 2014). Cho (2016) points out this fallacy by re-examining the pre-existing conditions in which ‘the global is always and already in the national and the regional’ (p.19).

As for Jay Chou’s music, which is hybrid as JR Yang described, it contains references to Japanese culture in his song ‘Ninja’ (2001) while another song, ‘Chapter Seven’ (2006), relates a Sherlock Holmes story set in London. Yet another, ‘Terrace Field’ (2003), employs the harmonic style of Taiwanese indigenous groups. In this way, Jay Chou’s music itself contains an interplay between the local, the national, and the global. The musicality of the artist is nurtured in the arena where this interplay takes place. His success is also an outcome of the dissemination of popular music at all three levels. Although Mandarin speakers are his music’s predominant audience and consumer group, neither the content of his music nor its popular music flows can be defined as intrinsically Chinese, Taiwanese, Asian, or Western. These oversimplifications, although useful when identifying various influences on his music, risk maintaining cultural essentialisms and dichotomies that strangle the understanding of popular music, especially music production and distribution outside of the Anglosphere.

The first thing JR Yang spoke of after I walked into his office, was that people tend to assume that JVR Music knew the exact recipe for commercial success, while in fact they did not. I was curious how Jay Chou’s business partner, who has worked with him since day one,

would describe the sophisticated process of music production as well as how *zhongguofeng* is created. He responded as follows:

Jay Chou is an artist with a strong visual orientation. His music usually comes with a vision already in his brain, then he writes music based on that. When you see his music videos or the film that he directed, there were many kinds of stories. It was already like that when he wrote music. For instance, the song ‘Nunchucks’ (2001), he said, ‘This is a song about nunchucks’, and then it was passed to Fang Wen-Shan. Later on Fang Wen-Shan wrote fantastic lyrics about nunchucks. Another case is ‘Shanghai 1943’. It was a ballad when he [Jay Chou] composed the melody, but Fang Wen-Shan did not like the theme he provided, then he wrote about an imaginary Shanghai back in 1943. It was labelled as *zhongguofeng* music again. The melody of ‘Shanghai 1943’ does not employ Chinese elements much. It was the lyrics that do. So sometimes it is Jay Chou’s imagination and vision, sometimes it’s Fang Wen-Shan adding or changing certain elements.

JR Yang’s examples provide an insight into the production dynamics of Chineseness by underlining it was the joint effort of many parties and sometimes required negotiation. To some extent Jay Chou’s individuality and ability to write and arrange music were evident right at the beginning of his career. When he was signed to Alpha Music, he composed all the melodies for his albums. To relate an Asian pop star to the concept of ‘independence’ might be viewed as unusual or incorrect, but both Alpha Music and JVR Music are not TNCs and small in size compared to the major labels. This artist’s success exemplifies the difficulty of making a clear distinction between ‘mainstream’ and ‘independent’ music solely according to the practices of music management and production. These distinctions may not align with how the artists are perceived in the market. In this case, the usefulness of such labels is questionable.

Hesmondhalgh and Meier (2014) argue since the grip of popular music production’s traditional gatekeepers has loosened, what comes with a seemingly easier entry into popular music industry is fierce competition. The notion of pop music ‘independence’ needs to be redefined due to drastic changes in terms of how music is produced and marketed. JVR Music, a production and management company, is a rather small-scale local company compared to the TNCs. Meanwhile Sony Music has been in charge of the distribution and publishing of all JVR artists. As a result, JVR artists produce their music using the

traditionally defined ‘independent, artist-centered approach, but distribute their music through large corporate companies. Their music styles are usually considered as mainstream Mandopop, demonstrating that ‘independent’ is not necessarily a label clearly signifying the conditions governing industrial organisation.

Other JVR artists have not yet enjoyed the same level of popularity as Jay Chou. In fact, it has been a challenge for any musicians to surpass him. JR Yang implies that the company is willing to invest more resources in new talent from its existing revenue stream and is trying out new styles on new artists. The company’s existing success creates some space for new and risky market ventures. JR Yang refers to Jay Chou’s phrase and says the aim of JVR is to make music that is *diao* and ‘cool’. These strategies reflect a local flexibility and sensitivity to the taste of the local market, and they also indicate the ability to allocate funds to test out the market. When asked about the pressure of keeping up the production of China Wind pop music, JR Yang said that, as a work partner, he gave Jay Chou and Fang Wen-Shan feedback according to his own judgement, also regarding market sales, but eventually it is the artists’ call to write or not to write certain types of music.

5.3.2 School Education: The Imagination of a Faraway Land

As previously mentioned, from 1949 onwards nationalist education in Taiwan’s schools has emphasised the ROC’s unquestionable Chineseness while the Mainland was ‘stolen and occupied’ (竊占) by Communist bandits (共匪). From promoting the publication of classical Chinese literature and philosophy, to strategically including these productions in education, the ROC regarded itself as the guardian of Chinese culture. Chang (2010) argues that in the education system during martial law, Taiwan was rendered invisible, whereas ‘the hidden protagonist of the lesson “Taiwan” was in fact the mainland’ (p.401). Although Jay Chou’s music was made 10 years after the lifting of martial law and fuses many styles, while reflecting on his music it became clear that all of the interviewees identified China Wind as his signature style. The participants who liked Jay Chou’s Chinese-style music explained that this was because they associated it with a love for, or familiarity with, Chinese language and culture:

I like JJ Lin’s song ‘River South’ (*jiang nan*) (...) I feel privileged to be able to understand the language and the culture, so I could appreciate its beauty. After all, we

have studied the history and geography of ‘the other side’ for so many years (...).
(Becky)¹⁷

After the abolition of martial law in 1987, Taiwanisation, which stressed Taiwan’s local history and identity, has become even more prominent, in particular post-2000 when the school curriculum underwent a number of reforms. However, even though I was born after the lifting of martial law, during my elementary and high school days, we could always read familiar sayings on plaques in the student halls and sometimes on the back of our textbooks:

Be a student with a lively spirit;
Be a Chinese with an upright character.
做個活活潑潑的好學生;
做個堂堂正正的中國人。

Familiarity with Chinese culture does not merely result from the fact that approximately 97% of Taiwanese are ethnic Han (Executive Yuan, 2016). Rather familiarity is a result of the KMT’s education policies: constructing China as a ‘homeland’ (Chang, 2010) occupied by the CPC while declaring itself as descended directly from Chinese culture and virtues. Although Taiwanization has gradually introduced more local perspectives in education, especially since 2000, many respondents still connect China Wind songs with their high school education:

I associate the lyrics with what I learned from high school, especially history class. Even my mom finds Jay Chou’s lyrics easy to like. They are beautiful with no superfluous words. (Andrea)¹⁸

Rhoda¹⁹ is a second-year student who minors in Chinese Literature. She had a habit of copying out lyrics that she likes by hand, and admitted that during high school she had

¹⁷ Becky, personal interview in National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, 16 October 2015.

¹⁸ Andrea, personal interview in National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, 16 October 2015.

¹⁹ Rhoda, personal interview in National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, 16 October 2015.

handwritten half of the book that Fang Wen-Shan and Jay Chou composed to explain the cultural references used in their songs.²⁰

I love hand-copying lyrics. There is one song in which Jay Chou portrays alleys in Northern China. I had never known anything like that until listening to the song (...) He even uses a dialect in Northern China in his songs, and this aroused my interest in the cultural background (...) I think this leads to my being more successful in Geography, Chinese Geography specifically. I have a deep appreciation of the culture.

Although Rhoda is a lover of traditional Chinese literature, she still had misgivings about the education she received at high school. In a small-group interview, her friends joined the debate, emphasising their ambiguous feelings towards the education associated with ‘the other side’ as Becky had discussed earlier:

Rhoda: ‘It might sound too political (...) but why do we always have to study Chinese history to pass the exams when both sides are (...) separate?’

*Jenny*²¹: ‘Maybe I will never set foot in China in my entire life; why should I learn its history?’

Researcher: ‘But if you had not learned these things, would you understand these lyrics differently?’

Rhoda: ‘Very differently’

Researcher: ‘So, do you think these things should be taught or not?’

Andrea: ‘Maybe the number of chapters could be reduced?’

Chang (2010) argues that Chineseness has been embedded in post-war geography education in Taiwan via the deployment of various themes, including making territorial and sovereignty claims while expressing homesickness for the ‘Fatherland,’ which she sees as the result of a patriarchal imagination. Chang argues the rise of Taiwanese identity after the 1990s proves

²⁰ Fang Wen-Shan’s publications include two works written in 2008 dealing with lyrics wrote several books, including *Zhong guo feng: ge ci li de wen zi you xi* (China Wind: Word Games in Lyrics) (2008a) and *Qing hua ci: Yin cang zai you se li de wen zi mi mi* (Blue and White Porcelain: Secret Texts Hidden in the Glaze) (2008b).

²¹ Jenny, personal interview in National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, 16 October 2015.

that the arbitrary construction of Chinese identity was problematic. Meanwhile, our interviewees in Taiwan grew up at a time when the reflexive consideration of Taiwanese/Chinese identity gradually became common. According to research by NCCU, from 1992 to 2015, the number of people willing to identify themselves exclusively as Taiwanese and not Chinese gradually increased (Election Study Center, N.C.C.U. 2016),²² while Balderas and Stockton's (2013) research also shows that Taiwanese/Chinese identity is no longer simply a binary struggle between the KMT, the nationalist party that used to control the state under a one-party authoritarian regime, and relatively younger supporters of the DPP. There is a more general expectation of Taiwanese self-awareness compared with twenty years ago, irrespective of political partisan affiliation. In other words, regardless of whether they voted for the KMT or DPP in previous elections, people in Taiwan overall identify themselves as Taiwanese, not as Chinese.

Although education is a key factor contributing to these perceptions, it is not the only one. In Allen's (2011) study of classical Chinese poetry in Taiwan, he argues that classical Chinese poetics is diffused through popular culture and the media, such as advertisements, new year couplets, Chinese idioms (*Chengyu* 成語), and so on. He points out that in traditional Chinese literature there is a specific cultural dynamic that encourages the circulation of these elements. This phenomenon is by no means unique to Taiwan, but can also be detected in other Chinese-speaking communities. Regardless of the question of whether Fang's lyrics can be categorised as modern vernacular poetry, the influence of traditional poetry is evident. In addition, Jay Chou's China Wind lyrics have even been adopted in language tests while Fang Wen-Shan's books have become part of school libraries, which has led to a certain canonisation of China Wind pop lyrics. These idioms, sayings and phrases certainly do not just belong to the elite, but are also part of popular culture.

5.3.3 Disturbance and Disconnectedness

Partisan affiliation is another theme that the informants often brought up in our discussions of Chineseness. The KMT was the only legitimate party and leader of the state during the authoritarian period. From 1977 onwards, the KMT regime began to be challenged by *Tang-*

²² Taiwanese/Chinese identification trend distribution in Taiwan (1992/06-2015/12) is a research project conducted by the Core Political Attitudes Trend Chart, Election Study Center, National Chengchi University.

wai (Outside of the Party 黨外) activists (Tsang and Tien, 1999), which led to a gradual process of democratisation. *'Tang-wai'* is a general term referring to those opposing the KMT at a time when it was still illegal to form another political party due to martial law. In 1986, a year before the official lifting of martial law, the DPP was founded by some Tang-wai activists, and went on to oppose the KMT in the arena of democratic politics. The DPP's position regarding relations with the PRC – although adjusting from time to time – has leaned towards claiming that Taiwan or the Republic of China, is sovereign and completely independent of the Mainland/PRC. The KMT's party flag consists of a white sun against a blue sky while the DPP's outlines the shape of Taiwan in green on a white cross, thereby in Taiwan the colour blue indicates the KMT while green stands for the DPP. Although in today's Taiwan, there are more than two political parties, whether a person is 'green' or 'blue' can still serve as a rough indicator of their inclination whether or not to identify Taiwan as independent of China:

The first time when I listened to 'Chrysanthemum Terrace' (2006) or 'Far Away' (2006), I felt a distance, as these are stories of another era. It has nothing to do with us. When I was in high school, I got to know some online societies in the Mainland, thus I realised that Mainlanders are not that bad. Because my family is 'green'; this has something to do with their attitudes. For example, my father thinks he will never want to go to the Mainland in his whole life. He just doesn't want to. This is his ideology and he does not care what other people think. On my mom's side, my grandfather retreated to Taiwan with the KMT government. In the whole family, only my mom is 'green' and everyone else is 'blue'. The concept passed down in my family has always been: The Mainland is the Mainland; Taiwan is Taiwan. (Penny)²³

Tina,²⁴ who suggested we had another interview a week later because she wanted to think about why she listened to pop music, stated that, intuitively speaking, she did not want to listen to any China Wind songs. She then explained why:

I never liked this type of music even when friends around me liked it. I couldn't describe why but now I think I can. (...) Deep down, I was convinced that acknowledging China was equivalent to disapproval of Taiwan. When I was little my

²³ Penny, personal interview in National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, 27 October 2015.

²⁴ Tina, personal interview in Taipei, Taiwan, 30 October 2015.

parents told me that some businessmen and entertainers were afraid to say they were from Taiwan because of the pressure from China. (Tina)

Another interviewee, Allen²⁵, explained the process of defining what China Wind pop music meant to him, in which his questions of personal and Taiwanese identity became intertwined.

When I was little, the media loved to specify the ‘Chinese style’ that Jay Chou’s music had created. Even Jay Chou himself claims that he would like to have China Wind songs on all of his albums. I had a vague feeling that, compared to western music, these songs were more local, and closer to who I am. After I grew up, I finally had the ability to decide: these songs do not have much connection with me. (Allen)

The Chineseness presented in China Wind songs caused a sense of disturbance in Tina’s musical experience. She felt that, as a musical style, it went against some values that she held growing up in her family. Both of their responses show that music – whether it is enjoyed or disliked – is part of a negotiation of identities that changes over time, whether on a personal or collective level. As Frith (2004) has suggested, defining some music as ‘bad’ is how listeners establish their place in various musical worlds. Apart from listeners’ aesthetic judgements, a disconnectedness between ‘Who I am’ and ‘Who the song is suggesting I am’ might lead to a complex response and the decision to reject Jay Chou’s China Wind songs from their favourite song lists.

5.3.4 Questions of Taiwanese-ness: The Case of Fire EX.’s ‘Island’s Sunrise’

From 1949 to 1987, the official discourse of national identity in Taiwan was built on the unquestionable Chineseness that the ROC had to offer. As noted, there is a history of KMT hostility to languages other than Mandarin. However, although Taiwanese (Taiyu) is a language many speak, music lyrics using the language were less common in mainstream popular music until the late 1980s, while in the mid-1980s the nativist social movement created a space for Taiyupop to revive and transform (Ho, Tung-Hung, 2009; Ho, Wai-Chung, 2015). This was referred to as the New Taiwanese Song Movement (*xin taiyuge yundong*). Blacklist Studio’s album *Songs of Madness* (1989) was revolutionary. Since then,

²⁵ Allen, personal interview in National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, 20 October 2015.

music acts including Wu Bai (伍佰) and Lim Giong (林強) have made Taiyupop more popular with the youth. Mayday, inarguably the most popular band in the Chinese-speaking world since the 2000s, have had many ground-breaking hits in Taiyu. Many members of Taiwan's music audience born after 1990 have listened to Mayday's songs when they were in school. When asked what song best represents them, Andrea answered:

Andrea: If there's a song that defines our generation, it might be 'Island's Sunrise' (...) Fire EX. is known as a Taiwanese band with a strong local identity.

Researcher: Have you participated in the 318 Movement?

Andrea: We were in our final year in high school. Exams kept us busy (...) I don't think I understand those issues well enough, but seeing the news, I knew we were in the middle of a significant event.

While we were discussing musical experiences, a song that participants mentioned very often when asked what songs spoke to them most was 'Island's Sunrise' by the punk rock band Fire EX. from the southern city Kaohsiung. While 'Blue and White Porcelain' won 'Best Song' at the Golden Melody Awards in 2008, 'Island's Sunrise' won the same award in 2015. Considered by some interviewees as the best expression of their identity, this rock song sung in Taiyu was written and recorded for an exceptional occasion, as a request from protesters participating in the Sunflower Movement (318 Movement) in 2014.

On 18 March 2014, protestors broke into the Legislative Yuan in Taiwan at night and started a 24-day occupation after the ruling KMT forced the Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (CSSTA) with the PRC to a final vote without a clause-by-clause review as had been promised. This raised public concerns over various issues, including increased dependence on the PRC's economy. Sam Yang, the lead singer of Fire EX., entered the Legislative Yuan on 21 March, and then he wrote the song, recorded it with the band, and put it online on 23 March. Unconventionally, compared with the usual production process of carefully crafted mainstream pop music, 'Island's Sunrise' was produced and released online within three days, closely linked to a social movement, and subsequently widely recognised as the movement's anthem.

'Island's Sunrise' is sung in Taiwanese Hokkien as already mentioned, and is accompanied by electric guitar, bass, drums, strings and piano. The sound of the piano throughout the

whole piece brings a sense of tenderness to this rock song that is juxtaposed with the military beats on the snare drum in the first chorus. In the last few repetitions of the chorus, the background vocals join in to sing in unison and this creates a sociable atmosphere encouraging the audience to sing along:

Dawn is near. Let's sing it out loud,
Until the rays of hope shines upon everyone on the island.
Dawn is near. Let's sing it out loud.
Once the sun reaches the mountain,
Then it's time to go home.
Today is the day for the brave Taiwanese.

天色漸漸光 咱就大聲來唱著歌
一直到希望的光線 照著島嶼每一個人
天色漸漸光 咱就大聲來唱著歌
日頭一(足百)上山 就會使轉去啦
現在是彼一工 勇敢的台灣人

The song itself, from the context in which it was written to its content, symbolises the tension between the two sides of the straits. The reason why the CSSTA generated objections was mainly due to suspicion of the PRC and KMT governments, as the latter seemed to be leaning towards the PRC in its economic policies. Protesters embraced values such as freedom of speech, democracy and Taiwanese identity, which might be compromised if Taiwan was unified with the Mainland, whether by military force or economic power. During the occupation, musical performances were staged both inside and outside the Legislative Yuan, and music became a medium for the opposition's voice to be heard. One student who I interviewed, Leo,²⁶ was one of the musicians who taught the protesters to sing 'Island's Sunrise' after it was written. He was at the frontline when the protest took place and expressed his mixed feelings about the band and the song, then he outlined how he understood the topics and emotions in the music:

²⁶ Leo, personal interview in National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, 15 October 2015.

I've always liked Fire EX. Although I feel slightly embarrassed saying this now because, after the 318 Movement, it seemed to become a 'trendy' thing to like the band (...) Fire EX.'s members are older than us; they must have gone through a phase of struggling with identity issues: I grew up in Taiwan and I like it here – why would someone say I am Chinese? Why can't I speak out that 'I am Taiwanese'? Why will I be rejected if I say I am Taiwanese overseas? There is so much contradiction emotionally (...) I think Fire EX. has embodied the sense of emotional embarrassment of a whole generation.

5.3.5 China Wind Pop Music and Its (In)Authenticity

While identity perception is one reason that stops some audiences in Taiwan from embracing China Wind music as 'their own', however – and as for any other music – the matter of personal taste contributes to the different reception of a given musical style. For the respondents who had heard of China Wind songs but were ambivalent about the style, their responses cited the repetitiveness of its themes, the feeling that China Wind songs were too 'rustic,' the lyrics were 'pretentious', or that the version of Chinese culture presented lacks substance. While discussing these issues, the interviewees revealed the reasons why they either do not appreciate China Wind songs or prefer some to others. Some believe that China Wind music falls short aesthetically; some argue that it undermines the authenticity of Chinese music. While making these critiques, the way interviewees memorised and referred to certain songs easily – Jay Chou's in particular – reveals their familiarity with the content, while not even being fans of these songs:

*Shawn*²⁷: I don't really like Fang Wen-Shan's lyrics. Sometimes they whine over nothing. On the surface, it might look beautiful. (...) The reason why I find it pretentious is that it's half vernacular Chinese, half classical. When it's only half traditional, it feels pretentious.

²⁷ Shawn, personal interview in National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, 9 October 2015.

*Daniel*²⁸: He uses the imagery that pop songs usually use but expresses it in a “more Chinese” way. For instance, “The azure colour expecting the misty rain, I am waiting for you” – why can’t you just say “I am waiting for you” [laughs]?

Shawn: “Your hair is like snow, it made our farewell beautiful...” What is that anyway? It looks beautiful, but it is nothing more than that.

The use of Chinese musical or lyrical elements by the Taiwanese band Sodagreen was liked by some audiences in both Taiwan and China. Their album released in 2013, *Autumn: Stories*, incorporated the sounds of the guzheng and erhu. As one of the more successful indie bands from Taiwan, Sodagreen are not known for making China Wind songs, but are famous for their extraordinary song writing. As Sodagreen was intending to produce a series of albums on a ‘four seasons’ theme and was trying to find a city theme for each season, they selected Beijing for the autumn album. The vocalist and main songwriter, Wu Tsing-Fong (□青峯), was a Chinese literature major in university. In fact, Wu attended Chengchi University, the same university that Shelly²⁹, Zoey³⁰, and most of the informants attend. Shelly and Zoey know each other well and scheduled time to chat with me together, where they expressed their appreciation for Sodagreen’s lyrics, comparing them with Jay Chou and Wang Leehom’s China Wind style:

Shelly: Fang Wen-Shan might have the knowledge but he doesn’t have the same talent [as Tsing-Fong has]. (...) In junior and senior high school, I adored Fang Wen-Shan, I thought he was brilliant. After I grew up, the appreciation for the melody still remains but, as for the lyrics, if you study them enough, they pile up some vocabulary, but they’re not all that impressive.

Zoey: Maybe it’s because of their education background? After all, Tsing Fong was a Chinese literature major.

However, perhaps due to fact that Chengchi University is one of the most prestigious universities in Taiwan and students usually have to score highly in entrance exams to get in,

²⁸ Daniel, personal interview in National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, 9 October 2015.

²⁹ Shelly, personal interview in National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, 13 October 2015.

³⁰ Zoey, personal interview in National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, 13 October 2015.

the two informants associated their reflections on higher education with the sophistication of Wu's lyrics. Although the comparison between Jay Chou and Sodagreen might seem to align with the traditional sense of the rock/pop or mainstream/indie division, in this case it would be an over-simplification to attribute it to such a divide. The description of Sodagreen's music as having more depth, that their lyricist is more educated and can be appreciated by people with more cultural understanding, implies the appreciation of popular music – though fragmented – still reflects values, beliefs, and identities on a personal or collective level. In this case, beliefs shaped by academic elitism.

In addition to lyrics, orchestration is another area that participants used to measure authenticity. Larry³¹ reveals that he was trained in a 'national music' (*guo yue* 國樂) orchestra in elementary school; he plays the *dizi* and *suona*. His criticism of China Wind pop music is based on his musical experience and expectations regarding a 'real crossover':

I have been trying to find a fusion of Chinese music and pop music. I listened to China Wind pop songs when they just became popular, but I have always thought it was a pure sales gimmick to employ these Chinese musical elements. It is not a real crossover (...).

As previously indicated, even for Taiwanese born after 1990, the understanding of Chinese culture and music was derived largely from their education. 'National music' along with 'national opera' (Guy, 2005), were emblematic of national identity according to the state's agenda. Larry's description of playing 'national music' does not necessarily reflect identity on a personal level. However, the ROC's appropriation of traditional Chinese music functions as a form of 'internal cultural colonialism' (Stokes, 1994), and the outcome of this are manifested through the way interviewees, although born after the lifting of martial law, are well aware of the contestation between the ROC, the PRC and Taiwan, still naturally referring to traditional Chinese music as a national music in their everyday discourse. Apart from the authenticity the ROC claims to possess, Shih (2003) argues that Chinese cultural universalism is also capitalised with the *Taishang* (Taiwanese businessmen 台商) communities in the PRC after opening up. In this case, such cultural universalism parallels the economic universalism that underlines a certain pan-Chineseness. What remains

³¹ Larry, personal interview in National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, 12 October 2015.

unresolved is that the desire to represent an authentic Chinese culture in itself contradicts ‘efforts to delineate Taiwan culture against Chinese culture’ (Shih, 2003, p.148).

Many of our interviewees – such as Ruby³² and Jenny³³ – have experienced migration due to their family members working as *Taishang* in the Mainland. These transnational flows of people and commodities have the potential to challenge or strengthen preconceived national and cultural boundaries. Ruby went to elementary school in the PRC, and reflected on how Jay Chou’s music was important for her and her Taiwanese friends, in the sense of acting as a ‘reconfiguring agency’ to use DeNora’s (1999) phrase:

I started to listen to more pop music when I was a third-year elementary school student in the Mainland. Most Taiwanese children there were bored. We were not familiar with the outside world, so we chose to listen to lots of music. Mainland China is huge. It took us so long to get to school. I remember how we played pop music on the coach, opened all the windows and sang along out loud. We listened to a lot of Jay Chou’s songs. (Ruby)

Apart from this unsettled relationship between Taiwanese and Chinese cultures, another yardstick that the interviewees often used to judge artistic and cultural authenticity concerned musicians’ origins. In these discussions, their origins are symbolic of the extent to which their Chineseness is embodied in their music, an indicator that is itself contested:

Shelly: I don’t think we should compare the lyric writing between Wang Leehom and Fang Wen-Shan. Wang Leehom does not intend to pursue literality like Fang does. I like ‘Heroes of the Earth’ a lot. The lyrics are not as beautiful but you can get a sense of his spirit and culture.

Zoey: After all Wang is an ABC (American-born Chinese). The way he tells a story and his arrangement is different from Taiwan-born artists. (Both interviewed on 13 October 2015)

³² Ruby, personal interview in National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, 16 October 2015.

³³ Jenny, personal interview in National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, 16 October 2015.

Leo: He [Wang Leehom] seems to be a mixture of a foreigner and someone who claims to have Chinese blood and part of the Chinese nation... I think maybe that is why I think it is a mismatch. (Interviewed on 15 October 2015)

Shelly: JJ Lin is not a Chinese. I like 'Rive South' a lot since I was in sixth grade. For someone who's not from the nation, his interpretation of the song is amazing.' (Interviewed on 13 October 2015)

Although authenticity was not a word the interviewees actively used, several layers of issues around cultural authenticity were embedded in their critiques of China Wind pop music's worthwhileness. These included: firstly, if the work is presented with creativity and originality; secondly, if Chinese musical and lyrical elements are employed truthfully, appropriately and in a sophisticated manner; finally, if the musicians represent where they are from through their music in a way that the audience acknowledges and accepts.

5.4 Multiple 'Chineseness-es': No Longer a Sense of 'We'

I followed a music curation class in National Chengchi University during my time in Taiwan in order to recruit interviewees while also taking the opportunity to observe the students. In one lecture, a student made a presentation about his experiences at a festival held in both Taipei and Shanghai. In class, there was a discussion about the differences in the respective live music scenes and local music making. The lecturer asked the students how they could tell a 'Mainland Chinese sound' when listening to music. One student answered, 'the accents in vocal music,' while another said, 'it sounds wider'.

To some extent this question relates to the research question this thesis has asked: How is Chineseness in popular music perceived by audiences from different backgrounds? To identify a particular sound that embodies a Mainland Chineseness is challenging and perhaps unrealistic, since any descriptors will fail to be precise. However, this process might be welcome practice for future music curators. For many interviewees, a 'Mainland Chinese sound' is something they experience through music, since many younger Taiwanese view having a Chinese identity as largely irrelevant compared to previous generations. As Stokes (1994) argues, music provides not only a sense of place but also boundaries that separate different locations. While a sense of place can be constructed and communicated, for some of

the Taiwanese audiences interviewed here, Chineseness will always signify someone else's homeland.

Many interviewees see musical *zhongguofeng* as a way to explore China while also being aware of Chinese identities' inherent multiplicity, which is particularly evident when they describe contemporary China's regional and ethnic differences. Their thinking reflects what Rey Chow (1998a) has termed 'Chineseness-es', a concept that also problematises the relationship between Jay Chou and musical *zhongguofeng*. The interviewees named various musical acts whose songs can be described as *zhongguofeng*, which recalls JR Yang's claim that *zhongguofeng* was not invented by Jay Chou. The songs the interviewees named are mostly known to them via the internet. Musical *zhongguofeng*, to the ear of some Taiwanese audiences, is not necessarily reflected by a well-crafted repertoire developed by mainstream music companies, rather they find it in the UGC (user-generated content) they can access on innumerable internet platforms. As Chapter 4 has indicated, the prosumers (producers/consumers) of Ancient Wind (*Gufeng*) music create a different paradigm for how Chineseness in popular music is created and consumed:

There was a period of time I really, really, really loved *zhongguofeng* music, not only such music from Taiwan. When you were asking questions I thought of that time. I downloaded many *zhongguofeng* songs. Some by singers I knew; some I didn't. Especially from the Mainland. (...) Have you heard of *Gufeng* music? Many of the singers are *amateur*, but a lot of songs sound quite *professional* and with a good sound quality (Penny).

When I listened to *zhongguofeng* music recently, I used online music platforms, such as Chinese Original Music Base (中國原創音樂基地). The song 'Blue Flowers in Water Ink Painting' (水墨青花) by Frequency Monster (音頻怪物), and another musician called Walker. Some songs will be on YouTube too. If earlier it will be Jay Chou, even earlier it might be Fei Yu-ching. (...) Because there are several regions in China, if you are thinking about Mongolia or Xinjiang, I would recommend Dao Lang (刀郎). (Andy)³⁴

³⁴ Andy, personal interview in National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, 7 October 2015.

Fiske (1989) claims that popular culture is made by people who actively use and subvert cultural commodities. In this sense, how *zhongguofeng* encompasses a wide variety of musical styles also confirms Firat and Venkatesh's (1995) understanding that the postmodern consumer is not a unified subject, as consumers do not attempt to reconcile contradictions in order to create a unified experience, particularly given that contradictions are an existential condition (p.260). The experience and perception of *zhongguofeng* is never unified; the plurality of Chineseness is no longer just theoretical, but rather audible and experienced:

*Ann*³⁵: When I watched YouTube videos, listening to the way they sing and reading the lyrics on the screen, I can tell obviously that the singers are from China by the accents and the characters (which use simplified/traditional Chinese), because I do not listen to much independent or niche music. Like Ma Dee (馬頔), his songs are great, but I think it is harder to understand them on a cultural level. For instance, Song Dongye's lyrics use phrases like 'wild horses' and 'grassland'. When I heard these terms, I felt these differences were displayed and there was a boundary between the audience who understand this and myself. When I listen to Chinese music, I sense that I have never experienced this 'one China'; therefore the more I think I'm Taiwanese, there's a sense of division created by music.

Larry: I'm sure local Chinese people, let's say if they grew up in Beijing, may not all have seen wild horses and grassland the way the lyrics describe...

Stokes emphasises how music can perform a knowledge of a place. He also argues that music not only provides the means by which people recognise identities and places, it also underlines the boundaries that separate them. While there is contextualised information about given songs or specific genres, music also actively articulates a knowledge of those places and the listeners' relation to them (Stokes, 1994, pp. 3-5). In other words, music can offer a sense of belongingness, but also a sense of disengagement. Stokes also argues that music acts as a marker of social place while also transforming the latter, namely the 'knowledge' of one place or another being performed, thus knowledge plays a role in the definition and control of 'others'. As Frith (1996) argues, identity is an 'experiential process' that can be grasped in music (p. 110). What is particularly crucial in the perceptions of China Wind music and the

³⁵ Ann, personal interview in National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, 12 October 2015.

Chineseness recognized in it, is that it also draws boundaries that separate places, through which an audience in Taiwan hears the sound of the other side, as well as the sound of the Other.

Family histories may influence the ways in which people engage with identity issues while signifying the complex essence of multifaceted identities. One interviewee, Calvin,³⁶ revealed this identity struggle associated with his family history. Calvin's family, whose ancestors were members of the royal family in the Qing Dynasty, have been moving across continents since the Chinese civil wars. They had to flee from the Mainland when the CPC took control as the party was anti-feudal in principle. When the family came to Taiwan, the KMT also saw them as a potential threat because of their associations with a previous dynasty. They then went to the United States instead, but the family returned to Taiwan about fifteen years ago after this precarious situation was resolved. They have experienced different aspects of Chineseness along their journey:

I've spent all my life trying to figure out my own relationship with 'China' (...) My feelings have changed year by year (...) I will never forget that when my whole family went to China for ancestor worship, my grandfather stood in front of the Forbidden City and said 'this could have been our home'. I thought it was a nonsense because I don't feel any connection at all (...). (Calvin)

5.5 Conclusions

This chapter has discussed how Jay Chou's China Wind pop evolved and became popular in Taiwan, and how the company manages and views this phenomenon. It also explores how the young generation felt familiar with the references in China Wind pop, however a sense of disconnection was also triggered. This case study reveals that due to Taiwan's political and economic history, its Mandopop has been influenced by hybrid transnational styles and production values. Meanwhile local industry practices are embedded in such transnational influences and many artists – such as Jay Chou – also target a larger neighbouring market, namely China. How Chineseness is perceived in Taiwan's music has taken a generational

³⁶ Calvin, personal interview in National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, 20 January 2016.

turn, from singing about how the ROC has ownership over Chinese culture, to othering and associating it with the PRC (Election Study Center, N.C.C.U. 2016). As a result, the construction and perception of Chineseness has become a field where all kinds of negotiations take place. Taiwanese audience's expectations of artists regarding their expressed national identities have become a notable issue, reflecting a particularly sensitive political and cultural environment. This could lead to Taiwan's popular music becoming even more vocal in terms of performing Taiwanese-ness, or continuing to offer a 'safe Chineseness' in response to its production conditions and market demands. This should be further explored due to the increasing cooperation between musicians from Taiwan, China, Hong Kong and elsewhere. Chapter 9, the Conclusion, will continue the discussion of these trends.

Chapter 6: Hong Kong

This chapter demonstrates how various versions of Chineseness in popular music were perceived by a young audience in Hong Kong at a time when the conflict between Beijing and Hong Kong escalated after the 2000s, and how music industry workers responded to these changes strategically. Opening with a general overview of the contemporary political history of Hong Kong, particularly the era of British colonisation and the handover, the chapter will discuss the production of popular music in Hong Kong, with a special focus on Cantopop and how its rise and fall reflects the Hong Kong music industries' varied experiences. This chapter will move on to examine how language education has an impact on the choice of music for the audience, as most of the interviewees started to listen to Mandarin pop music after learning Mandarin in school. The culture of 'Sing K' (singing karaoke), is also a main source for them to learn new songs. Overall, Jay Chou's China Wind music is known to the Hong Kong audience due to his own popularity, their Mandarin classes in school, and their experiences singing karaoke. The audience does not tend to ask identity questions such as the politics of the Chineseness expressed in his China Wind music.

However, G.E.M. (鄧紫琪) often came up as a topic in these interviews. The Hong Kong singer successfully developed her career in the Mainland, while issues such as her perceived loss of authenticity, the audience's opinions of her music, and the complexity of a Chinese/Hong Kong identity were mentioned and will be examined further here. This chapter will also discuss increased migration or travelling from the Mainland and the how this movement has impacted on how mainland Chineseness is perceived as well as tensions between Hong Kong and the Mainland alongside musicians, audiences, and music critics' responses to the latter.

6.1 Political and Social History of Hong Kong

After the Qing dynasty lost the first opium war, between 1842 to 1898, the island of Hong Kong and Kowloon peninsula became British colonies and the new territories were leased to Britain rent-free. After being under British rule for more than a century, in 1984 the People's Republic of China and the United Kingdom reached an agreement to transfer Hong Kong's sovereignty to the PRC in 1997. Hong Kong became a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the PRC, and began following a policy called 'one country, two systems'. According to the

policy, it was guaranteed that Hong Kong's 'social and economic systems will remain unchanged' in order to maintain its status as an international trade and financial centre (Sino-British Joint Declaration, 1984). Beijing would station troops in Hong Kong to ensure national security, but would not interfere in Hong Kong's internal affairs. These policies are meant to remain unchanged for 50 years after Hong Kong's handover.

Under British rule, Hong Kong developed as a leading global financial centre. Hong Kong's hybrid culture was embodied by its film production scene and the emergence of Cantopop. As Chun (1996) argues, this culture which seemed to 'effortlessly fuse East and West' was a result of 'the promotion of utilitarianism as ethos and life routine [which] also broke down the rigid distinctions between Chinese and western culture' (p.121). However, Chu (2012) has suggested that – given the recent development of other Chinese cities such as Shanghai and Shenzhen – Hong Kong is no longer the only globalised Chinese city.

Frictions between Beijing and Hong Kongers increased gradually after 1997. Officials have attempted to enhance local identification with China by introducing 'national education' whereby ethno-cultural Chinese nationalism is promoted (Tse, 2014). In September 2014 and facing the Committee of the National People's Congress's decision on reforms regarding the future of Hong Kong's Chief Executive and Legislative Council elections, Hong Kong came to understand that Beijing does not intend to create a democratic electoral system as they had hoped. The 'Occupy Central with Love and Peace' movement that followed on 28 September, was proclaimed as a civil disobedience campaign. It was later referred to as the 'Umbrella Revolution' (Lee, 2014; Chan and Tsui, 2014; Barber, 2014) and caught the attention of the global media. Tensions between the police force and the protesters escalated during the three months of the occupation, which led to a greater mistrust of the Special Administrative Region government. Apart from the Umbrella Revolution, a series of conflicts and demonstrations broke out in the 2010s, including protests over national and moral education (Chong, 2013), the PRC's media censorship (Jacobs, 2014), Beijing's interpretation of the *Basic Law* on Legislative Council oaths (Cheung, 2016), and so on.

6.2 Popular Music in Hong Kong and Cantopop

6.2.1 History of Cantopop

In the 1950s, some of the immigrants arriving at Hong Kong were upper class refugees escaping the communist regime. At the time they were seen as culturally elite and introduced Mandarin popular songs. As Hong Kong was then under British colonial rule, there was an association between the consumption of English or Mandarin music and possession of cultural capital. As a result, industrialised popular music in Cantonese was not yet mainstream (Fung and Shen, 2012). Political, social, and economic history has always been a driving force behind the formation of this location's fluid and shifting identity. As the number of immigrants from Guandong Province kept on growing in the 1950s, by the 1960s and 1970s a local Hong Kong identity was gradually framed, partly due to the fact that Cantonese-speaking radio and television stations were founded. The other key event that marked the changes in Hong Kong's cultural atmosphere was the Cultural Revolution's deep impact on Mainland China in the 1960s and 1970s. People in Hong Kong responded to this movement in two different ways: firstly, left wing movements in Hong Kong grew and this led to the 1967 riot; secondly, immigrants to Hong Kong after the Chinese civil wars saw themselves as preservers of an authentic Chinese culture. Some of them actively promoted Chinese identity while regarding their Chineseness as a genuine cultural basis for resistance against the British regime. (Chu, 2006)

As the development of the music business in mainland China was restricted due to anti-capitalism policies implemented from the 1950s onwards, some companies founded in the mainland moved to Hong Kong, such as Great Wall Records (大長城唱片) (Fung and Shen, 2012); some international labels also set up branches in Hong Kong, such as the Netherlands-based Philips Records. These developments laid the foundation for the growth of music industries that gradually led to the production and consumption of Cantopop, which emerged in the 1970s and peaked in the 1980s and early 1990s. Ranging from Samuel Hui (許冠傑) in the 1970s, Anita Mui (梅艷芳) and Leslie Cheung (張國榮) in the 1980s, and the Four Heavenly Kings- Jacky Cheung (張學友), Andy Lau (劉德華), Aaron Kwok (郭富城) and Leon Lai (黎明)- in the 1990s, Cantopop stars have been influential, even in non-Cantonese-speaking areas such as Taiwan, South East Asia, and Mainland China. (Wong, 2003)

Previous literature studying Cantopop has focused on its lyrics rather than its musical texts (Chow, 1992; Chu, 2003, 2008, 2013; Chow and de Kloet, 2013). Chu (2013, 2008) has

analysed how Cantopop lyrics reflected social and political issues in the 1960s and 1970s, while Chow (2009) has explored the ‘in-between-ness’ that he has experienced as a lyricist himself. Yiu-Fai Chow (周耀輝), a researcher and lyricist, has participated in the production of nationalistic songs (*minzu gequ*) and highlights the ‘micro politics of resistance’ (Chow, 2009, p.561) against the process of re-nationalising Hong Kong. Influential lyricists in the 1990s, such as Lin Xi (林夕), Wyman Wong (黃偉文), were said to be marketed in the same operational logic with the singers in the Cantopop market (Chow, 2007). These lyricists write Mandarin as well as Cantonese lyrics. Wong and Chu (2011) have suggested that there might be a perception of a reduction in opportunities for new lyricists due to the fact that the majority of work goes to established writers, a possible result of Fung and Shen’s (2012) and Wong’s (2003) argument that the strategies of record companies became more conservative after the decline of the recording music industry. They are more willing to copy proven patterns than to take risks and experiment with new ideas, in this case by employing those lyricists who have proven market-friendly and popular in the past.

Eason Chen (陳奕迅) and Joey Yung are two iconic singers who sang in Cantonese as well as Mandarin. The importance of reaching out to the wider Mandarin-speaking market was reflected when both singers started to produce Mandarin-language songs. Some of Eason Chen’s songs are recorded in both Cantonese and Mandarin versions. Twins, a female duo, released their debut Cantopop album in 2001, and this was seen as a commercial success at the same moment of Cantopop’s perceived decline in the 2000s. As much as Cantopop enjoyed wide popularity in Hong Kong, even in places where Cantonese is not the local language, Cantonese hip hop or rock music were also growing an audience. However, Wong (2003) argues that 1997 was a watershed year for Hong Kong’s recording industry, as it marked the beginning of a significant decline in music sales and revenue. (See table 6.)

| Year | Records | Revenue (billion pounds) |
|------|------------|-----------------------------|
| 1995 | 17,003,800 | 1.853 |
| 1996 | 18,001,300 | 1.691 |
| 1997 | 15,000,000 | 1.353 |
| 1998 | 10,000,000 | 0.916 |

Table 6. Number of Records Sold and Total Revenue in Hong Kong 1995 -1998
(Source: IFBI, Cited in Wong, 2003, p.169. Converted from HKD to GBP)

Wong (2003) argues that one key reason behind this decline is that Hong Kong is no longer the only place open to global cultures and with certain levels of freedom of speech in the region. Taiwan has opened up, and the PRC will soon. Production of local music has been growing in terms of both quality and quantity; Hong Kong no longer has the advantage of exporting music products to Taiwan or the PRC, but must compete with their respective local music products. Therefore, many researchers have focused on examining when, how, and why Cantopop started to decline and become less influential (Wong, 2003; Chu, 2013; Fung, 2009). The following section will examine how this gradual post-1997 decline has impacted on Hong Kong's music industries.

6.2.2 Cantopop Declines

It has been argued that several issues the Hong Kong music industries faced from 1997 onwards contributed to this decline, including Hong Kong's handover to China, China's growing economic and political power, a falling off in musical innovation, digitalisation, and the loss of income from recording sales. These factors are very much interrelated. James Wong (2003) claims that the phenomenal popularity Cantopop enjoyed in areas where Cantonese is not the local language was rather 'unreasonable [and] disproportionate' (p.183). Due to the unique position of Hong Kong as a British colony when the Communist Party of China took control of the mainland, after which the development and commercialisation of popular music was discouraged in the PRC, Cantopop as well as Hong Kong films found the space to grow and thrive. Eventually, these cultural products became influential in other Chinese-speaking areas.

Wong (2003) has concluded, slightly pessimistically, that

After Hong Kong's handover, although it is named as a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the PRC, it is in reality one of the Chinese cities, where the special characters of Hong Kong people are diminishing. It is becoming one member in 'the

Greater China' choir. Once in a while Hong Kong might have a chance to sing solo, but eventually it is a small part of a chorus piece (p.182).³⁷

This lively metaphorical description corresponds to the tradition of the popular television programme *The Voice of China* (later on *Sing! China*) in the 2010s, in which all the contestants line up and sing together in the final. Each of them gets to sing one line, while the subtitles on the side provide information about the given singer's background, such as 'Chinese Hong Kong' or 'Chinese Taiwan'. The categorisation of singers from Hong Kong and Taiwan was heavily criticised by netizens for its Sino-centric implications. This phenomenon and the discussions it has triggered will be explored further in the later chapters.

Chu (2009, p.144) claims it is crucial to consider if some actions have to be taken to keep the Cantopop brand alive, while he also admits that any strategy has to be an integrated plan that involves cultural and media policy. While declaring that the decline of popular music in Hong Kong is tangible for a lyricist/music industry worker, Chow (2013) also questions the usefulness of regions as central categories for the study of popular music, particularly given that the production and consumption of music increasingly crosses borders between China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. He has proposed that the circulation and transformation of music could be understood by applying the concept of 'floating' whereby the 'margins' can be subverted (p.252).

In music reality programmes such as *The Voice of China* and *I Am a Singer*, singers from Hong Kong participated in shows produced in the mainland, and some of them have enjoyed great success due to the resulting exposure. For instance, G.E.M. (鄧紫琪) was already an established singer in Hong Kong, but her fan base grew exponentially after she participated in the second season of *I Am a Singer* (2014). She then became the face of the Chinese launch of Apple Music. Her music career and the 'Mainland Chineseness' she was alleged to be constructing will be discussed as a case study later in this chapter. In Season Four of the same show, Coco Lee, a singer born in Hong Kong but who grew up in the US and first established her career in Taiwan, won first prize. This has reconfirmed potential flaws in the way music is categorised according to where it is produced or a given singer's origins as Yiu-Fai Chow

³⁷ Researcher's own translation from the original Chinese. The original text is as follow: '香港回歸中國, 雖然是“特別行政區”, 實際上已成中國的另一城市, 港人的獨特個性已經逐漸消失. 以後只能變成“大中華”隊伍的一員, 偶然獨唱, 也會是大合唱中的單一環節而已'. (Wong, 2003, p. 182)

has proposed, as producers and industry workers today are much more likely to work in different states/locations. Chow (2013) claims that even if there is a dominant sense of Chineseness constructed in popular music today, it is possible that a sense of ‘Hong Kong-ness’ penetrates or even subverts this.

However, questions concerning the contemporary character of Hong Kong-ness and how likely it is that its input influences new mechanisms of music production, are left unanswered. We must not forget that censorship, whether top-down or from musicians themselves, might restrict music from subverting dominant narratives. After the Umbrella Revolution in 2014, musicians including Denise Ho, Ellen Loo (盧凱彤), Kay Tse (謝安琪), and the lyricist Lin Xi, all of whom openly supported this movement, had to face various consequences, including concerts being cancelled and the revoking of award nominations. Many events in recent years suggested very different futures for musicians in Hong Kong. When the impact of major labels decreased as digitalization lowered music production barriers, in the 2000s some Hong Kong artists who used to be signed by labels and had gained a certain level of success, namely Anthony Wong Yiu-ming (黃耀明), Denise Ho and Ellen Loo, decided not to renew their contracts. These musicians are inclined to pursue a higher level of artistic and commercial autonomy. Due to her open criticism of Beijing, Denis Ho was arrested during the protests. This resulted in her being banned from performing in China and her songs were censored. (Phillips, 2016b)

To take Ellen Loo as an example, she released an album *Imperfections* in 2016 after she decided not to renew her contract with her label and has instead worked independently, tackling issues such as nuclear power, air pollution, marriage equality and her own personal experience of bipolar disorder. It is likely that her ‘independence’ has given her the opportunity to express herself more freely. Her focus on non-location specific social issues and the ability to compose in different languages suggests some new possibilities for future Hong Kong musicians, namely seeking out creative space regardless of censorship and circumstances, while making efforts to locate an audience that will pay for their music. However, many entertainers were still stopped from expressing political views in order not to offend the mainland Chinese market. It is important for researchers to examine the possibility for subversion to take place, as this might be the opportunity for a more democratic music culture to grow across China, Hong Kong and Taiwan.

6.2.3 Hong Kong Popular Music's Search for a Distinct Space

While studying cultural forms in Hong Kong, the literature has addressed issues concerning identity, especially concerning the 1997 handover. Rey Chow (1992, 1998b) has analysed Taiwanese-born singer Luo Dayou's music, which often refers to Hong Kong's postcoloniality. Chow has concluded that Luo's lyrics lead to a different notion of community, which is not based solely on 'coercions of blood, race, and soil'. She also described Hong Kong as 'a third space between the colonizer and the dominant native culture' (p.158); Hong Kong's postcoloniality is marked by what she refers to as a 'double impossibility' (p.153) as it is impossible for Hong Kong to submit to Chinese nationalist/nativist repossession or to submit to British colonialism. She points out that suggesting that Hong Kong can search for its locality after 'returning' to the 'mother nation' is itself as imperialistic as British colonisation.

The cultural theorist Ackbar Abbas's influential work *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance* was published in 1997, the year of the handover. He analysed the self-invention of cultural forms, particularly Hong Kong cinema, and then concluded that Hong Kong's 'hyphenated status' was a result of very special historical circumstances, in which the hyphenation 'refers not to the conjunctures of "East" and "West", but to the disjunctures of colonialism and globalism' (p.143). This status, as Abbas describes it, acts as a 'space of disappearance' but not a 'third space', as the latter seems to imply it is a stable physical space found in a prescribed condition, somewhere between the coloniser and the local culture.

As for Cantopop, it also situated in a space of disappearance. It is unlikely to duplicate the same level of commercial success due to the disappearance of certain circumstances. It is seeking a new space, as the site of production is no longer a colonial city while doubts concerning Chinese nationalist rhetoric are increasing. Although awareness and concerns about the decline of Cantopop have been raised by researchers (Wong, 2003; Chow, 2007; Chu, 2009, 2012; Fung, 2009), it is not viewed as entirely negative. Chow and De Kloet (2013) suggest that the future of Cantopop might contain within it the potential power of subversion; Fung (2009) has investigated how the rise and fall of Cantopop has taken place alongside the development of mass communication while also paralleling the development of different audio formats. He points out that 'emotive consumption' has become the main target for music products (p.39) and concludes that, in the internet age, the audience is able to surpass the mass media and explore how music relates to their emotions more independently.

Therefore, it is less likely that superstars will emerge as they did in the 1970s and 1980s, but a more diverse music culture that belongs to the public will also have a chance to grow.

6.3 Audiences and Industry Workers

In this section, I will explore some key themes the audience reflected on when they were asked to discuss their music experience in general as well as their involvement with China Wind music. These themes include Sing K (singing karaoke), a popular activity that the interviewees referred to as an arena to learn about new songs, as well as a space to socialise and to establish their musical taste as follows; I will first examine the singer G.E.M., whose music many interviewees described as ‘mainland Chinese style’, implying that she presents a different kind of Chineseness compared to Jay Chou. This is a case specific to Hong Kong in terms of the mixed feelings G.E.M. triggered as well as issues associated with Mainland/Hong Kong tensions; I will then engage with how industry workers’ have negotiated different stances and approaches to the mainland Chinese markets as exemplified by musicians such as Hinry Lau (劉卓軒),³⁸ producer Ng Yin (伍賢),³⁹ an anonymous musician, and two music critics from the Hong Kong Music Awards (HKMC2 香港樂評)⁴⁰. Their encounters with musical, political, and economic Chineseness will also be discussed. Finally, the chapter will debate whether a China Wind is blowing in Hong Kong, which version of Chineseness is being contested, and how the concept of ‘Chineseness’ itself is understood in this context. The identity negotiations of individuals who have experienced border-crossing will be highlighted.

6.3.1 Sing K

Many of the audience participants I interviewed in Hong Kong actively looked back to the karaoke sessions that usually took place when they were in secondary school. They expressed how important karaoke was as a leisure entertainment to them as well as the influence it has

³⁸ Hinry Lau. Interview conducted in Ngau Tau Kok, Hong Kong. In English and Mandarin, translated by the researcher unless otherwise stated, 19 Nov. 2015.

³⁹ NGyin. Interview conducted in Hong Kong. In Mandarin, 12 Nov. 2015.

⁴⁰ ChiKin (founder of HKMC2) and Baihe (music critic/judge for HKMC2 awards). Interview in conducted Hong Kong. In Mandarin, 8 Nov. 2015.

had on their knowledge of pop music. During the discussions they recalled the Cantonese term for singing in KTV, pronounced as ‘coeng3 kei1/唱 K’ (the number indicates the tones); the direct translation in English is ‘Sing K’. A study in 2005 points out that 20% of people aged 6-24 in Hong Kong consider karaoke singing as their primary leisure activity (cited in Fung and Shen, 2012, p.142). Both private and public karaoke is popular in Hong Kong. According to Wai-Chung Ho’s research conducted in 2002, of 647 Hong Kong junior secondary school students aged between 12-16, a total of 293 and 160 respectively said that home and public karaoke were their preferred spaces to sing, which outnumbered all other locations, including at school, friends’ homes, and choirs inside or outside of school (p.197).

Karaoke originated in Japan in the 1970s. The most common understanding of the term is ‘an abbreviated compound of two Japanese words: ‘kara’, from karappo (empty), and ‘oke’, an abbreviation for okesutura (orchestra)’ (Zhou and Tarocco, 2013, p.19). Mitsui (1998) has explained further that the prefix ‘kara-’ does not imply that the sound of the orchestra is ‘empty’, but it means that the orchestra on the recording is void of vocals. He also points out that the creation of karaoke was aided by the invention of tape-recording, which allowed recording companies to create tapes as an accompaniment for the singers to rehearse or sing to while on tour. The original function of this equipment was similar to what was called ‘music-minus-one’ in the American music industry. Later on it became a popular form of entertainment that amateurs enjoyed. Its influence spread to many Asian countries in the 1980s, including Hong Kong, Taiwan, China, Korea, the Philippines, Singapore and so on (Zhou and Tarocco, 2013). It became more popular worldwide in the 1980s and 1990s, including in the United States (Zimmerman, 1991), where karaoke gradually became a promotional tool for bars (Lum, 2005).

The social influence karaoke has brought to these locations is as powerful as its economic impact. As previously mentioned, many young people in Hong Kong saw karaoke as their primary leisure activity (Fung and Shen, 2012, p.142). Conventionally, the activity itself requires individual performances and group interactions; the benefits it could bring to one’s well-being has even attracted the attention of medical researchers. Due to its capacity to bolster self-image and increase social interactions, karaoke has been used by the Department of Psychiatry in Hong Kong Prince of Wales Hospital as a therapy for mental health patients since 1990 (Zhou and Tarocco, 2013, p.81). In our conversations with respondents, karaoke was not only referred to as a place to hang out, but also as a location where a group of people

exchange their knowledge of songs and engage in social bonding, an activity that has a significant impact on one's choice of music.

*Vicky*⁴¹: I liked Twins when I was little, but I do not think they are great at singing [laughs] (...). Because it is easy for me to sing their songs in karaoke. When I was little, if I hung out with my cousins in karaoke, we usually sang Twins' songs. They are easy to sing along to and that is why we love them ... I cannot sing Joey Yung's songs. Her key is way too high – I cannot sing them!

Researcher: What do you usually sing in KTV?

Anthony: Guys from our generation usually sing Eason Chen's songs.

Vicky: His style and lyrics are...

Anthony: More special... If you sing Twins' songs, you don't really need too many singing skills.

Vicky: They are easy so you don't have to practice in advance.

Anthony: There are some singers with great singing skills, we listened to their songs and learned how to sing in KTV.

*Jun-xuan*⁴²: When I was in secondary school, I never went to KTV with friends. They loved to listen to Jay Chou and sang his songs, but I searched out Japanese songs on YouTube myself. (Interviewed on 15 November 2015)

Researcher: Do you sing karaoke?

*Lilian*⁴³: Yes... mostly in secondary school, maybe the third year or the fourth. Not so often these days. I only go when there is a gathering among friends. I used to go with

⁴¹ Vicky. Interview at the Chinese University of Hong Kong with Anthony and Jun-xuan. In English and Mandarin, 15 Nov. 2015.

⁴² Jun-xuan. Interview at the Chinese University of Hong Kong with Anthony and Vicky. In English and Mandarin, 15 Nov. 2015.

⁴³ Lilian. Interview at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. In English and Mandarin, 12 Nov. 2015.

my cousins a lot. There is a special lunchtime offer; it cost only 50 dollars for one person from 10am to 4pm and the meal is included... if we were lucky, we could even sing until 6pm. We were never tired.

Researcher: Didn't you have to be at school on weekdays?

Lilian: Yes, but we sometimes had sports days, teaching development days on weekends, and we would have a day off on Mondays. Sometimes we went after our exams when we had a half day off. That was so much fun. But I do not go that often anymore. There are so many new songs that I don't know how to sing. (...) I liked Wang Leehom more than Jay Chou, so I saw Chou as an enemy of my idol, and I intentionally refused to listen to some of his songs. I still think 'Chrysanthemum Terrace' is a great song with beautiful lyrics written by Fang Wen-Shan. I sing it every time I 'Sing K'. (Interviewed on 12 November 2015)

*Samuel*⁴⁴: I had a classmate when I was in primary school, called himself 'Jay'. I believe that is due to Jay Chou's influence; he really was a big fan of Jay Chou. Even I was influenced by the trend... When I went to karaoke with friends, they all kept singing Jay Chou's songs. I didn't have to listen to these songs myself and I have memorised many of them because of these karaoke sessions. (Interviewed on 19 November 2015)

Lum (2005) has proposed that karaoke is a form of social contract, 'a pre-determined ritual and commonly share routine' (p.167) that the participants are expected to follow and through which collectivism and individualism are not mutually exclusive but jointly performed. Karaoke participants construct a sense of group membership, which gives them a sense of security before they perform and express themselves individually. In turn, Lum has also implied that, unlike Japan, before the introduction of karaoke in the 1980s, there was no culture of 'social singing' as an activity in Hong Kong. According to our informants, even today social singing is no longer confined to KTV. When Vicky, Anthony and Ni were asked about how they relate to Jay Chou's 'K songs', they pointed out that singing in a public space, whether in the workplace or in class, was already a natural or even subconscious part of their lives:

⁴⁴ Samuel. Interview at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. In English and Mandarin, 19 Nov. 2015.

Vicky: When you listen to Jay Chou's songs, they truly represent your everyday life. For example, while it is raining, you will think of his song 'Rhythm of the Rain'...

Anthony: It was not a proper discussion or anything like that. It is just because everybody listened to these songs. Maybe we would forget the names of the songs, but the songs are...

Vicky and Jun-xuan: In our hearts! [laughs]

Anthony: Sometimes when we are at work or in school, we sing subconsciously. In Hong Kong, we called it 'Mo La La'.

Vicky: It means 'There's no reason'.

Anthony: Singing without a reason. Singing a line of lyrics casually, but what is strange is the person next to you will sing along and catch the next line...

Other than serving as a means of self-expression in a fixed form, karaoke as a musical activity has also resulted in the coinage of the term 'K Songs' or 'K Music', which imply aesthetic judgement. 'Kei1 go1' (K 歌) and 'K songs' are used to label those the songs perceived as written to be sung in karaoke settings. The common features of these songs are their easy-to-sing melodies, catchy choruses, a medium range pitch, and less need for singing skills. The label can be seen as somehow negative, depending on the context. These generalised perceptions are not based on unjustified presuppositions. Lyricist James Wong (2003) has claimed that there is a negative impact for the 'Sing K' culture, for the music composers were asked to narrow down the vocal pitch range of the songs in order to suit the mass audience for them to sing these songs more easily. Lilian also used the term 'K songs' when she described a type of music Wang Leehom, her idol back in the days, sang, which failed to meet her expectations for this artist:

Lilian: He [Wang Leehom] also made some 'K Music'. The type of music that is easy to sing while we are 'K singing'. Unlike his song 'You Are Not Here', which you have to have extraordinary skills to be able to sing along to. When I listened to his 'K Music', I did not understand why he had to do that... [laughs].

Although the connotations is that the 'K Song' is a product made for commercial success, not aesthetic value, namely a type of music without depth and easy to sing along to, 'K Songs'

are also considered to be a medium that carries deep and strong emotions while karaoke is a safe space to release such sentiments. Eason Chen's hit song, 'King of K Songs/K 歌之王' (2000) relays how individuals project their own stories and love lives through the songs as they sing in this public space. As with many of Eason Chen's songs, there are Cantonese and Mandarin versions of the same melody; both versions were written by the lyricist Lin Xi, and both were titled 'King of K Songs'. Consumers of a cultural product turn out to be actively 'making popular culture'. As John Fiske (1989) claims, 'cultural industries produce repertoire of texts or cultural resources for the various formations of the people to use or reject in the ongoing process of producing their popular culture' (p.24). Karaoke might fall with the remit of Adorno's (1941) critique: as a standardised yet pseudo-individualised service, the activities of karaoke singers are producing their popular culture and, indirectly, helping to produce a new text. The Mandarin version of 'King of K Songs' cleverly combines the names or lyrics of some classic 'K songs' and presents the confession of a karaoke singer:

I hope that you will be moved but in reality we have a hard time to get through
The lyricists help me to sing the happiness you are looking for
Some used to be moved but realised this truth when they broke up:
Love is unforgettable when you give up the charts

期待妳感動 真實的我們難相處
寫詞的讓我 唱出你要的幸福
誰曾經感動 分手的關頭才懂得
離開排行榜 更銘心刻骨

I am out of breath I have made up my mind
My love is over the limit but I will find a way out when I look back
I became the cold-hearted king of the K songs and conquered all the microphones
Unexpectedly you say to me,
'Why bother being so sentimental?' as if nothing happened.

讓我 斷了氣 鐵了心
愛的過火 一回頭就找到出路
讓我 成為了 無情的

K 歌之王 麥克風都讓我征服
想不到妳 若無其事的 □ 這樣濫情何苦

What is noteworthy is that although ‘Sing K’ was frequently referred to as an important music activity in their everyday life by informants in Hong Kong, it is by no means unique among the research sites covered in this thesis. University students in China mentioned karaoke as a space where friends hang out before the end of term; a participant in Taiwan also regarded karaoke as where information regarding new songs is shared and received, whether voluntarily or in an obligatorily sense. As Lum (2005) puts it, this is for the sake of fulfilling a social contract. The experience of karaoke singing bonding with one’s love life is seen as a common theme in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and China, where karaoke has become a regular feature of one’s music activities as well as social life. This common influence can be seen in the music inspired by karaoke culture. Apart from Eason Chen’s ‘King of K Songs’, the mainland pop singer Hu Yanbin (胡□斌)’s ‘Men’s KTV’ (男人 KTV), Taiwanese singer-songwriter Chang Yu-sheng (張雨生)’s album entitled *Karaoke, Taipei, Me* (1996) (卡拉 OK 台北我) were all examples of how karaoke culture does not just produce cultural commodities, such as K songs, but also becomes a transnational resource for new meanings and pleasures to emerge.

6.3.2 Music Tastes and Chinese/Hong Kong Identity: G.E.M. As a Case Study

As discussed in the previous chapter, ‘China Wind’, pronounced as Zhongguofeng, also means ‘Chinese style’. **As the thesis focuses on a style of music and extends its discussion to musical Chineseness, sometimes Chineseness is embodied in music other than China Wind pop.** In my conversations about China Wind pop music with the respondent in Hong Kong, the name of one artist was mentioned repeatedly, namely G.E.M.

The year of the Umbrella Revolution, 2014, was also the year the singer G.E.M. (鄧紫棋) won second place in the Mainland talent show *I Am a Singer* and successfully broke into the PRC music market. Born in Shanghai but having moved to Hong Kong with her family when she was four, G.E.M. began her singing career when she was 16, and signed to Humming Bird, a small label, and started to release a few singles, most of them in Cantonese. Her

singing voice is full, weighty, and some would say it is an acquired taste, mostly because of her pronunciation. She has been called a ‘large-lunged diva’ (小巨肺歌后) by Hong Kong’s local media.

Humming Bird was founded in 2004 by a Hong Kong born businessman, Tan Chang (張丹), and the Austrian musician Lupo Groinig. According to the official website, G.E.M. is still the only musician signed to this small company. Her music and the reality shows she features in in China have triggered mixed feelings in the Hong Kong audience, most of these sentiments being expressed as judgments based on musical taste:

Anthony: I don’t think China Wind music speaks much to me. Maybe it is not as influential in Hong Kong? I do feel it is pretty nice and special. I see it as an innovative attempt at pop music (...). I guess we have less ‘Chinese style’ music in Hong Kong?

Jun-xuan: What about *The Voice of China*?

Vicky: Do you know G.E.M.? She’s screaming, not singing. Chinese people seem to like singers who scream in a loud voice and for a long time.

A musician I spoke to was blunt about his thoughts on G.E.M.’s music, describing the latter as far too ‘corny’ for Hong Kong taste while undoubtedly appealing to Mainland tastes. This implied, rather ambiguously, that there is a specific ‘Hong Kong taste’ and a ‘Mainland’ one which are musically identifiable to the ears of the audience. The matter of taste is cited as the reason why G.E.M. is popular in Mainland China but not as much in Hong Kong. Frith (2004) points out that with the development of technology and the changing experience of music listening, the self – whether of music critics or fans – is more invested in musical judgement than ever before (p.34). When the musicians failed to meet audience’s expectation, they would face ‘critical anger’, and one of these types of anger is rooted in ‘identity issues’ (pp.31-32).

In order to identify what is ‘Mainland Chinese’ about her music from the audience perspective, I will firstly analyse G.E.M.’s music production and musical texts.

‘Globalisation of creativity and localisation of music content’ are the features Park (2013) identifies as crucial to K-Pop’s popularity. Although G.E.M. started her career working with a small label while the K-Pop labels are usually larger and more established, these features

are also important for G.E.M.'s music. For instance, G.E.M. wrote all the lyrics and melodies for her album *Heartbeat* (2015), Lupo Groinig arranged and produced all 10 songs, the recording and mixing were done in the US and, as for the visual aspects, artists and directors who had worked with Justin Timberlake and Katy Perry were recruited to produce music videos (ON.cc, 2015). Production wise, G.E.M.'s music is almost untouched by any identifiable Mainland Chinese influence apart from her singing in Mandarin. The production is highly industrialised and globalised, while the album is based on an international mainstream pop repertoire.

In terms of lyrical content, seven out of the ten songs on *Heartbeat* are about romance and love; three concern personal reflections on dreams, hope, and loneliness. In terms of musical content, most of the songs follow the common form of pop ballads: repetitive chorus, organised tensions in bridges, layers of strings built on the sound of a piano, while G.E.M.'s performance has high notes and powerful vibratos. In contrast with Jay Chou's active employment of elements from various cultures, such as the use of Chinese music instruments and lyrical references to European cities, G.E.M.'s *Heartbeat* as well as her previous albums are almost free of cultural references. It has a 'pop' nature that enables the music to be disseminated to a non-sociopolitically specific audience, thereby realising its potential mass appeal.

It might be fair to suggest that G.E.M. has not had the best relationship with the press. After her career taking off in the Mainland, there was negative publicity regarding her attitudes to the Hong Kong press and her manager's arrogance towards TV programmes including *I Am a Singer*, all of which received extensive media coverage. In 2013, G.E.M. was lambasted for writing that she wanted to cheer up Leung Chun-Ying (梁振英), the Chief Executive of Hong Kong then, whose approval ratings were already suffering due to unresolved issues with Mainland China. Even though it was a year before the advent of the Umbrella Movement, the conflict between Hong Kong and the Mainland was already escalating. Criticism of her being 'pro-status quo', 'pro-government', and 'pro-China' continued, and these accusations led to her being labelled a 'betrayal' of Hong Kong (Qi, 2014), while netizens called her 'Mainland girl'. In 2015, the streaming service MOOV promoted G.E.M.'s album and netizens initiated a campaign to delete MOOV apps from their phones. This link between her 'Mainlandness' and her music career gradually became entrenched:

*Tommy*⁴⁵: I had two G.E.M. albums. She usually ‘screams’ when she sings. A lot of Hong Kongers do not listen to her songs. Neither do I, not anymore... During the Umbrella Movement, some singers stood up but some did not. Netizens criticized those who did not, and accused them of ‘ass-licking the communists’ (舔共), such as Hacken Lee (李克勤). Hong Kongers will not listen to those who were said to be ‘ass-licking the communists’ but [will listen to] Denise Ho instead. There are discussions online about the Mainland talent shows; netizens say going to these competitions means ‘selling out’ Hong Kong. The subtitles shown after their names will be phrased as if they are from ‘Chinese Hong Kong’. I think this will influence Hong Kongers’ choice of music. They will not listen to the music of these artists. I would say I am influenced by this too, so that is why I do not listen to Hacken Lee or Killer Soap...

While G.E.M. gained huge success on the stage, Denise Ho, as the interviewee Tommy mentioned, was arrested on the street and selected as one of the ‘100 women of 2016’ by the BBC for her dedication and bravery in supporting pro-democracy protests (BBC News, 2016). As for G.E.M., instead of being seen more as a thriving pop singer from a small company in a major label-dominated market who found an alternative route to success, she was seen as a sell-out catering to the more political, less musical sophisticated ‘Mainland taste’. G.E.M. became a target due to musicians’ ‘unfulfilled expectations’. In other words, audiences perceived a lack of what Moore (2002) calls ‘second-person authenticity’, which occurs when a performance ‘conveys the impression that a listener’s experience of life is being validated’ (p.220). G.E.M.’s songs and her success on a bigger stage might reflect one’s love of life and pursuit of dreams. However, it may fail to answer the identity questions that have triggered strong anxiety, unsettledness and frustration in Hong Kong, which have become elements underlying musical judgements. The previous section emphasised the importance of Cantopop to both the audience’s experience of music and the industry’s development, while G.E.M.’s sudden switch from Cantonese to singing exclusively in Mandarin was open to be interpreted as a betrayal of the Cantopop tradition. The interviewees’ resistance to her music demonstrated how powerful second-person authenticity is and the issues that artists who want a transnational breakthrough face in this very specific geo-linguistic market. The audience were left feeling betrayed and perhaps broken-hearted

⁴⁵ Tommy. Interview at the Broadway Cinematheque, Yau Ma Tei, Hong Kong. In English and Mandarin, 21 Nov. 2015.

while looking for a reflection of the authentic complexities of their everyday experiences expressed in music, both socially and politically.

6.3.3 Between Colonizers? In between-ness in Local Music Practices

The case of G.E.M has offered an example of how mainland Chineseness can be constructed and prove disturbing to the ears of Hong Kong audience. This ‘mainland-ness’ can be argued to be less of a musical product and more of a reflection of the current political climate. Some of the literature rightly underlines that Hong Kong’s current situation is that it is ‘between colonizers’ and ‘looking for the third space’ (Chow, 1992, p.158). However, the actual influence from China is now increasing exponentially while that of the UK has decreased. Hong Kong is less caught between two colonizers, empires or states, but rather is trapped in a narrative and discourse bound up with the two and the identities that have evolved from each of them.

One incident that I witnessed in Hong Kong illustrates the paradox and complexity of this ‘in between-ness’. In Mong Kok in December 2015, I saw a group of protesters holding yellow umbrellas, more than a year after the Umbrella Revolution drew to a close. Among the protesters, there was one man holding Hong Kong’s colonial era flag and waving it at me, then posing after seeing my camera, while someone to the side was holding a ROC flag.



Figure 1. Protester waving the flag of colonial era Hong Kong



Figure 2. Protester with a ROC flag

Chun (2017) argues that the historical fact of Hong Kong as a British colony and its later return to the motherland's control is mystifying, as it can be argued that there was no concrete Hong Kong socio-political identity until the 'hype' of the 1980s leading up to Hong Kong's 'official disappearance' from the British empire into the PRC after its handover. In this light, interpreting the flag-waving incident as simply expressing a preference for a British identity is inadequate, as the actual practices, realities, and perceptions of colonialism of Hong Kongers have not been carefully considered. In addition, the ROC flag stood out and suggests what these symbols might stand for, namely an alternative, something other than a dominant mainland Chineseness, a different administration and way of life, as well as the possibility of another version of the Chinese nation, even if historically Hong Kong was never part of it. By analysing China Wind music videos in Hong Kong, Chow and de Kloet (2011) argue that these videos 'destabilize Chineseness by rendering it as distant, ambiguous and something to be struggling with' (p. 62). My interviews with several musicians and two music critics also underlines that this distance enables re-imagination. Hinry Lau, Ng Yin, an anonymous musician, and Baihe and ChiKin from HKMC2 shared with me their 'gazes' on musical Chineseness and how they experience and re-imagine their relationship to the mainland market.

Hinry Lau is a singer-songwriter who was known to his audience and followers primarily because he won the regional round of *The Voice of China* 2014 (Season 3) in Hong Kong, while there was also a widely shared video of him busking outside a subway station in Hong Kong in which he argues eloquently with the subway staff, claiming that the law **protects his**

freedom of expression in a public space. He sees himself as both independent, trying on different music styles less popular in the Hong Kong market with his band, as well as ‘mainstream’, developing his career as a singer-songwriter. He said that his music writing was deeply influenced by the experience of listening to Jay Chou’s China Wind music as a teenager:

I like China Wind music. Jay Chou uses a pentatonic scale with R&B combined in a clever way. In fact, the Chinese five tone scale (中國五聲) is composed of do, re, mi, so, la. The use of the scale is the key to China Wind. In the West, R&B uses a pentatonic scale which deploys the same five notes. For thousands of years, these two cultures did not exchange with each other but coincidentally used the same scale. Jay Chou ingeniously fuses these two and makes China Wind R&B songs. It is special.

As the case of G.E.M discussed in the previous section showed, a ‘mainland sound’ was not preferable to many of the Hong Kong audience while Mainland television talent shows still provide a stage for Hong Kong musicians like Hinry Lau to establish their names. Hinry discussed the impact of his appearance on the show when he mentioned that he had rented a studio room in Ngau Tau Kok two years previously while two months earlier he had quit his day job to become a full-time musician.

I am luckier because I entered *The Voice of China* and became the Hong Kong champion. More people will know me and approach me for guitar lessons, so even in these two months I could afford to rent this studio.

Knowing that I was researching China Wind music, one of my contacts in the Chinese University of Hong Kong introduced me to Ng Yin, who plays a traditional Chinese music instrument, the sheng (笙), in a fusion jazz band, Siu2. The band’s lead instruments include the sheng, sanxian (三弦), and guzheng, alongside the piano, bass and drums, while their music might fall easily into the fusion or world/ethno jazz genres, which contrasts with Jay Chou or Wang LeeHom’s attempts to employing the sound of Chinese instruments in pop and hip hop. This East/West fusion seemed to be favoured for its potential use as musical diplomacy, as Siu 2 has been invited to play and represent Hong Kong culture in many countries, including Taiwan, Australia, and the UK. Other than his musical performances with Siu 2, Ng Yin also arranges songs for big-name Cantopop singers such as Andy Lau, Joey Jung, and Eason Chen, to singing in an acapella group. He also founded Flower Music

in 2008, a music label, event and production company that supports local arts and cultural organizations. It has recording studios, teaching and practice rooms, and event space to host workshops or concerts. The studio is located right in Hong Kong Central, the heart of the island and a busy area.

When Ng Yin was asked about his thoughts about how elements of Chinese music are fused with Western pop music, he indicated that the concept of a Chinese music band (中樂團) is already a structural fusion as it is influenced by western orchestration. Fusion is something natural that happens daily in the streets of Hong Kong. He named a few other bands who are also making fusion music that sounds different from Jay Chou or Wang Leehom's music, including Sizhukong (絲竹空) from Taiwan, and 12 Girl Band from China. When I asked him, if all the Hong Kong popular music in some way, can be described as fusion, so that the term fusion lost its meaning, he suggested that in his opinion, popular music in Hong Kong in recent years, are not a product of natural 'fusion', but have a tendency to cater to the tastes of the Mainland Chinese audience, G.E.M.s popularity also reflected this.

At the end of our conversation, he stated that it went without saying that what he had told me did not represent the views of all musicians. Jokingly describing himself as 'anti-China', he said some people believe that closer ties to mainland China presents an opportunity for Hong Kong's music industries. He said that he is still friends with them and suggested to me that it would be great for a researcher to get to know different points of view, so he kindly put me in touch with a friend of his. I was very pleased due to this interviewee's wide-ranging experience as he relayed over a two-hour interview, but in the end he decided to pull out from the research completely, even though the conversation we had was a rather general discussion about his work across Hong Kong and mainland China, which is quite a common situation. This was the only interview that a participant withdrew from during my fieldwork. The interviewee's reservations and hesitation revealed that on some level, to enable their music to succeed in the mainland market, there are boundaries, no matter how apparently natural the musical fusion between East and West. The interviewee was aware of this, therefore self-censorship was practised.

The case of HKMC2, the annual music awards founded and run by volunteers, highlights how, in addition to musicians, music critics and writers in Hong Kong who are committed to promote local art and creativity, also had to cope with such tensions. Without any financial support from media or other organisations such as other commercial awards programmes

enjoy, some local music critics and industry workers formed Hong Kong Music Critics (HKMC2) in 2012 to select the best music in Hong Kong annually. They believed the existing awards, including Ten Chinese Gold Songs Award Concert (十大中文金曲) and the Ultimate Song Chart Awards Presentation (叱吒樂壇流行榜), only reflect sales number and repeatedly give the awards to the same artists, such as Eason Chan or Joey Yung. Music critics and media workers volunteered in the judging process and selected the themes and nominees for each category, including Song of the Year, Album of the Year, and Male/Female Singer of the Year. This is all in the hope of celebrating great music in Hong Kong.

When asked what type of music is eligible for the award and whether the artists have to be born in Hong Kong and build their career there, two of the founders and key members of the award panel, Baihe and ChiKin, suggest that they want to keep the award as open as possible, thereby, as long as the music production has a connection to the Hong Kong music scene, it will be considered. The HKMC2 website has been blocked in mainland China since 2012 by the great Chinese firewall, the year the award was established,. However, both Baihe and ChiKin are also fairly well connected to the Mainland media industry. They were invited to be the judges for the Chinese Music Media Awards (華語音樂傳媒大獎) a music award founded in 2001 by Southern Metropolis Daily multiple times, even after their website was blocked. This gave them the opportunity to travel to mainland China and hold meetings with other music industry workers.

ChiKin: In 2012, one song won the award and the lyrics had implications for the Tiananmen Protest, since then our website was blocked in the Mainland...

Researcher: So it was the first year HKMC2 was founded. I am aware that you are both still invited to the Mainland as judges for other awards?

ChiKin: Yes, it does not seem to influence the invitations much.

Baihe: Because of my day job I need to work in the Mainland very often. However, I am not really self-censoring my blog or any articles. What needs to be said has to be said.

Both Hinry Lau and Ng Yin's interviews underline that musical Chineseness, although encompassing very different genres and styles, are already hybridised and embedded in their

own music, while they associate this hybridisation with the nature of Hong Kong culture. For the artists, the employment of musical Chineseness in itself is not contested, but the decision whether one should try to enter the mainland market is. For example, the Hong Kong artist Denise Ho was arrested for her political and social activism while Anthony Wong Yiu-ming lost many gigs and his posters were removed either state due to censorship or corporate opposition. This seemingly ‘effortlessly fus[ing of] East and West’ (Chun, 1996, p.121) between China and the UK or tradition and modernity, could be understood as profound political struggles. The case of HKMC2’s website being blocked also highlights these tensions and differences. As the Chinese Music Media Awards incline towards including everyone who could possibly be viewed as ‘Chinese’, local practices and the in-between spaces individuals create highlight resistance to such a universalising tendency.

6.3.4 China Wind and Jay Chou in Hong Kong

Even though many scholars have pointed out that using ethnicity or culture as a descriptor for a given type of music might be problematic (Chow, 1998b), particularly in the study of pop music due to the phenomena of glocalisation (Robertson, 2012). The audience’s responses do not merely reflect a simple dichotomy between East and West, but demonstrate rather subtle issues of representation. When speaking about what ‘Hong Kong music is’ and if the China Wind is blowing in Hong Kong, although the audience can name many songs with Chinese elements by Hong Kong singers – such as ‘Little’ by Joey Yung, ‘Sugar Sway’ by Fiona Sit, and ‘Daiyu Smiles’ by Vincy Chan – most of them do not regard China Wind as mainstream.:

Anthony: I do not have a strong feeling towards China Wind music. Maybe it is less influential in Hong Kong? When I heard it for the first time, I felt ‘It was okay’, and ‘It was special’, but nothing more than that. (Interviewed on 15 November 2015)

ChiKin: I don’t think China Wind is blowing in Hong Kong. Fusion is a key element to the local music scene in Hong Kong. The Chinese element is just one of the prevailing influences.

*Zi-Qian*⁴⁶: Culture wise, I do not think Chinese music represents Hong Kong; nor does western music represent Hong Kong. They are just musical styles, eventually. I

⁴⁶ Zi-Qian. Interview conducted in the Chinese University of Hong Kong. In Mandarin, 19 Nov. 2015.

think it is popular music that represents Hong Kong, although there is probably no such thing as Hong Kong music. (港樂)

Although identity-related questions were discussed in most interviews due to the nature of the study, the Hong Kong interviews suggest a postmodern subject listening to or having a preference for China Wind music does not mean that they subscribe to a sense of Chineseness imbued in the music. They are not completely loyal to any single type of music or identity. While the Taiwanese interviewees often have a strong love-hate relationship with Chineseness in China Wind music, most Hong Kong interviewees – while rejecting the political mainland Chineseness of G.E.M.'s music – seem to embrace a cultural Chineseness more easily. One interviewee, Felix⁴⁷, explained to me why he likes China Wind songs, demonstrating his appreciation for a long-lost beauty found only in the ancient days that contrast with what we have in modern times:

I like the song 'Blue and White Porcelain'. I think it is beautiful but I don't think I can recall what kind of stories are behind 'Blue and White Porcelain'. There are so many elements in Chinese culture. The reason why I like Jay Chou more than Wang LeeHom is his songs are way more beautiful. The song 'Chrysanthemums Terrace (菊花台)' has very beautiful imagery set against a Chinese background. I don't see that in Wang LeeHom's case... Emotionally speaking, these types of songs resonate with me more [namely China Wind songs]. The songs are both modern and evocative of such strong emotions within me. Probably I just have this attachment to the very poetic and more romantic aspects of Chinese culture, such as the really beautiful love stories in the more ancient China. That kind of beauty and elegance cannot be located in a modern context.

His appreciation and interest in Chinese culture resonates with China Wind music. The songs that he loves seem to become resources for the construction of this particular layer of identity, which is romantic and nostalgic about an imagined, long-lost past. Whether Chinese culture was presented beautifully was irrelevant, if not contradictory, in relation to Chinese modernity. It could be argued that this layer of identity is itself situated in a postmodern

⁴⁷ Felix. Interview conducted in the Chinese University of Hong Kong. In Mandarin, 19 Nov. 2015.

context, which is rather nationless. Another impression the audience often has regarding Jay Chou's music is its overwhelming popularity in the Chinese-speaking world:

ChiKin: Jay Chou is like McDonalds. You can see him everywhere, but you don't necessarily think the food is of the best quality... We spoke of hegemony in the music market. Does it take opening many stores, like McDonalds, to become hegemonic? Or does it require making great food?

Baihe: Understanding why McDonalds can own so many franchises and become hegemonic is a great topic. Jay Chou started his career with an independent local label, why can he achieve enormous success? (...). Believe in Music, in Taiwan, was an independent label; it used to be a local tea restaurant, and now it is Tsui Wah Restaurant⁴⁸.

ChiKin: Transforming from an independent label into a form of hegemony is a sign of mobility. We have not had this mobility in Hong Kong yet. (Both interviewed on 8 November 2015)

*Zi-Qian*⁴⁹: Jay Chou was very popular. When I was in primary school, one of my friends called himself Jay and wore red hoodies like Jay Chou did.

*Coco*⁵⁰: Jay Chou's image and his music are cool compared to his other contemporary artists. When we listened to him, we did not see him as either a Taiwanese or a Chinese singer. I felt we were learning about something else. He was the first person that got me into popular culture. (Interviewed on 13 November 2015)

As discussed in the previous section, the post-1990s audience in Hong Kong grew up at a time when karaoke was one of the youth's main forms of entertainment while Mandarin instruction in high school also influenced when they first started to pay attention to Mandarin pop music. Jay Chou's music is not always perceived as 'Chinese'; it could be 'cool', 'innovative' and 'popular' at the same time. It is so popular that the people who are committed to helping to improve the local music environment see it as a McDonald's-esque

⁴⁸ Tsui Wah Restaurant is a Hong Kong tea restaurant that has many branches in Hong Kong, Macau and Mainland China. They can be found in the airports and attract tourists.

⁴⁹ Zi-Qian. Interview conducted in the Chinese University of Hong Kong. In Mandarin, 19 Nov. 2015.

⁵⁰ Coco. Interview conducted in the Chinese University of Hong Kong. In Mandarin, 13 Nov. 2015.

hegemony: a major pop star thrived in the Taiwan Mandopop industry during its heyday. His Chineseness is less relevant in Hong Kong. Coco's description of him as 'either a Taiwanese or a Chinese singer' suggests that the key to Jay Chou's Chineseness is located in the wider world of 'Cultural China' (Tu, 1991), composed of various symbolic universes that its members can hardly deny or escape from. The Hong Kong audience, in general, find that the musical Chineseness might not be preferable but at least it is not offensive. The conclusions, section 6.4, will discuss the comparison between Jay Chou and G.E.M.'s respective Chineseness at greater length.

6.3.5 Border-crossing: Hong Kong vs. Mainland China

Another important issue that constantly came up while examining how Chineseness is perceived by the music audience, concerned the flow of migration and people's personal routes to and from various places. Hong Kong became a destination for migration from the Mainland after the Chinese civil war or, as Rey Chow (1992) has described it, a paradigm for Chinese urban life, and a city that has experienced Southeast Asian and South Asian immigration in recent years. This globalisation, whether on a cultural or economic level, has had a significant impact on Hong Kong. What should be questioned and re-examined is not Chineseness alone, but all kinds of assumptions concerning cultural essentialism.

While the growing number of immigrants and tourists from the Mainland is regarded as a factor contributing to an escalation in the number of conflicts, transnational subjects have adopted various methods to cope with these frictions. These methods include choosing the appropriate language according to the occasion and the strategic use of different identities. Lilian studied in the Mainland for eight years since kindergarten while her parents were in Hong Kong, then she moved to Hong Kong itself. Stating that she did not like to reveal that she spent time in the Mainland before university, as students who have transferred from the Mainland are mocked and isolated, the stories she shared with me reveal different layers of identities, which is testament to a great level of uncertainty and negotiation, which is also an opportunity for a new type of discourse. Lilian said she defines herself as a Hong Konger due to the influence of her Hong Kong education. However, she has a stronger empathy with Mainland immigrants:

Researcher: Do you think there is any difference [concerning the level of conflict] between now and the past, based on your observations?

Lilian: Maybe the hatred is increasing... back then it was just mocking and considering the Mainlanders as inferior to us; now it involves conflict and confrontation: as if we do not welcome you here. Some locals think people who speak Putonghua (Mandarin) are everywhere and that shops only sell products to Mainlanders, not to the locals, thereby jeopardising the economy. My boyfriend dislikes Mainlanders very much, he felt irritated when we went out to eat and overheard Mainland accents from the staff... I had an argument with him just last night.

The relationship between Hong Kong and the Mainland allows us some insight into the way in which the audience of one region sees and 'others' that of another region while imagining communities. The segmentations vary due to social and political reasons. According to Chua (2001), when economic China meets pop culture China, the different imaginations constantly challenge 'cultural China' as a unified group and go on to act as a force for subversion, in particular wrestling with Chineseness as framed by the authorities or the culture industries. For those audience members who claim to be a fan of Wang Leehom and who love Jay Chou's song 'Chrysanthemum Terrace', such as Lilian, the experience of musical Chineseness may be utterly different than that of the Chineseness that impacts on their everyday lives. However, musical Chineseness could be experienced as more peaceful, less contradictory, in terms of how it helps the listeners to construct and modify their identities. As previously discussed, the musicians also often work across both Hong Kong and the mainland. Whether their music is labelled as Cantopop, Hong Kong music or East-West fusion music, these identifications demonstrate that associations with places can still provide points of reference, a sense of stability and forms of identity associated with specific types of music at a fractured time.

6.4 Conclusions

The musicians and music critics' goal to bring about a 'renaissance' in Hong Kong's music scene alongside the audience's mixed feelings towards G.E.M. indicate the pull toward localisation. Nevertheless, artists such as Ng Yin, Hinry Lau, Denise Ho, and Joey Yung's music highlights that this pull does not necessarily mean excluding any musical elements that

might sound 'Chinese'. It is particularly important that we analyse perceptions of different kinds of Chineseness in Hong Kong based on the understanding of the recent China-Hong Kong conflict and the implications of the latter's colonial history. Only then will be able to see the relevance of how popular music is employed as a technology of self (DeNora, 1999) moderating identities in these political contexts.

On the topic of Jay Chou's China Wind style, many audience members in Hong Kong do not have such a strong bond with it, other than recognising its Chinese references while some consider it as innovative pop music-making. Overall, they have less identity involvement in such a style of music. Regarding Jay Chou as an artist, the Hong Kong interviewees firstly noted his popularity, namely how his songs were sung over and over again in karaoke events which – as ChiKin might phrase it – represents a certain kind of hegemony.

The G.E.M case study reflects a different form of hegemony, as her mainland Chineseness is political and economic but not necessarily equivalent to a musical Chineseness that can be identified in its composition, lyrics, or instrumentation. While Jay Chou's hegemony has much more to do with music industry practices and the tastes of the general audience, G.E.M.'s hegemony was perceived as an actual threat to local culture and a reflection of the growing power of the mainland market. Jay Chou's China Wind pop is 'Chinese' but it is non-confrontational, while he also took advantage of being perceived by the Hong Kong audience – generally speaking – as a Taiwanese singer. Meanwhile, G.E.M.'s image is too closely associated with the Chinese market, to the extent that a musical Chineseness is rather irrelevant in her case. The Hong Kong construction and perception of Mainland Chineseness can be identified as a result of industry practices rather than the derived from a given creative endeavour.

Chapter 7: China

This chapter examines how Chineseness in Mandopop music is manufactured and perceived in China (the PRC), drawing on the experiences the audience and industry workers shared with me during my fieldwork in Suzhou, Shanghai and Beijing. The chapter will start by outlining the relevant political history and how popular music cultures have developed in contemporary China, through which the meaning of ‘being Chinese’ has been constantly reshaped. Next, the chapter will move on to a case study based on *The Voice of China*, a popular music reality TV programme aired on Hunan Television. This case study and an interview with one of the directors will examine how ‘China’ is represented in the show and how this representation is produced. In interviews conducted predominantly with college students in China, a number of specific issues were raised during discussions of China Wind pop music and the music these young people listen to. These included how higher education and the growing middle class in China have transformed Chinese society, and how different types of nationalisms found in music signify ideological changes between the generations. The chapter will continue to discuss how Chineseness in popular music is a resource for the pleasure of the interviewees in China, acting as a particular flavour among many other stylistic elements. In this consumption process, cultural imaginations were formed and regional cultures and identities were perceived. The chapter will also address how issues such as migration and modernisation are communicated in different music genres; by visiting local music venues and talking to musicians, the influence urbanisation has brought to the city became evident.

7.1 Political and Social History of China (PRC)

Even though in contemporary everyday language the term ‘China’ usually stands in for the PRC, a new global superpower, ‘China’ is also a cultural and geographical concept that has developed over centuries. *Zhongguo* (中國), meaning the Middle Kingdom, was originally a concept that evolved from the perceived Han/barbarian distinction. According to Wilkinson (2015), it was not until the late Ming /early Qing era, namely the 17th to 18th centuries, that *Zhongguo* (中國) began to be used more frequently to describe the whole of China; the origin of the exonym ‘China’ for *Zhongguo* is uncertain but many believe that it comes from Qin (BCE 221-206), given the practice of naming people after the reigning dynasty. Much of

Chinese history demonstrates that the borders of each dynasty or empire have changed frequently. The notion of cultural groups and communities were very different compared to those of modern nation states. For instance, the notion of Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese states and their borders were fluid before the Han dynasty (Wilkinson, 2015). The nature of ‘Chinese history’ is complex and multifaceted; in terms of written history, it can be dated back to the 2nd century BCE. This section will provide a very brief overview of the history of the PRC’s current territories and how the notion of the ‘Chinese’ has been constructed, after which I focus on the state’s contemporary history.

The Qin (秦) dynasty (BCE 221-206), was identified as the first imperial dynasty with a centralised government that established a standard currency, legal code, and writing. It was considered the first empire in China. Before Qin, there were archaeological findings on settlements and civilisation which can be dated back to approx. 2000 BCE, namely the Xia (夏) dynasty. Some believe it was a mystical dynasty which was first recorded in the writings of a later dynasty, the Shang (商). The territories and administrative systems of each subsequent dynasty changed drastically, from the first Qin empire to the last imperial dynasty, Qing.

Since the use of *Zhongguo* (Middle Kingdom) and *Zhongguoren* (People of the Middle Kingdom) only became widespread after the Ming and Qing dynastys, previously the way people referred to themselves varied. More autonyms developed to distinguish one people group from their neighbours. For instance, *Hua* (華) was later combined with *Xia* (夏), and *Huaxia* (華夏) acquired the connotation of being ‘cultivated’, thus differentiating them from others, namely the neighbouring ethnic groups who were described as barbarians by the people of *Huaxia* (Tu, 1991; Balik, 2005). The people also referred to themselves according to the name of the state they lived in or the dynasty. *Hanren* (漢人) was an autonym originating in the first century, and its meaning has changed since then. Starting with a pejorative sense of people of the southern dynasty, *Hanren* gradually lost its negative aura and became a broader term referring to people from the south or those who spoke the Chinese language. *Tangren* (唐人) was another term whose origin can be traced back to Southeast Asian or Japanese references to the Chinese. Later on, it was adopted and became an autonym for overseas Chinese. In addition, *Tangrenjie* (唐人街) is a common synonym for Chinatowns (Chun, 1996).

We must also consider that Chinese history cannot be understood as the coherent evolution of a single ethnic culture. The ethnicities participating in its history are complex and the notion of the Chinese as a race has to be constantly renegotiated. For instance, the Yuan (元) dynasty was established by Mongolian leaders and the Qing was founded by the people of Manchu (滿洲). Both ethnic groups at the time were considered 'foreign' to Han people. In today's China, approximately 92% of the population can be categorised as Han, while there are 55 ethnic minority groups officially recognised. Rossabi (2013) points out that some historians, namely those who have contributed to 'New Qing theory,' argue that the Qing dynasty developed a multi-ethnic empire. The earlier emperors saw themselves as Manchus not Chinese, while they also incorporated aspects of Tibetan culture. The implication of this challenges the preconception that Chinese civilisation has been consistent and stable throughout history.

The late Qing suffered both from foreign intrusions and domestic troubles. After being defeated in the First Opium War (1842) and later on by other western powers, the Qing was forced to sign a series of unequal treaties. The western invasions were followed by two Sino-Japanese wars. This period was later referred to as the 'century of humiliation' (Darr, 2011; Gries, 2004). This sense of humiliation mobilised a new sense of Chinese nationalism directed against foreign invasions, which was embodied in the revolutionary statement made by Sun Yat-Sen, the founding father of the Republic of China, bringing to an end the Qing's rule: "Get rid of the Manchus, restore the *Zhonghua* nation' (驅除韃虜, 恢復中華). Sun Yat-Sen used the term *Zhonghua* very often while he was organising and mobilising the revolution overseas. In 1911, after the Xinhai Revolution, the Qing, the last imperial dynasty, was overthrown and in 1912 the Republic of China (ROC) was founded to replace the monarchy.

The republic was troubled by domestic wars on many levels: the warlords divided the control of the country; the Communist Party of China (CPC, founded in 1921) challenged the leading party, the Kuomintang (KMT), in addition to the outbreak of the Second World War and the Second Sino-Japanese War. The CPC had originally cooperated with the KMT, however the two parties went their separate ways and a civil war ensued. In 1949, the CPC took control of the Mainland China and established the PRC, while the KMT, along with some military forces and refugees, retreated to Taiwan.

After the PRC was established, social, political and economic changes took place. In the 1950s, land reforms encouraged peasant landownership which led to the execution of an estimated one million landlords (Rummel, 1991). During the Great Leap Forward (1958-1962), the everyday lives of the people were militarised, from eating food supplied in mass halls, to being organised into groups that subsequently entered assigned work areas in order to fulfil national goals, one of which was to produce steel. The Cultural Revolution launched by Mao Zedong in 1966 was a socio-political movement that aimed to remove revisionists and capitalists and which led to the persecution of many citizens; the number has been estimated at between a half to two million people (Phillips, 2016a). During the Cultural Revolution, Mao Zedong's personality cult also reached its peak. In 1978, the new leader of the CPC, Deng Xiaoping, began Chinese economic reforms under the slogan of practising 'Socialism with Chinese characteristics'. These reforms, as Brandt and Rawski (2008) argue, led to massive economic expansion, a shift away from a planned to market economy, and a move from public to mixed or private ownership. However, this process also created socio-economic inequality between the regions (Heston and Sicular, 2008). Other than inequality, domestic human rights issues are still being questioned.

In 1989, a demonstration movement emerged which has been referred to as the '89 Democracy Movement'. Advocating for a more democratic state, many demonstrators were university students who were concerned about governmental corruption, uneven economic development, the persecution of intellectuals, and limits on freedom of speech. Martial law was declared but the number of people occupying Tiananmen Square actually increased to more than one million. On 4 June 1989, the Tiananmen Square Protest turned into a massacre after the People's Liberation Army came to the square to control the demonstration. This shocking tragedy highlighted the tensions that marked the reform era. It is widely believed that after the incident, freedom of speech in the PRC was oppressed further (Human Rights Watch, 2016; Dorn, 2017; Phillips, 2017).

There have been several scholarly debates about how economic reforms have impacted on China. Harding (1994) argues that there is a higher level of consensus on certain issues compared to others. It is widely believed that the Chinese political elite is becoming better educated and technically competent, but there is little evidence to show that the changes in the educational backgrounds of politicians have led to policy-making that responded to the needs of the masses. There is also evidence to show that China's traditional political

institutions were becoming less effective, but it is unsure if this is leading to the emergence of a civil society relatively autonomous of the state (Harding, 1994, pp. 699-700).

7.2 Popular Music in the PRC

7.2.1 The Early Age of Chinese Recorded Music and Its Political Context

As in many other countries, music cultures in China have evolved and changed. The music styles that evolved also reflect how regional cultures influence the sound of music. However, recording music enables music to be heard and broadcasted, thus becoming a mass-mediated product that can be mass accessed. Recording was based on a production network and under its influence the songs became ‘popular’. After Thomas Edison invented the first in-foil phonograph in 1887, the technology gradually matured and, as trade between countries increased, Labansat established the first record company in China, Pathé Orient, in 1908. The company continued to be a major player in the music industry during the Republican era and assisted in the creation and popularisation of Mandarin popular music (Jones, 2001; Steen, 2015).

Pathé Orient was a branch of the multinational company Pathé Frères. Jones (2001) also underlines that earlier transnational corporations in China, such as EMI-Pathé and RCA-Victor, the result of the merging of different transnational companies, were all located in Shanghai’s foreign concession area, yet the gramophone introduced by these ‘earlier transnationalisms’ (p.58) simultaneously became a form of mass-mediated culture and a target for anti-colonial resistance. The establishment of Great China Records (大中華唱片) in 1917 in Shanghai was an example of this resistance against foreign capital. Supported by Sun Yat-sen’s effort to urge Japanese businessmen to invest in China, it was later owned outright by local capitalists. Great China Records released two recordings of Sun Yat-sen’s speech (Jones, 2001), later named ‘The Sound of the Father of the Nation’ (國父之聲). The record company recorded Peking and regional operas as well as modern songs at the time, while it also played an effective role in mass political communication.

The history of Great China Records also indicates how politics could interfere in the production and content of recorded music. During the war with Japan, Great China Records was controlled by the Japanese army; after the foundation of the PRC in 1949, it was renamed The People’s Records and started to release revolutionary music that served as

communist propaganda. Music production's geographic centre also changed over time. In the early Republican era, when jazz music was a symbol of modern urban sophistication (Moskowitz, 2010), Shanghai became a home to numerous jazz artists. Due to the Japanese invasion, many people left Shanghai and relocated to other cities, Hong Kong being one of them. As mentioned in the chapter on Hong Kong, this wave of migration contributed to the development of the popular music industry there. The production of Taiyupop during the Japanese colonisation of Taiwan also laid the foundation for the latter's recording and future Mandopop music industries.

7.2.2 National Music and Revolutionary Music

The PRC government established in 1949 made an attempt to construct a national culture that reflected its core ideology. As Lau (2008) explains, the PRC uses *minzu yinyue* (National or People's Music) instead of *guoyue* (national music) as the ROC does, and its abbreviation, *minyue* reflect the communist populist ideology by emphasising 'the people' (*min*). Another type of music popularised and promoted by the CPC at an even earlier stage was revolutionary songs (革命歌曲) or mass songs (群眾歌曲) (Lau, 2008), also called 'red songs' (紅歌). These songs were designed to motivate people to support government policy. One of the most well-known revolutionary songs is 'East is Red'.

Chinese national music is a construct. It is neither an intrinsic form of music evolving organically from the people, nor does it feature exclusively nationalistic sentiments. Instead, it is a complex creation responding to political and cultural agendas at particular points in time. The development of national music is deeply influenced by western-style education and the establishment of various institutions. The National Music Conservatory, for instance, was founded in 1927, and promoted national music by incorporating and utilising Chinese and European music as well as establishing a systematic codification of traditional music playing styles. This also created a perceived hierarchy in the popular mind between so-called professional (*zhuanye*) and amateur musicians. Another example that highlights that the concept of Chinese national music is a new creation, is the instrumentation and structure of the modern Chinese orchestra. Lau (2008) outlines that the orchestra began with the expansion of the *jiangnan sizu* ensemble, and gradually evolved into a combination of four groups of instruments, including bowed strings, plucked strings, wind, and percussion. It shares a similar performance practice and compositional strategy with the western symphony

orchestra. Chinese orchestras can be found not only in the PRC, but also in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and many other locations.

The reform of traditional drama (*xiqu*) took place earlier than the Cultural Revolution (1967-1977), the latter being based on Marxist dialectical materialism, in which music – and the arts in general – had to serve the Communist ideology. As Liu (2010) points out, at the Yan'an Forum in 1942, Mao was already explicit about how the arts should serve the Party, peasants, soldiers and workers respectively. Of the many types of traditional drama, Peking opera was the primary target that the Party wanted to reform. In the Peking opera festivals that took place from 1949 until the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, plays were usually adapted to educate the audience regarding the need for class struggle.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), musical performances were strictly regulated and had to be approved by the CPC. Model plays (*Yangbanxi* 样板戲) were one of the newly created art forms that sought to promote revolutionary themes. There were eight model plays that were performed most often. At the time, nothing besides the four contemporary dramas rehearsed under the guidance of Jiang Qing were allowed to be performed. Those plays with traditional, capitalist or feudal themes were mostly censored. Starting with five, later on increasing to eight model plays (*Yangbanxi*), they were watched by millions (Liu, 2010; Mittler, 2010). Other than *Yangbanxi*, orchestral or instrumental music was also written during the Cultural Revolution, including revolutionary modern ballets, orchestral works adapted from revolutionary operas, such as *Yellow River Concerto*, and ensemble or solo pieces for both Chinese and Western instruments.

Yangbanxi and other forms of revolutionary music can be categorised as a form of popular music, with 'popular' here interpreted as 'mass' (Kassabian, 1999). They were listened to and known by many, yet there was a top-down promotion of these art forms. Mittler (2010) claims that the story of Chinese opera itself is a 'story of change' (p. 390), with *Yangbanxi* being a modified form of Peking opera. The latter adopted several regional styles, gaining its popularity in the late eighteenth century, after which it went through a long-lasting synthetic process and produced local meanings. For instance, it developed into *Yangbanxi* in China and was branded as National Opera in Taiwan (Guy, 2005).

Nonetheless, the impact *Yangbanxi* left on popular music has been extensively debated. Luo (2016) argues that although revolutionary music and model plays were utilised as propaganda, the mixing of both western classical music and Chinese music traditions

contributed to establishing a new form of Chinese popular music, which he refers to as 'New Music'. By way of contrast, Liu (2010) has criticised these works as lacking artistic value given that their intention was only to serve communist ideology. He also argues that both the Cultural Revolution and the music created at the time 'caused wounds' (p.480) due to the persecution of writers, musicians and actors.

7.2.3 Chinese Popular Music

After the late 1970s, Deng Xiaoping's reforms and opening-up policy brought the PRC into a different season, both economically and politically. Both Baranovitch (2003) and de Kloet (2010) stress how *Gangtai* music had a great impact on the PRC's audience. *Gangtai* music literally means 'music from Hong Kong and Taiwan', while the term, which gathers music from these two locations under the same banner, suggests it is a Mainland-centred perspective. Although the notion may be contested due to the distinct histories and styles of music from Hong Kong and Taiwan, as addressed in the previous chapters, is that the concept is still useful for the study of popular music cultures, particularly in the PRC. Baranovitch (2003) has highlighted how the Taiwanese singer Deng Lijun (鄧麗君, Teresa Teng) with her sweet and whispering voice won the hearts of many Mainlanders, a success which was assisted by cassette technology and general liberalisation. Even though *Gangtai* music was generally forbidden as it had a 'decadent sound' (靡靡之音) and associations with 'bourgeois values', the dissemination of Deng's music in China was very influential. Lin (2017) argues that her music encouraged a non-politically-centred individual awareness (p.198) while playing a role in the gradual loosening of state control over popular music. Moskowitz (2010) also underlines how Taiwan's Mandopop embarked on a gendered counter-invasion of the Mainland in the 1980s and 1990s. The influences *Gangtai* music has on audiences and local music scenes have exemplified how social change and popular music are intertwined.

In addition, de Kloet's (2010) interviews reveal that *Gangtai* music was regarded as too commercial by some audiences. Rock music is instead a symbol of cultural independence and resistance to *Gangtai* music. He also suggests that there is a stereotypical difference perceived between the 'commercial South' and 'political North'. Rock music is especially associated with the north of China, particularly Beijing, and emerged in the 1980s after which it received much attention from western academics. The growth of rock music coincided with Chinese youth's yearning for democracy, simultaneously questioning received socialist

values and demanding social change. Cui Jian (崔健), a Beijing-born singer, trumpet player and guitarist, was an icon of Chinese rock music in the 1980s and 1990s. Cui Jian's music, as Matusitz (2010) has analysed, is on the one hand a mix of traditional Chinese instruments and a western-influenced rock sound, and on the other his critical lyrics encouraged the youth to reform and start a revolution. His song 'Nothing to My Name' (一無所有) was regarded as the unofficial anthem of the Tiananmen Protest in 1989. His public support of the students in Tiananmen Square and open criticism of the Chinese political context made him an unwelcome figure among PRC officials.

Xibeifeng (The Northwest Wind 西北風) was a music style that developed under the influence of rock music and the 'root-seeking' movement of the 1980s. Combining the folk sound of the northwest with a strong beat, ethnic (*minzu* 民族) music elements were usually employed. Baranovitch (2003) notes that the rise of this style was partly triggered by 'Nothing to My Name'. Meanwhile, Moskowitz (2010) points out that *xibeifeng* served as part of a larger plan to challenge *Gangtai* pop music, while Baranovitch also believes that its masculine Chineseness in search of authenticity is a reaction to the same. The idealism articulated in *xibeifeng* music died down after the 1989 crackdown, as the Tiananmen Square Incident brought about significant changes in China's cultural politics.

On a related issue, de Kloet (2010) regards rock music as a cultural hard form which requires localisation and authentication. This process of localisation is constantly taking place. Although much of the literature and public perceptions show that Chinese rock music declined after the second half of the 1990s, the process did not stop entirely (Wang, 2014). Wang also suggests that Chinese rock music went through a maturing process which inevitably involved negotiations with the market. Modern Sky (摩登天空) was founded in 1997 and started out as an independent rock music label, becoming the largest indie company in China. After organising various music festivals domestically and promoting international acts' Chinese tours, including Suede, it started its own Strawberry Music Festival in 2009. Over the years, the company also acquired several music festivals in China and established its hip-hop music label and music festival, MDSK, in 2017 (Modernsky Entertainment, 2018; Wright, 2016). Many artists signed by them perform and tour with the festivals and the events have been held in cities across China. In 2014, Modern Sky brought these festivals to 12 Chinese cities and, as cited in Billboard (Schwartz, 2015), there were 150,000 attendees at the Beijing event and 100,000 in Shanghai. Modern Sky became an influential company not only

in China, and has branched out to Hong Kong and Taiwan. Its internationalisation strategies include setting up an office in New York and founding a label in the north of England.

Another example of this negotiation is the career of Wang Feng (汪峰), a singer-songwriter who started in the band No. 43 Baojia Street (鮑家街 43 號), who released their first album in 1997, while Wang Feng started his solo career in the 2000s. The growth of his fan base and his Warner Music contract brought him to a new stage in his career. He became the coach of *The Voice of China* in 2013, in which he continually promotes the notion of rock music as a genuine and authentic genre. These cases of cross-over between confrontational rock and conforming pop embody how rock music, a culture facilitated by many sectors, has gradually become localised.

7.2.4 New Stages for Music, Entertainment and Chineseness

In recent years, the PRC's entertainment media has experienced drastic growth and significant changes. As previously discussed in the chapter on Hong Kong, reality shows in the PRC have become quite influential in terms of pop music sales and media exposure. Artists from various locations strive to attend these competitions. In addition to studies on the music talent shows (Meng, 2009; Huang 2014), academic studies how everyday politics is intertwined with the wider entertainment media have also appeared. How these national platforms or ceremonies exhibit Chineseness has been discussed in the literature, including the use of music in spring festival galas (Liu, An and Zhu, 2015; Wang, 2010; Feng, 2016) and at the Beijing Olympics (Zeng, 2013). Researchers have underlined how official ideology can be imparted and how popular songs are used in spring galas to reproduce and represent a geopolitical knowledge of China (Liu, An and Zhu, 2015). The opening ceremony and closing performances of the Beijing Olympics, as Zeng (2013) claims, project a certain 'to-be-looked-at-ness' and strategic essentialism to a global audience, while also articulating how an idealised China complies with an official political discourse that fosters nationalism.

The music talent shows are considered more commercial than official. As a result, the interpretation and examination of the effects of such programmes has to be different. However, whether directly or indirectly, these programmes are still at the receiving end of state intervention (Hawes and Kong, 2013; Meng, 2009; Huang, 2014) which aims to ensure that the content is in line with official ideology. After 2005, and in response to domestic conflicts and social changes, the Chinese state started to promote a 'harmonious society,'

which involved increasingly strict censorship of television programming. These shows have to be careful to avoid any potential disputes. Studying the talent show *Super Girl*, which took Chinese audiences by storm in 2005, Huang (2014) claims that it is a space for acts of resistance against state intervention, the latter attempting to promote a certain ‘harmony’. On the programme, Chinese youth exhibited self-expression and became more self-conscious about their individuality while a civic society was simultaneously emerging. Meng (2009) argues that 2005 hype of *Super Girl* indicates how an institutionalised channel for civic participation was attractive to an audience lacking venues for political participation.

Programmes such as *The Voice of China* (2012-2016; in 2016 the name changed to *Sing! China*) and *I Am a Singer* (2013-2016; in 2016 the name changed to *Singer*), attract both emerging and established musicians. Both Jay Chou and Wang Feng were coaches in *The Voice of China* and actively engaged with the public by representing some music styles and values. With the rapid economic growth of China, the viewing rates these shows attract demonstrate that *Gangtai* pop is no longer dominant. Meanwhile, a sense of pan-Chineseness is constructed in the PRC-produced shows by including ethnic Chinese, thereby presenting a sense of a singular community. This redefines the meaning of ‘being a Chinese singer’ and restructures the geopolitics of these artists’ career development. A case study of *The Voice of China* will provide more details and offer more discussion in a later section.

Whether it is Deng Lijun’s soft ballads or Cui Jian’s rock songs, popular music can play a role in presenting individualism to the audience and encouraging the pursuit of personal freedom; some music, nevertheless, helps to maintain existing power relations and imposes a given political ideology, with revolutionary songs and *yanbanxi* as examples. However, these music functions are not black and white. The audience play a key role in responding to, as well as interpreting, the music they listen to. Baravovitch (2003) also argues that the music culture in today’s China cannot be divided between the ‘popular’ as opposed to the ‘official,’ as the two are usually mixed and overlap. The above discussion covered music that is – at least to some extent – industrialised and mass-mediated. By this definition, the ‘popular’ in popular music can also stand for ‘mass’.

However, to gain a more comprehensive understanding of how people use music in their everyday life, bottom-up music activities should be also taken into consideration. There has been research conducted about popular music in school education (Ho and Law, 2006) and karaoke (Zhou and Tarocco, 2013; Lum, 2005), studies which have revealed crucial aspects

of an individual's musical life. Lau's (2008, 2015) research on traditional music and singing clubs in the diasporas has sketched a powerful picture of how music culture can generate different social meanings in various contexts. Although there is not enough space to discuss these music activities and multiplicities further, they remain influential in terms of shaping music cultures for specific groups in everyday life contexts, such as musicians in the Chinese diaspora and school children.

7.3 Audience and Industry Workers

7.3.1 The Voice of China

As previously mentioned in Chapter, on the night of 7 October 2015, the total 48 contestants from various countries who performed during the season sang 'I Love You, China', written by Wang Feng at the opening of the show. The subtitles underlined each contestant's

respective Chineseness by highlighting where they are from, such as Yunan (雲南), Hebei (河北), Chinese American (美國華裔), some using labels that have often triggered debates on PRC TV shows, such as Chinese Hong Kong (中國) and Chinese Taiwan (中國台灣).

Jay Chou constantly mentioned in the show that 'Chinese music is the coolest' and encouraged singers to 'sing more China Wind'. The winner of the season finale, Zhang Lei (張磊), was a musician living in Xinjiang who had travelled all over the country. He represented the hope of the 'New Folk Movement' (新民謠運動), which cultivates a nostalgia for the homeland. China was imagined both culturally or geographically on *The Voice of China* stage, and presented as a community bound together by blood. This imagined community's deep connection is presented as unbreakable and unquestionable, transcending time, space and other identity politics issues deemed of lesser importance. The production of locality (Appadurai, 1996) was embodied in the sound of the erhu and the lion and dragon dances, while the stage setting was piled high with Chinese characters. The explicit display of Chineseness in the show serves to produce locality within a globalised mass-mediated culture. However, it is not quite a production employing a self-orientalising strategy for dissemination in the West, but a show with a strong sense of Chineseness transmitted to a mainly Chinese-speaking audience via an internationally franchised TV programme. As discussed in the previous section, these programmes are the new platforms where the official and the popular meet; they are also an arena for competing Chineseness-es.

Regarding who is able to make the show's creative production decisions as well as presenting its version of Chineseness, one of the directors in *The Voice of China*, Marcus⁵¹, shared with me the responsibilities of working as a director:

This job includes everything from pre-production to post-production. I can't even think of anything we do not have to be responsible for. We look for the singers, recruit them, talk to them and decide what songs they will sing, prepare them for what they will sing, and how they will interact with the coaches. If the coaches turned,⁵² we need to figure out how to edit this and how to promote these singers. It's all included in our jobs. (Marcus)

Working as a director on the show for years, Marcus's company produces several television programmes. When he is not producing *The Voice of China*, he works on other music programmes. These shows' production has kept his annual schedule busy. On *The Voice of China*, his work involves a lot of preparation and travel. The programme does not hold open auditions but sends directors to different locations to find hidden talent, people Marcus describes as 'great singers with extraordinary talent selling noodles in faraway villages, without knowing how special they are'. He points out that the show has three director teams and each group has about 20 directors. Of the approximately 60 directors in total, each of them has to find and bring around 200 singers to the internal auditions. More than ten thousand singers will have a chance to sing to the director teams but only a few of them can sing to the coaches, with even fewer ever being broadcast. While asked about the splendid spectacle in Beijing Bird's Nest and how the show presented Chinese culture, Marcus revealed

We want to find those singers with 'feelings' (*qinghuai* 情懷) and characteristics with which most audiences can accept and associate. For instance, leaving the notion of being Chinese aside, let's take a Korean Chinese singer as an example. He might have listened to American or European pop music, and can sing these songs excellently. But when he comes up to our stage, we will ask him to think about the Korean folk

⁵¹ Marcus, personal interview in Hong Kong, 16 November 2015.

⁵² At *The Voice of China* blind auditions, if coaches want to keep a contestant on the show, they press a button so their chairs will turn around in order so they can see the contestants. See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bko2-jumsNo>.

song his mom sang to him when he was in the cradle. We ask him to learn and he will find out more about who he is in this process. This involves interaction between both parties. We need him to cooperate with us actively, but he will find out what he needs too. Another example: if there's an ethnic Chinese singer from overseas, we will indicate to him that you have black hair and yellow skin, but you have never come to this land. Now you are back to the land where your father or grandfather used to live, standing on the yellow soil facing a Chinese audience of 1.3 billion. What do you want to say? What do you want to sing? At this moment, he will not want to sing American or European pop songs. We give him some encouragement and a bit of a push, usually like what I just said. It will bring him to tears. (Marcus)

Throughout our conversations, Marcus' voice remained soft and gentle. Even though Chinese ethnicity remains a powerful means to develop stage narratives and settings, when Marcus talked through what he usually said to the singers, his motivation did not appear to me to be a strong demonstration of nationalistic passion, but rather a professional focus on the show's best possible outcome according to the directors' expectations.

One of the heated topics that *The Voice of China* fans discussed in these few seasons, was the fact that many singers from Xinjiang gained national attention. Parhat Halik (帕爾哈提), who won second place in the third season, is a Uyghur singer from Xinjiang. Zhang Lei, the fourth season winner, is a Han singer residing in Xinjiang and was called 'the son-in-law of Xinjiang' by netizens and fans. However, while many Xinjiang singers were having outstanding success on the stage, this coincided with various bloody conflicts and crackdowns in their region.

The contemporary history of Xinjiang reflects complex tensions and unrest. Officially named Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, Xinjiang is a northwest territory of the PRC bordering many nations, including Kazakhstan, Mongolia and Tajikistan. More than half of the region's population is of non-Han ethnicity, predominantly Uyghur, a Turkic ethnic group most of whom practice Islam. In the past decades, separatist movements, Han officials' governance strategies in relation to ethnic minorities, and religious extremism inspired by global jihadism have ignited the region. In recent years, a few events have underscored the escalating conflict, including an attack taking place four days prior to the Beijing Olympics in 2008 which resulted in the death of 16 police officers. In August 2014, almost 100 people were killed during a week of unrest. The deaths included civilians, police, officials, and 'terrorists'

(Blanchard, 2014). As the BBC News (2017) has reported, the Chinese government often blames these violent events on Islamist militants, however, the unrest could also be a reaction to repression targeting the Uyghurs. In 2017, the Chinese government issued a ban on wearing long beards and veils in public spaces (BBC News, 2017; Hunt, Luu and Jiang, 2017). These harsh policies aimed at the primarily Muslim population in Xinjiang can be regarded as an attempt to assimilate these minorities into the Chinese nation-state.

While asked about if the show has the responsibility to react or respond to pressure or direct orders from the state, Marcus brought up the issue of the Xinjiang singers:

In recent years the reality television singing competition have been popular, as a result official wishes to maintain stability through such a powerful medium. (...) If the officials do it in a high-profile and noticeable way, people in Xinjiang will dislike it; if there are singers from Xinjiang singing on the stage each time, and what they sing can help to heal their relationships with the Han people, that is a good thing. Last year we recruited many Xinjiang singers. This year we found several overseas Chinese. (...) As I told you, the situation we had this year was partly because we could not find as many great singers domestically, so we needed to reach out... However, we did make a sustained effort to find singers in Xinjiang last year.

This process of ‘selecting reality participants’ for reality television shows is by no means unprecedented. Mast’s (2016) study of reality shows suggests programme makers usually seek participants with whom prospective viewers can identify, while they ‘socialise’ the participants into their roles. However, a highly politicised entertainment media such as exists in the PRC can be far more complicated to analyse compared to a largely capitalistic one, particularly in terms of the decision-making parties involved. When I asked follow-up questions regarding the channels used to communicate with directors, Marcus describes a delicate relationship between the commercial media and the government:

The relationship between the Chinese media and the state... to be honest, the state has a very limited stock share in most commercial channels, but our higher officials will have meetings with the state officials, to ‘listen to directions and advice’ (聽取指導意見). We heard from our officials that General Secretary Xi said *The Voice of China* is a great programme and wanted it to be broadcast in Xinjiang. (...) From what I know, he did not ask us to find Xinjiang singers, but only revealed his personal thoughts. For

us it feels like we gained approval from someone who is influential and respected. He complimented the dishes we cooked, and of course you will hope that next time you meet him, he still says the same thing about your dishes.

In the case of the Xinjiang singers, there is indeed influence from state ideology but, as Baranovitch (2003) argues, ‘official’ and ‘popular’ are by no means a binary opposition and are often mixed. To regard the nationalistic elements appearing on the show as propaganda might be a simplification that falls short of taking the market-seeking essence of the entertainment business into consideration. Moreover, it neglects the possibility that the creative labour decision-making involved can sometimes be consistent with the state’s intention, even for different reasons. In this case, the wishful thinking behind the search for Xinjiang singers on *The Voice of China*, namely that it could heal serious wounds in the area, also contributes to the show’s negotiation of the ‘real’.

However, this does not mean that the show never presents content that might appear controversial to the state. In the second season, two singers on Team Wang Feng, sang Cui Jian’s ‘A Piece of Red Cloth’ (一塊紅布). Cui Jian was banned by the authorities for several years after his public support for the Tiananmen Square protests. In ‘A Piece of Red Cloth’, the lyrics describe a scene where a red cloth is used to blindfold a person, who forgets he has nowhere to live and blindly chooses to go on a journey to seek happiness. This strong metaphor of blind pursuit and the color red makes it easier for listeners to associate the lyrical content with the Communist Party and the Cultural Revolution. The song was regarded as another political anthem that marked that particular generation. Although it was not unprecedented that certain songs or music acts that used to be censored are now allowed to be broadcast to a national audience, I was intrigued how the directors worked out to what degree they could push the boundaries if they wanted to. Answering my question regarding ‘A Piece of Red Cloth’, Marcus responded:

We will still go through all the lyrics, if there have vulgar language we will certainly ask to change the song. (...) In fact, most of these issues around censorship are quite ambiguous, particularly ambiguous in relation to the state... In terms of the things that are not clearly banned, and if we do not self-censor the content, we can still choose those songs that we consider the best.

The boundaries and standards directors and producers use to make decisions are informed by their workplace ethics and professionalism, while the latter is shaped by both capitalistic logic and the attempt to avoid censorship. Henry Lau, the Hong Kong representative on *The Voice of China* Season 3, expressed his astonishment over the high production standards he experienced participating in the Shanghai competition. Marcus also compared the production of *The Voice of China* to the production of TV shows in Taiwan and Hong Kong, pointing out that a lack of sufficient funding was an obstacle for Taiwan and Hong Kong TV programmes attempting to succeed in this market. This professionalism becomes an asset, not just for profit-making, but in terms of the active construction and projection of a Chineseness that it is anticipated will be shared by the target audience.

Although the content and sense of nationalism staged on *The Voice of China* is moderately informed by officials, the dynamics between the programme, the audience, and the state is far more sophisticated than simply imposing a top-down official nationalism. This nationalism is commercial and manufactured, carefully regulated, and calculated in order to create the 'real'. Rather than simply catering to an official taste, commercialism, professionalism and capitalist logic means pursuing the highest number of viewers and maximising ratings, all significant factors shaping the programme's narratives.

7.3.2 The New Middle Class and Education

The city I spent the most time in during my research trip in China was Suzhou (蘇州), an ancient city in the southern area commonly known as Jiangnan (江南). Through Xian Jiao-Tung Liverpool University (XJTLU), I gained access to students and interviewed some of them. Before this section examines the implications of the ethnographic data on the musical experiences of these university students born post-1990, the contextual background of this particular institution is outlined in some detail due to the distinctiveness of this university.

XJTLU is a Sino-British private university founded in 2006 and located in Suzhou. It is a partnership between the University of Liverpool and Xi'an Jiao-Tung University, while all the courses are taught in English and the students receive diplomas from both the University of Liverpool and XJTLU. Many of the undergraduate students will choose to be part of a programme often referred to as 'two plus two', which means spending the first two years of their degree in Suzhou, and then the last two years in Liverpool. Because XJTLU is a private

higher education institution and receives no funding from the state, most of the students or their parents have to pay tuition fees.

Statistics on Chinese average household and disposable incomes have been notoriously hard to estimate, but many reports suggest that income inequality, especially between the urban and rural populations, is rather wide (Wildau and Mitchell, 2016; Hangbu, 2016). *The Nation* states the Chinese average income per capita to be an estimated GBP 2,906 (Asif, 2017) while Goodman's (2014) analysis suggests that a RMB 60,000 yuan annual income threshold (approx. GBP 6,851) is the entry level to be considered 'middle class'. On my fieldwork trip, the populations in the three cities I visited are, on average, significantly richer than the rest of China. Zhejiang Province, where Suzhou and Shanghai are located, has the second highest annual per capita income and as well as the largest urban disposable income. According to *Forbes*, the first province in both charts is Beijing (Rapoza, 2013). For a full-time undergraduate student in XJTLU, the tuition costs RMB 88,000 yuan (approx. GBP 10,061) per academic year (XJTLU, 2017). Compared to public universities, the tuition fee is extremely high. As a result, XJTLU students are usually from families from very well-off socio-economic backgrounds.

The Chinese state considers the middle class as a growing body of the population bringing about social stability. In recent years this notion is branded and promoted; gradually it has acquired connotations of an identity based on consumer practices or even fetishism (Goodman, 2014). Due to the one child policy, most of the students I had access to are the only child at home. Even though there might not be other siblings to raise, a tuition fee of £10,000 per year can only be afforded by families who are far better off than the average middle class household. Another difference highlighted here, is that the groups this research studies, including in the PRC, are drawn mostly from a young urban audience who already had access to higher education. In the case of XJTLU, the students usually had to score above the *yiben* line (一本線), which is an score required to gain entry to elite universities, thereby they have to pass the *gaokao* (高考, university entrance exam). In addition, most of them will have had to be able to fund their education for three or four years.

Three students I met told me that they did not perform as well as they expected in their *gaokao*, meaning that they would probably not be able to get into first class public universities. Consequently, and with the support of their families, they chose to attend a private university well connected to a UK institution. The all-English language environment

and the prospect of continuing to pursue a postgraduate degree in the UK, US, or another country, also attracted these students. The students' affluent economic backgrounds were noticeable, including when first meeting them, when we usually used a phone application called 'WeChat' to scan QR codes in order to exchange contact details. Many students had an iPhone 6, which was released about a year before my visit in China. Some of them also mentioned seeing students driving expensive sport cars to the campus. (Kiki)⁵³

The drastic changes faced by young people born after the 1990s are not only economic. The ideological changes between the generations were revealed when the informants shared their experiences of first encounters with popular music. Heather,⁵⁴ whose cousins introduced her to Jay Chou's music when she was 12, said that she had to adapt to pop music when she was first exposed to it and explained why:

Heather: My father was a soldier. He sang some very 'red' songs at home. Do you have red songs where you are from?

Researcher: What are red songs?

Heather: Military songs. We call them red songs and I think you know why. Most of the songs I listened to before I was 12 are red songs. (...) Even until today my father still cannot get used to pop songs. (...) I can still listen to some military songs but definitely not the ones with too many political implications, like the one called 'I drill oil for my mother nation' (我為祖國獻石油) or the ones about workers.

Regardless of the differences in the education system, what informants from Taiwan also share is that Jay Chou's China Wind Music is also strongly associated with language (*yuwen*, 語文) education. Many remembered how Jay Chou's China Wind lyrics were used as class or exam materials (Wayne,⁵⁵ Cindy,⁵⁶ Mark⁵⁷); Informants claim that learning English was also

⁵³ Kiki, personal interview in Suzhou, 19 December 2015.

⁵⁴ Heather, personal interview in Suzhou, 9 December 2015.

⁵⁵ Wayne, personal interview in Beijing, 30 December 2015.

⁵⁶ Cindy, personal interview in Suzhou, 16 December 2015.

⁵⁷ Mark, personal interview in Suzhou, 6 January 2015.

a major factor in terms of when they started to listen to Anglo-American pop music (Diane,⁵⁸ Olivia,⁵⁹ Victor,⁶⁰ Shelly,⁶¹ Mark):

The lyrics are not entirely classical, it is very much vernacular. Perhaps back then I just started to learn to read classical Chinese, and the lyrics are easier to understand and more accessible. The melodies are good too. (Diane)

After I came to Beijing University, maybe the students here speak better English? Many of them listen to English songs. We are more like-minded. (Olivia)

Although not the majority, there are some XJTLU undergraduates who are overseas students who do not speak any Chinese languages, or have limited Chinese language abilities. May⁶² was born and raised by Chinese parents' who migrated to Uruguay. Referring to her first language as Spanish, during the interview May spoke to me in fluent Mandarin Chinese, but told me that she cannot write in Chinese. To her, Jay Chou's lyrics are associated with the time she tried to pick up the language:

I really liked Jay Chou back then. I tried to read the lyrics but they were quite complicated, so I took it slowly. In the beginning I could speak and I could listen, and gradually knew how to read. Now I can read but still cannot write in Chinese. I liked Chinese culture. It was fine and beautiful. Jay Chou's China Wind style is more accessible because it's 'soft.'

The preference is not completely utilitarian, as Jay Chou's image of 'coolness' stood out to informants at a period of time when pop music knowledge and preferences had a certain capital in terms of the socialization process. In other words, Jay Chou represents an individuality that attracts an audience, while listening to his music also appeals to teenagers as a collective activity:

When I was little I was fascinated by Jay Chou. In the beginning, I just wanted to blend into the group, but the more I listened, the more I found it interesting. I

⁵⁸ Diane, personal interview in Suzhou, 18 December 2015.

⁵⁹ Olivia, personal interview in Suzhou, 30 December 2015.

⁶⁰ Victor, personal interview in Suzhou, 10 December 2015.

⁶¹ Shelly, personal interview in Suzhou, 23 December 2015.

⁶² May, personal interview in Suzhou, in Mandarin Chinese and English. 9 December 2015.

remember very well an image where he wore a hoodie and the brim of the hat almost covered his eyes. He looked cool and careless. He never sings clearly and I couldn't tell what he was singing. Just to be blunt, he was hot shit! (Victor)

7.3.3 The Postmodern Self, Fragmented Identities and Music Taste

In post-Tiananmen China, as Lu (1996) argues, a newly commercialised popular culture based in the mass media is the defining characteristic of Chinese postmodernity. After the PRC's economic reforms and opening-up process, marketisation and global capitalism contributed to the circulation of popular music. Wang and Karl (1998) argue that in the in-between space of popular culture and state-controlled programming, the democratisation of culture remains a great challenge. As analysed in the section on *The Voice of China*, there are sophisticated interactions between the state, the private sector, the entertainers, and the audience. In this in-between space, the assumption that marketization will lead to cultural democracy is over-simplified and not readily identifiable. Nonetheless, the music audience's postmodern self is still quite hybrid, thus their ways of engaging with popular music vary.

Mainstream music, such as Jay Chou's China Wind songs, is still undoubtedly influential, but the penetration of such a pop culture product cannot be interpreted as a dominant taste. Indeed, the tastes and identities implied in the post-1990s informants' music consumption are fragmented. For instance – and as outlined in the chapter on Taiwan – the online prosumers of Ancient Wind (*Gufeng*, 古風) music are perceived very differently by different individuals. It was described as a type of music that literature lovers and elite circles prefer to listen to (Gigi⁶³), while some associate it with amateur productions (Beth,⁶⁴ Keith⁶⁵) and others mention having been influenced by Jay Chou (Heather). Other than criticism regarding its level of professionalism, music that sounds 'too Chinese' was also problematic for some informants:

Some music in China is really...how to describe it? Very *zhongguofeng*. For me it is hard to take in. His (Jay Chou's) China Wind (*zhongguofeng*) is 'soft.' It has less

⁶³ Gigi, a student from China studying in Taiwan, personal interview in Taipei, 27 December 2015.

⁶⁴ Beth, personal interview in Suzhou, 16 December 2015.

⁶⁵ Keith, personal interview in Suzhou, 18 December 2015.

sentiments of the ‘mother nation.’ His is softer. I liked the melody and learned to read the lyrics. (May)⁶⁶

I don’t like China Wind music. It sounds quite old... Maybe because I grew up in New Zealand. I never feel a stronger connection to any nation because I have been abroad, or maybe because I was not exposed to this style of music much, so I did not like it. (Chantel)⁶⁷

Since their identity investment is fractured, it appears to me that some audiences like China Wind music, but not because they look for self-identification in the music (Moore, 2002). On the contrary, it is favoured because the signifiers embedded in the music are open-ended. Chineseness is a flavor that can be interpreted in numerous different ways, and eventually it is just one of many elements, among them the sound of R&B, ‘coolness,’ and Jay Chou’s love for popular culture as evidenced in these songs.

Mark, an English literature student, told me he was hostile to Marxism during high school. He described his teenage self as cynical, hating anything mainstream and popular in China. Even though he is not a self-described fan of Jay Chou, he did mention that he learned to sing Jay Chou’s songs in order to impress a girl he liked in class. I asked him ‘Why didn’t you refuse to listen to Jay Chou’s music since he is so mainstream?’ He said:

I have never thought about it. This is an interesting question. (...) For me, I think I can accept it because it is not ‘too Chinese’. It feels less serious. (...) It is not too Chinese, too serious, or too corny... People our age, frankly speaking, most of us are not religious. Nonetheless, the Confucian ideology and the foundation of Chinese culture can be regarded as a form of religion deeply rooted in people’s bones. You might not believe in it, know of it, or read the classics but subconsciously, it is there. I think these things can be found in Jay Chou’s songs.

De Kloet and Fung (2017) note that due to the development of media technologies making various cultural scripts available to the Chinese youth, the latter actively participate in popular culture scenes as well as taking part in its circulation. As a result, a search for

⁶⁶ May grew up in Uruguay. She said apart from speaking to the family, she learned to speak and write Chinese listening to Mandarin pop songs.

⁶⁷ Chantel, personal interview in Suzhou, 11 December 2015.

authenticity becomes less relevant in the world of ‘global inauthenticity’ (p.60). This inauthenticity does not mean that the judgements and perceptions of different music tastes (Bourdieu, 1984) become irrelevant in this social context. In fact, taste and its hidden connotations of class divisions are prevalent not only in classical music, but also in popular music. As previously discussed regarding G.E.M.’s music (Chapter 6), the fans are invested in making musical judgements (Frith, 2004) with the aid of communication technologies, while China is going through a time when the official discourse is that the growing middle class is connected with the notion of *suzhi* (素質), which means ‘quality’ (Goodman, 2014). In this sense, the middle class is seen as leading to an increase in the wider society’s *suzhi*. The issue of musical taste is concerned with postmodern liberation, but also involves class politics. When talking to Kiki, I asked her what music is most popular among the post-1990s generation, and she thought of class divisions straight away and identified potential differences in music choice:

Maybe the poor in the Mainland listen to internet music (網絡音樂) more? (...) You can tell from the melody and rhythm. I feel embarrassed even telling you the names of the songs. Now I do not really know the songs anymore, sometimes I may hear them in the barber shops in smaller towns. You will not hear those songs in Suzhou. It is a better-developed city. I am worried about Chinese music when I hear these tunes. (...) As for the rich, many of them suddenly became rich in the 1990s. They did not have the time to cultivate their music taste. I don’t know what type of music they listen to...

Musical taste has been a complex subject to explore, especially in the Chinese post-1990s generation, who – statistically speaking – grew up when the wealth of the nation had increased. However, they are a heterogeneous group from diverse socio-economic, linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Another layer of differences which contributes to both the level of familiarity with music cultures and how music is associated with different identities and experiences, concerns geographical difference. The next section will address how the imagination of different regions is communicated in music.

7.3.4 Regional Identities and Cultures

Lau (2008) suggests there is a negotiation constantly taking place: diverse regional cultures in China are appropriated by the national culture while regionalism creates multiple local identities. This negotiation was evident in the discussions with those interviewees who moved across regions for study or work. As many of my interviewees currently study in Suzhou, an ancient southern town, they are well aware of a southern sense of Chineseness and the images in China Wind music associated with this area:

When I was in junior high school I kept repeating the song ‘River South’ by JJ Lin. I do not know if there are any influences on my decision to come to Suzhou to study. I guess there is, subconsciously! (Bryan)⁶⁸

I’m from Suzhou, Jiangnan. It usually offers people an image that is gentle and soft. Jay Chou’s lyrics are also very gentle. It is more similar to the environment and atmosphere that I grew up in. (Ian)⁶⁹

As previously cited in the chapter on China Wind music, Wang Lee-Hom explicitly employs elements of Kun Qu opera and incorporates them into his ‘Chinked-out’ music. Kun Qu opera, originating in Kun-Shan, a region in Suzhou, was proclaimed an Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO in 2001 (UNESCO, 2002). As an art form that evolved in a given region, Kun Qu is proclaimed to be of national importance. Diane, a student from the northeast, also first encountered this form of performing art through popular culture, namely through film:

Have you heard Suzhou’s Kun Qu opera? After coming to Suzhou, I feel even more connected to Chinese culture. When I watched the film *Peony Pavilion* (2001) in Heilongjiang, I did not understand it, but after I came here, seeing the classical gardens and the scenery, I started to understand the artistic conception. Before I did not understand the beauty of Kun Qu opera, but I started to know it better in this environment.

⁶⁸ Bryan, personal interview in Suzhou, 18 December 2015.

⁶⁹ Ian, personal interview in Beijing, 28 December 2015.

The way that she acknowledged this ‘growth’ of knowledge in Chinese culture implies a practice which involves mind-mapping, inclusion/exclusion, comparison and contrast. Kun Qu opera thereby articulates an understanding of both individuality and social groups (Frith, 1996), providing reference points for belongingness and boundaries (Stokes, 1994). As DeNora (1999) argues, for individuals, music functions as a template for certain temporal phenomena, in this case creating meanings and understandings associated with given localities. To the informants, these biographical associations in the experience of music connect the dots on a map of China, through which the sense of different places are created.

Just as informants from the north grew to know the south by experiencing place and music, those from the south also imagined the ‘north’ in music. Liddy⁷⁰, a student from Zhejiang (浙江), a province south of Jiangsu (江蘇), has travelled to Beijing several times with her family on vacation and found her appreciation for the north:

After I grew a little older, I preferred folk music more than pop. (...) The music helps me to destress when I am busy. Maybe it has something to do with age. Ma Di (馬頔) is a northerner, the way he sings and pronounces the words is very special. I love to listen to Northerners when they talk; I like the way they sing. (...) The first time I went to Beijing, I was with my parents, I found people from Beijing have a great sense of humor, especially the elderly. The next few times I went to Beijing, I intentionally spent time getting to know the locals. When I hear Ma Di singing, I think he preserves the ways of talking in Beijing.

Another example demonstrating how the consumption of music can contribute to one’s experience of place, concerns how Cantopop was still popular among the post-1990s Chinese informants, regardless of researchers on Cantopop suggesting there is already a huge decline in the genre. Many informants listened to Cantopop without knowing the language, expressing that they prefer Cantonese lyrics to Mandarin ones (Anne,⁷¹ Beth, Liddy, Yvonne,⁷² Shelly, Wayne, Cindy). The existence of linguistic barriers does not stop them from listening to the music, due to the fact that they can still read the lyrics and understand their meaning (Anne, Beth). The Cantonese lyrics were often described as having more depth

⁷⁰ Liddy, personal interview in Suzhou, 4 January 2015.

⁷¹ Anne, personal interview in Suzhou, 16 December 2015.

⁷² Yvonne, personal interview in Suzhou, 6 January 2016.

and sophistication (Anne, Beth, Cindy); some interviewees suggested (Anne, Mark) that they also seemed to embody a Chinese cultural alternative to Confucianism, such as Buddhism or Daoism.

Although these perceptions could be useful as biographical resources for individuals and also potentially for social groups, the issue about how regional/national culture is constructed and articulated was noticeably embodied in some conversations. While some cultures – such as Jiangnan culture or Kun opera – uncontroversially stand in for Chinese culture, some triggered a sense of ambivalence:

Han Hong's (韓紅) song 'Qinghai-Tibetan Plateau' (青藏高原)? Does it count as *zhongguofeng*? Those songs have distinct characteristics, but my impression of *zhongguofeng* is like the music of Jay Chou. Do folk songs of Northern Shanxi count as *zhongguofeng*? (Catherine)⁷³

As previously discussed in the section on *The Voice of China*, Xinjiang is one of those places characterised by ambivalence. Tibet is also situated in this in-betweenness. As Bilik (2005) argues, in the process of nation building, minorities such as the Ughurs and Tibetans are required to forget their old nationalities and embrace their new Chinese ethnicity. Anderson (2001) describes a vivid and common imagery which can be seen in many national celebrations: the non-Han minorities appear in colourful traditional clothing that connects to the past, while the Han appear in business suits and manifest themselves as the future. The older this past can be traced back, the more legitimate China can be imagined as a cohesive whole.

The discussions of China Wind music, regional and national cultures, indicate that music serves as an emblem that categorises spaces and experiences relating to those spaces, whether the listeners have or have not been to the locations specified. How these contrasting perceptions about old/new, China Wind/folk, Han/ethnic are intertwined with an understanding of Chineseness and different versions of nationalisms, will be addressed in the following sections.

⁷³ Catherine, personal interview in Suzhou, 23 December 2015.

7.3.5 Official Nationalism and Other Nationalisms

As regions and ethnicities can indicate a process of ‘othering’ and self-identification in music, for many of my interviewees Chinese as a written language (or Mandarin as the most spoken language) provides a sense of belonging and togetherness. This knowledge of a language and sense of ownership over it functions as a telescope through which a heterogeneous group of people are seen as a unity and varied histories as a continuity.

A language, as Anderson (1983) puts it, effectively connects the living to the dead and the past, even though the past is often reimagined in maps and museums. He goes on to suggest that the experience of singing the national anthem in a crowd best exemplifies this sense of ‘simultaneity’ (p.145). This effect can also be found in the consumption of pop music, as its circulation is almost as compulsive as the knowledge of a national anthem among some demographics. In my 92 interviewees, there was not a single informant who had not heard of Jay Chou’s ‘Blue and White Porcelain’, whether they liked the song or not. This experience of ‘simultaneity’ in the consumption of popular music is closely associated with the Chinese language, as the informants revealed. Yvonne, an English literature student who was an international volunteer who taught both English and Chinese, reflects on how the interpretation and understanding of lyrics is linguistically intertwined:

The line in Faye Wong’s song ‘A Gentle Breeze’ is a direct quote from a poet in Song Dynasty, Su Shi (蘇軾): ‘a cool breeze blew gently, without causing a ripple’. Usually, only we know what message is deeply embedded in the lyrics. Whenever I try to explain this to my foreign friends, they would ask ‘What does the breeze stand for?’ I will have to say, ‘It expresses a state of mind.’ It is special that I know what the lyricist and composer are expressing without too much explanation. Other people will have questions: is it a song about geography or the climate?

Shelly, a first-year student who plans to choose communication studies as her major in her second year of study, has a dream to produce a music programme after graduating. She believes that music brings people together and has the power to heal. She explains to me why, regardless of genres or music styles, to her languages are still a decisive aspect of her experience of music:

In the English lessons [at school] many people played English songs to the class. Those were good songs and we loved them too. Nonetheless, after class,

subconsciously we sang the songs with more Chinese characteristics. Maybe it is because when the moment we were born as Chinese, it was decided that we have a sense of the nation. You wouldn't even be aware of it. When you heard China Wind sounds and elements, you feel drawn closer straight away. That is why they appealed to us.

Some interviewees, such as Yvonne, attributed their preference for music with Chinese lyrics to their familiarity with the language. On the other hand, some interviewees, like Shelly, ascribed their preference for China Wind music to their innate Chineseness, looking on it as a biological fact. In this reasoning, music not only brings people together, as Shelly believes, but also reflects the boundaries of a community imagined. The contrasting understandings of what being Chinese means to different communities and groups are often missing from the mass-mediated representation of Chineseness.

As Chapter 8 will discuss, the short research film made along the journey provides a useful tool to gather feedback. Once, an audience member showed me a video of a PRC police male choir and orchestra wearing their uniforms and singing Jay Chou's Chrysanthemum Terrace.⁷⁴ Demonstrating the power of combining mass singing in a shared language, China Wind pop music, and state power represented in uniform reflects an ethos of prosperity and stability. This sense of a 'nation' inscribed in pop music and then circulated in the market is a powerful one. As Shelly described, her sense of nationhood was determined at birth. However, as Anderson (1983) suggests, often when officialdoms select a language of administration to use, linguistic nationalisms are the result. Mandarin Chinese or Putonghua (普通話) as a national language stands in for an authentic Chineseness, thus exemplifying this process.

What should not be overlooked is that behind this strong sense of simultaneity is the institutional construct of a national language. The promotion of Mandarin Chinese started as early as the establishment of the ROC regime in 1911. The PRC has continued to promote Putonghua as a national language in a multilingual China. Liang (2015) has summarised that the heated debates about the 'Chinese language' include if it should be a plural form, the problematic distinction between 'language' and 'dialect', and whether this distinction downgrades some linguistic varieties compared to others.

⁷⁴ See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SPu23oRRUI8>.

Although the state has acknowledged the importance of minority education, even during the early years of CPC control, Bilik (2005) claims that the Han-centred nationalism and culturalism that evolved out of the Cultural Revolution and the pursuit of a market economy shaped by ‘Chinese characteristics’, are pushing minority languages to the periphery. Bilik (2005) highlights that, for Cantonese speakers and western China’s minorities, a discriminatory rhetoric suggests that the speaking of dialect reflects a lack of *suzhi*. This also embodies the reactions of state-led official nationalism to other nationalisms, but also a type of mentality Kang Youwei (1858-1927), the influential reformist philosopher, articulated at an early stage, one that supports erasing boundaries by imposing a form of ‘civilisation’ that can respond to external threats and internal conflicts. The cost is the ethnicisation of the non-Han Chinese and the diminishing value of non-Mandarin languages.

This ‘sacrificing love’ for the nation, as Anderson (1983) describes it, does not only manifest itself when soldiers die on the battlefield. It also appears when the sacrifices of some groups are demanded for the good of the greater whole. These inequalities, priorities and exclusions demonstrate how a nation is imagined and framed as a unity in practice. In these processes, to use Bilik’s (2005) words, various groups are required to say goodbye to the old nationality and embrace the new ethnicity. Although some of the most powerful symbols of nationalism are not explicitly perceived as manufactured – such as languages or biological background – it is impossible to deny the narratives that have developed around these symbols, which in turn can often be problematised. Questions of ownership, authorisation and power are still entangled in a love, one which is seemly innate and selfless.

7.3.6 Modernisation and Urbanisation: Beijing

When I visited China at the end of 2015, other than the weather forecast, there was one index to check daily: the Air Quality Index (AQI). The smog became a difficult national issue to tackle. Even though Suzhou is in the south, and although the impact of the smog is more severe in the north, there were days when it caused low visibility. On my train to Beijing, I passed by Dezhou (德州), a city in Shandong province. I could barely see anything through the windows. Hazardous smog blanketed the town. The convenience shop next to where I was staying had a big sign advertising medical grade facial masks, while my host said that I had come on one of the better days. When it gets worse, he finds it challenging even just to

see the building across the street. This might be another sacrifice the locals have to make: a painful price for a fast-paced urbanisation.

Beijing's population is estimated at 22,063,000; in 1950 it was around 1,671,000. It grew 12 times larger over the years (UN data, 2017). People from all over the country moved to big cities such as Beijing or Shanghai for job opportunities, but this overwhelmingly rural-to-urban migration and fast-paced urbanisation have created both environmental problems and issues around basic infrastructure. In 2017, Beijing announced it was introducing a population cap at 23 million using several radical methods, including moving universities to other cities, exerting even stricter controls on the household registration (*hukou*, 户口), and knocking down small businesses (McDonell, 2017). 'Northern drifters' (北漂) has become a term referring to those who live in Beijing but without a Beijing *hukou*. This term covers various types of migrants, including rural to urban working-class migrants and university students moving to the capital city to study.

In my time in Beijing, I encountered both types of migrants. Ted⁷⁵ was a 17-year old who worked in a record store on Nanluoguxiang (南锣鼓巷), a narrow alley typically known in Beijing as a *hutong* (胡同). Near Nanluoguxiang is an area full of bars and some small music venues. The same owner had two record stores in the area, and the same group of staff work between the two stores. Originally from Guizhou (贵州), Ted is one of the northern drifters. Meanwhile, 21-year old Jeremy⁷⁶ from Jiangxi (江西) also works in the same shops. Ted wants to open a record store in Guizhou when he saves enough money; Jeremy said he would never be able to afford to buy a flat or find a wife in Beijing, although he loves living there. He lives in a small flat just a minute away from the record store and he plays the drums after work. Living costs in Beijing are high; both of them admitted that their lifestyles and ways of thinking changed substantially since they moved there. They did not know if they would be able to adapt if they moved back to their hometown. In Ted's case, he said he was not sure if there was a demand for the record store he wanted to open in Guizhou.

Besides the one in Nanluoguxiang, the other record store Ted and Jeremy were working in, is right by the iconic live music venue, Mao Livehouse, with a capacity of 500 people. By the time I visited, Mao Livehouse had already announced it would be closing in 2016. This was

⁷⁵ Ted, personal interview in Beijing, 28 December 2015.

⁷⁶ Jeremy, personal interview in Beijing, 29 December 2015 and 1 January 2016.

where I watched the performance of a Beijing-based Chinese indie rock band, Hedgehog (刺猬). Today, for many people the music in Beijing is associated with rock, new folk (新民謠), or folk music (民謠). Migration and placeness are very common themes in these genres. Wayne is a Chemistry student at Peking University. He is originally from Hangzhou (杭州), a city in Zhejiang (浙江) province; he described his experience of drifting to the North:

At home I was more laidback. After coming to Beijing there is a natural ‘aura’ with us northern drifters. We felt that we have come here to work hard, so it feels very different emotionally. I am not as laid back as I was at home. (Wayne)

Some informants in Suzhou, without actually living in Beijing, point out that they learn about north drifting partly via songs:

I like Wang Feng’s music. I can relate to the screaming inside his rock songs. When young people drift to the north in Beijing, they experience repressed feelings and sadness, the thoughts that they are insignificant and having a hard time pursuing their dreams. I guess that is the pressure young people have to cope with at a time of modernization and development. Folk has been very popular lately... singers like Ma Di also write about young people’s feelings and experience... (Susie)⁷⁷

The music that reflects the life in China as it is now, might be folk songs about northern drifters... The songs about living in Beijing. (Bryan)

Although songs about making a life in Beijing touched the audience, regardless of their location, working as a musician and running a music venue are not easy in the city. Apart from rent in Beijing having increased drastically, the regulations on live music are challenging venues. Out of the five music venues I visited during my time there, Mao Livehouse closed down in 2016; DDC (Dusk Dawn Club 黃昏黎明俱樂部) cancelled many shows due to safety regulations; and MAKO Livehouse (麻雀瓦舍) had to relocate for the third time. The manager of one of the only two venues that operate smoothly, suggested that they are the lucky few. The venue has had a long history of provide entertainment and nightlife for foreign diplomats due to its location. In the past, when the venue encountered

⁷⁷ Susie, personal interview in Suzhou, 18 December 2015.

difficulties, whether from increasing operational costs or from the government in terms of all kinds of regulations. However, diplomats or embassy staff were a great help; they came to support the venue and, through that, the authorities recognised the venue had contributed to providing entertainment to these foreigners. The venue manager⁷⁸ admitted, there have been several times they were visited by the local authority, while many regulations are ambiguous and change constantly:

Whenever I get the chance to share with venue managers from Western countries, they do not believe the type of difficulties we have here. (...) The most challenging thing is not just the money, but that you always think there is a big shadow above your head and you don't know what's going to happen.

The enormous pressure caused by modernisation seems to characterise the musical experiences of some participants. On the one hand, hardship in the cities, isolation, and migration were common themes in the songs that the interviewees mentioned. Urbanisation, on the other hand, has reshaped the city's music scenes and its physical environment, albeit at a rapid pace. I will not forget being on a jammed-pack subway during rush hour, when a man started shouting at a woman aggressively; I did not know what had happened between the two to cause his anger. I could not even see them because of the distance and the crowd in-between. All I heard was him blaming on her for being a northern drifter, bringing problems and chaos to the city. He said he had a household registration in Beijing City and his family had lived here for three generations. After this outburst, he angrily asked the woman if she has a *hukou* in Beijing. This recalled Wayne's observations:

Speaking of the songs I use to regulate emotions, (...) a type of song I listen to is Wang Feng's songs, 'Beijing, Beijing' (北京北京), the sentiments of the north drifting that correspond to my current stage of life. Another type is upbeat music. I listen to them when I tidy up the room; I cannot help to move and dance to it. (...) For me, music could be an instrumental tool personally. I do not really have many opportunities to discuss or share this with friends. (Wayne)

Wayne's comments on his own use of music highlights the experience of an urban subject, in which the 'negotiated uses' of music (Jones, 1992) appear to be especially prominent. Facing

⁷⁸ Venue manager, personal interview in Beijing, 31 December 2015.

a distinctive set of social issues in a city that has been changing drastically, the role music plays is somehow not unprecedented. As Wayne says, on the one hand music carries messages and creates an understanding of Beijing at this particular stage of his life; on the other hand, the use of music helps him to regulate routines and modulate emotions to better negotiate his everyday life. All of music's above functions might not be exclusive to Wayne, as I also experienced myself listening to Song Dongye's songs repeatedly on the bus in Beijing, where I was stuck for almost two hours. I realised I am also one of the temporary drifters who make sense of a place with the help of music.

7.4 Conclusions

The discussions of China Wind pop music with the interviewees in China encouraged conversations about a series of issues, which include different perceptions of contemporary China, the Chinese nation, or even the Chinese race as a historical and cultural entity. The imagery of a Chinese nation which includes the diaspora as well as the ethnic Chinese population worldwide was clearly mediated in *the Voice of China*, and the same concept was also referred to by interviewees. This chapter argues that this particular imagery has both an ideological and commercial value while simultaneously being endorsed by the state. Even though the notion of China as the motherland of all ethnic Chinese appeals to many audience members and the idea of China as a cultural entity with 5000 years of history was not significantly problematised by the interviewees, most of them are aware of the existence of different regional and ethnic music cultures as well as the issues of mediated representation when it comes to 'Chinese' culture. This was revealed when the interviewees pondered whether a music often associated as regional or ethnic can also represent China.

As resistance against this commercialised and safe Chineseness in China Wind pop music can be found in Taiwan and opposition against the musical mainland Chineseness is prominent in Hong Kong, this chapter found that the interviewees in China usually had a less contested relationship with Chineseness in China Wind pop. This sense of being comfortable with Chineseness contrasts with the other research locations. The interviews in China have a stronger sense of ownership over 'Chinese culture' as presented in China Wind pop music. This particular version of Chineseness, at a time when the PRC has become an increasingly significant player in the transnational music business, has become extremely powerful. The different perceptions of Chineseness across these locations may cause frictions, which may

continue to influence industry practice such as the content of television shows. In addition, this may determine which artists are able to access the mainland Chinese market and take part in this transnational flow of popular music consumption, as the artists have to be assessed if they present the ‘correct’ version of Chineseness.

In this research, the interviewees are mostly drawn from more affluent backgrounds, while the post-1990s urban youth are privileged enough to receive higher education and have chosen to study media and communications. This is particularly prominent in the case of China. Although this chapter included interviews with a few “north drifters” who work in Beijing, the more deprived communities, namely the youth who have no access to popular culture consumption and those young people whose ethnic cultures are potentially marginalised or appropriated, are not represented enough in this thesis. It will be crucial to discover if and what versions of musical Chineseness speak to these different groups in order to further explore contemporary China’s ever-changing cultural scenes.

Chapter 8: The United Kingdom and Beyond

This chapter explores how Chineseness in Mandopop music is perceived in other locations, such as the UK, and how the presentation of Chineseness is at times intertwined with the development of soft power. The methodological approaches adopted in this chapter are different than the previous three case studies. Other than focusing on conducting interviews with the post-1990s audience on location as was the case in the previous chapters, this case study examines the making and screenings of my research documentary and argues that shared anthropology (Rouch, 2003) can generate new understandings of the topic in a British context. In addition, by undertaking participant observation of Jay Chou's London concert in March 2017 and conducting interviews with Chinese students studying in the UK, the chapter will examine how transnational subjects experience his music and how its audience meanings might differ compared with other geographical contexts. Finally, the chapter will draw on other cases of Chineseness constructed for different purposes outside of China, and argues that a version of Chineseness is emerging in the context of China's developing soft power. It is different than what prevails in the diaspora context or transnational market, and it is being promoted alongside and competing against other versions of Chineseness.

8.1 Chasing the China Wind: A Musical Journey

The production of 'Chasing the China Wind: A Musical Journey' (hereafter CCW), a 30-minute ethnographic documentary, was not entirely unforeseen, but the way the film developed and the role it plays in my research were eventually more fundamental and significant than I expected. It provided another opportunity for me to observe how Chineseness in China Wind music is perceived, particularly in the UK, where the film was screened. It can hardly be questioned that an ethnographic documentary is unlike a written ethnography. They are different mediums and the process of producing them already determines that the representations of research subjects will not be the same. However, a documentary film, similar to anthropology itself, is a process of knowledge as well as a mode of communication (Crawford, 1992). From filming, editing, to screening, and rethinking the issues of reflexivity I faced in ethnographic work at different locations appeared to be even more essential in these processes. 'Feedback screenings', according to Rouch (2003), provide the subjects who participated in the research with the opportunity to 'read' their representation. This provides a change to bring feedback and discussion back to the further

research. Therefore, feedback screenings are part of the research, and this is where the ongoing communication and interpretation takes place. At the screenings, I also received feedback and questions from both the audience and the informants who participated in the research. This provided another chance to re-examine issues of reflexivity: the relationship between the ethnographer and the informants, the camera and the subject, the viewer and the viewed. The way informants are represented can be discussed and challenged also.

According to Crawford (1992), the three stages of ethnographic writings (data → contextualisation → text) in many ways parallel ethnographic documentary production (footage → editing → film). Marcus and Fischer (1986) claim that what makes both approaches similar are the common challenges in terms of reflexivity, focus, and editing (p.281). This section follows the three parallel stages between ethnography writing and documentary making, thereby examining how they can influence each other in practice; it simultaneously addresses the challenges posed at each stage. This section uses the making of CCW as a case study and argues that filmmaking itself can be a research method that enriches both text- and film-based ethnography in studies of popular music. In this research, CCW in particular enriches the research in the UK, by hosting screenings in Liverpool and in London.⁷⁹ It starts by demonstrating how the practice reflects Jean Rouch's (2003) concept of 'shared anthropology' at each stage. This section will also discuss how this approach might be valuable, particularly for studies of non-Anglo-American popular music and issues around transnationalism, (in)authenticity, and the East/West dichotomy in cross-cultural contexts.

8.1.1 Filming in the Field

Starting with the expectation of documenting scenes where music takes place in my research sites, I brought along my Canon 500D camera and a tripod, flying from one site to another. As I gradually realised some informants were open to being identified and some interviews video recorded, film footage joined my audio recordings and were added to my fieldnotes. CCW was filmed during my 6-month fieldwork (September 2015-February 2016). After three months of editing, it is screened for the first time on 9 June 2016 in Fredericks Bar,

⁷⁹ For the screening events, see Appendix 5.

Liverpool. The video recording only took place when the interviewees give the researcher informed consent.

The preparation for the making of CCW before entering the field overlapped and mirrored that conducted for my text-based ethnographic research. These works were carried out since the start of this research, which included identifying connections in order to recruit informants, preparing key questions for interviews, looking up events to attend, finding interview locations, and so on. In theory, if the film was to use any footage and music of the artists concerned, authorisation from copyright holders would also have to be obtained at the preparation stage. However, as this film was designed to be research-use and non-profit material in the first place, this was not obtained until a later stage. Taiwan's intellectual property laws allows the 'remaking' of some resources without authorisation for some non-profit reasons, such as research and teaching (Copyright Law Article 65, Taiwan ROC).

As previously addressed in the chapter on methodology, prior to conducting the interviews, informed consent had to be obtained. Interviewees could agree only to audio recording while refusing video recording; under certain circumstances, researchers will not suggest video recording in consideration of anonymity and confidentiality issues. The participants had the right to withdraw from the study or withdraw their consent at any time during my fieldwork. In other words, the amount of information audio recorded data contained, is greater than that the video recorded material. Of the 92 participants that I interviewed, 26 were filmed.

The basic structure for the interviews for the video-recorded interviews were similar to the audio-recorded ones. The question structure is detailed in Chapter 3.



Figure 3. Holding the Camera and Conducting Interview (Screenshot from CCW)

Text- and film-based ethnographers have different ways of recording fieldnotes. The former leave the field with audio recordings and written notes; the later leave with footage on top of other notes they have taken. In the following section I examine the potential limitations and possibilities of the two approaches in terms of ethnographic representation.

Firstly, as the statistics provided earlier illustrate, the informants who were willing to be filmed were significantly fewer than those who preferred audio recording. Anonymity had to be guaranteed for the music industry workers who coped with issues around censorship and shared with me how institutional practices impacted on how Chinese identity is presented in the content. Even though videos can be pixelated, informants still tend to feel more secure and express their opinions more freely when recorded on an exclusively audio basis. Most of the audience interviewees who agreed to be filmed have a broad appreciation or approve of Jay Chou's China Wind music.

The other potential limitation for film-based ethnography is that the statistics below relate to the percentage of informants willing to be filmed, which varied in each location. Table 7. shows, in total, 42% of the participants in Taiwan agreed to be filmed (14 out of 34), while 19% agreed in Hong Kong (4 out of 21) and 17% in China (6 out of 35). It is noteworthy that there were a small number of informants who were not from the location where they were interviewed:

| All (agreed to be filmed) | Taiwan | Hong Kong | China (PRC) | UK |
|----------------------------------|---------|-----------|-------------|------|
| From China | 1 | 2 | 31(5) | 2(2) |
| From Hong Kong | 0 | 18(4) | 1 | 0 |
| From Taiwan | 32 (14) | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| From other nations | 0 | 0 | 2(1) | 0 |
| Identified with multiple nations | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |

Table 7. Cross-references of Interview Locations, the Origin of the Interviewees, with the Numbers of Filmed Interviews

The ratio of interviewees agreeing to filming in each research location and the reasons for their decisions reveal that the informants might have felt different levels of concern over being filmed:

We'd better just do audio recording. I tend not to be able to express myself clearly while being filmed. (JR Yang, JVR Music, Taiwan)

People say I don't know how to say things right. If there is anything I said that may offend people, can you not write it in? (Musician, Hong Kong)

This is going to be published outside of China, right? It is not the first time I was asked to participate in academic research. I went to Europe to speak on a panel about live music venues. But, you know, it always has to be overseas. (Music venue manager, China)

Another potential issue can be traced, not through statistics, but by contextualising the process of obtaining informed consent. In the information sheet that has to be processed prior to the interviews, it was clear that this research examines how a new sense of Chineseness is constructed in China Wind music, and how this practice is perceived by the audience. Most participants understand that issues around Chinese culture and identity will be explored, and then made their decisions regarding whether, or in what way, they wanted to participate.

People agreeing to filming tend to think there is nothing to worry about if the content is distributed. They might not consider the topic and the opinions they express as too sensitive to share. In the case of CCW, the participants filmed were inclined to like Jay Chou's music. Those who criticised China Wind music for many reasons, such as it being perceived as a cliché, shallow in its terms of its cultural reference, or exploiting traditional Chinese music elements, were less willingly to be identified:

Did I just say too much about politics? You said we can decide not be filmed or withdraw from the study anytime. I might have to change my mind! [laughs]
(Summer, Taiwan)

Many of my friends express their opinions about people from China (PRC) openly, whenever there is a football match between Hong Kong and the Mainland, or during the umbrella movement. I was born on the Mainland and came here during my primary school years. Sometimes I avoid openly discussing this because I don't want them to know I do not feel exactly the same way. (Lilian, Hong Kong)

Jay Chou, the key artist whose music is discussed in CCW, is a Taiwan-born pop star recognised as leading the China Wind trend while also being an icon of Chineseness. Jay Chou's Chineseness is intentionally ambiguous and vague, which cleverly avoids potential dissimilarities in perceptions of Chineseness in different markets. For the making of CCW, I was in touch with the company JVR who hold the relevant musical copyright and, rather surprisingly, managed to arrange a meeting with JR Yang, their CEO, within a week of contacting the company. Prior to authorisation, I held an audio-recorded interview with Yang regarding the music market.

The interview was not what I originally asked for but it turned out a very worthwhile opportunity to observe the company. Later on, the Copyright Department assisted us in transferring the music video digital files and signing an agreement authorising the making of CCW. None of the processes involved were video-recorded but the significance of the experience has become more important and vivid during the later stages of this project. These all contribute to what Ottenburg (1990) might call 'headnotes' which keep evolving even after fieldworkers leave the field (pp.144-46). Many scholars have noted that the analysis, or interpretation, is a crucial aspect of any form of ethnography (Heider, 2006; Rouch 2003). Whichever instruments we choose to record our fieldnotes, whether it is a camera, an audio-recorder, or a pen, eventually those notes do not change again after we take them back from the field and, together with the evolving headnotes, produce 'ethnography'.

8.1.2 Editing

In February 2016, I brought the audio recording files, fieldnotes, and video clips back to the UK. Having a lot of data to process and analyse, my thoughts constantly switched between the headnotes and fieldnotes. One question that I have been pursuing, concerns how video can function together with the written ethnography, potentially creating an analysis that covers different details while enriching the project. Loizos (1992) have shed some light on this question by suggesting that film can constitute a research method as it is an agent that allows us to form a better understanding of the inquiry. Thereby, through ‘words, plus intonations, plus pauses, plus facial expressions, and even a suggestion of the elusive quality of the relationship between anthropologists and informants, matters which an anthropologist alone might have difficulty writing about’ (pp. 60-61). In the case of CCW, after detaching from the field and looking back at these qualities in the footage, I found even more details in the informants’ expressions.

Apart from documenting the interactions between the fieldworker and the participants, the film makes an effort to cross linguistic barriers and to assist non-Chinese audiences’ understanding of the lyrics through English translations. Ceng (1999) points out that for its audiences, lyrics in Mandopop are traditionally viewed as more important than melodies. In other words, to help viewers in the UK or other locations to make sense of Mandopop songs, this effort is worth making. This was a rather challenging task because China Wind pop lyrics often can be read as collage of words replete with a traditional Chinese atmosphere. They can hardly be translated into English without changing meanings or discounting the poetics.

Jean Rouch (2003) sees cinema as a form of producing knowledge ‘with’ rather than ‘of’ his participants, while believing that ‘the film the researcher has made about the participants’ offers an extraordinary opportunity for direct communication’ (p.320). He has also proposed the notion of ‘shared anthropology,’ which he considers as ‘the only morally and scientifically feasible anthropological attitude,’ (p.44) given that it receives constant feedback from the participants.

However, to some commentators, editing might be the most ‘controversial’ stage of all when it comes to determining if or how an ethnographic documentary can play an effective role in the production of knowledge. Heider (2006) has suggested that cinematography involves irreversible decisions while filming, and leaves dealing with finite footage to the editing stage. He criticises the use of a number of elements when, interestingly, these particular

elements are very crucial to *CCW*, which include music, narration, and subtitles. Heider (2006) strongly disapproves of music as a distraction and the use of narration as ‘a result of a cameraman’s short of satisfactory footages’ (p. 9). In terms of subtitles, he also believes that a speech delivered in an exotic language is at times unnecessary to translate because ‘human use of language is often redundant’.

These critiques might be more valid for some ethnographic films more than for others. Nevertheless, for an ethnographic film on how Chinese-speaking audiences engage with a given type of pop music, especially when the aim of the film is to provide cultural interpretation to viewers using the English language, three elements are crucial. Firstly, the music videos need to demonstrate straightforwardly the aesthetics and conventions of this music style to the audience who have never heard of the songs. Secondly, the narration provides the researcher’s analysis after contextualization, which is the process that usually takes place in the writing of ethnography. Speaking in the first person and reflecting on one’s own position and perspectives, this practice also resembles writing in the first person while producing ethnography:

Narration in CCW: My next stop is Hong Kong, pearl of the East, the home of Cantopop.

Most people I met here speak Cantonese as their first language, and listened to Cantopop when they were in school. The interviewees kindly bear with me speaking either English or Mandarin, and more often than not both languages. Just as the languages we used here are a fusion of East and West, the locals’ musical influences are similarly diverse.

The other important function that narration has is to provide contextual information without deviating from the initial research plan. For instance, the key group that the research is targeting is the post-1990s music audience living in these locations. The use of narration has allowed the researcher to discover published literature relevant to what the informants discussed, and to present this to the viewers. As stated previously, this is also an important aspect of ethnographic writing, namely reflecting on the data (footage) and deciding what context is relevant to the interpretation, while detailing the information in order to provide an emic perspective on the consumption of China Wind music:

Narration: The ‘Song Dynasty’, a dynasty based in the south of China from the 10th to 13th centuries, is an era in Chinese history that many people reflect on while listening to China Wind music.

Ming-Ya: I think it’s great. Fang’s lyrics are like Song dynasty poetry in the images described and the terms used. Personally, I like them a lot.

I-Chun: Fang Wen-Shan’s lyrics always remind me of Song dynasty poetry, tender and sophisticated.

Lyrics are regarded as a crucial part of the cultural experience for most Chinese popular music listeners (Moskowitz, 2010). They are also the major focus for the study of Chinese pop (Chu 2006, 2009; Moskowitz 2010; Chow and de Kloet 2011; Chung 2011). The only way that we can present the lyrics’ meaning, audio, and visuals in sync, is to impose translated English lyrics. Many China Wind lyrics place all the nouns in the same sentence to create a cultural atmosphere while also using metaphors. Working with a professional English language editor and a film editor, we found the translation work challenging in terms of maintaining the poetic sentiment and avoiding a sometimes untranslatable sentence structure:

Rachel: While listening to Jay Chou’s songs, often I cannot understand what he is singing. I have to read the lyrics. After checking it again I find the images of Chinese culture are more vivid for me. As they said before, we think Chou and Fang are a classic songwriting duo. There is use of regional dialects in some lyrics. Apart from the different music theories, I think China Wind is special because of the lyrics. For instance, ‘Blue and White Porcelain’, I think people foreign to this language cannot understand it well. You can only appreciate it more deeply when you know the culture and traditions. (Taiwan, CCW)



Figure 4. Musiv Video with Original Translated Song Title (Screenshot from CCW)

8.1.3 Screening

As previously mentioned, at the beginning the film was intended to be a resource to communicate the research among a wider group interested in the project by illustrating these research sites' historical and political background information. However, it gradually started to have impact on the research methodology and analysis. This film has helped to open up new conversations with viewers in the UK while exploring a new dimension, namely perceptions of China Wind pop music in a transnational context.

Jean Rouch (2003) emphasised the significance of feedback screenings by suggesting that this opportunity to show the output to the people anthropologists have observed, which he calls 'audiovisual reciprocity', is already a new type of relationship between and anthropologists and participants. As he has written, 'Thanks to it (feedback), the anthropologist has ceased to be a sort of entomologist observing others as if they were insects (thus putting them down) and has become a stimulator of mutual awareness (hence dignity)' (p.44, insertions in the original).

Before the public screenings of CCW, we uploaded the film to a private link that could be viewed first by some of the participants and we asked them what they thought of it. This constant communication with those being filmed perhaps does not align with the more

traditional concept of 'leaving the field'; however, it does give participants an opportunity to express their views on the 'output'.

Some participants came to the public screenings. The rest of the audience included academics, University of Liverpool students, people interested in Asian culture, students intending to work abroad after their studies, and even some of the participants' friends who had a range of different occupations. The ethnic and cultural background of the audiences has been quite diverse. After screening the film, we usually had a Q&A discussion with me, the director and producer, and once with the film editor joining. The length of discussion differed but it was usually around one hour. These public screenings were found to provide invaluable resources in terms of the written ethnography, while there were repeated questions regarding the interpretation of culture. This has enabled me, the researcher, to even better comprehend the 'outside-looking-in' perspectives of the public audience.

Up to this date, questions in relation to authenticity and the transnational market have always been those the audience tended to ask. Sometimes the questions and subsequent discussions recalled the East/West dichotomy. At three out of the five public screenings there were questions around the authenticity of China Wind music and Chinese culture, and these were debated even among audience:

Audience member A (London screening) expressed their concern regarding the young music audience members as it seemed that 'They are no longer interested in traditional Chinese culture'. S/he also shared thoughts on K-Pop, which also had a highly 'westernised' sound to his/her ear.

Moore (2002) argues that the construction of authenticity depends on who is being authenticated by the performance. It could be that the listeners' experience of life is being validated; in which case, the consideration of authenticity should be the concern of the perceivers. This was the main type of authenticity that the interviewees involved in CCW experiences inquired about. According to Moore's proposed typology, it is a different type of authenticity than the one that is strongly attached to the sense of 'self-expression'. Participants' reflections on personal experience are often recorded in the interviews:

*Alice*⁸⁰: Back then I found the music style innovative. This is a style I had not heard of beforehand. It feels like the music is fused with our own culture. (Taipei, CCW)

*Xuxu*⁸¹: I play Chinese musical instruments. In the eyes of some musicians who play western instruments, they think of Chinese music as below western music. If a singer has popular tracks that involve the use of Chinese music elements, it feels as if Chinese music is lifted to a higher level. (Liverpool, CCW)

If R&B and hip-hop music is considered essentially ‘western’ because of its roots, China Wind music to listeners’ ears is doomed to be ‘inauthentic’. Due to recognition of the ‘inauthenticity’ of the music, the question that arises often is ‘Where is the “real” Chinese music?’ This logic has failed to identify how a music culture can travel and produce local meanings, which eventually makes the pursuit of ‘the real Chinese experience’ a search for an orientalist category. It also overlooks the complexity and imbalance that still exists in today’s music production system. The question we can ask here should not be whether certain countries have ownership over specific genres, but who has more access and power in relation to this ‘global’ music production system.

As Hesmondhalgh (1995, 2002, 2013) argues, in the popular music industry it is still the case that music outside of the ‘core’ countries has less access to the global industry; they have ‘unequal means of production, ownership, control, and consumption’ compared with their ‘core’ counterparts. China Wind music is a great example of this. Although some music genres have proved that ‘outside of core’ music can become influential (e.g. reggae, latino music), somehow this success still implies entering the Euro/American production system and is regarded as being ‘universal’.

The other question regularly addressed regards the tension between homogenization and heterogenisation in this transnational market. In this 30-minute film, I interviewed some singer-songwriters, buskers, and musicians who travelled from abroad. The intention behind this was to inform the viewers that there is another music scene and other types of music

⁸⁰ Alice, personal interview in the University of Liverpool, UK. 28 April 2016.

⁸¹ Xuxu, personal interview in the University of Liverpool, UK. 28 April 2016.

activities taking place in each location I visited. Some music is more locally focused than China Wind music.



Figure 5. Buskers, Hong Kong (Screenshot from CCW)

There is indeed interconnectivity in this transnational market in which China Wind music is consumed. These interconnections are marketable and present, not just in Jay Chou's music, but in many others' as well. The American-born Taiwanese singer Wang Leehom sees himself as 'an ambassador of Chinese culture' and has labelled his music as 'Chinked-out', with an expectation that it opens a door for Chinese music entering the Western world. On the most viewed music reality show in the PRC, *The Voice of China*, there are coaches from Taiwan each season. Another example is Hong Kong singer Sandy Lam, who was previously signed to Rock Records, a label in Taiwan and who won 'Best Album of the Year' (i.e. a Golden Melody Award) for her latest album *Gaia* in 2015, yet this recording features both Mandarin and Cantonese tracks. Sandy's co-producer is a classically-trained musician based in Beijing.

Chua's (2000) notion of 'pop culture China' – in turn a revision of Tu Wei-Ming's (1991) 'Culture China' – has brought to light the importance of understanding the political economy behind this consumer market. He has pointed out that 'in terms of the economy of the music industries and of the effects of the contestations to represent the multiple "Chinese" cultural

identities, the relative positions of these locations are not equal' (Chua, 2000, p.118). In today's popular music production, Taiwanese-ness, Hong Kong-ness, or Chineseness is hard to define and we should be careful regarding 'open signifiers' (Ang, 1998) that absorb different meanings. As Ien Ang (1998), Rey Chou (1998a), and Allen Chun (1996) have pointed out, Chineseness cannot be understood simply as an ethnic identifier, but as a theoretical problem that has arisen in the era of globalisation.

However, one thing that should be noted is that both in Taiwan and Hong Kong, in overall terms people identify themselves as either Taiwanese or Hong Kongers more than as 'Chinese' (Election Study Center NCCU, 2016; HKU Pop Site, 2017). Born after 1990, my Taiwanese interviewees grew up listening to China Wind music, their experience of it coinciding with their developing awareness of Taiwanese identity. At the premiere screening in Liverpool, we prepared a few 'listening stations' with CDs I brought from the places I visited. It created an opportunity for the audience to engage with the music made by some musicians interviewed in the film:

Hinry Lau: Yes. Our generation pays more attention to local issues. Older songs used to focus on romantic relationships, which are less interesting. Nowadays some songs express concerns over social phenomenon and resonate with many people. As musicians, we are trying to express a message. If the audience appreciates singing with a range of topics outside of Cantopop's traditional love songs, musicians will also be encouraged to write on diverse issues. (Hong Kong, CCW)

There was usually a mix of viewers at the screenings. For the audiences who already had some knowledge about the music scenes covered in the research locations, their post-screening perspectives also highlighted the negotiation of Chineseness:

Audience member C is an international student from the PRC, who is currently studying in Liverpool and who commented on the way the Hong Kong interviewee in the film considered Andy Lau's music as particularly 'Chinese', and said that for them this link is 'unimaginable'.

Audience member D, a musician from Hong Kong that I met at the London screening, suggests that s/he does not think Andy Lau's songs should be categorised as 'China Wind', as Lau's grew out of a completely different context than that of Jay Chou's

music. For this audience member, Andy Lau's song 'Chinese' is a patriotic song that marks the importance of 1997 when sovereignty over Hong Kong was transferred from the United Kingdom to the PRC. He then commented that the similarity between these two styles is they are both highly commercial.

8.2 Shared Anthropology

After the completion of the film and a few public screenings, CCW has turned into a useful tool that helps to re-examine my reflexivity and reshape anthropological practices in the broader research project. Initially, the film was to serve as an introduction to the research project as well as presenting initial findings. However, through the course of production, it was more and more evident that the film was not just a research product, but also a research method. The main focus of this ethnographic documentary (Crawford, 1992, p.74) is on how post-1990 audiences across Taiwan, Hong Kong, China (PRC) and the UK engage with Jay Chou's China Wind music. This film narrows down the scope of discussion by editing and focusing on the work of just one China Wind artist. In order to present what China Wind music is, I obtained authorisation from JVR Music to use its music videos in this documentary, and the film includes some interviews the researcher conducted.

The filmmaking and the screenings in the UK have enriched the research and brought me to two main conclusions. Firstly, the relationship between text- and film-based ethnography in this project cannot be regarded as a binary opposition, nor should the written text be seen as primary while the film is simply its by-product. I argue that for a written ethnography, the film is not a substitution but an accretion. Blake and Harbord (2008) have criticised Margaret Mead for employing photography and film alongside her written ethnographic method in the 1930s; they claim this process enacted a 'supplementation' (Derrida, 1976) that created a 'new production' rather than 'reproduction' (p.226) while the supplement, the audio-visual practice, provokes a crisis for the written ethnography (p.215). I would argue that in the case of CCW – an ethnographic documentary on popular music and its audience – this 'supplementation' creates a space for new observations while exploring this in-between space of research methods.

As Frederick Lau (2008) suggests, any understanding of the meaning of Chineseness requires historicisation and contextualisation, which also allows us to see how Chineseness has been reshaped in response to social and political changes. In the making of CCW, historicisation and contextualisation are facilitated by the music videos, narration, and the subtitles (p.40). This supplementation produces a line of flight (Deleuze and Guattari, 1980), not just escaping from the habitus of standard research practice, but the lingering shadows in the field of popular music studies that are inclined to question the authenticity of non-Anglo American pop music. This process of ‘fleeing’ from ‘reproduction’ to a ‘new production’, eventually provides resources that enrich text-based ethnography.

Secondly, film-based ethnography can be viewed as an experimental method in that even the screenings are at an experimental stage. The point is not to argue that CCW should be understood as an ethnographic film, however it makes a contribution to the understanding of an emic perspective and enables this understanding to make sense to someone with an etic viewpoint. In the case of CCW, the dialogues between the local audience who have not heard of China Wind pop songs at all, had the chance to compare, process, experience, and reflect based on their own musical experiences. Perhaps the use of narrations and making appointments with the interviewees to ‘talk about music’ could be viewed as deficient in terms of its ‘ethnographicness’ from Heider’s (2006) standpoint. Nevertheless, in practice, these have been useful strategies to, as Rouch (2003) typically puts it, ‘open up windows’ for the production of ethnographic knowledge.

Anthropologists including Jean Rouch or Robert Flaherty have not shied away from admitting that the presence of a camera will bring differences to the conditions of data collection in the field. According to Rouch (2003), this ‘participating camera’, is a ‘strategy to stage reality’ (p.33). I would argue that the editing and the screenings are also part of this staging process, through which we approach the ‘heart of knowledge’ (p.43).

Alice: Every China Wind song is touching, but my favourite is still ‘East Wind Breaks’ (Dong-Feng-Po). This song is so popular that people have forgotten that, despite being popular, it is a touching story. Two people in love, their interactions...

The lyric the ‘warm wine, memory, and my recollections of you become thinner’, the expression is subtle. It is beautiful.⁸² (Liverpool, CCW)



Figure 6. Alice Expressing Her Thoughts on 'East Wind Breaks' (Screenshot from CCW)



Figure 7. 'East Wind Breaks' Music Video Edited into CCW with English Subtitles

⁸² ‘A pot of wine, as my wandering is bitter and strong. Since you left, warm wine, memory, and my recollections of you become thinner. The water flows towards the east. How to steal time? Flowers blossom only once, yet I have missed the time.’ (‘East Wind Breaks’ lyrics translated into English, CCW)

In this section I have examined the making and screening of CCW and how the practices, which embody the notion of ‘shared anthropology’, can contribute to the study of non-Anglo-American popular music. We are perhaps now living in the future that Jean Rouch (1973) dreamed of, one with ‘completely portable colour video, video editing, and instant replay’ (p.13). Everything he listed is achievable on a tablet. When video recording is not as expensive as it used to be, a researcher like me who has a digital camera can produce a film. However romantic his thoughts are, Rouch’s imagination serves as a reminder of what easy-to-use and portable technology can do and, perhaps for some of us, suggests the possibilities of our future ethnographic filmmaking journeys: ‘at that point, anthropologists will no longer control the monopoly on observation; their culture and they themselves will be observed and recorded. Hence it is in that way that ethnographic film will help us to “share” anthropology’ (*ibid.*).

8.3 Jay Chou’s Concert in the UK and the Audience

On the night of 18 March 2017, there were many people queueing outside of Wembley Arena, London. Predominantly Chinese, the crowd was waiting for Jay Chou’s second sold-out ‘Invincible Tour’ performance in London. The price per ticket ranges from £58 to £518 (for a VIP seat in the first three rows). However, the tickets quickly sold out on the official site but they were greatly sought-after in the second-hand ticket market. Only two days after the general sales, on Viagogo, an online ticket marketplace, the tickets still available ranged from £250 to £900 (Chew, 2016). As both concerts were sold out very quickly, around 25,000 tickets were sold while the capacity Jay Chou’s concert was only 12,500. People flew in from Ireland, France and Switzerland to see Chou. There were also fans from Singapore who had followed his tour from Hong Kong, to Singapore, to London. Although this artist is less known to western pop music fans, his popularity demonstrates how the fluidities of transnational communications (Appadurai, 1996) and worldwide transportation fostered this concert-tour economy. On an evening when most people in the arena had typical East Asian hair colours and skin tones, the ones who could afford it attended the concert and sang along with the other attendees, feeling a sense of ‘simultaneity’ (Anderson, 1983) by sharing the same language and songs with the others in the arena.

As discovered in the previous chapters, there are still some areas in which Jay Chou's music is more popular than others. With digital and communication technology, fans no longer have to be in one place to learn about Jay Chou's music nor make sense of his music. As mentioned in Chapter 7, one interviewee, May, listened to Jay Chou's songs to learn to speak Mandarin in Uruguay; in London, Jay Chou's concerts could be a night of entertainment for those who could afford it. These Chinese-speaking communities, usually working or studying in the UK or Europe, actively contribute to reshaping the cultural flux in a globalised world. London's music 'scene' can no longer be described as singular, given that these fans and music acts from different parts of the world constitute little universes which do not overlap much with one another. These universes constitute a complex concert-tour economy that links one with another courtesy of fandom and popular music. Such universes resemble bubbles, in which the thin film that separates the inside and outside of the bubble creates boundaries for music activities, styles, and the people who participate in these events. These boundaries mark distinct different, and yet temporary music scenes (music bubbles) in London, with Jay Chou's London concerts testifying to the activities taking place inside the Mandopop bubble.

During the concert, Jay Chou sang many of his ballads the audience can sing along to; he did not rely extensively on China Wind songs for this tour. Only when he sang 'Blue and White Porcelain', did the visuals create a Chinese atmosphere. In contrast with the way he places Chinese identity to the fore in *The Voice of China*, during the concert he did not say anything about the Chinese language, nation or culture. He left a full hour at the end of the concert to take song requests from fans and interacting with them, instead of performing carefully rehearsed and specifically arranged tour performances. The concert was highly interactive; fans who were chosen to request songs shared their stories following Jay Chou's tour and so on. Although it was name 'The Invincible Tour', Jay Chou was perceived, not so much as an unreachable superstar, but a relatable performer who wanted contact with his fans. Before he sang 'Fragrance of Rice' (稻香), a song about returning home for a visit and finding the passion where everything had started, he said to the audience that he believed that many of them are studying, working and pursuing their dreams in a foreign land, and he was singing this song for them.

There was a large number of Chinese students from all around the UK and other European nations attending the concert. According to figured reported by the UK's Office for National

Statistics and the Home Office, the percentage of study visas granted to Chinese students is 37%, higher than that of any other country and out of the total number of international students. The number of Chinese students in the UK has stayed growing for the past decade (Times Higher Education, 2017). Chinese international students, such as Alice and Xuxu, are active participants in popular music cultures, whether at home or abroad. Geographic factors are no longer able to hold back the consumption of Mandarin pop music but informants still admit that the music-listening habits adopted in different locations have some impact on the music they listen to:

Yes... I listened to more European and American pop music after I came here. (Alice)
I could not use the streaming music apps I often use anymore. QQ Music, Netease Cloud Music, Xiami Music... I cannot use them overseas. So it is problematic. I have to find new ways to listen to music. (Alice)

Just as I felt the need to adapt to local streaming services when I was doing my fieldwork in China, the Chinese students in the UK experience a similar process. When transnational subjects reside in a new location, their shifting music preferences for music can be attributed to a series of complex reasons, particularly when issues such as technology and access to music platforms are involved. This hardly falls into the dichotomy between assimilating to the culture of the host society and or remaining unassimilated. Stephanie⁸³, who used to live in the UK but is now back in Hong Kong, reflected on her years in the UK and remembered listening to Cantonese artists, such as the band Beyond Often, but when she is in the UK, it is Anglo-American rock music that she listens to the most. Similar to the reflections of Stephanie and May, the informant in Suzhou, when the informants spent a reasonable amount of time in a place they were not local to, listening to the music they used to be familiar with appears to be a strategy to adjust and manage multi-faceted identities. Thereby tastes for music styles and genres cannot be seen as indicators of national identities.

Shin (2009) proposes the term 'CosmoAsian' to describe the state of being aesthetically cosmopolitan and culturally Asian. This notion also applies to Jay Chou's fans. His music features heavy influences from Western classical music and various styles perceived as having Western origins or popularised via mass-mediated production in the West, but his image as a local, Chinese, or to some extent Taiwanese artist as well as his status as the

⁸³ Stephanie, personal interview in Hong Kong. 24 November 2015.

doyen of Mandopop or ‘King of Asian Pop’ are unquestionable. As a ‘cosmopolitan’ taste in popular music is already common in these regions, Jay Chou’s strategies to attach Asian cultural values to himself are still evident. In his interview with *the Telegraph* (2017), he was asked how he feels about comparing his music to its Western counterpart, and his answer suggests the cultural and ethical concerns in his music:

I don’t think we ever need to compare each other’s music. A musical style is something that’s very personal and comes from within. (...) But, if I must compare mine to Western music, I think the biggest difference is that Western rap music [has] violence and swearing words, you won’t find any in mine. (...) With regards to my style, I am just trying to make music that sounds new and fresh for everybody. I am trying to show people stuff that’s positive. (Jay Chou, *The Telegraph*, 16 April 2017)

In the Chinese New Year celebration 2017 in Liverpool, there was a large number of Chinese students taking part and visiting the Chinese arch. The song Jay Chou referred to as a ‘song for the ones far away from home’, ‘Fragrance of Rice’, was played and many attendees sang along. For these transnational subjects, the status of being overseas and far from home is a common ground they share. This sentiment as conveyed in the music seems to be stronger and more tangible than the potential function of music serving as an emblem for a given Chinese identity. The status of being overseas is also more relevant on this occasion than the identity politics that prevail in each local Mandopop market. When the international students sing along to ‘Fragrance of Rice’, or another song, such as ‘Maple Leaf’ (楓) (2005), which Jay Chou wrote for students studying overseas, the audience can easily appreciate the music as ‘authentic’, as it ‘authenticates’ their experiences as listeners. This practice of authentication is revealed by the titles of entertainment news in Chinese languages. The focus is on this specific feeling of belonging. *ETtoday*’s (2017) article is titled ‘Jay Chou Sings “Fragrance of Rice” in UK Concerts. Question “Do You Miss Home?” Brings Up Tears of Overseas Students’; the *STEN News* (2017) article was titled, ‘Jay Chou Brings Warmth to Overseas Students: Ten Thousand Sing “Fragrance of Rice”, Brings Fans to Tears’.

This CosmoAsian sentiment can also be identified in Jay Chou’s music videos. Besides his China Wind songs, he shot his music videos in many touristic cities and locations in the UK, such as Edinburgh, at Big Ben and Notting Hill in London. There are some other European cities featured too, such as Verona, Florence and Paris. Chow also had his wedding in the

UK: a ceremony in Selby Abbey and a reception at Howard Castle. It was reported that the number of Chinese tourists to North Yorkshire rose after his wedding (Lewis, 2016; Amey, 2015; ITV News, 2015), and many claims that they went because of Jay Chou. His music career as well as the reception of fans in the UK reflect the power of the cosmoAsian sentiment, which shapes the transnational concert economies that connect various places by touring, while simultaneously forming bubbles for these cosmoAsians to dwell in temporarily when they choose to.

8.4 Soft Power: Competing Chineseness

At the University of Liverpool, there is a Confucius Institute right on campus, offering Mandarin lessons. The term ‘soft power’ was coined by Joseph Nye (1990), and can be roughly defined as the ability of a country to persuade others without coercion. The common currency for soft power is culture and foreign policy. The oft-mentioned top-down strategies developed in China include establishing these Confucius Institutes while promoting CCTV and Xinhua in the global media in order to widen their impact.

In addition, d’Hooghe (2011) points out that more than 500 Confucius Institutes have been established in over 80 countries. In these institutes traditional cultures – regarded as apolitical and harmless – are promoted in order to advance international relations. In the UK, Confucius Institutes organise *Chinese Song UK*, an annual singing contest for non-native Chinese speakers to sing Chinese (predominantly Mandarin) songs. In a flash mob music video⁸⁴ produced to advertise the final competition hosted in Manchester in May 2017, which adapted the melody of a song by a boyband, TF Boys, the Chinese lyrics as partly re-written delivered a straightforward message encourage Chinese language learning:

There are many rules in tonality in Chinese,
Why not learn to sing Chinese first?

中文有很多音調的規則
不如先學唱中文歌

⁸⁴ For ‘Flashmob- How hard is it to learn a Chinese song for English native speakers’, see ‘Films and Videos’.

In the video, there are some ‘foreign’ singers and dancers, mostly white, along with Chinese singers and dancers. This group sings about the beauty of music and the Chinese language on the streets of Manchester. As *Chinese Song UK* takes place in Britain, music contest shows airing in China such as *I Am a Singer* and the *The Voice of China* recruit singers from Kazakhstan, Thailand and Malaysia. Whether it is celebrating the global talents recruited to perform on a Chinese stage or encouraging the audience to learning Chinese language and culture, Chineseness is projected and mediated to attract a larger base. In the case of *Chinese Song UK*, it might be ‘foreigners’ who were or might be interested in Chinese culture; in the case of the music reality shows, it might be domestic viewers. In the meantime, the imagination of a Chinese community is reshaped during this process.

As the state invests in strengthening its soft power overseas via institutional efforts, music activities organised on the basis of a shared language culture also take place in a more organic form. For instance, Chinese Music Group (CMG, 中華音樂社) is a not-for profit organisation based at the University of Melbourne, Australia. Most members of the group are students, but some have gone on to pursue professional or semi-professional music careers, even staying to participate further after graduation. Founded in 1995, CMG started by hosting annual karaoke competitions. In recent years, their annual musical productions have become the highlights of all the CMG events. These include unplugged nights, annual concerts, singing contests and so on. The events demand various talents, from make-up, translators, visual artists to performers. Due to the fact that there are many South East Asian students studying in Australia, apart from students from China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, there are also a considerable number of Indonesian and Malaysian Chinese participating in the group. Chinese language – in this context mostly Mandarin Chinese – became the foundation of these connections.

In parallel with the integration of China into global capitalism, the PRC’s policies regarding cultural products have also contributed to the renegotiation of Chineseness. To take films as an example, China’s import film quotas, although appearing to be relaxed slightly (Mumford, 2017), have been a key reason why Hollywood productions try to feature Chinese actors and actresses. Appearing in *Now You See Me 2*, Jay Chou played a small supporting role and wrote the theme song, declaring that it is the first time a Hollywood movie has had a Chinese theme song. However, most of the roles these Chinese actors have played have been seen as ‘flower vases’ (Schwartzel, 2016), in other words flat and unimportant. Schwartzel also

observes that, in recent years, some Chinese actors have gradually started to seek major roles in Chinese productions, as these parts potentially provide more significant roles and better remuneration.

Another form of change triggered by global capital is exemplified by the expansion of Modern Sky. As briefly mentioned in the chapter on China, the independent rock label, Modern Sky, did not just reach out to the Sound City Music Festival in Liverpool and form a partnership (Music Week, 2016), it also founded a label based in the north of England. It is not only the largest festival promoter in China, but also the largest independent label in Asia. Almost unprecedentedly, a Chinese indie label established a branch in the UK not only to promote Chinese acts but also to promote and produce local talent. This step by Modern Sky suggests that the rethinking of the international flow of popular music and the capital behind it might be essential. An anonymous music critic comments that Modern Sky's business strategies are hard to understand even by insiders. Although the impact Modern Sky will bring to the UK market or if there will be more companies joining them in investing in the Anglo-American rock market is too early to call, these changes do signify the need to reconceptualise some notions such as 'national music', 'local culture', 'Chinese film' and 'diversity' as represented in cultural products.

What is worth mentioning is that while the PRC has been actively promoting the influence of Chinese culture through Confucius Institutes, other East Asian states, including South Korea and Taiwan, have been sending music acts to important music festivals in the West. Taiwanese bands were sponsored by the Ministry of Culture to perform at Liverpool Sound City Music Festival from 2010 to 2013, and at Glastonbury since 2014. The bands were sent as representatives and also cultural ambassadors to these festivals. Though constructing a competing sense of the Chinese past was the main aim of the nation-building agenda in the past in Taiwan, many music acts performing at these festivals had an indigenous heritage and actively promoted a Taiwanese identity rather than a Chinese one. In the two strategies Gilbault (1993) specifies in terms of responding to changes in the world system – promoting cultural identity and protecting local cultures – the first strategy, promoting cultural identity, seems to align with China's pursuit of soft power.

Although this exchange of transnational capital might give the Chinese or other nations a chance to develop soft power and initiate the process of the re-imagining of their cultures, Garofalo (1993) already reminds us that while facing a world where capital itself becomes

multicultural, this new diversity should not cover up the existing hierarchies of race and ethnicity. Hesmondhalgh (1995) also suggests the unequal access to music production and distribution still exist, so as uneven development in technologies and economic inequalities. The hierarchies are the reason why even though Jay Chou outsells Beyonce (Zhang, 2017), it is still challenging for him to gain audience outside of Chinese-speaking communities. His concerts in London is still in the universe with rigid boundaries, a bubble with indissoluble film.

Another factor that might get in the way of China's soft power could be its domestic policy and international relations; Nye (2012a, b) critiques that although there have been numerous attempts to strengthen China's soft power, there is still a long way to go. A series of domestic issues, including inequality, a lack of democracy and human rights, along with some international issues such as the tensions with neighbouring nation-states, weaken China's soft power, particularly in other East Asian countries and in the West. Nye (2012a, b) also claims that China's global image is perceived more positively in Africa and Latin America. This image of how China is mediated and how it actively presents itself also triggers Chinese diasporic subjects to respond while they simultaneously adopt multiple identities. These frictions between how a nation wants to present itself and how this effort is perceived reveal the paradox of soft power. Although this chapter focuses on how Chinese international students and workers participate in the construction of Chineseness and concentrates less on diaspora communities, Ang's (2013) warning that the absolutist sign of Chineseness is reinforced in the age of its very rise by the reductive logic of diaspora (p.20), is also echoes in these transnational communities. When transnational cultural economies become a stage for the performance of Chineseness, it is critical timing to examine various versions of these performances and to challenge the power structure which reinforces particular kinds of representations. The variations of cultural symbols and the arenas they are displayed in need to be investigated if they are to serve to deconstruct and question the absolutist sign.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

The perceptions of Chineseness in China Wind pop music are influenced by a set of complex factors, which include the audience's experience of place, different forms of nationalism, various layers of identities and personal histories. In turn, these factors were critically examined in this thesis through ethnographic research. However, the audience experiences of China Wind pop music in the four case study locations studied, although distinctive, have shared themes and common issues that can be discussed, thereby highlighting particular issues regarding how the post-1990s generation encounter and experience China Wind music. This final chapter of the thesis will, firstly, discuss the recurring themes and issues that prevailed in different research locations. They include how, respectively, Chineseness is perceived and constructed through listening to China Wind pop music; this process is informed by different forms of nationalism; music helps to renegotiate boundaries in the process of border crossing due to economic or educational reasons; a hegemonic Chineseness is constructed through popular music and is resisted by audiences and industry workers alike; and China Wind pop music casts 'shadows' of Chineseness while bringing audiences together.

Finally, the thesis limitations and future research agendas are discussed.

9.1 Chineseness in Multi-dimensional Space

Although Lan (2007) and Feng (2007, cited in Lan, 2007) argue that the popularity of China Wind peculiarly coincides with its de-Sinicisation in Taiwan, it might be more accurate to suggest that China Wind pop music is a product of the martial law era's education and nation-building project. It is likely that in the next decade, China Wind pop music might acquire derogatory connotations for audiences in Taiwan and Hong Kong due to growing anti-China sentiment. However, both Taiwan and Hong Kong have experienced waves of significant Han Chinese immigration from the Mainland, especially after the Ming and Qing dynasties. These immigrants also carried with them their musical traditions. To what extent their musical cultures can be understood as 'local' as opposed to 'Chinese' is worthy of further investigation. Just as the construction of Chineseness is political, so is Taiwanese-ness or Hong Kongness respectively.

It is noticeable how Jay Chou and Wang Leehom's use of *huaren* is powerful, as it transcends different layers of identities, even in the disjunctures of the global cultural economy. The phrase brings heterogamous groups together, including those transnational subjects who came to Jay Chou's concert in London. When they sing along, they find a sense of community and a new form of identity. This Chineseness is then circulated in media convergence, namely across TV programmes and films. To some extent, popular nationalism can go hand in hand with official nationalism in the popular music market. In this intersection of different forms of nationalism, Chineseness becomes chameleon-like, in that it changes colour to fit in with its background, thereby adapting to different media forms and markets. In turn, Chineseness becomes commercialised, safe, entertaining; it is intentionally vague and ambiguous, therefore questions such as which versions of Chineseness one is talking about seem to be avoided when popular music is consumed.

As Louie (2004) argues, Chineseness only becomes relevant when people use it as a tool to define themselves in relation to those around them. This stresses that an understanding of Chineseness cannot be achieved by only studying the text without its agents, namely those people who, in this process, actively participate in the creation and consumption of music. My ethnographic research in multiple locations included 92 interviews, mostly with 18-25 year-old music audiences of China Wind pop music, suggesting that the construction and perception of Chineseness through popular music is multidimensional, whether the investigation concerns a China Wind song or a person's experience of it. This thesis suggests there are at least four interrelated dimensions to be considered respectively: the political, the economic, identities, and listening journeys.

Firstly, in relation to the political dimension, official and popular discourses give shape to a sense of place. For example, in the PRC, the official and state-initiated discourse has a greater and more visible impact on popular music and the practice of music industries than other locations studied in this research project. However, that political agendas and motivations influence the authorisation of Chineseness is evident in all the locations. China Wind pop music is promoted through various channels. First, censorship mechanisms and regulations concerning the publishing or digital industries encourage cultural products with ideological content catering to the state's agenda. Second, China Wind pop music is widely used for national and ceremonial performances in China. Third, the music features on the school curriculum in Taiwan, Hong Kong and China. Nevertheless, micro politics and how individuals view China also influences their perceptions of a given music style or events in

relation to popular music. The protest that broke out in Taiwan in 2017 against the Sing! China concert⁸⁵ illustrates the resistance to a particular version of Chineseness, in this case one imposed by the state, while there were further questions regarding whether the concert was propaganda and if Taiwan's sovereignty was being compromised. As illustrated in Chapter 6, many interviewees criticised G.E.M.'s music as having a 'Mainland sound' in a derogatory sense. This demonstrates the intersection between the political and economic dimensions while also highlighting the increasing tensions in these regions, where an attempt to break into the Mainland market can be seen as involving a loss of integrity and authenticity. In this way, when investigating Chineseness it is important to understand what is happening in the political dimensions, whether at a macro, micro, national or regional level.

The second dimension is the economic one. The growth of music and media industries in the region has made the circulation of transnational pop culture and China Wind pop possible, thereby facilitating these cultural and musical flows while authorising a particular version of musical Chineseness from its production to distribution. The interviews with JVR Music in Chapter 5, on Taiwan, revealed that the company's familiarity with local marketing strategies helped it to target different markets. Chapter 7, on China, also suggests the growing middle-class population in the PRC has fostered a greater demand for different styles of popular music. This economic dimension overlaps with the political when issues of censorship arise. In this study, there are several cases in which artists silenced themselves in relation to sensitive topics or presented themselves in certain ways in order to cater to the Chinese market. Tzuyu from the K-pop group Twice is one example of these artists.

The third dimension is associated with identities. Various layers of identities and self/other identifications articulated by both artists and fans contribute to the construction and perceptions of Chineseness. As Part Two 'Analysis of China Wind pop music' illustrated, Jay Chou and Wang Leehom both embrace the notion of *huaren*, a term which has historical connotations of a sense of pride over other cultures while harbouring a vague sense of ethnicity rather than nationhood. In terms of those alien to the *huaren* who the artists

⁸⁵ On 24 September 2017, the Sing! China Music Festival, a concert supported by the cities of Taipei and Shanghai, was called off due to a protest by students and others at National Taiwan University (NTU). The students were protesting against the University's decision to rent out the sports field during term time; some questioned if the concert serves as Chinese propaganda as it was sponsored by the Taiwan Affairs Office at Shanghai. This protest was followed by violence when some pro-unification groups clashed with the protestors and some pro-independent students were injured.

constantly address, Wang is more explicit in referring to the West as ‘the Others’, a culture he grew up in but does not belong to. The interviewees also frequently described Jay Chou’s China Wind as presenting a ‘southern’ version of Chineseness with new folk or Chinese rock music as its ‘northern’ counterpart. These interpretations and perceptions are evidence that the authorisation of Chineseness is a matter of inclusion and exclusion, a practice of drawing boundaries. Both musicians and their audiences are defining a Chineseness located in complex web of relationships and histories. In addition, these negotiations of self/other identifications often take place in response to political and economic situations. For instance, in Chapters 5 and 6, both the Sunflower and Umbrella Movements that took place in 2014 carried a strong awareness of local identities responding to China’s strategies and pressures directed at Taiwan and Hong Kong. During these protests, songs were produced as movement anthems and become powerful symbols. As described in Chapter 8, Jay Chou addressed the London concert-goers as people living in a foreign land away from ‘home,’ thereby evoking a strong emotional resonance that was shared by the tearful audience members and in the concert’s media coverage. These identifications – whether as foreigners away from home or descendants of Chinese culture – are often reshaped and adapted by the given context in which different layers of identities are exhibited and utilised.

The fourth dimension to discuss here is the listening journeys involved in China Wind pop music. The listeners may recognise melodic shapes, orchestration, lyrical meanings and other music parameters, and in this process they identify Chineseness. This music listening experience as well as viewing journeys that go along with the music videos become an axis where the above-discussed three dimensions conjoin. These audio/visual experiences provide a space for ongoing identity work and a ‘material of subjectivity’ (DeNora, 1999). While understanding how individuals respond to such materials, it is similarly important to understand what they may actually hear or see, and only through further discussions regarding how different people perceive the music can this be achieved. However, it is important to bear in mind that the same audio or visual materials can still create very different meanings for different individuals. For instance, in the public screenings of China Wind music in the UK, viewers who were less familiar with Chinese popular music sometimes exchanged their views with those who were. The major pentatonic scales usually employed in the songs were typically identified as a characteristic feature of China Wind ballads. However, during the screenings and discussions of China Wind pop, some attendees and interviewees identified the use of pentatonic scales as an R&B convention. This provides an

example of how cultural proximity can influence how patterns of music are interpreted. It also highlights the importance of taking journeys into these multi-dimensional spaces.

When Chineseness in popular music is constructed and consumed in a multi-dimensional space, it is an unsettling resource which can change its look and content when set in different contexts. This is a resource for the creation of pop music with potential economic value, a resource for individual identity work, and the basis for a particular kind of political statement. In this multidimensional space, fieldworkers chase the shadows that accompany ethnographic work in the field. Echoing Cooley's (1997) descriptions, these shadows are formed from a web of personal histories, which include the histories respectively of the fieldworker, academic field, and those studied (p.5). Only by understanding these shadows is it possible to comprehend some interviewees' mixed feelings towards China Wind pop music, the protests against *Sing! China* in Taiwan, the reluctance to listen to G.E.M.'s music as expressed by some interviewees from Hong Kong, and the resistance to the hegemonic Chineseness which a music style seems to embody.

The above-mentioned dimensions are often interrelated as well as running concurrently, for example, a given event that has influenced the reconfiguration of Chineseness often has complex political and economic contexts. Therefore, these proposed dimensions should not be seen as a rigid framework, but rather as a set of tools to investigate a music style that triggers a multi-layered identity on the part of the individuals who encounter this music. For instance, another style that seeks to present Chineseness, *Gufeng* music, encourages 'prosumers' who produce and consume symbols and images simultaneously. Digitalisation and the internet communities made distribution and production of *Gufeng* music possible, and the Chineseness it represents is derived from a specific fan culture and production process. An understanding of the style and its cultural meanings would benefit from the exploration of its economic and identity dimensions.

Another example not covered in this thesis is Chinese rock music, as many rock acts also employ traditional Chinese music elements. Liang Long (梁龍), the lead singer of Second Hand Rose (二手玫瑰), a band that often incorporates traditional Chinese folk music, has said that the folksy rawness in some Chinese traditional opera can be a good fit with rock music (Sound Stage, 2013), and he is explicit in his argument that the Chineseness in his band's music conveys a sense of 'contradictory emotions' that is particularly Chinese.

Although this thesis has not explored Chinese rock music, the framework developed in this

dissertation can serve to further investigate the distinctively different senses of Chineseness evident in other styles and genres.

During the course of ethnographic research, my own shadows in the multi-dimensional space of understanding Chineseness were also uncovered: my personal history of growing up in post-martial law Taiwan; my interests and doubts concerning the growing entertainment business in China; and my personal inquiry into musical identities as a transnational subject, have joined my journey investigating Chineseness.

9.2 The Post-1990s Generation

For the post-1990s generation of urban youth who have access to mass-mediated popular music in the locations studied, education is a theme that often came up in the discussions of China Wind pop music. Across Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China, the lyrics of China Wind pop music have been incorporated into Chinese language examinations, literature seminars, and music curricula. The canonisation of China Wind pop music in the education system was facilitated by the former's mass mediation. The stress interviewees faced while taking university and high school entrance exams were often mentioned, thereby they saw popular music as either something that might distract them from studying, or a resource to help them relax or bond with their peers. In all the research locations, the languages used in the songs were central to their decisions regarding what music to listen to. Anglo-American popular music was listened to more when they started to learn the English language, as many of them understood it as helpful. In Hong Kong, where Cantonese is most people's native tongue, some interviewees also relayed that they listened to Mandarin songs alongside learning Mandarin. This 'cosmoAsian' state (Shin, 2009) is not only an emblem of economic growth and transnational experience, but also a result of the English language functioning as a default lingua franca taught by schools across these locations.

Another common theme that the interviewees often mentioned does not concern the musical content itself, but rather their reflections on it at particular moments and time. The 'coolness' Jay Chou's music embodies, and the life journey the interviewees experienced as they listened to the music, served as a reference to specific times, locations, and states of mind. As DeNora (2000) argues, music plays in real time and it also serves to organise the memories of its listeners. Throughout the course of the field research, it was clear that Jay Chou's music

influenced its listeners' memories given the information shared by many interviewees. Nevertheless, although popular music may connect a person to the past while helping to make sense of the meaning of particular events, it also engages with the here and now. As Chapter 7 illustrated, Mainland urban Chinese – usually the only offspring due to the one-child policy – have faced challenges due to China's recent urbanisation, modernisation and rapid economic growth. Given these fast-paced developments, the common rhetoric of reality shows, such as in *the Voice of China*, includes pursuing dreams, working hard, moving to a big city, and finally making it there. This theme has gradually become prevalent in the landscape of Chinese popular music. In March 2017, the Malaysian-Chinese artist Namewee released a successful single featuring Wang Leehom, called 'Stranger In The North' (飄向北方), specifically portraying the sadness and homesickness of a Southerner drifting to the north. As of November 2017, it already had 98 million views on YouTube. These programmes and songs are also consumed by audiences in Taiwan and Hong Kong, although their growing misgivings towards the PRC have been expressed through social movements and anti-China sentiments in the past year. It would be interesting to further investigate how Chineseness in mass-mediated popular music will manifest itself and be perceived in these places as the political and social climate changes.

The significance of the economic aspect can never be overestimated in popular music consumption, especially for pop music in general and China Wind pop in particular, the latter a style on the receiving end of transnational publicity. As explained in Chapter 7, the XJTLU interviewees often came from well-off backgrounds as reflected by their meeting the requirements of rather expensive tuition fees. In contrast, the university students interviewed in Taiwan and Hong Kong do not necessarily have to meet such onerous financial criteria, but as both universities are quite academically competitive, many of the students are from families that have capacity to invest in education. Transnational subjects who migrate to the UK for work or study were another group studied in this thesis. Overall, the groups studied in this research have the capacity – more or less – to invest in music and concert tickets. Chapter 8 revealed that Jay Chou's London concert in London attracted attendees not just from the UK, but also from neighbouring European countries such as Switzerland and France. The moment everyone sang along with 'Fragrance of Rice,' a shared language, a transnationally-loved idol bonded together a heterogeneous group constituted as *huaren*. The concerts, no matter if China Wind pop songs are performed or the way in which way the attendees were represented, served to call out to a group with perceived cultural and ethnic markers, thereby

bringing this dispersed population back to where they belong. As the last lyric goes: ‘Come back home! Back to the beautiful home where everything started’⁸⁶.

The growing number of overseas concert tours of big Mandopop acts, their practices and audience meanings are other areas of study that need to be explored. This international concert tour economy is enabled by global popular culture flows as well as migration. The next section will explore how border-crossing and cultural imaginations play a growing and significant role in both the consumption and production of Chinese popular music today.

9.3 Border-crossing

Overall, paradoxical relationships to Chineseness have often accompanied audience experiences of China Wind pop music, while the discussions of these same relationships reveal their reconfiguration. An important issue that constantly came up concerned migratory flows and people’s personal routes to and from various places. The border crossing of audiences, musicians and the music industries are reshaping configurations of the notion of Chineseness. For instance, there have been a growing number of Mainland Chinese students studying in higher education institutions in both Hong Kong and Taiwan (Parr, 2017; Matthews, 2016) and an increasing number of tourists. It is also common for Taiwanese to work in Beijing or Shanghai, and for musicians to travel and work in these areas. A Mandopop album today is usually produced by a team of workers from a variety of locations. As discussed in Chapters 7, in metropolitan Chinese cities such as Beijing and Shanghai, the ‘expats’ who move to these big cities for work and who play music on the side have actively contributed to the music scenes. The increasing flow of people has had a significant impact on how and where Chineseness can be a resource for identity construction, the construction of which also takes place at both an economic and cultural level.

As illustrated in the case studies, some of the university students interviewed in Hong Kong moved there from Mainland China at different points of their life, while Hong Kong- and Taiwan-born students were studying in Suzhou. As they discussed their experiences listening to China Wind pop in particular or Chinese popular music in general, they frequently referred to places where they had spent time while also describing their feelings and travel routes. While they discussed what is depicted in the music, such as the streams of water, ancient

⁸⁶ Researcher’s own translation from the original Chinese lyrics: 回家吧 回到最初的美好

Chinese gardens and so on, what was more significant to them was ‘when’ and ‘where’ music is listened to and the personal histories associated with it. The sense of place is equally important and valuable for the musicians interviewed in terms of how their music was produced and staged: for example, Jay Chou emphasised the concept of ‘home’ in his concert in London.

This echoes what Appadurai (1996) has written:

What is new is that this is a world in which both points of departure and points of arrival are in cultural flux, and thus the search for steady points of reference, as critical life choices are made, can be very difficult. It is in this atmosphere that the invention of tradition (and of ethnicity, kinship, and other identity markers) can become slippery, as the search for certainties is regularly frustrated by the fluidities of transnational communication (p.44).

It also emphasises the symbiosis of the global with the local in popular cultural flows. China Wind pop music is itself a type of pop music heavily influenced by the global pop repertoire while characterised by Chinese sentiments. Some of the consumers of China Wind pop music have also experienced a long and continuous process of migration and negotiation, the latter which took place when the audience first encountered the music, when some of the informants created a playlist for China Wind songs, negotiations that were still taking place when they attended Jay Chou’s concerts years after.

Popular music industries are also increasingly engaged with border crossing: musicians are frequently travelling through and working in different locations, and it is becoming more challenging to identify where an album or a song is made due to the transnational creative process taking place. When it comes to creating a pan-national but Sino-centric Chinese identity, there are intentional efforts made in some entertainment genres to highlight a ‘One China’ Chineseness, such as in *The Voice of China* (now *Sing! China*), where contestants from Hong Kong or Taiwan are captioned as coming from ‘Chinese Hong Kong’ (中國香港) and ‘Chinese Taiwan’ (中國台灣). Besides these declarations, what is more subtle is the drive behind the capitalist logic seeking out larger markets. While the representations of geographical boundaries among the research locations seem to be blurring, the cultural imaginations formed when engaging with popular music regarding place and identity are still

remarkably powerful. Many interviewees reflected on how they think about a place and how they understand different ways of thinking or living by listening to music.

These imaginations are created in or conveyed by popular music, and they become points of reference when the listeners define cultural boundaries. These imaginations are also at work when a Mainland Chinese student praised Sodagreen and claimed that Taiwan has preserved an authentic and traditional Chinese culture (Kiki). They also prevail when Taiwanese students imagined a rural lifestyle when listening to Chinese new folk songs (Penny, Ann), or when Hong Kong students conjured Taiwan as a place where creativity and a more laidback lifestyle are encouraged when listening to 'Little Fresh' music (Vicky, Tommy). These imaginations also exist between the north and south of China as general categories, or even in the music scenes in individual cities. It is noticeable that music production and consumption both have the tendency to be mobilised by a sense of place. In turn, music ethnography on such a topic might serve as a reminder that the notion of Chineseness in popular cultures today is shaped by global and regional economies, but also by micro-histories, personal journeys, nostalgia and the search for points of reference. All of the above change over time. The 'consumers' of popular music are not considered as the end of the process, instead they actively produce meanings and take part in the conceptualisation of Chineseness.

In Hong Kong and Taiwan, many interviewees stated that they enjoy listening to China Wind songs, yet they have doubts regarding defining themselves as Chinese or acknowledging a proximity to Chinese culture. In contrast with such an unsettling relationship to Chineseness, most Mainland Chinese interviewees were comfortable identifying their sense of belonging to Chinese culture, although they also express doubts in terms of what Chinese culture stands for and whose cultures are included when it comes to north/south cultural differences and ethnic minorities in China. These in-depth details about the production and consumption of China Wind pop music suggests a certain multi-layeredness and contradictory condition. In this way, music ethnography offers a means to explore such a sense of disturbance, disconnectedness and doubt, all of which are easily masked by untested assumptions or direct interpretations of sales statistics.

What should also be kept in mind is that these contradictions are not only found in the contextualisation of Chineseness alone; other essentialist assumptions concerning cultural practices, production and fan cultures can be examined as well. Whether or not 'Hong Kongness', 'Taiwanese' or even 'the Sinophone' as an entity can be constructed as narratives

competing with Chineseness, they can be identified as fluid and constantly in flux. When transnational communication and popular music economies seem to blur these boundaries, the sense of place is simultaneously reinforced given that cultural imaginations and acceptance of contradictory conditions are both involved in the process of listening to music. Eventually, China Wind pop music might have the potential to encourage the listeners to draw, redraw, and renegotiate these boundaries.

However, the way in which these identifications are fluid and in flux does not mean that there are no dominant narratives which have political implications and impact on its audience. Rather, it is because Chineseness is shaped by many factors while the world is in cultural flux, that the search for points of reference becomes even more prevalent and powerful, hence the attempt to create a unified and homogenous Chineseness. As Firat and Venkatesh (1995) have argued, postmodern consumers live in a world of contradictions, yet they are 'not attempting to produce a unified experience as they see these contradictions as an existential condition' (p. 260). In a similar vein, the China Wind pop music audience can also live with such contradictions. The popularity of this music across the borders reflects that, even though the audience are aware of its contradictions, it has not stopped them from making use of the music.

9.4 Limitations

This thesis explored the construction and perceptions of Chineseness through ethnographic methods, analysis of songs, and ethnographic film making. The main strength of such combined research methods is its ability to investigate micro histories as well as ambivalence and ambiguities in relation to identity formation. However, there are also some limitations in the analysis that originate from such methods and their practice. Firstly, the thesis focuses on university students who were approached with the assistance of local gatekeepers, the former mostly communication students whose academic training might have equipped them to think more critically about media representation and its social meanings. It is crucial to bear this context in mind while providing analysis, so that the focus of this research is not obscured by the attempt to represent a group beyond the scope of this thesis. As discussed in Chapter 3, Methodology, it is important to remain aware of reflexivity and the conditions that prevail on the ground when approaching certain groups.

Another limitation originates from the uneven access to the research sites and the unequal number of interviewees in each location. Although unpredictability in the field is an expected part of research, different levels of access in different case studies, can also provide an understanding of why it is more challenging to find interviewees than others in some places. For instance, gaining access to students in Hong Kong was harder than the other locations due to how busy they were. Those Hong Kong university students that I did encounter tended to have part-time jobs, internships, or were taking part in many other events outside of their coursework. The interviewees also mentioned that stress and a fast-paced lifestyle are considered common in Hong Kong. However, I had more access to industry workers in Hong Kong due to my initial contacts, who in turn introduced me to other contacts, who then did the same again. These become invaluable resources for my investigation of the music industries. Circumstances led my research in Hong Kong in this direction, and the challenge was to put these circumstances into the research context and identify the differences compared to the case studies developed in this thesis.

Finally, there was a limited period of time in the field for this research, and as the design of this research includes four case studies, the time spent in each location was shorter than the traditional concept of ethnographic fieldwork would suggest. A longer period of time in the field would have been beneficial for a deeper understanding of the interviewees' social practices, not just on an individual level. As a postgraduate researcher who has limited resources in terms of time and funding, six months was a practical amount of time to be in the field in order to complete this research. However, the preparation before entering the field proved to be essential. Being a 'return-home' fieldworker has several advantages for the completion of fieldwork on a tighter schedule. These advantages include fluency in the local languages, initial contacts, easier access to groups, and a sense of intimacy or sameness that the interviewees can relate to. Compared to ethnographic fieldwork in other disciplines such as criminology or medicine, gaining access in music ethnography is often more straightforward, and in many cases the interviewees are less guarded. My fieldwork ran smoothly, and one realisation I came to is that most people are willing to talk about popular music and the music that they love, whether or not they do this for a living. However, this research still involved a substantial amount of data even though it was conducted in a more compressed timeframe.

9.5 Finale: Future Research Prospects

This thesis focused on four case studies, examining how audience or music industry workers based in different locations perceived and constructed Chineseness in China Wind pop music. The majority of the groups who took part in this study travel for work or study and, on the one hand, they might be considered as groups Lasch (1994) refers to as cosmopolitans who have no sense of political commitment to a specific community. On the other hand, they could be cosmopatriots (de Kloet and Jurriëns, 2007) engaged in long-distance nationalism who are passionately devote to their imagined, home community (Appadurai, 1996). This research examined four locations, but it is crucial to recognise there are many other places worth investigating due to the widespread popularity of China Wind pop music and the distinctive histories of Chinese-speaking populations.

It is noticeable that diasporic communities have shown a particular interest in China Wind pop music. For instance, Jay Chou's 'Chrysanthemum Terrace' (2006) has been performed recurrently by Chinese diaspora music groups such as Minhua Chorus based in Minnesota, USA. The same song was also adapted and performed by Kaoshiung American and the Taiwan Compatriots choir. China Wind pop music may stand for a sense of Chineseness, a representation of the home culture, something to be proud of and worth preserving in a diasporic context. Chapter 8 examines Chinese international students and immigrants in the UK as well as their participation in Jay Chou's concerts, but what has not been explored yet is under what circumstances China Wind pop music is employed and performed by diasporic Chinese as a resource for identity construction. In the case of Jay Chou, besides the locations studied in this research, he also has a large fan base in Singapore, Malaysia, Chinese communities in North America, and so on, which thereby creates wider audiences for his China Wind pop songs. This is evidenced by the popularity of his world tour. The Kuala Lumpur concert of his 'Invincible Tour' (2016) took place in Stadium Merdeka, which has a 40,000 capacity, and was sold out in days; another 40,000 tickets for Singapore's National Stadium were sold out in two hours. (AsiaOne, 2016)

Just as the people in these locations are depicted as connected in media representations – exemplified by the notion of *huaren* – how China Wind pop music is perceived in the Sinophone world needs to be explored further. Echoing the study of *The Voice of China* (Now *Sing! China*) in Chapter 7, entertainment programmes calling out to all the Chinese (or *huaren*) around the world to be proud of their music culture is not uncommon. The popularity

of the new talent show *The Rap of China* (2017) (中國有嘻哈) also reveals how music can be branded as national and valued for its nationalistic characteristics, as the oft-repeated refrain of the show is that Chinese hip-hop does not only exist, but that it can be as great as that of other nations while also having a distinctive sound. As discussed in Chapters 2, 5 and 7, the authorisation of a particular type of Chinese national music was often initiated as part of a nation-building project. These new reality shows and music suggest that the re-authorisation of a 'national music style' can also be started by a set of industrial practices. These practices may include the assessment of the potential market, the reconfiguration of various kinds of resources, and the general understanding of mass music tastes. This is not to say that the official, the commercial and the popular should be viewed as mutually exclusive when analysing the making of a music that stands for a nation, as a considerable amount of the literature has suggested a complex relationship between the three (Baranovitch, 2003; Fung, 2007).

Therefore, musical Chineseness can be constructed and located in various transnational cultural flows. Other than the music produced by musicians as well as transnational companies, what can be further investigated is the role Chinese state-funded institutions – such as the Confucius Institute – play in the construction of musical Chineseness. As mentioned in Chapter 8, the Confucius Institute hosts Chinese Song UK, an event which encourages contestants foreign to the Chinese languages to sing Chinese songs. In this way, the Confucius Institute uses music as a means to enhance cultural influence and demonstrate soft power. Additionally, music production in diaspora also contributes to the re-shaping of musical Chineseness. Therefore, Chineseness in the social practices of music making and listening is constantly re-shaped and re-authorised by different parties with various agendas within these transnational music flows. The following questions could be pursued in future research: How do these music flows work in a regional and global context? Who engages with music through these music flows and how do they experience it? How do these flows contribute to the shaping of Chineseness and do they have to negotiate with one another?

This thesis may raise more questions than it answers. Echoing the case studies provided in this thesis, it is evident that 'being Chinese' today can influence both music production and perceptions. For the musicians and entertainers, Chineseness can be performed and, in the

case of Tzuyu's public apology⁸⁷, the performance was demanded. For the people who listen to the music, identity work follows. All of these events seem to question Moskowitz's (2010) 'tail wags the dog' analogy which he uses to emphasise how Taiwan's Mandopop music is able to export a transnational ethos while simultaneously culturally influencing its PRC audience. This metaphor may also apply to Cantopop as Hong Kong was the major exporter of music to the Mainland before Taiwan, as illustrated in Chapter 6. This analogy might have seemed appropriate at the time, but as for today, the 'tail' seems to symbolise an unbroken tie that keeps 'two coasts and three places' (兩岸三地)⁸⁸ entangled, a situation where popular music and politics is intertwined while Chineseness is de-centred and yet re-centred. In these negotiations, China Wind pop music provides a platform for cultural imaginations to be constructed and performed. As powerful as these constructions can be, only when the micro-histories of the subjects involved are being heard, can a dominant and hegemonic Chineseness be challenged, deconstructed, and perhaps subverted.

As with many other trends in pop music, the study of China Wind pop benefits from a time-place framework. In this case, this research focused on the music which was produced and became popular in the 2000s, and the thesis explores how the post-1990s audience perceive and make use of this style of music in their everyday lives across four locations. However, it is noticeable that China Wind pop has been transforming and evolving into a style with distinctive and different sounds. It might be fair to say that, on one hand, some fans still expect Jay Chou to release China Wind songs; on the other hand, the decreasing fascination with the style demonstrates the law of diminishing marginal utility as China Wind pop seems to have had its heyday in the 2000s. Both of the versatile musicians discussed as case studies in Part Two have moved on to pursue various musical styles other than China Wind pop music. For instance, there is no particular emphasis on musical or lyrical Chineseness in Wang's album *Your Love* (2015). Other than Mandarin ballads, this album also includes songs with an apparent EDM (electronic dance music) influence as evidenced by Wang's

⁸⁷ On 15 January 2016, a day before the presidential and legislative election in Taiwan, Tzuyu, a 16-year-old Taiwanese singer, who began her career in Korea performing in the girl band Twice, publicly apologized along with JYP, one of the biggest and most influential Korea entertainment companies, for waving a ROC flag given to her by the production team on a TV programme. She declared: 'There is only one China. As a Chinese, I am deeply sorry to have hurt the feelings of the people of my motherland'. The video swept the Internet and provoked anger among the Taiwanese.

⁸⁸ *Liangan sandi*, meaning China, Hong Kong and Taiwan.

collaboration with the Swedish DJ Avicii on the song 'Losing Myself'. On Jay Chou's album, *Bedtime Stories* (2016), there is no distinguishable China Wind pop song as found on most of his previous albums. In the interview with JVR Music's CEO, when asked if the company would produce more China Wind songs as Jay Chou had encouraged the contestants of *The Voice of China* to do, JR Yang said that he looked forward to the further growth and development of this style as advanced by emerging artists, but it might be difficult to go beyond what Jay Chou and Fang Wenshan had already achieved because it was an exceptional success that required the right artists working together at the right time.

It is noteworthy that on Jay Chou's *Bedtime Stories*, there is only one song that still features a riff in a major pentatonic scale, 'Now You See Me'. It is an electronic hip-hop song written for the American film, *Now You See Me 2*. On the film's official YouTube channel, it was described as the first time a Chinese-language song was a theme tune in a Hollywood film. However, other than some riffs which still have an identifiable influence from the Chinese five-tone musical system, 'Now You See Me' features various styles and musical cultures, such as the set of musical notes employed in the bridge which reflects Hollywood's imagination of an exotic Orient. The pieces of the collage are no longer confined to recollections of ancient China or the re-imagining of traditional Chinese culture, rather they can function as performances of a global Chineseness which pursue connections to an international market. In addition, several of Jay Chou's songs became the theme songs of Chinese films, all of which are set in imperial China. These songs include 'Fearless' (2006), 'Chrysanthemum Terrace' (2006), and 'Golden Armour' (2007). In contrast with the above-mentioned songs, in 'Now You See Me' (2016), the construction of Chineseness is not as explicit. Nevertheless, in the written introduction and press release regarding this song, a *huaren* artist trying to connecting to a global audience was heavily emphasised, as if it is a milestone for *huaren* to be proud of. Both Jay Chou and Wang Leehom appear to have attempted to bring the global into their music while also employing elements recognised as local. It is worth researching if trying to represent Chineseness in the international market, as Jay Chou and Wang Leehom did in 'Now You See Me' and 'Losing Self', will be the new strategy in the next decade to construct Chineseness in pop music.

This thesis focussing on popular music might not be as soft or light-hearted as the music discussed here. Nonetheless, as Ruth Behar (1996) has put it, 'anthropology that doesn't break your heart just isn't worth doing anymore' (p.177). A study of a popular music audience is able to reveal the troubling negotiation of contrasting identities, hopes, and

dreams. It is this ambivalence and ambiguity that is worth exploring; the moment the interviewees were in deep thought and remained silent for seconds offered the most significant meanings to the journey. The contestations this thesis presents were often hard to put into words, and often easily overlooked as the music industries seek a larger audience and market expansion. How these contestations influence the way music is consumed and perceived is also challenging to measure. As Cooley (1997) writes, many shadows join us in the field. This research has also had no escape from the lingering shadows of political histories, education systems, personal heritage and collective memory; neither does it avoid potential resistance to all of the above. This thesis can only facilitate a limited glimpse of these ‘shadows,’ which followed certain post-1990s music audiences as they listened to popular music and negotiated their identities.

Markets, industrial practices, media censorship issues, cross-industry convergence, and musicians’ artistry will continue to play a part in constructing the representation of what being Chinese ‘sounds’ like. These negotiations take place just as global Chineseness is being de-centred and re-centred simultaneously. Meanwhile, Chineseness in pop music is constructed in a multi-dimensional space; it becomes an unsettling and changing resource, which was and can still be adopted in diverse social-political contexts to facilitate the creation of pop music. China Wind pop music may be a fad which comes and goes quickly, but it is evident that questions of Chineseness should be investigated as they change in this multi-dimensional space, including the audience’s perceptions, experiences, understanding and use of the music. This thesis offers a glimpse of my journey chasing the China Wind, while the future shape of Chineseness in Chinese pop music, and to whom it will be disseminated, are yet to be pursued.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Participant Information Sheet (English)



Participant Information Sheet

Questions of Chineseness: A study on China Wind Pop Music and Post-1990s Generation in the PRC, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the UK

I am Chen-Yu Lin, a postgraduate researcher from University of Liverpool currently researching on Chinese popular music. You are being invited to participate in a research study. Before you decide whether to participate, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and feel free to ask us if you would like more information or if there is anything that you do not understand. We would like to stress that you do not have to accept this invitation and should only agree to take part if you want to.

Thank you for reading this.

What is This?

This research aims to examine how a new sense of 'Chineseness' is constructed in China Wind music, and how this practice is perceived by the audience of post-1990s generation who have diverse life experience.

What Am I Invited?

You are engaged with post-1990s Chinese popular music as an audience, or music industry worker.

What Will Happen if Take Part?

You will be interviewed by the researcher. The interviews will be audio recorded. You can decide if you want your names be identified in any reports produced using information obtained in the interview. Your participation in this project is voluntary so you will not be paid for participation. You can withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

What if I am unhappy or if there is a problem?

If you are unhappy, or if there is a problem, please feel free to let us know by contacting:

Dr. Haekyung Um
+44 (0)151 794 3084
h.k.um@liverpool.ac.uk

If you remain unhappy or have a complaint which you feel you cannot come to us with then you should contact the Research Governance Officer at:

ethics@liv.ac.uk

When contacting the Research Governance Officer, please provide details of the name or description of the study.

Appendix 1.1 Participant Information Sheet (Traditional Chinese)



受訪者須知

中國性的課題：中國風流行樂與中港台英的後 90 後世代

Questions of Chineseness: A study on China Wind Pop Music and Post-Tiananmen Generation in the PRC, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the UK

我是林真宇，利物浦大學音樂學院的博士生，我希望邀請您接受訪問。在您決定參與與否之前，希望您了解這份研究的主題、訪問將如何進行以及後續資料的去向。麻煩您花幾分鐘閱讀這份文件，若有任何疑問請隨時提出，我願盡力溝通解答；但若仍有疑問，您有絕對的權利拒絕對參與。我希望在您同意並了解的情形下，接受這份邀請。

謝謝您。

這是什麼？

這份研究的目的是討論「中國性」如何在近年中國風流行歌曲(例如周杰倫、王力宏的作品)被建構，並理解生長或者居住於英國、中國大陸、香港、臺灣的聽眾，聆聽這些歌曲的經驗如何影響他們對「中國性」的看法。

為什麼邀請我？

您屬於 90 後世代且有聆聽華語流行音樂，或者您是音樂工作者。

如何參與？

研究者(林真宇)將訪問您，且訪問過程將全程錄音。您可以決定是否匿名受訪。這份研究屬於自由參與，不會有受訪費用。在研究完成前，您有權力於任何時刻決定中斷受訪並退出研究。

訪問中若遇到問題？

如果您在訪問過程中感受到不快、或者遇到問題，您可以連絡我的指導教授：

Haekyung Um 博士

+44 (0)151 794 3084

h.k.um@liverpool.ac.uk

如果研究進行中，您仍然有疑問或者不滿，您可以連絡利物浦大學的研究管理長官：

ethics@liv.ac.uk

連絡時，請提供研究名稱並簡述研究內容。

Appendix 1.2 Participant Information Sheet (Simplified Chinese)



受□者□知

中国性的□□：中国□流行□与中港台英的后 90 后世代

Questions of Chineseness: A study on China Wind Pop Music and Post-Tiananmen Generation in the PRC, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the UK

我是林真宇，利物浦大学音□学院的博士生，我希望邀□您接受□□。在您决定参与与否之前，希望您了解□份研究的主□、□□将如何□行□以及后□□料的去向。麻□您花几分□□□□份文件，若有任□何疑□□□□□提出，我愿尽力沟通解答；但若仍有疑□，您有□□的□利拒□参与。我希望在您同意并了解的情形下，接受□份邀□。

□□您。

□是什麼？

□份研究的目的是□□「中国性」如何在近年中国□流行歌曲(例如周杰□、王力宏的作品)被建构，并理解生□或者居住于英国、中国大□、香港、臺灣的听众，聆听□些歌曲的□□如何影响他□□「中国性」的看法。

□什麼邀□我？

您属于后 90 后世代且有聆听□□流行音□，或者您是音□工作者。

如何参与？

研究者(林真宇)将□□您，且□□□程将全程□音。您可以决定是否匿名受□。□份研究属于自由参与，不会有受□□用。在研究完成前，您有□力于任何□刻决定中断受□并退出研究。

□□中若遇到□□？

如果您在□□□程中感受到不快、或者遇到□□，您可以□□我的指□教授：

Haekyung Um 博士

+44 (0)151 794 3084

h.k.u.m@liverpool.ac.uk

如果研究□行中，您仍然有疑□或者不□，您可以□□利物浦大学的研究管理□官：

ethics@liv.ac.uk

□□□，□提供研究名称并□述研究内容。

Appendix 2 Participant Consent Form (English)



PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project: Questions of Chineseness: A study on China Wind Pop Music and Post-1990s Generation in the PRC, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the UK

Researcher(s): Chen-Yu Lin

Please
initial
box
YES NO

1. I agree the researcher can identify me by name in any reports using information obtained from this interview. (If no, my confidentiality and anonymity as a participant in this study will remain secure.)
2. My participation in this project is voluntary. I understand that I will not be paid for my participation. I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without penalty.
3. If I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview.
4. I understand an audio recording of the interview and subsequent dialogue will be made. If I don't want to be recorded, I will not be able to participate in the study.
5. I understand that this research study has been reviewed and approved by the Committee on Research Ethics in University of Liverpool.
6. I have read and understand the information sheet [Dec 2014]. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.
7. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

| | | |
|------------------|------|-----------|
| Participant Name | Date | Signature |
|------------------|------|-----------|

| | | |
|-------------------------------|------|-----------|
| Name of Person taking consent | Date | Signature |
|-------------------------------|------|-----------|

| | | |
|------------|------|-----------|
| Researcher | Date | Signature |
|------------|------|-----------|

Principle Investigator:
 Dr. Haekyung Um
 Dept. of Music, 82 Bedford Street South
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Student Researcher:
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 Dept. of Music, 82 Bedford Street South
 The University of Liverpool
 Liverpool L69 7WW, UK
C.Lin7@liv.ac.uk

Appendix 2.1 Participant Consent Form (Traditional Chinese)



受訪者同意書

研究名稱 「中國性」的課題：中國風流行樂與中港台英的 90 後世代
Questions of Chineseness: A study on China Wind Pop Music and Post-1990s Generation in the PRC, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the UK

研究者 林真宇

- 請打勾
是 否
1. 我同意在論文及後續出版中，研究者提及我的身分。(若我填寫「不」，我將匿名受訪、且個人資訊將被保密)
 2. 我了解參與這項研究無受訪費用，而計畫中我能隨時終止參與此研究。
 3. 若在受訪過程中我感到不快，我可以拒口回答問題，或者中止訪談。
 4. 我了解訪談過程將全程由錄音紀錄。
 5. 我了解這項研究經過利物浦大學研究倫理委員會的審核，並得到許可。
 6. 我已口讀受訪者須知，研究員已解答相關的問題，而我願意參與這項研究。
 7. 我擁有受訪者同意書的影本

| | | |
|----------|-------|-------|
| _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 參與者姓名 | 日期 | 簽名 |
| _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 經手同意書者姓名 | 日期 | 簽名 |
| _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 研究者 | 日期 | 簽名 |

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C.Lin7@liv.ac.uk

Appendix 2.2 Participant Consent Form (Simplified Chinese)



受□者□知

研究名称 「中国性」的□□：中国□流行□与中港台英的 90 后世代
Questions of Chineseness: A study on China Wind Pop Music and Post-1990s in the PRC, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the UK

研究者 林真宇

請打勾

1. 我同意在□文及后□出版中，研究者提及我的身分。(若我填写「不」，我将匿名受□、且个人□□将被保密)

| | |
|---|---|
| 是 | 否 |
|---|---|
2. 我了解參與這項研究無受訪費用，而計畫中我能隨時終止參與此研究。

| | |
|--|--|
| | |
|--|--|
3. 若在受□□程中我感到不快，我可以拒□回答□□，或者中止□□。

| | |
|--|--|
| | |
|--|--|
4. 我了解□□□程将全程由□音□□。

| | |
|--|--|
| | |
|--|--|
5. 我了解□□研究□□利物浦大学研究□理委□会的□核，并得到□可。

| | |
|--|--|
| | |
|--|--|
6. 我已□□受□者□知，研究□已解答相关的□□，而我愿意参与□□研究。

| | |
|--|--|
| | |
|--|--|
7. 我□有受□者同意□的影本。

| | |
|--|--|
| | |
|--|--|

| | | |
|-------|----|----|
| 参与者姓名 | 日期 | □名 |
|-------|----|----|

| | | |
|----------|----|----|
| □手同意□者姓名 | 日期 | □名 |
|----------|----|----|

| | | |
|-----|----|----|
| 研究者 | 日期 | □名 |
|-----|----|----|

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Appendix 3 Field Research Flyers

Chasing the China Wind.

當音樂吹起中國風：一個民族誌計畫
An Ethnography on Popular Music

80年代末的搖滾吹著西北風；2000年的周杰倫唱著「青花瓷」。被這些音樂培養成長的世代，在音樂中想像「中國」，但究竟是怎樣的樂音被聽眾聆聽著？而不同的音樂，又如何陪著人們建構身份認同？

我們將從中、港、台90後的音樂記憶，窺探大中華區域流行樂裡中國音樂的樣貌。也從近年音樂節、選秀節目、與文娛產業現況，探討90後世代與音樂間的互動。

為什麼需要你？
你的音樂記憶與大小故事，將讓這張音樂地圖完整。我們將在知情同意下訪問，部分訪問將進行錄影錄音。

和我分享你的音樂故事！
林真宇（利物浦大學流行音樂研究中心博士研究員）
hsclin5@liv.ac.uk
chinawindpop.wordpress.com
WeChat: ChenYu_IPM
Line: chenyulin0214



Hong Kong in motion
photographer: stevewebel.com

Figure 8. Research Flyer in Traditional Chinese (Taiwan and Hong Kong)

China Wind Pop Music.

当华语音乐吹起中国风：民族志计划
Chasing the China Wind:
An Ethnography on Popular Music

周杰伦唱着「青花瓷」；王力宏唱着「龙的传人」。与这些音乐一起成长的世代，在音乐中想像「中国」，是怎样的「中国」被听众聆听、传唱着？这些旋律，又如何在不同的离散社群中陪着人们建构文化及身份认同？

我们将从中、港、台90后世代s的音乐记忆，窥探华语（汉语）流行乐里「中国风」的样貌；从近年音乐审查、选秀节目、与文娱产业现况，探讨90后世代的流行音乐参与。

为什么需要你？
你的音乐记忆与大小故事，将让这张音乐地图完整。我们将在知情同意下访问，且部分访问将进行录影录音。

和我分享你的音乐故事！
林真宇（利物浦大学流行音乐中心博士研究員）
hsclin5@liv.ac.uk
chinawindpop.wordpress.com
WeChat: ChenYu_IPM



Hong Kong in motion
photographer: stevewebel.com

Figure 9. Research Flyer in Simplified Chinese (China)

Appendix 4 Authorisation from JVR Music for the use of music videos

Contract No.: JR161083



杰威爾音樂有限公司
JVR MUSIC INTERNATIONAL LTD.
105 台北市長春路451號11F Tel: 02-2547-5588 Fax: 02-2547-5670
11F., No.451, Changchun Rd., Songshan District, Taipei City 105, Taiwan (R.O.C.)

影音同步重製授權合約

立合約書人

授權人： 杰威爾音樂有限公司 (簡稱甲方)
被授權人： 林真宇 (簡稱乙方)

立合約書人謹於西元 2016 年 9 月 20 日訂定本合約，約定由授權人將其擁有著作財產權之特定著作授權被授權人利用，雙方所合意約定之授權範圍、授權對價及其他約定悉明定如下，雙方承諾將依誠實信用原則信守履行本合約：

◆ 授權範圍

§1 所授權利性質：非獨家授權。
所授權利內容：乙方僅得以影音結合重製方式，使用授權著作。

§2 授權利用著作：詳如附件一所列(簡稱授權著作)。

§3 授權利用範圍

| 發行地區 | 發行產品 |
|------|---|
| 英國 | 影片名稱：【Chasing The China Wind - A Musical Journey】 使用型式：背景音樂 播放範圍：學術教育活動 製作公司：Institute of Popular Music, University of Liverpool |

◆ 授權金額

| 性質/名稱 | 含稅金額 (幣別：新台幣/單位：元) | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------|-------|
| 錄音著作權利金 (Recording Licensing Fee) | 零元整 | NT\$0 |
| 影音同步重製權利金 (Synchronization Fee) | 零元整 | NT\$0 |
| 以上各項應付金額合計 | 零元整 | NT\$0 |

◆ 其他約定

- §4 限版發行—乙方行使本合約重製、發行權時，限發行一種重製物版本，包含影片名稱、使用型式、製作公司、發行公司等，均限同本合約第3條「發行產品」以下各欄明示規定，未經甲方書面同意，不得變更、逾越「授權範圍」，亦不得將本合約權利讓與、移轉或轉授權予第三人。但本約授權之「發行地區」如不限於台澎金馬地區，乙方得授權其他地區代理發行公司於當地重製發行。
- §5 版權標示—乙方應於每份重製物標示曲名及授權著作作者。
- §6 限期首發—乙方如係以本約取得授權著作首次公開發行權，則該權利行使期限應自本約簽訂日起一年為止，逾期未行使不得再行使。
- §7 授權保證—甲方保證確具有簽訂本授權合約之一切相關權利。
- §8 違約罰則—本合約任何一方如有違約情事，他方得限期十四日以上催告改正，逾期如不改正或無法改正或改正不完全者，他方得立即中止本合約並請求損害賠償。

Contract No.: JR161083



杰威爾音樂有限公司

JVR MUSIC INTERNATIONAL LTD.

105 台北市長春路451號11F Tel: 02-2547-5588 Fax: 02-2547-5670
11F., No.451, Changchun Rd., Songshan District, Taipei City 105, Taiwan (R.O.C.)

- §9 契約生效—本約對於雙方所生之拘束力，於所有立約人均完成簽署時，對於雙方同時並立即發生；合約之效力，則應於雙方完成本合約簽署，且被授權人付清「授權對價」全額後，始正式生效。免付授權金者，合約一經雙方完成簽署，立即生效。
- §10 合意管轄—本合約正本壹式貳份，由雙方各執一份誠信履行。合約之解釋，以中華民國法律為準據法。因本合約內容所生爭議，雙方應先行竭誠協商，如協商未果，雙方合意以台灣台北地方法院為第一審管轄法院。(以下無合約正文)

立合約書人

授權人：杰威爾音樂有限公司

代表人：楊峻榮

地址：台灣台北市松山區長春路451號11樓

電話：886-2-2547-5588



被授權人：林真宇



地址：台北市文山區忠順街一段41巷5弄3號2樓

電話：44-7-927-284510

Contract No.: JR161083



杰威爾音樂有限公司
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 105 台北市長春路451號11F Tel: 02-2547-5588 Fax: 02-2547-5670
 11F., No.451, Changchun Rd., Songshan District, Taipei City 105, Taiwan (R.O.C.)

【附件一】 授權著作曲目

| 授權著作種類 | 著作名稱 / 演唱者 | 作者 | 著作權比例 |
|--------|---------------------------|---------------|-------|
| 1 | 視聽著作 / 音樂著作 紅塵客棧 / 周杰倫 | 詞：方文山 / 曲：周杰倫 | 100% |
| 2 | 視聽著作 / 音樂著作 雙截棍 / 周杰倫 | 詞：方文山 / 曲：周杰倫 | 100% |
| 3 | 視聽著作 / 音樂著作 髮如雪 / 周杰倫 | 詞：方文山 / 曲：周杰倫 | 100% |
| 4 | 視聽著作 / 音樂著作 夜曲 / 周杰倫 | 詞：方文山 / 曲：周杰倫 | 100% |
| 5 | 視聽著作 / 音樂著作 青花瓷 / 周杰倫 | 詞：方文山 / 曲：周杰倫 | 100% |
| 6 | 視聽著作 / 音樂著作 鞋子特大號 / 周杰倫 | 詞：方文山 / 曲：周杰倫 | 100% |
| 7 | 視聽著作 / 音樂著作 竊愛 / 周杰倫 | 詞：黃俊郎 / 曲：周杰倫 | 100% |
| 8 | 視聽著作 / 音樂著作 娘子 / 周杰倫 | 詞：方文山 / 曲：周杰倫 | 100% |
| 9 | 視聽著作 / 音樂著作 蘭亭序 / 周杰倫 | 詞：方文山 / 曲：周杰倫 | 100% |
| 10 | 視聽著作 / 音樂著作 霍元甲 / 周杰倫 | 詞：方文山 / 曲：周杰倫 | 100% |
| 11 | 視聽著作 / 音樂著作 公公偏頭痛 / 周杰倫 | 詞：方文山 / 曲：周杰倫 | 100% |
| 12 | 視聽著作 / 音樂著作 聽見下雨的聲音 / 周杰倫 | 詞：方文山 / 曲：周杰倫 | 100% |
| 13 | 視聽著作 / 音樂著作 菊花台 / 周杰倫 | 詞：方文山 / 曲：周杰倫 | 100% |
| 14 | 視聽著作 / 音樂著作 天涯過客 / 周杰倫 | 詞：方文山 / 曲：周杰倫 | 100% |
| 15 | 視聽著作 / 音樂著作 東風破 / 周杰倫 | 詞：方文山 / 曲：周杰倫 | 100% |
| 16 | 視聽著作 / 音樂著作 紅模仿 / 周杰倫 | 詞：周杰倫 / 曲：周杰倫 | 100% |
| 17 | 視聽著作 / 音樂著作 以父之名 / 周杰倫 | 詞：黃俊郎 / 曲：周杰倫 | 100% |
| 18 | 視聽著作 / 音樂著作 一口氣全唸對 / 周杰倫 | 詞：方文山 / 曲：周杰倫 | 100% |
| 19 | 視聽著作 / 音樂著作 止戰之殤 / 周杰倫 | 詞：方文山 / 曲：周杰倫 | 100% |

Appendix 5 Public Screenings of Chasing the China Wind

1. Premiere Screening of Chasing the China Wind: A Musical Journey, Q&A, and exhibition

Organiser: Chen-Yu Lin, the School of the Arts, the University of Liverpool

Date: 9th June 2016

Location: Frederiks, Liverpool

(The Poster follows)

2. Film Screening of Chasing the China Wind: A Musical Journey and Q&A with the Director Lin Chen-Yu

Organiser: SOAS Centre of Taiwan Studies 2016 Summer School

Date: 5th July 2016

Location: School of the Oriental and African Studies, London

3. Film Screening of Chasing the China Wind: A Musical Journey

Organiser: Dr Mike Jones, the director of music industry studies MA Course

Date: 27th September 2016

Location: Department of Music, the University of Liverpool

4. Film Screening of Chasing the China Wind: A Musical Journey and Q&A with the Director Lin Chen-Yu

Organiser: Centre of Taiwan Studies

Date: 9th November 2016

Location: School of the Oriental and African Studies, London

5. Film Screening II - Chasing the China Wind: A Musical Journey (Chen-Yu Lin) 28 Min.

Organiser: The 19th biannual conference of the International Association of for the Study of Popular Music

Date: 29th June 2017

Location: Kulturbahnhof Kassel, Kassel, Germany.

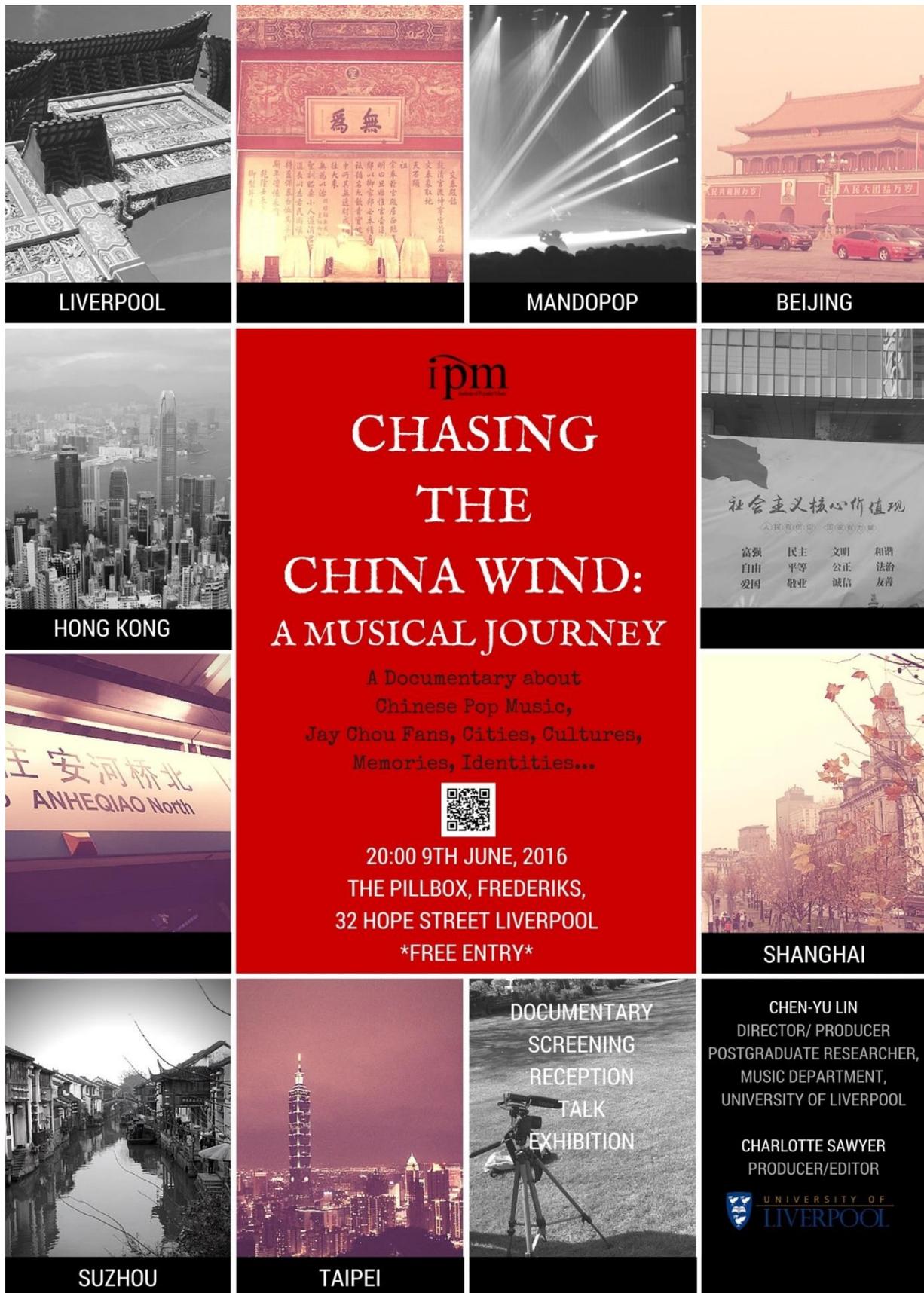


Figure 10. Poster for the Premiere Screening of CCW

Supplemental Material

Chasing the China Wind: A Musical Journey (2016) [Directed by Chen-Yu Lin [Film]

Liverpool: SOTA (University of Liverpool)

Link to Film:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hKj3qVYY618>

Data DVD: