Life's work in the city without ground

Cross-border family politics between Shenzhen and Hong Kong

Jonathan Burrow

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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Abstract

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How do we evaluate our life's work, the reflexive understanding of our role in the reproduction of society, in the city without ground? How is space produced between two metropolises constituted of air-conditioned passageways, concourses and tunnels that aim to disorientate the traveller with capital? To involve the reader in these questions, this sensory ethnography takes the reader on a journey across a series of reconstructed sites, from a study-centre classroom with a view of the border fence to immigration control points separating Hong Kong from Shenzhen and barricades erected by protesters on the occupied streets of Hong Kong Island. At each of these sites, the reader joins the author in interpreting multiple examples of the cross-border family's strategies for dealing productively with the friction produced by territorial, economic and embodied borders. Over the dissertation's course, these draw a "counter-topography" (Katz 2001) that highlights the productive and violent frictions created by individual and collective interventions in existing systems of assigning citizenship through genealogical inheritance.

The aim of this dissertation is to bring the family back into scholarly studies of borders and global inequality – not as a tool for defining binary gendered systems of inheritance, but as a flexible pragmatic regime in which we learn to become tolerant of difference and work strategically together. It argues that families are a critical factor in the reproduction of borders. Family, state and enterprise regimes learn from and depend on each other. Over our lifetimes, these regimes use inherited logics of gender and sexual reproduction to shape our life's work. This dissertation argues that members of cross-border families are experts in strategically engaging with inequality. Because of this, they can offer scholars and policymakers strategic advice on how their policies are pragmatically used as tools for individual and family development. The dissertation develops its conclusions by addressing three interrelated questions: How is the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border reproduced in the lives of its practitioners, what does this mean for how borders address global inequality, and what is the role of space in the performance of cross-border family politics?

It addresses these questions by observing the tension between the dreams of individuals and the inherited possibilities assigned to them by immigration departments and family wealth through property ownership. Border control, the city, family or the workplace do not constitute a singular experience, but are instead constructed uniquely for each traveller based on internal and external inheritances. Within each experience of border crossing, this dissertation finds a tension of authenticity, resolved through emotional labour – the

presentation of an outward expression of feeling contrary to a deeply held personal feeling (Hochschild 1983). The intimate event of family formation – the act of love – is what those who justify inherited borders of gender, nationality and property ownership propose liberates its participants through rewarding emotional labour. However, this simultaneously entails the next generation in the very genealogical structures they propose such events evade (Povinelli 2006). These emotional frictions hold this system of inequality together while producing valuable heat for participants that justify their complicity in the reproduction of borders. Families and other intimate relations, act topologically, twisting, turning and folding through topographical spatial structures to simultaneously support and extract value from them.

Feelings matter. It is through our learnt structures of feeling that we consciously and subconsciously respond to and develop new spaces through encounters with difference. This study finds that our current order is critically dependent on the transmutation of emotional "tolerances" for the genealogical "order of things" across generations (Brown 2006). Borders and mobility, this dissertation proposes, are not universally evil; rather, they are co-constructed as integral "genres" of ideas based on historical experience that produce a multiplicity of violence and sovereignty. If we take the time to listen to those who love across distance, they can draw guides for us to make the best use of the friction produced by the discursive, material and economic interdependence of families, states and enterprises.

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For Angelica and Rosemary

Acknowledgements

In this dissertation (yes I use the term "dissertation" rather than "thesis," in honour of a forgotten translation decision) I make an extensive argument for recognising the ethnographic "we." In the opening pages of Chapter 2, I argue that ethnography by definition is co-constructed and we should not relegate those we do research with to a brief mention in the preface or acknowledgements. With this is mind I would like to acknowledge my debt to the "we." Reminding the reader of the irony that I am the one licenced to tell this story, and that I tell the story through a familiar ethnographic trope of arrival and departure.

I first arrived in Shenzhen in January 2005, on my way home from six months as an English teacher in northern China. I remember my travelling companion and I intended to spend an afternoon shopping in LoWu but found ourselves by accident at passport control unable to find a way back. My interest in borders and families evolved from a brief overnight field trip to Tijuana Mexico when studying abroad in Los Angeles in late 2006. During the evening lecture, one of our guides described how a significant percentage of the city's population worked across the border in San Diego. This image made me reflect on the anxiety my fellow, mostly white private college students, and I felt crossing the border that morning. Particularly the concern they showed for myself and other non-US citizens in the group. They feared the two of us might not have been able to return to California. With this in mind, I tried to imagine the daily emotional experience of Tijuana-based workers who cross the border each morning and afternoon. What would their colleagues and families think? How would they process the emotions of going between shiny downtown San Diego and dusty Tijuana?

These questions stuck with me, and in early 2009, as a master's student in Applied Anthropology at Macquarie University I had a chance to answer them. However, San Diego and Tijuana were both financially and thanks to reports of increased violence administratively, a world away. Brainstorming other places that such complex differences could exist I made a short list of urban borders. Chatting with a colleague at my part-time job, I mentioned my proposed topic. He replied that just weeks earlier he had spoken with a former colleague who now commuted between his factory in Shenzhen and his home and office in Hong Kong. With his details and the details of a high school classmate who had returned to Hong Kong, I arrived late in the evening in pouring rain for three months fieldwork in May 2009. The rest, as they say, is (recent) history discussed in Chapter 2.

At every stage this dissertation has been a collaborative project, involving hundreds of people spanning three continents and many communities. The dissertation itself feels like a castle of words built stone by stone with many others. This castle is sturdier and shorter because of Dr Lauren Martin, who has always provided timely insightful advice both as an academic supervisor and friend. She suggested I find those in the academic world I dreamed of conversing with and have that conversation. Here it is. Without her kind words and constructive criticism, this castle would have collapsed. And yes, I indulged in just one more metaphor – forgive me (again). I would like to thank Lauren for finding me in suburban Sydney and inviting me halfway around the world to Oulu. Special thanks go to yourself and Oliver for all the support you have generously provided to us over the years.

1 Introduction

Figure 1. Hong Kong–Shenzhen boundary line between Lok Ma Chau and Futian control points (2014).[1]

It has now been agreed between the Governments of Great Britain and China that the limits of British territory shall be enlarged under lease to the extent indicated generally on the annexed map. The exact boundaries shall be hereafter fixed when proper surveys have been made by officials appointed by the two Governments. The term of this lease shall be ninety-nine years.

… Chinese officials and people shall be allowed as heretofore to use the road from Kowloon to Hsinan.

(Convention between the United Kingdom and China respecting an extension of Hong Kong territory, signed June 9, 1898)[2]

…as subjects of the Her Majesty's Empire, your commercial and landed interests will be safeguarded, and that your usage and good customs will not in any way be interfered with…

It will be necessary for you to register without delay your titles for the land occupied by you, that the true owners may be known. Should any land be required for public purposes it will be paid for at its full value.

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[1] This is the border at the mid-point of the Shenzhen River, within the air-conditioned tunnel connecting the two sets of immigration controls. Shenzhen is to the left, Hong Kong to the right.

[2] Page 1, courtesy Hong Kong University Library: http://ebook.lib.hku.hk/HKG/B36227845.pdf (accessed October 2016).

Remember that as subjects of the Great British Empire your perfect freedom from oppression is assured. Should you have any complaint to make the Governor will always be willing to hear it and to order what is right. There will be no injustice allowed, nor any laxity in administration of justice. All must render implicit obedience.

(Hong Kong Governor Henry Blake's proclamation on April 15, 1899, announcing his policies for the New Territories and the final agreed boundary)[3]

In 2014, six land boundary "control points"[4] regulated the flow of bodies and goods between what is now the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) and Guangdong Provence and its municipality of Shenzhen (see Fig. 2). Both are internationally recognised parts of the People's Republic of China (PRC). A 2014 Hong Kong government survey estimated that there were 737,700 "frequent trip makers," defined as "those who usually travelled at least once a week between Hong Kong and the Mainland"[5] (Fig. 3).[6] Of those, 20,510 were cross-boundary students under 18 years old, lining up to have their identity documents, bags and bodies inspected at this border within a state.[7] The boundary originated in an 1898 treaty between imperial governments in Beijing and London; at that time its expiry date was set for 1997, a date no one present then could imagine being alive to see. It was revisited in the 1980s, and the boundary's life was extended until 2047. These 20,000 cross-border students have a complex future ahead of them. They will be parents with their own young children when it comes time to renegotiate the current agreement that defines their daily lives.

The boundary still generally follows the Shenzhen River[8], which both imperial powers local officials, agreed to use as the boundary in 1899 after much debate. Before 1979, Shenzhen was also the name of a small market town. Over the following three decades, the small town transformed into the modern metropolis of Shenzhen, which took on much of Hong Kong's role as entrepôt connecting China and the rest of the world. The Pearl River Delta, with Hong Kong and Shenzhen at its entrance, has long been defined by trade, from Portuguese traders to the foreign concessions in Canton – and the war over the trade in opium – that led to the occupation of Hong Kong Island; trade not only of

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[3] *Dispatches and other papers relating to the extension of the colony of Hong Kong* (1899:21) available via Hong Kong University Library: http://sunzi.lib.hku.hk/hkgro/view/s1899/1610.pdf (accessed December 2016).

[4] "Control point" is the Hong Kong government's official English nomenclature for what in practice is a full set of intra-national customs and passport control (see Chapter 3). The Hung Hom "through train" control point connects Hong Kong and cities outside Shenzhen by train, and is not counted among this number. Driving a private car across the border requires, in most cases, two different vehicle registration charges and for the driver to hold two licences. Vehicles are also normally restricted to a nominated control point. For this reason, crossing by car is limited primarily to businesspeople with an economic case.

[5] "Mainland China" refers to the PRC, excluding Hong Kong and Macau.

[6] Hong Kong Planning Department Cross-boundary Travel Survey 2013/14, (pp. 41-42) http://www.pland.gov.hk/pland_en/p_study/comp_s/nbsb2013-2014/index.html (accessed October 2016).

[7] Ibid.

[8] The river's name was written in English then as "Shum Chum," the Cantonese pronunciation still used by Cantonese speakers today.

goods but also of people, who emigrated via Hong Kong and continue to connect the region to Chinatowns across the world (see Sinn 2013).

Today, Shenzhen and its border with Hong Kong is for many defined by its most ephemeral product, the Apple iPhone, assembled from a global collection of goods and ideas by precarious migrant workers a short drive from the border,[9] close to what I imagine was once one of the origin points of the road between Kowloon and Hsinan described in the original lease. This ethnography takes this context of "global connection," symbolised by the materiality of the iPhone as the pinnacle of the neoliberal global economy, to explore the *makeshift links* and *emotional*, *physical* and *economic* "frictions," that "give *grip* to universal aspirations," (Tsing 2005:1 empasis in orignial) that made this "object of desire" possible (Berlant 2011).

In this opening chapter, I present this dissertation's three questions: *How is the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border reproduced in the lives of its practitioners, what does this mean for how borders address global inequality, and what is the role of space in the performance of cross-border family politics?*[10] I address these questions in detail across the seven empirical chapters that follow, while the conclusion provides a systematic summary of my findings. Each chapter addresses a specific empirically focused finding in the context of ethnographic case studies. Each chapter engages with empirical material across four conceptual frameworks that I introduce in this chapter: *cities without ground*, *feeling rules*, *entailment* and *encounter*.

Weaving between my archive of almost 100 hours of face-to-face interviews[11] and my privileged career as a sensory apprentice of the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border (see Chapter 2), below I situate these questions within an interdisciplinary assemblage of literature. By faming this dissertation through history land ownership in Hong Kong and Shenzhen, I emphasise the tension between the grounded lives of the cities inhabitants and representations of their experiences. With this in mind, I layout how each of the dissertations questions addresses a conceptual space in which I have chosen to analyse my empirical material. The first question situates the conceptual frame of *life's work* and my emphasis on *cross-border family politics* – my desire to bring family back into our study of the global mobility regime through the multiple perspectives made possible by the topological home. The second focuses on what has evolved to be my central object of analysis: the intergenerational encounter, an encounter that offers a constant friction through which to address the specificity of Shenzhen's moment at the centre of the global economy in the 1990s and 2000s. Finally, I propose that thinking through geographies of encounter across necessary and productive difference, and the feeling rules we use to address these encounters, can offer us an opportunity to account for the feelings produced by border frictions – frictions that simultaneously produce both possibility and harm.

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[9] Most iPhone production, as I understand, has since moved to other parts of the PRC, but in the minds of the city's residents and white-collar Foxconn employees I spoke with in 2014, the centre of iPhone production was Shenzhen.

[10] These questions differ in part from my original empirical questions, as I will discuss in Chapter 2.

[11] In Appendix 3, I provide a timeline and summary of my interview archive.

Figure 2. Hong Kong and Southern Shenzhen Transportation Map (2017).[12]

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[12] Reproduced with permission of JohoMaps: http://www.johomaps.com/as/hongkong/hkmetro.html (accessed December 2016).

Estimated Frequent Trip Makers (Survey Years)

	1999	2001	2003	2006	2007	2009	2011	2013
Cross-boundary workers	7500	19700	30000	33100	37700	42300	49200	41400
Cross-boundary students*	910	2160	2390	3690	5150	7600	12790	20510
Frequent business trip makers	164800	220300	184400	208200	212800	161800	137600	152000
Frequent leisure trip makers^	89700	152600	191300	250300	255100	314800	308500	298800
Extended home-leavers (Visting Relatives)	60900	55600	52200	44700	53700	55100	69900	92400
Other frequent trip makers	44600	45900	139200	129400	98000	89200	124900	132600
Total	368500	496300	599500	669500	662400	670700	702800	737700

Figure 3. Estimated breakdown of cross-border travellers crossing the border at least once a week (1999-2013).[13]

[13] Hong Kong Planning Department Cross-Boundary Travel Survey 2013/14, Table 3B.1. (*)Student age revised down from 19 to 18 in 2013 survey; (^) definition of "leisure trips" revised from 2011 survey. Available at http://www.pland.gov.hk/pland_en/p_study/comp_s/nbsb2013-2014/index.html (accessed August 2016).

1.1 Cities without ground

> The opposing forces of efficiency and profit-making collude to create a
> labyrinthine urbanisim in which even locals are frequently lost. Pedestrian
> connections are capable of spanning the shortest distance whether they
> require a footbridge to be built over a government-owned public park
> or street, or passage to be provided through a privately owned corporate
> lobby. At the same time, they can curl into seemingly inescapable and
> thoroughly disorientating sequences lined with shops as financial incentive
> dictates as many connections to surrounding retail opportunities as possible.
> (Frampton, Solomon and Wong 2012:28)

Ground matters; it is the plane on which we conduct the necessities of life's work, the
emotional and embodied work of reproducing society. To the subsistence farmers of
what were to become the "New Territories" of the colony of Hong Kong in 1899,
access to ground – their rice fields – was the difference between life and death. In the
nine months between the signing of the lease agreement and the British takeover, those
who worked the soil and the landlords who rented it to them debated whether to join an
armed rebellion against an agreement between two distant imperial regimes in London
and Beijing over the control of their livelihoods (Hase 2008). Their arguments mixed
the immediacy of subsistence and the emotion of Feng Shui with local and nationalist
honour (45). Would the new regime force them from their land without compensation,
impose new taxes, restrict religious ceremonies and break up traditional power relations?
After all, these were all things the British had done, to some extent, on the other side of
the mountains in the growing colony of Hong Kong (53–54).[14]

The local uprising's lack of organisation highlighted the diversity and history of the
region, already made up of waves of arrivals.[15] Many of the villages were already in
extended multi-generational conflicts; others hoped the British would free them from
the system of land ownership that supported the area's elite (Hase 2008:3). Those elite
feared the loss of their status and income their families had inherited. While it was the
elite who expressed the most concern about the British arrival, ultimately the brief war
was fought primarily between those without ground: poor tenant farmers and a regiment
of colonial soldiers from India, led by white officers (2). While no British-led forces were
killed, several hundred local villagers were. The true number of dead is unknown because
when the war ended, both sides tried as quickly as possible to erase the conflict from
their collective memory (1).[16]

[14] The British wanted the territory for military purposes, fearing an attack from another western power. There
was no vehicular road from the New Territories into the colony; it was cheaper, Hase suggests, to source rice
from Vietnam than the New Territories in the 1890s (2008:43).
[15] In Chapter 5, I return to these historical migrations.
[16] I only became aware of this conflict because of a small plaque in the Hong Kong History Museum. No
non-academic in the field brought the conflict to my attention.

In his proclamation, the arriving British governor sought to reassure the population that his rule would not upend the standing order and that the property rights of the area's elite inhabitants would not change. However, the new authorities quickly reneged on parts of this promise. The new rulers sought to bring the traditional land use system based on topsoil (the right to farm) and sub-soil rights (the right to collect rent) into language recognisable by British legal regimes (Hayes 2012:30–31). Under British rule, sub-soil rights were passed to a single "crown," and those present in 1899 were given long-term tradable leases to farm and develop it. From then, as in the rest of the colony, all land was sold as leasehold, carrying an expiry date like the territory itself, which allowed the government of the day to collect annual rent.[17] In the 1980s, developers began to struggle to get financing beyond the original duration of the lease, leading the city's wealthy property developers to put pressure on both governments to renegotiate whom they should pay for the privilege of using the city's ground (Lui 2015).

In the 1980s, as Hong Kong's property developers worried about the future value of their land use rights, the Hong Kong model of land development was being marketed across the river by C.Y. Leung, who would go on to become the city's leader in 2012. At that time, Leung was a British-educated real estate executive. In the lead-up to his election by an appointed committee, Leung boasted to the BBC, "That is one of the things I did for Beijing… I coined the term 'land-use rights' in Chinese, so that you could have the state owning the land, and private individuals and enterprises owning land-use rights."[18] This policy was first trialled in Shenzhen before it was expanded to urban areas across the PRC in 1998 (Yang and Chen 2014).[19] Therefore, both Shenzhen and Hong Kong's inhabitants are in some sense still tenants, with only topsoil rights; they are tenant-occupants living in *cities without ground* (see Chapters 7 and 8).

In 2012, a group of architects – Adam Frampton, Jonathan D. Solomon and Clara Wong – released a peculiar kind of guidebook titled *Cities Without Ground: A Hong Kong Guidebook*. For those living in contemporary Hong Kong and Shenzhen, the book illustrates a critical aspect of life in both cities: ground is often a place below or above, and one's life does not revolve around a contiguous plane. Frampton, Solomon and Wong produce a series of three-dimensional maps that show how vast distances are traversed through private and public buildings and tunnels without coming into contact with "ground." The book includes maps to both the LoWu control point and the yet-to-be-constructed Liantang control point, bringing Shenzhen into its analysis. It was Frampton, Solomon and Wong who inspired and confirmed to me how highlighting the gap between grounded reality

[17] "Land Premiums", as this rent in varying forms is official termed, comprised 18.5% of government capital revenue in the financial year 2014–15, http://www.legco.gov.hk/research-publications/english/1516fs04-major-sources-of-government-revenue-20160610-e.pdf (accessed December 2016).
[18] http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-17594452 (accessed December 2016); see also Anglin *et al.* (2014:87).
[19] Rural land reform has progressed differently. On the mainland, local urban governments control the sale of "land use rights" and don't usually charge ongoing rents. Mainland urban land use rights are 70 years for residential use and 50 years for commercial use (see Chapters 7 and 8).

and its representations could account for the contradictory emotions those I spoke with had about the role of the Hong Kong-Shenzhen border in their lives.

The last few maps by Frampton, Solomon and Wong map the temperature variations of Hong Kong's sprawling passageways. They share an experience with some border practitioners[20], who noted the change in mechanically produced temperature signalled they had crossed the boundary. In one case, Ken answered my question "What is the first thing you notice that's different about Hong Kong and Shenzhen?" thus: "It's air-conditioning… the air-condition in Shenzhen is not so cold… the air condition in Shenzhen I think is probably 26 or 27 degrees… and even the Hong Kong government say all their air-conditioning is above 25 degrees, but truly I don't believe that."

"What do you notice coming back?" I asked him, to which he responded, "The phone switch… the phone switch, the signal. Truly, not feeling so much different between Hong Kong and Shenzhen…especially both [of] the city centre[s]… I just get on the train at the port, then get off the train at the city centre. So it's no different."[21]

Ken was an engineer who grew up in northern China and met his Guangdong-raised wife while studying in the United Kingdom. They both work in Hong Kong during the week, while their one-year-old child is cared for by his in-laws in Shenzhen.[22] Their weekly commute moves from an apartment above a shopping mall and metro station in Hong Kong to another apartment above a metro station, operated by the same company, in Shenzhen. They must change trains and go through passport control at the boundary, and walk across the Shenzhen River within an air-conditioned bridge (Fig. 1). I asked Ken if he felt excited when he goes to Shenzhen, and he said, "Yes, because I go to see my baby."

"And when you come back to Hong Kong?"

"A little bit sad, but when I switch the thinking to my work, it's just, ah, forgot[ten]."

The border for Ken is not defined by administrative or security procedures, but by temperature, his phone carrier and his feelings towards the tension between his roles as a father and as an employee. For myself, Ken and many others I spoke with, the border acts as an emotional trigger or signifier, both when it is crossed at the Shenzhen River and when it is brought up in conversation. In Ken's case, it represents the boundary between work and family rather than a location where his body was inspected by the state. Ken chose to describe his daily life to me in the language of the "city without ground." Using a vocabulary of passageways and tunnels, he argued that grounded behaviours such as those of the students planning protest that erupted forty-eight hours after we spoke were no longer beneficial to society.

As I pay close attention in the following pages to the lived experience of those who regularly cross the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border, I will show how the *city without ground* describes *both* how the city is lived as individually constructed worlds by different

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[20] In this dissertation, I call those whom I interviewed "border practitioners" so as to empower them as experts who spoke to me, their apprentice, about the act of "doing" the border (see Chapter 2).

[21] Interview conducted in English (vernacular speech maintained), Kowloon, Hong Kong, September 2014.

[22] Ken's parents-in-law were only permitted to visit Hong Kong for seven days at a time, and they felt his Hong Kong apartment was two small for all of them to all live in.

groups and a governmental strategy aimed at hiding past and present injustices from the population. The city without ground captures the state's desire for its population to *imagine* themselves as groundless while constantly reminding them using the tools of governmentality of the limitations it places on their bodies. To navigate their way through the city without ground many border practitioners internalised the state's request to hide their own feelings about the border and "switch their thinking to work" as Ken described. I describe approaches such as Ken's using Lauren Berlant's concept of "cruel optimism" – a desire to stay in proximity to material and immaterial "objects of desire", such as workplace status and property ownership, which may objectively and in retrospect do us harm (2010, 2011).

Cities without ground, captures the Hong Kong governments explicit project to present itself as the host of transactions between the PRC and the world. In the words of the tourism department, Hong Kong is "Asia's world city." Material production, with its pollution and labour exploitation, is hidden from the "dollar store" purchasing officer in San Francisco surfing Alibaba – an online wholesale website that aims to reduce the need to visit overseas factories physically – by a young woman in Shenzhen, stuck working overtime answering the customer's questions on behalf of a company this customer trusts because he believes it is in Hong Kong.[23]

"Hong Kong" becomes a well-crafted *phantasmagoria*, produced by a complex system of actors locked in simultaneously beneficial and exploitive relations. My conversation with Ken and many others in similar positions was reminiscent of Walter Benjamin attempt in his uncompleted *Arcades Project*, to understand the phenomenological experience of the Parisian arcades – how they lulled the participant walking through them into a false reality. Troubled by Marx's valorising of rational forms of representation, Walter Benjamin's saw the Phantasmagoria, the early use of light by illusionists, as a conceptual tool that could free his criticism from the subjective causality of enlightenment rationality (Cohen 1989).

Between ground and its phantasmagorias exists an entire world of labour: facilitators, buyers, brokers, etc., for whom maintaining the San Francisco customer's illusion of groundlessness allows them to feed their families. Borders – whether lines on the ground, between mobile telephone networks, or languages – enable productive in-between spaces (Cunningham 2004; Heyman 2004; Jones 2012). In the city without ground, efficacy and profit-making are opposing forces; it is friction that enables the city's prosperity (Frampton, Solomon and Wong 2012:28). It is the opportunities for grounded participants to profit from others imperfect knowledge that the formulation *city without ground* seeks to capture and make available for analysis. It permits multiple groups to represent and exploit a single terrain.

The state headquartered in Beijing still considers this a border between "socialism and capitalism."[24] This supports the PRC's dependence on the works of Marx, Engels and

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[23] This scenario is based on multiple conversations with Shenzhen-based interlocutors.
[24] These are the terms used by the State Council, the PRC's top decision-making body, in their 2014 white paper on the "one country, two systems" policy, which I quote below.

Lenin, which it continues to teach its youth. However, these concepts of economy and politics have become phantasmagorical. Marx and Engels' words are not read or quoted in context, but exist as fetishised "objects of desire" that have a life's work and genealogy of their own. They have become "enchanted" (Bennett 2001), like certain border-crossing commodities that I study in this dissertation – the iPhone, infant formula and the concept of "flexibility." They are beholden to larger circulations of meaning, genres of *feeling rules* that we develop to tell ourselves how we should physically and emotionally respond to encounters with them (Hochschild 1983; Chapter 5 and below). Therefore, for the purposes of this dissertation, I have developed a definition of border as a *genre* of feeling rules that I outline below.

Globalisation is made possible through embodied practices. Therefore, in this dissertation I present myself, the author, as a "sensory apprentice" (Pink 2009). I took on the role of sensory apprentice in the field, my life's work acting as a case alongside those I interviewed and dwelled with in the field (see Chapter 2). I chose this sensory approach because it allows me to analyse both the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border and other borders, such as gender and age, as constituting empirically of situated experiences rather than abstract relations. "Family," "society," "globalisation" and other buzzwords are the construction of multiple lives, worked on in the multiplicity of spaces between ground and its discursive representations

The boundary between Hong Kong and Shenzhen is not only a semi-permeable border of things and people, but ideas – ideas of economy, state and family. This dissertation is built around the unique life experiences of people who have lived life courses in constant relation to the PRC and its oscillations of representations of ideology. These oscillations have left them with memories of multiple conflicting definitions of what a "life's work" should be, often ones that they have had an active part in constructing for others (see Chapters 5 and 6). Describing your *life's work* – the reflexive answer to the range of propositions that attempt to reach the point of *Why are you here? Who are you, and what do you plan to do with your life?* – backwards and forwards in time involves the valorising of particular structural forms of economic, political and biological reproduction. The course of one's life is never isolated from one's surroundings and the regimes of family, state and enterprise. As much as we care to dream and tell our children anything is possible, they must and will live subject to the vagaries of this world. It is through paying attention to how these regimes are experienced as we plan and undertake our *life's work* that we can trace counter-topographies of globalisation that take into account its dirty relationship to ground and its production of clean imaginaries (see Katz 2001; Mitchell, Marston and Katz 2003).

The 1898 lease included a line noting a right to use the road between Kowloon and Hsinan for "Chinese officials and people," as well as the protection of holders of property, real estate and commercial activities by the new rulers. Then as now, there were multiple routes between these two areas. At that time, they were simply footpaths through farmland and over high mountain passes; today, they are subway lines and motorways. These "roads"

between Kowloon and Shenzhen, their role in the lives of the region's last two generations, and these people's feelings towards the next generation are the empirical field of this dissertation. The lease left the boundary's demarcation and regulation to local officials, who vigorously argued over whether to divide the plane of the Shum Chum (Shenzhen) River with the boundary, breaking up the familial and trade networks that crossed it. They feared, justifiably, that dividing the terrain at the river would complicate their governance.

The convention outlines a structural framework for implementing the governmental technique of "*graduated sovereignty*" (Ong 1999, 2006). In conditions of graduated sovereignty, the individual is excised by *regimes of citizenship* and *logics of accumulation* from attachment to territory in service of economy, creating fractured, co-travelling and differentiated circulations of bodies and goods. As Aihwa Ong proposes, building on Foucault, "government is the administration of populations, and economy is an instrument of government that affects how population and space are variously constituted as political problems" (2006:76). Ong's argument is that scholars need to broaden their understandings of state regimes to include economic policy and capital accumulation as logics of the state. In this dissertation, I propose to add, in terms more explicit than Ong, emotional labour and productive transgovernmental frictions[25] between family, state and enterprise into analysis of the region.

This dissertation shows that families, states and enterprise *regimes* are constantly borrowing materially and discursively from each other. In 1999, Ong defined *flexible citizenship,* in the context of the previous generation of the Chinese diaspora,[26] as "the cultural logics of, capitalist accumulation, travel, and displacement that induce subjects to respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions" (6). Pragmatism, as I will show, is the flexible citizens' mantra. Upon close analysis, family, state and the enterprise become inseparable. However, they are presented and interpreted as different regimes by governments and the population.

In this dissertation, a *regime* is a conceptual formation with both material and discursive components. It is a group of actors – human and non-human, and who may not even be aware of each other – that in hindsight were working together towards a goal, which we as scholars interpret. Conceptually, my approach to regimes draws from Foucault's "truth regimes" and is related to Ong's use of "cultural logics" (1999; 2008). Within both cultural logics and truth regimes, choices appear correct and practices justified, but the same choices would not appear logical from a different perspective. As an analytical genre, regime allows me to bundle up practices and present them as frames which, like the embodied cross-border traveller, are "bigger on the inside" (Sousanis 2015:96; Spinuzzi 2003). Like a literary genre, a regime simultaneously disciplines and encourages those working at its borders. Through multiple seemingly banal exchanges, the regime or genre adapts, propagates and disciplines its participants.

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[25] I build here on Zhang, Lu and Yeoh's (2015) work on adapting Anna Tsing's metaphor of friction to transnational families (see Chapter 3).

[26] In this dissertation, this generation is explored with regards to the brother and sister-in-law whose story I retell in Chapter 5.

Ground and terrain, however, continue to matter; most of the people I spoke with told me they believed that maintaining the securitised border, and the "two systems" logic, was in their interest. They emphasised to me the way the border, for all its faults, made their particular life's work possible. Many worked, or had family that worked, emotionally and physically to produce the phantasmagoria of Hong Kong as a frictionless hub of global trade. Without the border and its friction, many of those whose stories I share in this dissertation would be out of work and unable to support their families. Echoing the description of the built environment described by Frampton, Solomon and Wong, they remind us that efficiency is the enemy of profitmaking. Between the grounded realities of your inheritance, your relationship with the state, your family's wealth and status, and your dreams and visions of the future, is one's life's work in the city without ground.

1.2 Feeling rules

Figure 4. "The Gateway" and surroundings buildings as viewed from Hong Kong–Lok Ma Chau Spur Line Control Point (October 2014).[27]

> *Question 1: How is the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border practised and reproduced in the lives of its practitioners?*

Arlie Hochschild's 1983 book *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* introduced the term "emotional labour"[28] – the "management of feelings to create publicly

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[27] Shenzhen River, Lok Ma Chau bus terminal and boundary fence in foreground.
[28] In her 1983 book, Hochschild distinguishes between emotional *labour* and *work*; however, I view the terms as interchangeable.

observable facial and bodily display" (7) – into the academic vernacular. She opens the book with a quote from Marx reflecting on his question as to the human cost of becoming an "instrument of labour" (3) and follows it with an ethnographic vignette. She situates herself in the sensorium of a Delta Airlines Stewardess Training Centre, commenting on the particular kind of tolerance for complex encounters that the gendered group around her was being trained for. I repeat this rhetorical strategy, except my classroom is a before- and after-school study centre in a small one-bedroom apartment, tucked away on a high floor within a complex of skyscrapers[29] sandwiched between two of the border's six land boundary control points.[30]

The study centre's two co-owners, both recent graduates of a Hong Kong university, grew up in Sheung Shui on the other side of the river in Hong Kong, just visible through the mountains out the classroom window. They sleep in the bedroom of the apartment, using its living room as their single classroom. Like many similar centres in the building, they teach before- and after-school programmes to preschool and primary school students with the help of a local teacher. Their students are primarily Hong Kong-born students with mainland parents unable or unwilling to live in Hong Kong. These students travel each day to schools in Hong Kong, escorted by specialist "border" nannies. They often need to be in line at the checkpoint when it opens at 6:30 am, and many return to the study centre in the evening and study well into the night (see Chapter 3). Isabella, who spoke to me the morning I visited between classes, said that many of the students only lived in the area during the week. Like Isabella, their homes were elsewhere, and they had chosen that location because of its proximity to the border.[31] Over breakfast, Isabella shared with me her understanding of her own and her peers' life's work. We discussed how she came to found her school, how she felt towards her students, and how the border was part of her past and impacted on her future. She spoke of being a child of parents who left mainland China as young people, and who now only came back across the border to fulfil familial obligations. Today she is making her living taking care of newly rich mainland families, but neither she nor her parents can afford to buy their own homes in Hong Kong or Shenzhen.

We discussed in particular how Isabella embodied the "feeling rules" and childhood these parents wanted their children to have.[32] As we discussed Hong Kong's current

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[29] The largest complex is called "The Gateway" (金地名津). These buildings had fascinated me ever since I first conducted fieldwork for my master's thesis in Shenzhen in 2009, and when I arrived in Shenzhen in 2013 we inspected multiple apartments in the area as potential homes; though we eventually chose to live elsewhere, we were fascinated by what we saw and heard during our investigations.

[30] These two checkpoints connect the Futian district of Shenzhen with Hong Kong's mass transit rail system. The Lok Ma Chau Spur Line–Futian checkpoint opened in 2007 and provided a second connection for the mass transit rail systems of Hong Kong to Shenzhen and the Huanggang Checkpoint, which is used by buses, trucks and private cars and is the only land crossing open 24 hours a day (since 2003).

[31] The school's location meant that parents of Hong Kong students could minimise their morning commute to where school buses collected the students (in the foreground of Figure 4). The school's proximity also meant that its owners could return to see their parents and childhood friends in Sheung Shui on weekends.

[32] However, Isabella explains that her childhood was significantly different to that of children in Hong Kong today.

political debates, she said to me that she believed that this conflict was generational and that those she taught would be different: "They will make friends [with local students], they are in the same school. It's easier to be ruder to strangers. So I think the situation will get better." In this dissertation, I share the multiple contradictory predictions of experienced border practitioners. I share these contradictions to argue that borders are produced through the transfer of *feeling rules* – the semi-conscious near instant responses to encounters with difference – between generations and groups. These feelings towards different people and regimes are unstable; they change over time. The type and nature of these responses are what differentiate a violent encounter from a tolerant (non-violent) one. When the British and local fighters faced off in 1899, they did so because those with control over them felt alienated. As was also the case when students occupied Hong Kong streets in 2014, both sides were anxious about the future (see Chapter 8).

Hochschild reminds us that like physical or mental labour, emotional labour need not be alienating; strategies exist to mitigate alienation and are implemented both individually and collectively. Isabella feels a genuine empathy for the challenges her students will face in the future. When combined with ideas of intimacy and affect, emotional labour is necessary and critical to our wellbeing. *Feeling rules* become alienating when they require us to tolerate our own subjectification (Brown 2006; Chapter 8). Addressing the changing gendered and racial encounters in the growing service sector in the United States in 1983, Hochschild notes:

> Any functioning society makes effective use of its members' emotional labor. We do not think twice about the use of feeling in the theatre, or in psychotherapy, or in forms of group life that we admire. It is when we come to speak of *exploitation* of the bottom by the top in any society that we become morally concerned. In any system, exploitation depends on the actual distribution of many kinds of profits – money, authority, status, honour, well-being. It is not the emotional labor itself, therefore, but the underlying system of recompense that raises the question of what the cost of it is. (Hochschild 1983:12, emphasis in original)

Emotional work is not limited to capitalist systems; in socialist systems, individuals must also learn to present multiple faces to multiple authorities capable of exploitation Hochschild 1983:13).[33] It is space, in Doreen Massey's terms, the product of "throwntogetherness," that situates encounters and produces frictions that require emotional labour (2005). For Isabella that morning, setting the boundaries between a private and public space – and figuring out the appropriate feeling rule to use – was complicated. What feeling rules should she use in responding to a researcher (me), who was sitting with her in her workplace-home after waking her up from her morning nap?

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[33] Hochschild's early definitional work has a tendency to distinguish between labours at home and work, or between public and private. In later writing, e.g. *The Time Bind When Work Becomes Home and Home Becomes Work* (1997), Hochschild moves away from a materialist view of social reproduction while coming to terms with the binding of work and home.

It is in analysing this problem that recent literature in border studies can offer methods for conceptualising our encounter.

In an attempt to distil the current state of academic border studies, Anne-Laure Amilhat Szary and Frederic Giraut take up the term "'borderites' … the multiple rules and experiences of what a border can be" (2015:3). Reviewing contemporary border studies, these two authors see two foundational paradigms. The "first paradigm of contemporary border research is a processual one that relies on two phenomena (the opening and closing of borders) that were long thought to oppose one another, until border studies finally concluded that both these phenomena could affect the same border at the same time."[34] In the "second paradigm… [b]orders were invented to materialise the terms of a set of political conventions, whereby the balance of forces allowed for a distinction to be made between two political bodies" (Amilhat-Szary and Giraut 2015:4). They go on to say that most critical thinking on the evolution of the border has focused on the "impact of technological change on border functions." However, they conclude that "[w]alls and barriers are only one part of this phenomenon of controlling access, the other being that surveillance 'dispositifs' (or set of techniques and practices in the Foucauldian sense) rely on hard devices to support all networks and topological circulation of information" (2015:6).

It is in addressing the second paradigm (how borders act to materialise political conventions) that conceptualising borders as *genres of feeling rules* could be productive. In the North American tradition of genre studies, genres represent the "thinking out" of solutions in relation to artefacts on the ground (Spinuzzi 2003:41). State, gender and class borders, like those of literary genres are flexible, incorporating just enough difference to sustain their reproduction. "Genres are not discrete artefacts, but traditions of producing, using, and interpreting artefacts," traditions that then make their way back into artefacts (41). Genres within the language of both discourse and political boundaries provide the conceptual stability necessary for useful engagement in life's work and social reproduction.[35]

In my empirical material, the terms "Hong Kong" and "Shenzhen" are not often used to speak of a particular location, but instead denote just one of a catalogue of genres used to capture particular behaviours, regulations and feeling rules. In their life's work, regular Hong Kong–Shenzhen border crossers build multiple personal genres of feeling rules that follow topological rather than Euclidian spatial forms. Borders develop between one's embodiment and its surroundings. The cognitive dissonance between ways of being in Hong Kong and Shenzhen make borders *emotionally laborious*, even in private contexts such as intimate relationships between lovers. Mobility forces the subject to address a dissonance between past experiences and our current context.

Mobility and family come together in the discourses and practices of citizenship. Ayelet Shachar articulates that contemporary citizenship within the global mobility

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[34] See also Newman and Paasi (1998).
[35] There are connections here to Van Houtum's (2011) "mask" of the border.

regime is centred on inherited ascription, specifically the role of ancestry in acquiring citizenship(s): "[B]irthright citizenship operates not merely *as if* it were any other kind of inherited property; rather, it moves down the generations like an entail form of untaxed inherited property" (2009:3, emphasis in original). The term *entail* stems from early English common law that "allowed a landed estate to automatically descend from person A to person B 'and the heirs of his body' and to continue on, thus passing through the generational line" (193).[36] Shachar argues that there are strong connections between this strong (universalising) legal metaphor of *property*, on the one hand, and persistent notions of race and the "national body" of the eugenics movements throughout the twenty-first century, on the other – discourses of racialised inequality that are hidden by the acceptance of entail (inherited) citizenship in contemporary discussions of migration. I propose in this dissertation that a *tension of citizenship* exists between the administrative ascriptive identities entailed to children by parents and how a person feels as an individual about the world. It is the productive use of the friction between the grounded realities of border practitioners' inheritance (one's relationship with the state, one's family's wealth and status) and their dreams and visions of the future that I collect in this dissertation.

Discussion of the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border must take into account its place in the *global mobility regime*, which is at its core the system for distributing life and death internationally (Povinelli 2006:5; Salter 2006; Shachar 2009). The global mobility regime has been used by scholars to describe the normalisation and shared understanding between states as to how to address others approaching their frontiers (Häkli 2015; Salter 2006). This regime relies on a genre of understandings of how to control mobile bodies; this genre has settled on the body and the document – usually the passport – as its genre form. However, its impact extends beyond the simple body–document dialectic into networks of community relationships: bilateral agreements on one scale and micro-negotiations between officers at passport control desks at the other (Häkli 2015; Chapter 3).[37] Literature describing and building a theoretical model for the biopolitical nature of state security, building on Foucault, are useful for this dissertation because they show how the current regime was not inevitable, nor did it succeed without a variety of actors; it has evolved and changed over time (Amoore 2006; Cunningham 2004; Jones 2012; Martin 2010; Salter 2003; Tawil-Souri 2012).

Isabella's school was made possible by a particular "*transgovernmental friction*" taking place in the context of this global mobility regime (Zhang, Lu, and Yeoh 2015; Chapter 3). In 2001, the Hong Kong Court of Final Appeal ruled that babies born of mainland Chinese mothers on Hong Kong soil must be automatically granted permanent residence in Hong Kong regardless of their mothers' immigration status. In January 2013, the Hong Kong government negotiated with hospitals so that it became nearly impossible for non-Hong

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[36] Interestingly Shachar in her book *The Birthright Lottery* (2009) also provides non-radical solutions to this reproduction of inequality using a legalistic Human Rights framework.

[37] Mark Salter also refers to a corporeal turn observed in the increased use of biomarkers in systems for tracking bodies as they move around the globe (2006).

Kong resident women to "book" delivery at a Hong Kong public or private hospital, making cross-border births only possible at great risk to the mother's health (see Chapter 3). During the intervening period, around 200,000[38] children were born whose both parents were not permanent residents of Hong Kong (See Fig. 5). As they were ineligible for public funded care, families were expected to pay between 10,000–100,000 Hong Kong dollars (HKD) for medical services, depending on the hospital where the baby was born. These Hong Kong-born infants, though considered citizens of the PRC, are within China's system of graduated sovereignty only entitled to state services in Hong Kong.

Hong Kong, it must be noted, was not the only choice of location in which to strategically give birth; some parents chose the United States, which also offered citizenship based on the location of birth. Interlocutors and practitioners spoke of the role of the one-child policy and the penalties involved as driving these decisions. Others spoke of

Total number of live births.

Total live births born in Hong Kong to mainland women.

Mainland women who's spouse is Hong Kong permanent residents.

Mainland women who's spouses are not Hong Kong permanent residents. (Includes Hong Kong non-permanent residents.)

Mainland Women who did not provide father's residential status during birth registration
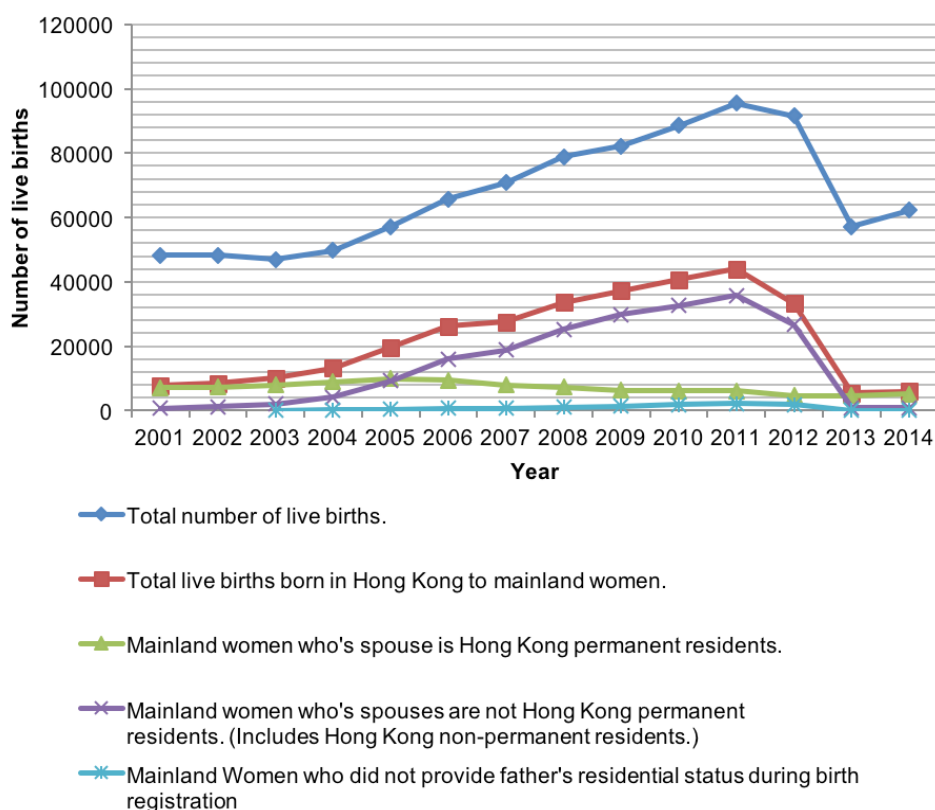
Figure 5. Live births in Hong Kong to mainland women (2001–2014).[39]

[38] http://www.thestandard.com.hk/section-news.php?id=167758 (accessed August 2016).
[39] Hong Kong Monthly Digests of Statistics 2015, Table 2 http://www.censtatd.gov.hk/hkstat/sub/sp140.jsp?productCode=B1010002 (accessed August 2016).

giving birth overseas as providing a kind of intergenerational "gift" to their child in the form of a position of privilege in the global mobility regime. Not all of Isabella's cross-boundary students are, in local colloquial speech, "double nots" (no Hong Kong permanent resident parents). As you will see in the following chapters, many are the children of Hong Kong families working in Shenzhen or mixed families.

This example – one of the many strategies for bypassing the entailment of citizenship – comes with costs and benefits. The most discussed cost in 2014 was that mainland Chinese government schools saw Hong Kong permanent resident students as "foreign," forcing them to pay high tuition fees and denying them other welfare services. While the actual financial cost for many of these (often wealthy) families was negligible, their experiences highlight a particular form of emotional accounting inherent in relations between parents and children. This accounting for the future, in my analysis, is a practice of *cruel optimism* – the "object of desire that may not lead to your [or their] flourishing" (Berlant 2011:1). Many parents – but not all, as we will see in the following chapters – value Hong Kong education as a stepping-stone to a better future. However, taking such a step requires immense emotional labour, forsaking present pleasures for uncertain future possibilities.

Both parents and non-parents were quick to criticise "double not" parents of cross-border students for putting unjustified emotional and physical pressure on these young minds and bodies. Parents with children who did not cross the border, used these children's schedules to defend their own choices and to support arguments within their families as to how and where to educate their children. I characterise the complexity of these conversations between groups of intimate bodies as *cross-border family politics*. Drawing on Cindi Katz and other feminist scholars (see Chapter 2), *cross-border family politics* became the most effective way to describe my research interest in the field. My interlocutors, those whom I interacted with in the field, were aware of the border, and they all intimately related to the idea of family politics summarised most succinctly as "your relationship with your mother-in-law." Families are how we live out globalisation; *cross-border family politics* is the embodied politics of borders, politics that goes beyond the apartment door.

Cindi Katz's (2001) and Geraldine Pratt and Victoria Rosner's (2012) work reminds us there is no simple answer to these questions, but studying children and childhood allows us to gain a particular insight into globalisation. Katz observes that:

> When [economic] reproduction is highly mobile but social reproduction necessarily remains largely place-bound, all sorts of disjunctures occur across space, across boundaries, and across scale, which are as likely to draw upon sediment inequalities in social relations as to provoke new ones. (Katz 2001:761)

What I analyse here is the drawing upon, and provoking of, intergenerational inequalities; the interplay of violent limits and phantasmagorical possibilities which mobility across political-economic borders, such as those between Hong Kong and Shenzhen facilitate.

Children exist as an embodied, confounding link with the unknowable future. Children's understanding of the world is of research interest, as children are prototypical

subjects of future decision-makers (Lee 2016; Punch 2016; Valentine 2008b). I do not address children's experiences directly, as this was not my original point of inquiry and methodologically children's studies has its own limitations and particularities. Instead, I address my research to the constellation of power relations that buffet each child before birth. Furthermore, rather than address the child's thinking, I instead investigate current and future parents' imaginaries and decisions made on behalf of current and future children, because parental choices, feelings and ways of seeing are what will mediate the newly born child's initial relations with the world.

Family is better understood and described topologically rather than topographically: emotions of love, care, loss, anxiety, etc. transcend literal understandings of time-space while tangentially still being propelled forward by biological timelines and physical location. Familial intimacy is only partially constrained by Euclidian space (Kallio 2016; Chapter 7); it pulls and influences us beyond what physically occurs in front of us. Intimacy is a mode of *spatial arrangement* that connects the proximate to the distant, "a mode of interaction that may also stretch from the personal to the distant/global," and a set of practices applying to the body but also with elements that are distant (Pain and Staeheli 2014).[40] Intimacy does not address time linearly; we remain haunted by and embedded in multiple intimate events across time. Timelines of family and intimacy interact in interesting ways with other regimes' timelines; in this dissertation, these include timelines of the immigration department and the state (Chapters 3 and 4) and the global financial economy (Chapters 5 and 6).

Each family has its own internal, complex, historical and contemporary politics which, while the domain of countless romance novels, has frequently been overlooked by or positioned as an "'absent presence' within geography" (Valentine 2008b). "Taking families seriously opens up opportunities for connecting seemingly disparate political projects" (Martin 2014:457), and I take up this task in this dissertation. As we have already heard in the context of cross-border births, biological reproduction is never separate from political power and economics. Aihwa Ong, looking at similar cases in 1999, reminds us that in modern Asia "we cannot delink the operations of family regimes from the regulations of the state and capital" (113). A reflexive investigation of an individual's family politics allows us to analyse the form, strength and production of links between these regimes.

By sharing multiple, and frequently contradictory, examples of cross-border family politics, I seek to bring attention to the role of family regimes, the enablers of life and the laboratories of feeling, in how the global mobility regime distributes possibility. To do this, I stray from more established notions of "theory," making use of three alternative queer and feminist conceptualizations of theory as a form of emotive structure through which feeling rules develop.[41] Feeling rules are the signal interpretation strategies

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[40] This definition of intimacy from geography is interchangeable with Povinelli's (2006) definition from anthropology below.
[41] Examples of non-heterosexual families are notably absent from my archive, but I believe these perspectives have relevance beyond their original subjects.

accumulated over lifetimes that determine our emotional response to encounters and help us consciously and subconsciously make it through the world (Hochschild 1983). I suggest that as regular border crossers, the border practitioners in this dissertation have already been engaged in a complex but troubled historical process of addressing different understandings of the world they experience as part of their life's work.

To understand this challenging work of addressing multiple worlds at once, this dissertation interweaves three "adjective" responses to globalisation and its "major," "strong," "high" theories of accounting for life's work – the work that "gets us to the factory gate" (Mitchell *et al.* 2003). Cindi Katz proposes "minor theory" to provide a conceptual route that aims to "scratch at major theory from a range of different positions but its claims are interstitial, and minor and major both must be joined to oppose inequality, injustice, impoverishment, and oppression effectively" (1996:489). Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick offers "weak theory" as a form of theory whose "rewards are so local and frequent that one might want to say that a plethora of only loosely related weak theories has been invented to shelter the hypertrophied [engorged cell] embrace of the... overarching strong theory" (2003:136). J. Halberstam offers "low theory," referencing the above scholars: this approach argues for, "theoretical knowledge that works at many levels at once," a "mode of accessibility" where "everyone participates in intellectual activity, just as they cook meals and mend clothes without necessarily being chefs and tailors." (2011:372, 401).

All three adjective theories build on each other, working together to try and explain something that is bigger on the inside and unavailable to the researcher: our internal cognition. This dissertation aims to highlight that the emplaced individual life's work of those living at the mouth of the Pearl River Delta, who for the last few decades have been the "makers" of the global economy, possess unique and constantly contradictory methods of accounting for the encounters created by the border between Hong Kong and Shenzhen. Attention to self-referential understandings of life's work and family politics, I hope, will reveal "detours, twists, and turns through knowing and confusion" (Halberstam 2011:401). Like these theorists, I seek "not to explain but to involve" (401).

As global consumers, we are all in part involved in this border; our homes are full of objects that passed through these two cities without ground. However, the workplaces, classrooms and apartments of "The Gateway" and the surrounding buildings address a less examined use of space to "fix" problems of over-accumulation by state, enterprise and family regimes (Harvey 2001, 2005, Chapter 5).[42] Like the factories of the Pearl River Delta, Isabella's classroom is a *fixed* and concealed, strategically located site of production. And like the customer service representative addressing her San Francisco-based client, Isabella's classroom plugs into a plethora of global imaginaries. Her classroom acts as one fixture in a circulation of intimate commercial and non-commercial encounters deeply attuned to the emotions of location. Life's work, across the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border, offers a compressed version of what, for the majority of the world, are expansive spatial

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[42] David Harvey notes, that the term "*fix*" has been unexpectedly productive because of its dual meaning as both repair and anchor in English (2001).

fixes across oceans and continents. The families of Isabella's students use space both to extract value and to expand the family regime across borders.

1.3 Entailment

Question 2: How can the experiences of border practitioners and the Hong Kong–Shenzhen boundary develop our understanding of the global phenomenon of inequality that borders address?

He know… [that I may not get another visa] and actually he told me that if I feel, ah, pressure, and umm… I can make another choice and a, he, insist me to have my own choice." (Her voice becomes soft.) "But yeah, actually, yeah, he can't, he will definitely not come to mainland China with me. Yeah, yeah. I know, he didn't say, but I know. Yeah, I know.
   He didn't say, but you know he doesn't want to go back to mainland China?
   I think that he… umm… his point is, umm, independence… and he think, even you are the couple, you are the boyfriend and girlfriend. But you are two people, you are not one people. And you have your work, you have your work and umm, if you make another choice, the first, the first, ah. The first place you need to think about [is] your family; you need to think about yourself and maybe at this time you will think [about] your partner.
(Stella discussing what will happen to her relationship with her Hong Kong boyfriend if her Hong Kong work permit is not renewed)[43]

…I have referred to these discourses in a variety of ways, mainly by the terms "intimacy" and "genealogy." In this little book, I use the terms "autological subject" and "genealogical society" and "intimate event" and "intimacy" to refer to a specific aspect of liberal sociality. By the *autological subject*, I am referring to discourses, practices, and fantasies about self-making, self-sovereignty and the value of individual freedom associated with the Enlightenment project of contractual constitutional democracy and capitalism. By *genealogical society*, I am referring to discourses, practices, and fantasies about social constraints placed on the autological subject by various kinds of inheritances. The *intimate event*, as opposed to *intimacy*, is simply the way in which the event of normative love is formed at the intersection – and crisis – of these two discourses.
(Povinelli 2006:4, emphasis in original)

In her 2006 book *The Empire of Love: Towards a theory of Intimacy, Genealogy, and Carnality*, Elizabeth Povinelli presents a typology of the "tension-of-self" in an effort to move

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[43] Interview conducted in English (vernacular speech maintained), Shatin, Hong Kong, August 2014.

discussions of modern life in anthropology and other social sciences beyond a simple binary between freedom and constraint. After many divergent versions of my conversation with Stella that opened this section, I see Povinelli's typology as useful to understanding my discussions of biological, economic and social reproduction in the field. Sitting with border practitioners, I constantly witnessed autological impulses, intimate events and genealogical (with an emphasis on gendered) society. These discourses "and their material anchors are a key means by which people in liberal settler colonies articulate their most intimate relations to their most robust governmental and economic institutions, make sense of how other do the same, account for the internal incoherence of these discourses, and distribute life and death internationally" (2006:5).

What I seek to do in this dissertation, through paying attention to the role of the family regime and emotions in reproducing understandings of the border, is to argue that the intergenerational encounter – the fact that children are *not* like their parents – offers a universal site within which to observe how tolerances for the inheritance of possibility through the body (entailment) are constructed. Wendy Brown argues, in a similar vein to Hochschild, that tolerance is not inherently bad, but the invocation of tolerance to produce identity and economic stratification indicates that it is working as a "para-state" and "para-legal" governmental technique of control and entailment (2006). Tolerances – and respect – for the inequalities of globalisation are particularly complex feeling rules to teach a student in Isabella's classroom. The pace of social transformation covered in this dissertation appears phantasmagorical. Speaking across age with recent university graduates, their parents and the parents of newborn infants, I was able to trace "counter-topographies" (Katz 2001) that highlighted the particular way the border made life's work emotionally laborious.

The emotional work of lubricating the productive friction of borders allows for specific possibilities. As with mental and physical labour, adjustments in the area of "workplace health and safety" can be made. Strategies can and are developed to mitigate, avoid and restructure, alienating emotional labour. Hochschild herself describes three "stances" the workers she wrote about in 1983 seemed to take towards emotional labour. She noted that each had its "own sort of risk," "but the harm in all three could be reduced," she believed, "if workers could feel a greater sense of control over the conditions of their working lives" (1983:187). I see many similarities between the feeling of border crossers I documented and Hochschild's record of service sector workplaces. In the conclusion of this dissertation, I will provide an application of her typology. What connects our two projects is how gendered emotions of love and family are used to assign and manage the right to – and value of – both paid and unpaid labour.

Within systems of entailed *ascriptive* citizenship, Povinelli notes a tension between autological and genealogical imaginaries, grids of intimacy and grids of genealogy that "animate and enflesh love, sociality, and bodies" (2002). Critically, they "operate as strategic manoeuvres of power whose purpose – or result – is to distribute life, goods, and vales across social space" (2006:4). Building on the notion of property as a metaphor for

citizenship, Shachar identifies two analogous functions between property and citizenship, which she calls "the right to exclude 'gate-keeping' and the right not to be excluded 'opportunity-enhancing'" functions of citizenship (2009:33). Within her legally focused analysis, she acknowledges that citizenship, like property, retains an important affective bonding function (3).[44] This I tease out as citizenship's affective function: the *tension of citizenship* is between what your passport or ID card says, on the one hand, and how you look, feel and behave, on the other. In this gap, similar to the gap between autology and genealogy Povinelli identifies, is a plethora of emotional work and transgovernmental friction.

In 2010, in an attempt to catalogue Shenzhen's feeling rules as part of its 30-year anniversary commemorations, Shenzhen municipality's publications arm conducted an online survey, expert consultation and public events that led to the release of the book *Top Ten Concepts of Shenzhen* (深圳十大观念).[45] The first concept to be addressed in the volume, "Time is money, efficiency is life," frames my recounting in Chapter 5 of the contemporary history of Shenzhen through a morning spent overlooking a container terminal speaking with an industrialist and his sister and nephew. The slogan is now secured in the form of a concrete landmark at the intersection between mainland China's first post-Mao private factory and housing developments. The final slogan of the volume, "You are a Shenzhener once you come here," could be found in 2014 on numerous subway billboards across the city and frames Chapter 6.

The committee debating the top ten concepts of Shenzhen in 2010 shared my conceptualisation of the tension of citizenship. They noted that to arrive in Shenzhen has become affectively and materially linked to the arrival of modernity, and modernity in Shenzhen is conceptualised as concrete infrastructure (see O'Donnell 2001, Chapter 5). To be free in Shenzhen is to be free from the limitations of genealogy; it allows one to set out to become a new person. In the city's early years, this was true both for young female migrant factory workers fleeing from family patriarchies and their male bosses (Chang 2009; Ngai 2005). However, such tropes were and are still grounded by the PRC's intrastate Hukou, or household registration, system, which uses inheritance to determine the possibilities ascribed to each body. The commemorative book's authors reinterpret this concept in 2010, presenting Shenzhen as the "Chinese city most like the United States" in an attempt to resolve these contradictions:

> For the millions of new migrants, if one did not "upgrade" from renting an apartment to owning one, he would think it meant he had not taken root in the city. And, if one had not "upgraded" his residence from the temporary residence permit to the Shenzhen ID card, he would think it also meant he hadn't taken root in the city. The permit was decisive in the fate of new migrants. The differences were huge, anytime and anywhere: when passing checkpoints or applying for a subsidized apartment; seeking salary increases and job promotion;

[44] This is analogous in the sense that people develop strong emotional bonds to inherited physical property.
[45] I rely on an official 2012 English translation for my analysis.

acquiring insurance; enrolling children in school; and applying for bank credit. (Yisi 2012:193)

But they also argue; "the word "Shenzhener" is far from a simple concept of permanent residency. It represents spirit, glory, dreams, encouragement, broadmindedness, values, symbols, memories, patterns, vision, miracles, rational character, culture and something unknown. Yes, indeed, you are a Shenzhener once you come here. (188)

As I will show, Hong Kong and Shenzhen borrow heavily on an understanding of the liberal diaspora's[46] dream of casting off the chains of inheritance (Povinelli 2006). Membership in "new" political-economic groups becomes "objects of desire" (Berlant 2011). Work and purchase of property become cruelly optimistic objects of desire. Citizenship is framed as just one of these objects, along with an apartment, caring spouse and filial children. Combined, these things suggest that you have made it: you have become a Shenzhener or Hong Konger. However, Shenzhen and Hong Kong, as we will learn in Chapter 5, have always been built in relation to each other – whether materially in the form of capital and machinery to run Shenzhen's factories, Hong Kong's dependency on Shenzhen for its water supply, or in the transfer of ideas and methods of social relations.

To become a Shenzhener is both an administrative and affective process; one is only a true Shenzhener when they have met the requirements and transferred their inherited Hukou, or permanent "household registration,"[47] [48] to the city. Figure 6 outlines the benefit's routes and priorities for Hukou in Shenzhen in January 2015. After my time in the field, I include the People's Republic of China's internal mobility restrictions, the Hukou system, Hong Kong and Macau "permanent residency,"[49] and the PRC's attempts in facilitating movement from Taiwan as equivalent to interstate formulations of citizenship ascription. They form a hidden part of the global mobility regime, complete with an emphasis on biological subjectivity, inheritance and allocation of collective resources (see Zhang and Li 2016). Within the PRC, close to 20 per cent of the population is "floating" – guest workers expected at least on paper to return "home": when they are no longer required.[50] In major cities such as Shenzhen, non-Hukou residents may outnumber Hukou

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[46] "Liberal diaspora" refers to the set of ideas for understanding family and society that arrived with colonial regimes, particularly the British (Povinelli 2006).

[47] Temporary household registration is relatively easy to acquire, but provides only limited – though in the case of Shenzhen, quickly improving – benefits.

[48] An individual's Hukou consists of two parts: the first is "place of registration," the city, town or region where one is registered and whose government is responsible for providing welfare and other services. The second dimension is Hukou "status," this can be rural or urban and affects one's access to particular types of state welfare (see Young 2013:1-2; Oaks & Schein 2006:31). Shenzhen was the first jurisdiction in China to abolish the distinction between rural and urban categories within its boundaries in 2004.

[49] "Right of abode" is the legal term for the unrestricted right to live and work in Hong Kong. As Hong Kong was never an independent state (though it issues its own internationally recognised passports) it had historically used as indicating "Hong Kong citizenship." The status was referred to in the field as "Hong Kong permanent residence," so I use that phrasing here.

[50] In 2010, 261 million people were classified as non-Hukou residents living outside their place of registration by the Chinese state (Young 2013:3).

residents three to one (Figure 7), forcing governments to address resulting inequalities (see Young 2013; Zhang and Li 2016; Zhang 2012).

It is of scholarly interest how regimes of state, family and enterprise maintain (or fail to maintain) translocal[51] nationalist imaginaries that permit such inequality in the context of a unitary state (Oakes and Schein 2006). The PRC's "floating" population may not be subject to physical violence in the way a refugee or undocumented migrant in the United States or Europe might be. However, they are generally denied access to state-subsidised medical care, specific types of employment and subsidised education outside the location inscribed on their identity card; like an undocumented migrant, they are denied citizenship's "opportunity-enhancing" functions (Shachar 2009). As the administrators of the Hukou system, municipalities have the ability to selectively grant Hukou status based on detailed quotas and criteria; like states, this allows them to compete for particular subjects while discouraging and exploiting others. States, in all their embodied multiplicity, act to graduate sovereignty at a multitude of scales and time-spaces.

Hukou status, like national citizenship, is still in the majority of cases inherited;[52] if you are born in Shenzhen to non-Shenzhen Hukou parents, you do not receive Shenzhen Hukou until your parents do (Xiang 2015; Young 2013:48). Genetic inheritance is as much an intra-national as an extra-national biopolitical concern, highlighting the significance of cross-border birth in Hong Kong in parents' desires to secure opportunity for their children. As Povinelli's work on intimacy proposes, "[F]lesh is not merely an effect of a liberal biopolitics, or merely the disciplinary means by which the discourses of autology and genealogy are secured, maintained and reproduced, but also an independent, unruly vector at play within these biopolitics" (Povinelli 2006:7). She further distinguishes between flesh's materiality and discourse, or Carnality – "the socially built space between flesh and the environment" – and Corporeality – "flesh as the mattering forth of these manoeuvres"; in "other words, the flesh may be an effect of these discourses, but it is also not reducible to them" (7). Studies of state biopolitics therefore need to pay particular attention to how "power in a robust sense – power over life and death, power to cripple and rot certain worlds while over-investing others with wealth and hope – are produced, reproduced, and distributed when we seem to be doing nothing more than kissing our lovers goodbye for the day" (10).

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[51] Tim Oakes and Louisa Schein build on geographers such as Katz and Massey to propose translocal(ity) not as a simple notion, but to complicate literal notions of mobility and to draw "attention to the multiplying forms of mobility in China without losing sight of the importance of localities in people's lives" (2006:1). Translocality, they hope, might make it possible to have "alternative conceptions of scale from those imposed by, for example, the state, capital or other powerful interests" (31). This is what differentiates translocality from transnationalism. Transnationalism is a term built on ideas of nationalism – in this case Chinese nationalism, which is already deeply colonised by the state. In light of this, I have chosen to use "translocal" in place of "transnational" in this dissertation.

[52] Interestingly, from 1951–1998, it was inherited from the mother. The system claims legitimacy from pre-communist mobility restrictions (Young 2013). Since 1998, children can inherit status from either parent, but they may only hold a single status type and location.

Benefits	Channels	Priorities (in order)
•Easier application for HK & Macau multiple entry pass •Access to Hukou restricted employment •Access to public housing •Easier access to car loans •Access to gov. supported housing savings plan •600RMB per month housing supplement for low income earners •Easier visa application requirements for some countries	•Employer sponsorship •Points based pathway •Family reunion •Graduation from a recognised institution	•Family reunion •Property purchase •Relatives •Workplace (or partners workplace) •Recommendation from 'talent management' office

Figure 6. Shenzhen Hukou: benefits, channels for transfer and priority groups (January 2015).[53]
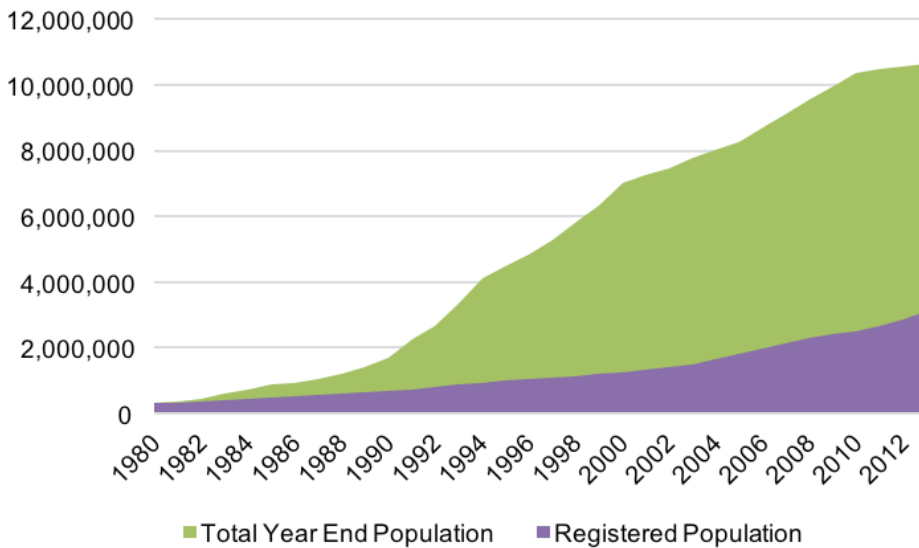
Figure 7. Shenzhen's registered vs. non-registered population 1980–2013.[54]

[53] Based on http://sztv.cutv.com/shenzhen/201501/25138371425.shtml (in Chinese; accessed October 2016).

[54] Shenzhen Statistics Yearbook 2013, Table 3-1: http://www.sztj.gov.cn/nj2014/szen/3-1_1en.htm (accessed January 2017). "Non-registered" is how non-Hukou holders are framed by the statistics bureau in English.

1.4 Encounters

Question 3: What is the role of space in the performance of cross-border family politics?

Space is as much a challenge as is time. Neither space nor place can provide a haven from the world. If time presents us with the opportunity of change… then space presents us with the social in the widest sense: the challenge of our constitutive interrelatedness… the radical contemporaneity of an ongoing multiplicity of other, human and non-human; and the ongoing and ever-specific project of the practice through which that sociability is to be configured. (Massey 2005:195)

The high degree of autonomy of HKSAR [Hong Kong Special Administrative Region] is not an inherent power, but one that comes solely from the authorization by the central leadership. The high degree of autonomy of the HKSAR is not full autonomy, nor a decentralized power. It is the power to run local affairs as authorized by the central leadership… *There is no such thing called "residual power"…* The most important thing to do in upholding the "one country" principle is to maintain China's sovereignty, security and development interests, and *respect* the country's fundamental system and other systems and principles.
(*The Practice of the "One Country, Two Systems" Policy in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region,* Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, June 10, 2014, emphasis added)[55]

Encounters make new spaces, but these new spaces are not produced out of nothing; rather, they are thrown together from existing relations (Massey 2005). This dissertation is a collection of new spaces created as I inhabited and encountered the terrain between Kowloon and Shenzhen. These spaces were always somewhere; interviews occurred in context, whether in a small classroom like Isabella's or a busy café, where the interviewee cast their eyes around the room before making a statement they only wished to share with me. The road between Kowloon and Shenzhen is a road of encounter, between colonial powers in 1899 and – from September 28, 2014 in Hong Kong – between protesters, bystanders, journalists and police. In a city which expends a phenomenal amount of effort to sustain a phantasmagoria of groundlessness, the occupation of streets is an act of residual power, a particular failure of tolerance that I discuss in Chapter 8.

   One line in the June 10 white paper from the PRC State Council on the practice of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region – "there is no such thing called 'residual power'" – played an outsized role in reframing the debate in 2014. The legal concept of "residual power" comes from a common-law

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[55] Full text: http://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/article/1529167/full-text-practice-one-country-two-systems-policy-hong-kong-special (accessed August 2016).

principle used by federalist states, whereby the central government selects particular powers and lets the remainder fall to other levels. The State Council is the executive body of the National People's Congress, which includes appointed members representing Hong Kong. The State Council's blunt denial that Hong Kong citizens held any grounded power challenged many Hong Kong passport holders understanding of their position in a global system of graduated sovereignty. The state explicitly sought to remind them that they were citizens without ground. In this white paper, which I will return to across this dissertation, we can also see what energises the next generation of Marxists:[56] a simultaneous desire for flexibility and an apprehensive anxiety of losing control, similar to the embodied anxieties of the parents who spoke with me.

Respect is a particularly complex feeling rule for the central government to teach its struggling subjects living in Hong Kong. As I explore in detail across this dissertation, multiple borders – around gender, age and economic systems – have reproduced and restructured themselves within even a relatively young border practitioner's lifetime. Therefore, as explained above rather than viewing borders as fixed things, this dissertation views them as *genres,* each a "typified rhetorical response to a recurring social situation" (Spinuzzi 2003:41). Borders here are one of a multiplicity of forms of the geographic "encounter*"* (Wilson 2016). We should always be conscious that *rhetorical responses*, like feeling rules, possess the ability to enact real detrimental violence. Regimes produce *texts* (such as the one I refer to above), then *act* on those texts in different ways at different times. The map of the border does not become physically violent until a regime becomes intolerant (in even the most subtle way) and chooses to act on it.[57] Each encounter of actors then reinterprets the borderline, or genre, often in subtle ways until the latest version holds little resemblance to the original description.

As Wilson notes, "encounters are meetings where difference is somehow noteworthy" (2016:14). The encounter is how the cross-border family, enterprise and the global mobility regimes engage with each other. These encounters, I argue, can be described through the three topographical spaces of the genealogical society – symbolically, materially and economically – which Povinelli finds in her work (2006:208). Isabella's classroom can be described using all three dimensions of this topographical typology. The building is symbolic; the complex's original advertising material claims discursively (in Chinese) that it represents "two cities, one world." It is material; it provides safe shelter for families with members who cannot legally live in Hong Kong. Finally, it is economic; it calls on the difference in education systems to extract economic value.[58]

In 2014, deliberation as to the role of the subjected grounded inhabitants of Hong Kong came to a dramatic head. The original reason for the formation of a movement

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[56] Many of the members of the State Council are the children of key figures in communist party history, referred to in popular discourse as "princelings."

[57] The lack of border control for "Chinese" subjects until 1949 is an example of this concept. This formulation applies to all regimes, devoice proceedings one example of an "old" encounter and text becoming violent in the context of family regimes and the state.

[58] These examples are based on Povinelli (2006:208).

to "occupy" central Hong Kong in 2014 was to influence a multi-stage "consultation" process regarding the possibility for public nomination of candidates for the position of the city's chief executive (formally the role of the British governor). The franchise for the vote had already been settled, but a final sticking point was whether the central government would have the opportunity to screen the candidates before they were placed on the final ballot for loyalty. Ultimately, the negotiations faltered, and no change was made to the system (see Ng 2015). However, over the course of 2014, the population received a lesson in the geographies of encounter, as well as in the limits of the state's tolerance for protest and political opposition.

The events of Sunday 28 September 2014 materialised the contradictions involved in the use of translocal identities to invoke tolerance. Both high school and university students had been on strike during the previous week, camped out in a park across a road from the Hong Kong legislative council building and many government offices. Events escalated over the week until Sunday evening when, for a complex, murky set of reasons, police dressed in unfamiliar green uniforms carrying large rifles and tear gas launchers were pictured facing off against a throng of students.[59] Multiple people I spoke with in Hong Kong recalled their evening television programmes suddenly interrupted by live images of dissipating tear gas and a row of men carrying large guns, who stood in the middle of a familiar expressway facing off against a large group of young people. The density of Hong Kong Island meant that minutes later there were thousands of observer-protestors on the street effectively sandwiching the line of armed police, who were able to negotiate a retreat with the teenage protest leaders and left the observer-protestors to their own devices. In other locations across the city, similar congregations of observer-protestors occurred, leading to three major road-occupying protest camps, the last of which finally moved off the streets on 15 December 2014.

Across the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border, which actively censored mainstream media and grassroots reports of the protests, the protesters were in part framed as ungrateful for the economic gifts, in the form of capital investment and tourism, that being part of "one country" offered them. The PRC government's techniques of control, with its emphasis on gifts, rewards and "tolerance" for which the population should be thankful, is reminiscent of the words of Hong Kong's previous colonial rulers, including the arriving British governor in 1899. The consistent point of the discussions of "life's work" that I participated in related to the affordability of real estate and its effect on people's ability to lead satisfying emotional lives. I believe that these constant references to the costliness, or lack of, ground – places to sleep, love and develop as affective citizens – were central to this protest encounter and should be the biggest "scratch" that desperately needs to be made in "major" theories of globalisation (Katz 1996).

As Isabella put it to me in her classroom, "Even someone from another country they will think it is very crazy!" She repeated a common refrain that Hong Kongers such

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[59] I was in Shenzhen and aware of the student strike, but was only following events closely when I switched on my Virtual Private Network and bypassed the internet border.

as herself were being denied that most basic need: housing. Even if you are a young professional with experience, you only earn 18,000 to 20,000 HKD a month, she told me. However, the rent for a decent flat is 15,000 HKD a month, leaving even the educated with only the possibility of a "shit" life, let alone the possibility to support a family, she said. When Isabella travelled home on the weekends, she found her childhood home filled with *Shuke* (水客, literally "river-traders") collecting goods to move across the border, circumventing mainland China's import taxes and fulfilling the public's desire for foreign products – an enterprise that stems from a distrust of locally made goods, particularly food (see Chapter 5). Over a matter of years she had watched the occupation of ground around her childhood home change; she described how when she returned home on weekends, there was no place to meet her friends, as everything was occupied by "them".

At that moment, Isabella was struggling to be tolerant. She was not alone in this emotional work; I heard similar statements from white-collar workers in Shenzhen without inherited wealth. Tracking the spaces of encounter through time is where we can *feel the friction of borders* and the entailment of possibility. Let us return to Ken, who denied that the border deeply affected him. Ken explained to me how his parents, who still lived in northern China, were able to send him to university in the United Kingdom, support his down payment on his Hong Kong apartment and fund his studies in both Hong Kong and the UK. However, towards the end of our interview, he proposed that Hong Kong was "going down the hill"; the school and university students were protesting and not going to class, he said, and they had "ah, too many negative emotions… maybe because," noting his parents agreed with him, "they live in so small space, so how you – how you suppose people have positive emotions? When they live in, like, a jail?" In the city without ground, ground, intimacy, economy and family are inseparable.

Keeping in mind Ken's and Isabella's theories of the emotional labour of life's work in cities without ground, this dissertation now moves through a series of reconstructed sites to address its three questions. In the next chapter, I reconstruct the interview encounter to address the challenges of researching family politics. In Chapters 3 and 4, I address how the border is practised and reproduced today. First, in Chapter 3, I reconstruct the queue for passport inspection to explain how the state seeks to "serve us at every stage in our lives." Building on the cases in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 explores the foundational event – the subject in love – to highlight its role in distributing possibility. In Chapters 5 and 6, I turn to the region's recent history to explore the emotional labour of globalisation. First, in Chapter 5, we will spend the morning in the penthouse of a factory owner who retells us the history of Shenzhen's moment at the centre of global manufacturing to discuss the transferring of feeling rules across the border. Then, in Chapter 6, we revisit the night a brother and sister tried to escape to Hong Kong to start new lives, subsequently discussing the role of dreams in intergenerational encounters.

In the final two empirical chapters, I place these experiences in the context of contemporary literature on geographies of encounter to explore the role of space in cross-border family politics. In Chapter 7, I discuss an apartment rented in order for a

two-year-old to attend preschool in Hong Kong away from her parents, exploring how work on topology can help us describe the life's work of cross-border families. In Chapter 8, I return to the occupied streets of Hong Kong to discuss the origin of possibilities in the city without ground and the production of tolerances to inequality. In the Conclusion, reviewing my answers to this dissertation's three questions, I visit the marriage corner in Futian Park to tie together the loose ends of this impressionist tale and offer suggestions as to how these cases could contribute to future scholarly and policy work. This is one of countless narratives that I could weave through my ethnographic archive, but I have chosen this route because I wish to tell a particular story of the road between Kowloon and Hsinan; I hope to comment on the ways in which "makeshift links across distance and difference" shape global and individual futures and ensure their uncertain status (Tsing 2005:2).

2 The continuous field

Figure 8. Screen shot of social media post by interviewee (October 2014).[60]

> After spending an afternoon with *Jonathan Couple*, talking about *Jonathan's* thesis, I actually felt that we were talking about our story. It was our first meeting but I was *So talkative*. So here is the question why long haired, cute good looking *Jonathan* looks completely different from his profile picture? :-D (Translation of SinaWeibo post in Figure 8; italics indicate English text in original)

The above post appeared in my social media feed shortly after leaving a detailed and wide-ranging two-hour interview with a recently married couple. After months of writing and reading about representations in ethnography, geography and social science in general, I rediscovered this image within a trove of screen shots on a now-redundant mobile phone. Figure 8 acts as a touch point for the people in it, the computer server that hosted it, the words spoken and unspoken in that interview (now in black and white as a textual transcript) and the affective experience of that encounter, remembered as part of the sum of all interviews before and after.

    This chapter will explore the research practice that produced this image and introduce the empirical framework for the remainder of this dissertation. Ethnography, as poetically argued by John Van Maanen, is a "means of representation" rather than a "method" (2011:3). He breaks ethnography down to a representational knot that ties together *fieldwork,* a formal act of locating oneself, and *culture,* expressed through actions, objects

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[60] Below the text is an image of the researcher, interpreter (left) and two interviewees, one male, one female (right).

and words (4). The text and image in Figure 8, written by an interviewee publicly reviewing the performance of the ethnographer to a geographically diverse mediated audience, makes Van Maanen's knot feel more like a tangle. I have untangled this through the notion of the *continuous field*, which explicitly problematises the binaries created by the notions of the *field* and the *researcher*.[61]

This screenshot combines both the unquantifiable and always troubling *ethno* with the *graphic*, the practical implication of Van Maanen's knot which I resolve in this chapter using Sarah Pink's (2009) *Sensory Ethnography* approach to field research. Figure 8 is a fragment of the shifting mass of material I collected from the field. This mass consists of electronic, physical and emotional fragments, constantly being reassembled and reinterpreted as I write this dissertation. Alongside Figure 8 sits the printout of my personal immigration record, which I requested from the Hong Kong immigration department, showing how traces of my own movement across the border live on in the memory of their computers. Both these objects remind me of how the knot between *fieldwork* and *culture* represented as *ethnography* is more complex than circular narratives of observation, analysis and results show.[62]

The continuous field of this dissertation travels from Oulu, Finland, to Shenzhen and Hong Kong on the Pacific Rim by commercial airliner in around 16 to 18 hours, and electronically in a fraction of a second. In my daily life, I remain deeply embedded in the networks of the field. Today, someone I interviewed at length about their small child will comment on a picture I posted of my own daughter in Oulu. This is the nature of *networked* life (Burrell 2009). My life from time to time is also *multi-sited* (Marcus 1995), meaning for me that my everyday physicality and emotional existence is spread across multiple sites. I emphasise the distinction between *networked* and *multi-sited* to remind readers of the emotional labour involved in the materiality of living across multiple dwellings I observed during my fieldwork.[63] Not all of us migrate, but we all deal with distance.

My academic mobility has its own particularities; the short description I used for myself in the field was obliged to specify that I was "from" (a problematised term in the case of my research) Australia, lived in Shenzhen, and worked for and studied at a Finnish university. I often had to confirm that the Finnish did pay me to study Shenzhen and, yes, they were only expecting this dissertation in return. When I arrived in Shenzhen, I used

[61] The "continuous" field is distinct from either "extended case method" (Burawoy 2009) or the "extended field" (Andersson 2014). Both Burawoy and Andersson seek to expand the actors that can be considered part of a "case" or "field"; I argue instead that such justifications produce unnecessary typologies, and we would be better off addressing subjects' own particular understandings of the world.

[62] The well-worn path of the ethnographer, from the structured daily cycles of the academy to the uncertainties of the field and back again, is a comforting trope. It is possible to compare this with the narrative tradition of the *quest*, in which the hero departs, accomplishes their quest and returns, and to the scientific methods in which the practitioner hypothesises, experiments, analyses and concludes. In each case, the traveller's narrative plays an important role; the educated narrator provides the structure and authoritative coherence respected (and expected) by the reader (Van Maanen 2011:66). Despite reservations, this text follows these conventions.

[63] The tension between *networked* and *multi-sited* life was re-conceptualised during the writing-up process through the concept of the "topological home" (see Kallio 2016 and Chapter 7), but I leave these two terms here, as they played a critical role in how I conceptualised my situation in the field.

to explain that my physically located possessions and connections were spread out across three continents (my parents' house in Australia, my mother-in-law's apartment in China and my student apartment in Finland). These were the sites in my *multi-sited* life. Over the years, my understanding of the emotional labour of *multi-sited* life has, like many of those I interviewed, become nuanced and more complicated. Regardless, it is critical that we acknowledge the effect of the embodied, material nature of our lives on our research.

The dissonance between the tropical heat of Shenzhen and Hong Kong versus the colour and sound of snow falling outside my office in Oulu are both a peril and a blessing. They allow me to exclude events occurring after 13 December 2014, the day I physically left Shenzhen from this dissertation. While this decision seals up one frayed end of my ethnography, it does not exclude or remove me from my networked existence, nor does it make me unaccountable for contemporary events or past statements despite the dissonance in the current physicality of my everyday life. I take comfort that the dissonance of multi-sited ethnography binds me to the phenomena I wish to investigate.

2.1 We did research

We set out from the hostel[64] to find an office where we could get Angelica a new Individual Visit Scheme sticker in her two-way permit. Practically, our task was to get Angelica a visa to travel to Hong Kong and a sticker in her internal passport so we could cross the border to visit mutual friends from Australia the next weekend. We didn't really have a clear idea where we were going or who we were supposed to see. It was August, more than 35 degrees Celsius, and the humidity was over 90 per cent.

The internet on Angelica's phone told us to head for a building in the Xinzhou district. Due to the construction of a new subway station, the centre lanes of the road in front of the building had been dug up and surrounded by a temporary wall, so we couldn't easily see across the road. We walked around for over half an hour. Hot and tired, we found one building, but it wasn't where we were meant to be. We were directed back to a building which belonged to the Chinese Exit and Entry Administration. Angelica spoke to the security guard at the door, who quickly told her that what she wanted to do was not possible. Still, she waited her turn to see the clerk at the counter. Again she was told that she needed to return to her hometown, an hour away by airplane, to get a pass to travel to Hong Kong.

We had suspected this, but also thought the fact that she was a resident of Australia and Finland would work in her favour, as it had helped us get around these types of restrictions in other settings. I watched the conversation with

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[64] This hostel was our temporary home for our first month in Shenzhen.

the official from a distance, hiding under the blast from an air conditioner. Angelica came back almost in tears. She had been cut off and shunned by the official, and was at the point of yelling at them or me – or was I yelling at her? I'm not completely sure. But it was too much; our dream of a day away from the dusty construction sites of "Chinese" Shenzhen, in the "Western" environment of Hong Kong probably visible from the top of that very building, had been shattered. The feeling was brought on as much by homesickness (or elsewhere-sickness) as by the bureaucratic restrictions we faced. The border had just been erected through our relationship. I could escape, but she couldn't. (Author's reconstruction from research journal, August 2013)

I did not enter the field alone; in fact, there is not a single part of my fieldwork that was not touched in some way by my own cross-border family politics. My wife Angelica[65] arrived, lived and left with me; my unborn child accompanied me for the last six months of my fieldwork, both physically and conceptually. My daughter starts and ends my days as I am writing this. Most published ethnographies, when they do acknowledge the intimate relations of the author, usually only do so in a preface or conclusion (see Van Maanen 2011).[66]

Angelica and I had been living together in Sydney, Australia, for two years before moving to Finland. Angelica was born and raised in Southwest China and had come to Sydney to study a master's degree in translating and interpreting in 2008; we met at a Halloween party in 2009. She quit a job in the community sector to move with me to Oulu. She carries a Chinese passport but is also a permanent resident of Australia, and like me a temporary resident of Finland. By the time we arrived in Shenzhen, I had lived in China more recently than she had. This project is written from the vantage point of Shenzhen because Angelica cannot legally work – or even visit – in Hong Kong for more than seven days at a time without a Hong Kong work or study permit.

After every second visit to Hong Kong, Angelica would post her "two-way permit" (an internal passport book used for travelling between Mainland China, Hong Kong and Macau) back to her father. He would then take it to the relevant office and have a new double entry "Individual Visit Scheme" permit placed in it. I crossed the border using my Australian passport, which gave me visa-free travel for 90 days per entry to Hong Kong, and initially used a one-year multiple entry tourist visa for Mainland China,[67] which required me to leave Mainland China every 30 days (a trip to Hong Kong is considered leaving Mainland China for visa purposes). In July 2014, I applied for and received a six-month "family visit" visa from the Public Security Bureau in Shenzhen using our marriage certificate. This visa required me to leave Mainland China every 90 days. Neither of us

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[65] This is her personally chosen English name.
[66] Three exceptions that have influenced my writing are Ellis (2004), Geertz (1973) and Povinelli (2006).
[67] I had wanted to request a family visa from the Chinese embassy in Helsinki in 2013, but before the revision of the PRC visa law in early 2014, there was no family visa category available.

was able to get access to either the Hong Kong or Chinese electronic border gates, so we had to wait – sometimes for hours – in line at the control points to have our passports manually inspected before crossing the border. We were different from the vast majority of regular border crossers, whose residency statuses (either as registered residents of Hong Kong or one of a select list of mainland cities) made them eligible for biometric border inspection, eliminating the need to wait in line.

The poetics and practicalities of our own experiences of immigration bureaucracy in Australia, Finland, China and Hong Kong make this project personal, intellectual and political. It also highlights our privileged position in the global mobility regime. The social worlds we inhabit are fundamentally those of high movers or high mobility, a social context where people have short, prepared statements that outline an acceptable topography of who they are and where they are "from." As we think about our daughter's future, it is the incessant need to answer this question that binds us politically to try and challenge the entire premise of the question itself. While my personal politics and intellectual commitments may problematise and reformulate the state and its power, they do not shield me from the necessity of engaging with state power. Despite popular dreams of "global citizenship" (see Abrahamian 2015), everyday reality requires challenging choices. The PRC does not allow dual citizenship, nor does it allow a simple pathway to residency for spouses or children of its citizens with non-Chinese nationality. We had to actively choose whether our daughter would have Chinese or Australian citizenship and engage with the future possibilities and limitations of our choice. My *cross-border family politics* – the intersection of family, politics and border – is explored here as another case alongside those I interviewed.

We spent our first weeks in Shenzhen as flâneurs, walking every neighbourhood within a 30-minute subway ride of the border and carrying out close studies of the pros and cons of each.[68] We stood out as the couple with the most thorough knowledge of Shenzhen's many distinct districts along the border; we never really met anyone who'd had the time and resources to do anything similar. However, we ended up living 400 metres from where we spent our first night. From previous fieldwork in 2009, I knew that to have success in Shenzhen or Hong Kong, we needed a wide social network. Good networks take time and are only truly effective once they reach a critical mass.

The day we arrived, we attended a "bar meet-up" publicised on the website couchsurfing. org.[69] Some of the people we met that first night remain our good friends to this day. A month later – the week after we moved into our new apartment – I created a companion

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[68] We planned our trips moving back from the border and along the Green Shenzhen subway line. We also became the go-to reference point for new arrivals looking for housing in Shenzhen because of our detailed knowledge.

[69] In my couchsurfing.org profile, I clearly state that I am a researcher and describe what I study. However, I also state that I do not study or write about couchsurfing.org. In November 2014, couchsurfing.org became inoperable in Mainland China – not because of deliberate censorship, but as a side effect of a wider restriction on services offered to websites from Google, on which couchsurfing.org was heavily dependent. Since our departure, the language exchange group is run by others and has changed format and location.

event on the same website. I called it a "language exchange," hosting it in a franchise of an international coffee chain close to our apartment. Six people, including Angelica and myself, attended the first event. The Wednesday night before we left, around 50 people attended. Around 30 people regularly attended each week in the months leading up to our departure. The first hour of each meeting consisted of introductions, followed by listening to each person speak for two to three minutes on the topic for the week. The rule was that everything must be spoken twice in two languages. At 8 pm sharp, we would leave to eat dinner together at a nearby restaurant.

Attendees at these meetings became our core network in Shenzhen. People constantly came up to me and asked how I managed to make it work, thanking me. They suggested that I had singlehandedly built a community in a way that only a foreigner could. In fact, what I did was take some observations from my 2009 master's degree fieldwork and combine them with an extremely flexible work schedule and preparedness to expose myself as a leader and enforcer of social structure. I observed in 2009 that "expat bars," where international social gatherings usually occurred, were overpriced for those on local white-collar wages and made new arrivals to Shenzhen from elsewhere in China, unfamiliar with Anglo-derived drinking cultures, uncomfortable. Hundreds of new university graduates arrive each day in Shenzhen from other cities in China to look for work.[70] This experience of arrival is both isolating and liberating (see Bach 2010; Chang 2009) and we offered a community space that brought those two tropes together.

We – Angelica and I – built this community through consistency. We took no attendance and did not require registration; all we did was say that we would be in the same place at the same time each week and that we were prepared to sit there alone. I took the role of leader, chairing the meetings, my white body telling people to take their turn to speak. It was emotionally laborious work; I was on display until only a small number of people were left at the end of the night. I was constantly observing, uncomfortably, how my white male body, working in tandem with Angelica's female Asian body, pushed through class and social barriers, enabling us to connect fresh Chinese graduates and foreign executives. People would ask me why I did it. I would say that this was my voluntary service, a buzzword in Shenzhen at the time. We didn't pick up rubbish or collect secondhand clothes; we built community because that was what we as a mixed couple could do.

The phrase "mixed couple" was sometimes used by others to describe our relationship. It is tempting at first glance to interpret such mixed relationships through two sets of binaries: "mixed" implying the opposition between two border categories, such as religion, nationality or race, and the "couple" through the binary of individual versus group. As I hope to show, if there is anything to learn from the people who live with political boundaries, it is that multiplicity is a far more satisfying framework than binary for understanding society.

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[70] During Angelica's job search, we found that many intra-national migrants chose Shenzhen as a destination because it is where there is a shortage of educated labour *and* because you are more likely to be hired on merit rather than connections compared to other major cities.

Understandings of intimate relationships are steeped in narrative traditions of supposedly binary oppositions; think of *Romeo and Juliet* or *Butterfly Lovers* (梁山伯与祝英台, a classical Chinese love story that serves a similar cultural function).[71] Both narratives at first appear to be of binaries merging, although *Butterfly Lovers* includes an additional gender-passing element. But they are also about disruption and multiplicity, the mixture of connections and types of intimacy one can see in romantic relationships. The characters must love each other within the context of their complicated bodies and other human and nonhuman actors that change and affect their relationship, a complexity that I return to across this dissertation.

The importance of multiplicity to critical understandings of intimacy became visible through our relationship. Many hours of discussion took place around dinner tables in Shenzhen as we talked through with others – usually in jest – how our relationship fitted within popular notions of hypergamy, the technical term for "marrying up." What was "up," and how could it be defined or quantified? Who in our relationship was "up" versus "down"? Could comparisons be made across such different life histories? It was discussed, colloquially and usually humorously, whether I was a *diao si* (吊丝) – a term that almost defies translation, but which I understand best to mean "salt of the earth" or "grassroots" (although others translate it as "loser"); it is only used when referring to males. Or was Angelica a *bai fu mei* (白富美) – literally "rich white beautiful [girl]" – which has almost the same meaning as those words in modern America? Or was I *gao fu shuai* (高富帅), literally, "tall, dark and handsome," the male counterpart of *bai fu mei*?

My white skin and my Chinese name (given to me by Angelica) meant I often moved between all three types. My Chinese name, which I use when dealing with Angelica's family and intimate friends, is a transliteration of Jonathan, using a character from the name of an ancient Chinese heroine from classical Chinese literature. This juxtaposition parodies my size and my long hair, making it a memorable and useful tool for transitioning me from the position of a distant foreigner into local networks of meaning. A researcher's physical form does not go unnoticed, as my interviewee in her WeiBo post (Fig. 8) commented: "why long haired, cute good looking *Jonathan,* looks completely different from his profile picture?"[72] This matters even more when you are conducting research looking at intimacy and relationships accompanied by your intimate partner. In around a quarter of my interviews, Angelica was physically present acting as interpreter, and occasionally was present in others as a friend or by circumstance. While I am able to perform practical transactions in Mandarin and follow simple conversations, I am unable to conduct emotional discussions (see Multi-person multi-language place-events below). However professional[73] she attempted to be during the interview, she was also always present as my wife. Even if she was not there, our relationship became a critical part of every discussion.[74]

[71] Our relationship was discussed through the *Butterfly Lovers* story by an interlocutor on one occasion.
[72] See Figure 12 for the profile picture she was making the comparison with.
[73] Angelica received her accreditation from the National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters Ltd (Australia), 2010–13.
[74] See Ellis (2004) for a detailed discussion on these issues.

Our work together confirmed the significance of researcher embodiment in field research, particularly with regards to gender. People often felt uncomfortable addressing a differently gendered person they did not know well. Female acquaintances, after hearing about our project, would sometimes first approach Angelica with contact details of possible interviewees to pass to me, rather than approaching me directly. Also mixed up in the notion of researcher subjectivity, but rarely stated, is the role of personality, which often gets caught up in discussions of gender but deserves its own examination. I believe the performance of particular personalities in particular situations is critical in getting fieldwork done. However, I would not support assertions that any one personality is universally better suited to fieldwork. Regardless of what type of personality we attempt to perform, our underlying ways of seeing the world become reflected in our work. For example, Angelica and I have different electronic communication styles. I tend to like clear, thought-out communication, but this clashed with the highly immediate style favoured on the Chinese messaging platforms we used. Angelica mastered this style, however, and on many occasions, messages would be routed via her to me because I took too long to formulate a response.

If ethnography is the knot between experience (fieldwork) and the culture (practice) it sets out to represent, then the fieldworker cannot be extracted from the practice being represented. As a child, I was told that it was inappropriate to ask questions you were unwilling to answer yourself. I repeat this to emphasise that ethnography is reciprocal, and my first subject should be myself (Ellis 2004). This does not mean that a researcher has to expose everything; there are questions you deliberately refrain from asking and answers you deliberately do not record. Scholars must be aware that an intimacy is involved in even the simplest survey question. Many of the most important insights contained in this dissertation come from the moment when I said, "I don't have any more questions; do you have any questions for me?" In my experience, the responses regularly challenged my own assumptions about how others saw me. I still feel the tension in my stomach caused by what people asked me; I often became defensive when their questions touched on challenges and struggles in my own life. The fact that only I am speaking here is at the heart of the power dynamics and emotional labour that produces presented research.

Each time I revisit certain stories from my fieldwork, such as the description above of our attempt to get the documents needed for Angelica to travel to Hong Kong, I blush. We should have expected this reaction; we should have known better. We seem foolish and naïve, like we believed the rules didn't apply to us, and in that moment, we believed (or wanted to believe) that our cosmopolitan status made us untouchable. I tell this story to show the emotional and sensory nature of the border experience, along with its location away from the physical border fence. Had we not spent so much time in construction dust and heat before finding the building, we would have reacted differently. Had we known more people in Shenzhen, we would have known how to overcome the problem and would have visited our friends in Hong Kong using one of a number of alternative

border crossing strategies.[75] At that moment, as we left the building, this border had done *violence* to our relationship. I felt violated and this was a problem.

This early experience made me realise that the only way I was going to be able to get through my fieldwork was to take this personal moment, which made me want to act politically, and build my project around it. It brought back to me the reading I had done the prior year for a course on feminist methodology:

> A critical feminist perspective uses critical inquiry and reflection on social injustice by way of gender analysis, to transform, and not simply explain, the social order. The perspective encourages opening new lines of inquiry versus simply "filling the gaps" in already established disciplinary terrains.
> (Ackerly and True 2010:2)

In response to this call to action, gender analysis does not fall under its own heading in this dissertation, as everything I did was in some way embodied and gendered. We carry our gender around on our faces, making gender analysis an inseparable part of the analysis of everyday urban life. Intersectional analysis highlights the multiple simultaneously travelling narratives that build a daily life. This inseparability of embodiment and understanding of life's work is one of many "new lines of inquiry" such an approach allows us to seek. It acknowledges that power is not distributed at a single level and can contain multiple subjectivities; someone can be a millionaire businesswoman and also get nagged by her mother for not being married.

Seeing power as dispersed and subjective rather than totalising or objectifying allows us to empathetically address the way borders appear as both forces of *violence* and tools of *possibility*. The border gave me the possibility to leave the dust of Shenzhen behind me for a day in "clean" Hong Kong, but it limited the majority of the city's residents, those without Shenzhen Hukou to limited trips, as they would need to return to their hometown to get permission to travel to Hong Kong (if they were able to obtain permission at all, since some cities are not on a list of acceptable Hukou districts). Borders, then, are part of a complex regime of spatial violence that has enabled Shenzhen to flourish and has maintained Hong Kong's existence as a destination of possibilities and personal growth – possibilities that became complicated and messy in the life stories of so many of the people I interviewed.

Descriptions of borders as simultaneously doing violence and enabling possibility appeared in almost every conversation I had regarding the border. It was often heard during the transition between the initial public/pre-scripted response to a question and deeper personal and reflexive responses. These represent two codependent narratives. The first is the "meta-narrative" of the border (Gelézeau 2011), which is repeated and

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[75] I am now aware of a number of alternative ways to cross the border at short notice without returning to one's Hukou location; all involve extra cost and creative interpretation of border regulations, which carry some risk for one's future ability to cross the border.

backed by – but is never under the complete control of – governmental power. This narrative paints in broad un-nuanced desensitising strokes. The alternate is a perspective guided by the daily intimate experiences of living with the border. These subjective narratives often take the form of personal theories for justifying the working of the world and are addressed in this dissertation – as I noted in the Introduction – by drawing on three alternative adjective modes of theorising (low, weak and minor). These playful interpretations of meta-narratives allow subjects to make sense of their lives and build resilience to the violence done to them by borders.

Playful queer responses to experiences of inhabiting multiple contexts within a single day, and sharing parts of that day with people who are unable to share the other parts of it with you, produce creative strategies for dealing with the contradictions of borders as places of both possibility and violence. Using these embodied interpretations, I take the perspective that violence and possibility are not stages on a continuum, but are instead constantly intertwined and interdependent. Embedded individuals use mental constructions or theories to muddle through the necessary contradictions of border life. Tired and sweaty that day at the police station, Angelica and I were unable to theorise away the border's impact on our bodies and relationship. However, later we would develop practical "low" or "minor" theories which at that moment would have allowed for hope and resistance.

2.1.1 Seeking suitably stable sites and subjects

> An epistemology is a theory of knowledge. It answers questions about who can be a "knower" (can women?); what tests beliefs must pass in order to be legitimated as knowledge (only tests against men's experiences and observations?); what kinds of things can be known (can "subjective truths" count as knowledge?), and so forth. Sociologists of knowledge characterize epistemologies as strategies for justifying beliefs: appeals to the authority of God, of custom and tradition, of "common sense," of observation, of reason, and of masculine authority are examples of familiar justificatory strategies. (Harding 1987:3)

This dissertation's field, the location for gathering evidence, is defined not by a place, but by the interaction of a practice and a terrain: the practice of crossing the border and the terrain of the urban landscape of Hong Kong and Shenzhen (with tendrils across the globe). This causes both a methodological and a sociopolitical problem. I needed to construct a method, methodology and epistemology that addressed data collection in extended but dense urban space – space with the defining sociopolitical characteristic of continuous movement and a complex mixing of bodies. Hong Kong and Shenzhen, like many other regional categories, do not exist as stable units politically over long periods of time or socially as constructions in people's minds. Instead, these two urban landscapes

are continuously being reproduced: both physically, as buildings are knocked down or collapse and new ones constructed, and mentally, as each generation learns and produces its own spatial categories. People whose life practices physically cross the border usually do not engage in the practice for extended periods of time, and those who do so are reluctant to admit that they cross the border for fear of complicating their own identities and putting off potential companions.

Recently arrived in Shenzhen, I pondered at length the practical problems of how I, with my embodiment and mobility, could study such changing moving targets. How to catch them, where to catch them, what are they? I had dreamed of sitting, like Heyman (2004), inside the booth with the border guard as they checked those who crossed the border, situating myself in what on the surface appeared to be the only stable series of points in the everyday geographies of the people I wanted to study. However, along with the impracticalities of gaining access, the checkpoint itself is a problematic location. Looking at my own mixed relationship, borders of race, nationality, language and gender were not exclusive to the checkpoint, but instead deeply embedded in the daily narratives of our relationship. We do not leave our papers – our governmental identities – with our keys by the door, but draw them into our intimacies.

However, how to make this a stable enough site for ethnography? After moving halfway around the world, I was drawn back to Ruben Gielis' (2011) article, which had spoken to me so personally in the Finnish spring earlier that year. Gielis discusses why:

> …the house is more suitable than other migrant places to grasp the relationality of transnational experiences? In my view, this is related to the emotional qualities of this place. Since the house is a private and personal place for migrants, just as it is for nonmigrants (Dupuis and Thorns 1998, 29), the transnational experiences that take place there affect their personal lives and hence will matter to them. (Gielis 2011:260)

Gielis frames his argument through George Marcus's (1995) call for more multi-sited ethnographies. While this has usually been read as inspiration to "Follow the…", Gielis brings us back instead to Marcus's final category to remember the "strategically situated site" (1995:110). This formulation fit nicely with my distinction between lives as usually networked (connected by communication), but not always multi-sited (involving the physical movement, distribution of bodies and things between locations), which I would later conceptualise through the "topological home" (see Chapter 7). When formulating my research plan, the house became the stable site in my frantic world of mobile bodies and a mobile researcher. The emphasis on the migrant's making of internal domestic space as a mental shield against the trauma of difference stood out as a stable site where the practice I wished to study could be mapped onto a terrain.

In hindsight, I should have paid more attention to the view from my apartment window, which looked into the dormitories of migrant workers who served me at the supermarket,

lived six to eight to a room and whose emotional understanding of residential space bore no relation to Gielis' proposition. The house (or apartment) as "private and personal place" (Gielis 2011:260), in a literal and material formation, did not match what my informants later told me. While private ownership of real estate featured as an important social and political topic in almost every interview, tying someone down to where they slept proved particularly complicated. Someone might sleep at her boyfriend's two nights, then at her parents' the next night, and then stay in her own room in a shared flat for the next two weeks. Someone might even live part of the week in a subdivided part of his businesses warehouse.

My dogged attempts to materialise or "site" cross-border life were drawn from a personal desire to situate myself against a complex stream of networked and multi-sited personal concerns. As I explore below, my method and methodology was forced to evolve out of necessity. This was an additive rather than a revolutionary process, representing research as *becoming* rather than *rupture*: "the simple binary is always subverted by 'becoming'" Katz warns us (1996:492). Research, I was forcefully reminded, is a co-constructed dialog between researchers and researched; ethnographic research at its heart is a speculative endeavour. Paying attention to mindset over method allows research to evolve and enables informants to offer solutions (see Jaschok and Jingjun 2000).

A feminist mindset privileges embodied and changing knowledge forms. When using such an approach, it seems only proper and ethical that we construct and represent the people who are driving our story in a way that empowers them. I have experienced a number of ways of describing *the people who give us information* or, more accurately, *the people whom we take information from*. On ethics forms, they are often described as "subjects" – people we need to get *informed consent* from and who need protection from us, usually in the form of a signature in a specific location on a printed form. Anthropological writing may call them *informants*, defined as the people informing us, which distinguishes anthropological research practices from "representative" survey work. Another relevant term is *interlocutors*, used to describe the other people researchers interacted with who are not listed as formal informants. *Interlocutor* gives an academic title to the guy at the bar who told me about his friend. Without such random people, whom we often only interact with once for a moment, urban ethnography would not be possible. I had many interlocutors, not all of them people: sometimes a poster, a TV commercial or a cat had a significant bearing on the outcome of my research. Most of their contributions are not recorded or recognised, but make up the mess that encompasses an epistemology that preferences embodied over disembodied knowledge and includes more than human actors (see Haraway 1988; Law 2004).

This dissertation includes information collected using each of Sandra Harding's three original techniques of social research: *interrogating (and listening)*, *observing behaviour* and *examining historical traces or records* (1987:2). As a way of distinguishing each of these methods and the types of knowledge they produce, I am going to use the term "border practitioners" to refer to the people interviewed – those who identified themselves to me

or were identified by their friends and acquaintances, and whose voices I recorded and used to make the case studies that structure this dissertation. They chose themselves because they recognised themselves as "practising the border" (responding to my definition, which called for those who crossed the border at least once a month) and their active participation meant they placed some personal value in my project. We interrogated each other as we discussed our respective border practices.

The people whom I interacted with, whom I observed – along with the view out my window and the newspapers I read – are *interlocutors*. They are a diverse group and I am unable to account for all of them empirically, but their combined effect is the mortar of this building. The traces left behind by my fieldwork, the thousands of photos I took, the social media messages I received, and the receipts I collected comprise the historical record that reminds me of what happened. I *examine* these to help me reconstruct the sensory experience of being present then and there while I am now over here (Pink 2009). By privileging these three types of data, I develop forms of minor and low theories, or border practitioner epistemologies, which question existing non-situated theories of identity and practice.

Within the messy worlds of borders and academia, the idea that a single body can have multiple identities and that these identities are in a constant state of change is a key message of this dissertation. A friend can be a practitioner, an interlocutor or a text (in an instance when they write a message). True, the body is material, and this material is mixed with representations (Rose and Tolia-Kelly 2012). However, your materiality can change; you become pregnant, or if you spend too much time in the sun the nationality your face supposedly represents may change. Your changed body then clashes against representations such as the photo on your ID card. Mind, body and spirit are all elements in flux, interconnected and subject to constant mutations. This is the epistemology, or "way of knowing," which I want to lay as the foundation of this dissertation.

2.2 Love stories

> Feminist objectivity makes room for surprises and ironies at the heart of all knowledge production; we are not in charge of the world. We just live here and try to strike up noninnocent conversations by means of our prosthetic devices, including our visualization technologies. (Haraway 1988:594)

Metaphors can be visual interpretations of theories, and theories are often explanations of things we are unable to determine empirically. They act as important cognitive stand-ins, technologies for getting through life's work. Doing non-institutional or grassroots research in urban Shenzhen and Hong Kong felt a lot like *dating*. Angelica and I would often say that if we could invent a solution to the trials, tribulations and anxieties of finding love in the PRC, we would be very rich. Running a weekly meet-up with 20 to 50 participants

who had discovered us on the web or through electronic recommendations from friends and colleagues, we witnessed many family formations, as well as a share of relationship dissolutions. My interview grid (Appendix 1) specifically sought out love stories, so I became well versed in the trials and tribulations of dating in China and Hong Kong. The grid guided me through each interview, ensuring that I addressed my questions to cover critical scales and timeframes. All interviews took different sequential routes through these questions, making it seem more appropriate to call it a grid than a list.

I developed these questions based on my own interactions after arriving in the field. I hypothesised that mobility possibilities, as written in your passport or other nationality documents, did not stay outside the "home" or the "romantic relationship," but were deeply embedded within them. This observation held true, but not always in the ways I expected. Surprise and the unexpected are critical aspects of embedded research (Luker 2008; Michael 2012; Pink 2009). If I had returned having found exactly what I expected, I would have been disappointed. However, this transformation is a painful process; patterns I observed were built up over time, evolving through conversation with practitioners. In interviews where I felt comfortable, I would bring up or respond to questions about my in-process conclusions. These provided insights that went on to shape new questions. However, three research questions guided my field research from the outset:[76]

1. How do individuals respond emotionally and performatively to their interactions with actors and objects linked to the enforcement of state-assigned identity?
2. How are differences in state-assigned identities and access to state services interpreted and negotiated within cohabitating groups?
3. How is generational change (intergenerationality) interpreted by cohabitating groups in relation to state-assigned identity and economic and political development in Shenzhen and Hong Kong?

I addressed the first two research questions in the interview grid through a series of hypothetical situations, such as, "If you were to lose your identity card, how would you feel? What would be your first action?" or "Any rituals that you perform before you leave the house if you are going to cross the border?" (Appendix 1). Alongside these were questions asking people to "tell the story" of crossing the border, which elicited responses that spoke of a necessary – often active – intellectual avoidance of such questions. Even asking pointed questions about problems getting paperwork often resulted in statements about how such things were a necessary part of life. This drew out and spoke to the challenges and strategies of overcoming the dissonance between violence and possibility. However, if I were interviewing a couple or someone in a relationship, I would then ask for their "love story." Often referring to my own to gain trust, I would then follow with, "What do your parents and their parents think about your relationship?" At this moment, conversations became divergent: children, parents and great-grandparents entered the

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[76] These were adapted to create the three dissertation questions I introduced in Chapter 1.

stage. The border which I had once hypothesised was projected *onto* the city became part of an ongoing exchange between generations and across stages within one's lifetime.

After entering the field, this border, then, became an assemblage of limits and possibilities for work, love, education, escape. It became time-sensitive; one's political identity fluctuated in relation to wider trends and personal histories. An individual's extended family could extend across borders, looping around and back again over lifetimes and within lives. Interpreting the border across generations became the feminist research problem that needed to be solved. Asking this question sought to explore the intimate question of "life's work" and social reproduction (Mitchell *et al.* 2003; Strauss and Meehan 2015). Questions I asked about borders, nationality, surveillance and control would eventually come back to family and future possibilities. More than one interlocutor and interviewee would implore, "What does it matter whether I have Hong Kong permanent residency if I cannot afford an apartment and therefore can't find a wife?"[77]

The language of social reproduction and life's work offers a route to address this recurring statement by drawing on an established body of feminist and Marxist scholarship. Taking on a feminist mindset, social reproduction offers a "framework for theorizing and analysing correspondences and contradictions between structures, social relations and practice" (Strauss and Meehan 2015:8). Those I spoke with reiterated the centrality of unwaged and emotional labour in their lives. The border was both a site of additional unwaged labour and a site of hope and opportunity as they strategised how to ensure their children's future prosperity. That society must reproduce feels prosaic in the context of the biopolitical regime within the PRC, which regularly denies state welfare to unwed mothers and routinely (though not universally, as these regulations differ by municipality) requires official written sanction to give birth. Capitalism is *socio*economic: structures (borders, medical systems) interact with social relations (class and gender) and practices (marriage and courtship), to form both the means and relations of production (8). Images of protesters remaking the streets of Hong Kong sit in my data alongside those of the matchmaking garden in Futian Park, Shenzhen, where parents post flyers seeking partners for their adult children. These flyers make visual social and economic necessities for reproduction: "good family," "modest apartment."[78]

With my fieldwork behind me, I now take the view that the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border is both everywhere and somewhere, but most importantly it is only one of many borders. It jostles for space with numerous other borders, such as gender, skin colour and skill, that enable systems of production necessary for the "multiplication of labour" (Mezzadra and Neilson 2012) and the continued existence of the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border itself. Without the border practitioners I interviewed, along with many other human and non-human actors, the border could not be *reproduced, maintained or*

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[77] This question draws from traditional expectations that a marriage begins with the man (or his family) providing the house and the woman (or her family) furnishing it (see Hong Fincher 2014). Narratives of how couples negotiate this process of beginning to live together highlight how gender norms are reproduced. I return to this point across the dissertation.

[78] I return to this park in the Conclusion.

repaired, and therefore it could not be sustained over time. As I explained in Chapter 1, the border between Hong Kong and Shenzhen was originally produced by documents, actions of violence and governmental negotiations in the early 19th century. Since then, it has continued to be reproduced socially, economically and politically. Borders in this dissertation are constantly in a state of becoming, held up by a myriad of actors social, political and material – actors that perform actions that are simultaneously violent and empowering.

2.2.1 Meeting people

From the outset I wanted to understand how people with different identity documents (Hong Kong versus Shenzhen), and therefore different educational, employment and health opportunities, managed and experienced their domestic space and also managed frequent travel from Hong Kong to Shenzhen and vice versa. These were two places, two "strategically situated sites": the domestic home, or sleeping place, and the checkpoint buildings that travellers must pass through between Hong Kong and Shenzhen. Both are also "closed sites," ones that I could not just show up and investigate (Mountz 2010, 2011). Stopping or loitering inside the immigration checkpoint is expressly forbidden (though physically possible). I lacked the courage, local institutional affiliation or legal support to ask permission; regarding people's homes, on the other hand, I thought I could just ask.

Guided by the work of Sara Pink (2009), Kristin Luker (2008) and Mike Crang and Ian Cook (2007), I produced a multi-step, case-based method with three key components, which I wrote up on a page on my personal website (Fig. 9). Earlier versions were even more prescriptive than this. In hindsight, seeking research participants willing to give their precious time required reducing the mental load of the audience. Asking them do more than one thing or produce their own self-classification represented a presumption, an imposition of categories, a form of "methodological nationalism" which I had expressly intended to avoid (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002). These assumptions can be seen in my first set of marketing material (Fig. 10). This diagram expressed what I wanted to find: a strategically situated site, complete with a Eurocentric image of a house with a chimney.

The response to Figure 10 was confusion and resistance. People were unable to read the picture as applying to them, even if it did. The framing of the project as "academic" and the phrase "a multi-status group" were poorly received. The listing of different tasks, either on the reverse of the flyer or on the website, struck the reader as a formal long-term commitment, even though they were listed as optional. The flyer read like a poorly worded personal ad, framing me, the researcher, as distant and incompatible with my target matches, who would rarely use these terms to describe themselves and who were scared to commit what little precious free time they had. I should have realised my error in the initial reactions of my close acquaintances, many of whom made their living in transnational and cross-border sales roles. I persevered, believing both that I wanted to

How can you participate? 你如何参与?

I want to hear from you both as individuals and/or groups; in two ways.
我想对您个人,您所在的集体进行采访。

Interviews: I would like to conduct interviews with you about; the stories of your household (I particularly like love stories) your life now and your thoughts about travelling across the border.
采访形式: 我和您进行一对一谈话,或者集体谈话。内容是关于您的家庭故事(特别是爱情故事),您对跨界生活的体验和理解。

Observations & Diaries: I want to collect; notes and observations about the events and places where your identity documents are checked. These are the times when someone asks to see your; identity card or passport.For example at the immigration checkpoint or opening a bank account. I want to know what you are feeling at that moment, did they make you happy, sad, or angry? 观察和日记; 我希望您记录下您身份认证被检查的时刻。比如: 边防检查护照时或者身份证时,或者银行办事时。您当时的感受是怎样的? 开心,悲伤,疑惑或者愤怒?

I can travel with you to record these moments or you can record them and send them to me as part of a **border diary**. 我可以和您在一起来记录这些时刻,也可以由您自己来做这份**边界日记**

After you have finished interviews and recording your moments I will work with you to create your own border crossing map.
最后在您记录完成以后,我会收集起您的点滴资料和您一起来制作一个您个人的跨界经历图。

Figure 9. "How can you participate?" Screenshot from personal web page (March 2014).[79]

Living with different identities?
An academic research project looking at cross border households?

Multi-Status Groups
多重身份组群

Hong Kong
香港

Mainland
内地
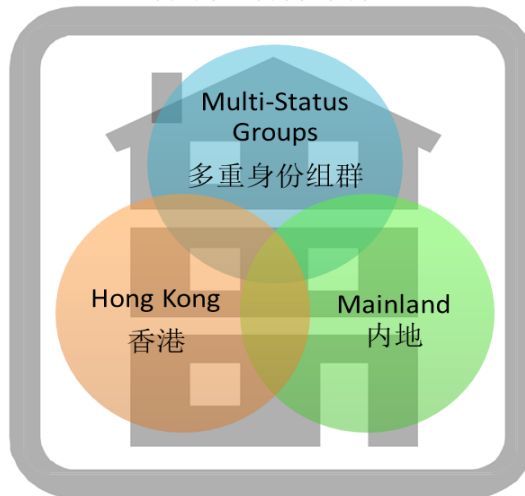
Contact:
www.motionoflife.net
Jonathan.Burrow@oulu.fi
+8615018961276
+85253761276

UNIVERSITY of OULU
OULUN YLIOPISTO

www

Figure 10. First promotional flyer (April 2014).[80]

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[79] http://www.motionoflife.net/partcipate.html (active in 2014, but has since been removed).
[80] The heading text was also translated into simplified Chinese for distribution in Shenzhen and Hong Kong.

do an in-depth, interactive methodology and that I only needed a few candidates out of a large pool. I brought my troubles up in early interviews with people to whom close friends and family had referred me without using the flyer; belatedly, after numerous appeals, I overcame my stubbornness and started my approach again. My final approach centred on finding a single attribute to frame my subject that required as little mental labour from them as possible, shifting the screening and self-categorising process from within the informant's mind to myself. I produced a single sentence that was both superimposed on a picture (Fig. 11) and used as the copy for social media posts (Fig. 12).

My shift in approach provides an important lesson to take from method back to methodology. This final approach respected my embodiment: it used my name prominently as the actor doing the research. The relationship developed between me and another border practitioner, not between an institution and the individual. Combined with an uncommon photograph of a familiar skyline, it situated me as part of the field, not an imposter or removed actor. It defined the subject as a movement or action rather than a location or relationship. The question "How often do you cross?" asked the reader to pause and think, but in a way that gave them a valuable moment of reflection. More importantly, it asked for the production of a quantifiable number, not a request to self-assign a vague, subjective category. The fact that self-identification by practitioners was a challenge is addressed in the empirical chapters, but for researchers, it highlights the need, as Robert M. Emerson *et al.* stress in *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*, to "pay close attention to members' meaning" (2011:157).

At the end of 10 months actively seeking interviews, I had conducted formal interviews with 57 people during 48 interviews and discussed the border with hundreds of others. I had managed an almost equal gender balance. From the outset of this project, I had set out to find people who did not fit nicely into official categories – the kind of people, much like myself and Angelica, for whom the "Where are you from?" question presented an emotional and intellectual conundrum. With this in mind, reviewing the Excel spreadsheet and notebooks that I used to track practitioners to try and gain a quantitative picture of my data became problematic. With every pass through the information in an attempt to code interviews using broad demographic categories, I found more complexities. For example, to code each practitioner by "state ID" feels misleading. "State IDs," as I indicated above, are temporal (time- and location-sensitive) tools that were linked to or created significant change in a practitioner's life. There are multiple kinds of Hong Kong identity cards with many different meanings, and someone may have changed or held multiple cards over their lifespan – or even in the weeks between when they contacted me and when the interview took place. This complexity has become one of the central themes of this dissertation.

Research practice is an additive and evolutionary process; each contact with the field creates new questions and gives new answers. While I had ambitions to do a small number of in-depth case studies with a limited number of participants, my methodology evolved into an interview-driven approach. This evolution was inspired by the realisation that the

Figure 11. Promotional social media image (September 2014).

Figure 12. Screen shot of SinaWeibo post seeking interviews (August 2014).

semi-structured, sit-down academic interview was not a foreign idea for most practitioners, but participant observation was unfamiliar. Over 90 per cent of the practitioners I interviewed had a bachelor's degree or were studying for one. Coming to terms with how my interviewees constructed me as an academic researcher was a powerful experience. Many practitioners told me that they were talking to me because they wanted to experience being interviewed by an academic. For this reason, I was able to audio-record the majority of interviews, as this too was an expectation of the interview process.

While my interviewees felt free to talk about their family life and relationships, the specific details of their employer, which would allow others to trace them, were often deliberately not revealed to me. In the same way, many practitioners chose to sign the consent form using their English name rather than using Chinese characters; this added another level of protection for them, as most people's English name is not officially recorded or used for identification purposes. Each interview averaged approximately one hour and 25 minutes in length. Some, however, were as short as 45 minutes, and occasionally they went over three hours. The length of an interview has very little bearing on the value of its content; some of my best material comes from my shortest interviews. I have included case studies of 13 families from my archive in this dissertation, and Appendix 3 contains a brief summary of each family along with key events to help contextualise the following empirical discussion.

The process of finding interviewees also evolved over the course of my fieldwork. I found or was referred to practitioners from many sources. In Table 1 I have attempted to code, as much as is practical, the initial connection that brought me to each interview. The chart refers to interviews rather than informants because for most group interviews (n=9), I only engaged with one practitioner beforehand. This chart highlights the role of online networks for my fieldwork process. The language exchange that Angelica and I organised was coordinated through couchsurfing.org and WeChat.[81] SinaWeibo[82] provided 12 interviews that were significant to my research because the connection came from complete strangers, showing that these practitioners actively engaged, often for deeply personal reasons, in my research. Digital communications were embedded in each interview, from first contact to reflection afterwards. Figure 8 shows that the line between digital and physical life is blurry. The couple in this picture themselves met thanks to a website used to gain interviewees for this project. One of them read my call for participants shared by a sympathetic group account on SinaWeibo; then after the interview, they hoped to help me gain trust and boost my rather limited contribution to the SinaWeibo platform by sharing their experience of speaking with me.

The digital world is subject to the same multiplicity as the physical world. An experience one evening in October 2014 highlights this. We were in our apartment in Shenzhen; I was working at the kitchen table, and Angelica was on the couch. I had just posted my

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[81] WeChat is a smartphone-only instant messaging platform and social network owned by Chinese internet conglomerate Tencent Inc.

[82] SinaWeibo is a social media platform often referred to as "Chinese Twitter." While it may have started as an imitation, it has developed a suite of functions that make finding an accurate analogy impossible.

promotional image (Fig. 11) in my "Moments" stream on WeChat (similar to the timeline on Twitter), copying the text in the image as written text, in both English and Chinese, in the caption. I then spoke across the room to Angelica, asking her to repost it, but she could not find it in her "Moments" feed. However, I was already receiving likes and comments from other contacts. I tried again, this time with the picture only, and Angelica could see the post straight away. I was being censored. Specifically, the words "Hong Kong" in English and Mandarin were being censored. We could guess why, as at that moment there were hundreds, if not thousands, of people occupying streets in Hong Kong. However, my posts earlier that week had gone through, and I was receiving posts, most using euphemisms, on my feed about the protests from Hong Kong.

After checking with different contacts with different backgrounds, we concluded that WeChat's censorship system at the time was more than strictly location-based. What mattered was not where you were located at any particular moment, but where you were when you signed up for the service for the first time. Those who signed up in Hong Kong – or in my case, Finland – existed in an overlapping but parallel network to those who had joined in mainland China. Censorship depended on where you joined, not where you were. Of course, there were limits to this: the picture without the keyword-containing caption was visible to both of us. These experiences led to a new section of questions in my interviews, where I specifically asked about media use and the border. For my method, however, it highlighted a risk in my reliance on smartphone apps. These apps have their own borders and limitations, as well as opportunities for state surveillance.

The risk of surveillance when crossing the border is very real, as you submit not only your body, but also everything you carry and these things can contain the keys to your digital networks. However, it is an understood surveillance; both border practitioners and PRC smartphone app users are aware of state surveillance. The risk of surveillance by the state has already been accounted for in their communications and border-crossing practices. Censorship and surveillance become just one part of the dissonance between violence and possibility, supported by an intimate understanding of the state's impossible task of balancing the need for movement and communication with its desire for security (see Chapter 3). This is comforting for a concerned and risk-averse researcher; practitioners were aware that I would go back across the border as they would. We both had small parts in a large, complex system, and they knew its rules far better than I ever will.

Table 1. First point of contact for interviews.

First point of contact for interview	Number of interviews[*]
Referred by language exchange participant	15
SinaWeibo	12
Couchsurfing website	8
Other (snowball, family, existing relationship)	13
Total	48

* An interview may have had more than one participant present.

2.3 The sensory place-event

> The interview itself creates a place-event, in which the researcher and interviewee are mutually emplaced in relation to its other elements as they move along its narrative. However, I suggest that in this context they interact in a way that is more intense than they would in everyday life. As such, the interview is productive of heightened reflections and new ways of knowing. (Pink 2009:86–87)

Blind dates with people from the internet are always scary. For the vast majority of interviews, I was meeting interviewees face to face for the first time. Practitioners may have seen a post on SinaWeibo (Fig. 12) shared by one of around half a dozen groups or organisational accounts supporting *Gang Piao*, or "Floating People" (a colloquialism used by new migrants from Mainland China in Hong Kong). Alternatively, they may have seen my post in the Shenzhen or Hong Kong discussion page on couchsurfing.org, or an interlocutor had passed on my contact details (or passed their details to me). Usually, all I started with was a WeChat account name. After introducing myself, I asked a few classifying and introductory questions about the frequency of their border crossing and then moved onto fixing a time, place and language.

Every interview is a complex situated event for all participants. Interviews, Sara Pink proposes, are opportunities to "interact in a way that is more intense" than everyday conversation (2009:86). Practitioners wanted to meet – just as they would for a blind date with someone from the internet – in a public commercial space, usually a coffee shop.[83] Interviews are always reciprocal events in which subjects also seek to learn from the researcher. As I explained above, my fieldwork experience improved when I used the style of interview that practitioners expected from a university researcher. Interviewees often spoke to me because they wished to speak to me personally about my life and relationships, often coming prepared with specific questions for me to answer. These included questions about life in Australia and Finland, how to get a Ph.D. position in Europe, and how to manage a cross-cultural marriage. I hope I answered these questions to the best of my ability. Interview power relations are not one-sided: interviewees come with their own preparedness and motivations to disclose, interrupt and make meaning. As Liz Bondi (2013) notes, doing research interviews may attract people who seek similar kinds of experiences as those they would receive from psychotherapists, something for which researchers are not always adequately prepared.

Three key methodological texts informed my research practice: Sarah Pink's *Doing Sensory Ethnography* (2009), Mike Crang and Ian Cook's *Doing Ethnographies* (2007) and Kristin Luker's *Salsa Dancing in the Social Sciences* (2008). These texts all aim to empower situated researchers studying shifting targets and discuss how researchers should address

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[83] By the time I left the field, I had a considerable database of suitable locations for interviews. Through trial and error, I learnt the importance of the interview location being easy to find, paying attention to background noise, finding some way to identify oneself (my long hair helped) and being early to secure the appropriate seat.

what cannot be faithfully "translated, transcribed, recorded, explained, understood or told in words" (Bondi 2013:16). I see my own border-crossing practices as part of a "sensory apprenticeship" that enabled me to establish "connections between sensory experience, specific sensory categories and philosophical, moral and other value-laden discourses (and the power relations and political processes to which these might be connected)" (Pink 2009:72). Thus, I connected my own experience with theoretical scholarship and fed this directly back into my interviews during fieldwork.

I chose sensory ethnography because I was interested in capturing the sensory experience of crossing the border, as I believed it would show the formation, as well as representations, of power relations. Pink's work draws on Doreen Massey's conceptualisation of place as "open." Pink argues that the "ethnographic place" allows both ethnographers and participants to be "emplaced in social, sensory and material contexts, characterised by, and productive of, particular power configurations" (Pink 2009:32); both the interviewer and interviewee "experience through their whole bodies," even if such bodily experiences go unnoticed (32–33). Pink's emphasis on research encounters as embodied interactive experiences that start long before we begin asking questions with words, and continue long after we have said goodbye, has helped build my argument for seeing the field as continuous.

Drawing on Pink's work, I devoted significant time to exploring the sensory experience of crossing the border, relating and mixing practitioners' descriptions with my own. In doing this, it became necessary to frame the interviews within what I called a "wellbeing approach," translated literally into Mandarin as "mental and physical health approach." This was necessary to enable conversations and to proactively explore what would normally be fraught – even dangerous – political terrain. As a rhetorical tool, "wellbeing" shifted the positionality of critique from the structural to the subjective, allowing practitioners' own theories of the world to emerge. Wellbeing and sensory modalities also open up the possibility to include more-than-human elements. In the case of my interviews, these included ID cards, passports, the mood of the immigration officer or the family cat who may have "escaped to Hong Kong to find a mate" into interview discussions and analysis.

Sensory experiences and wellbeing come together in this dissertation's use of Arlie Hochschild's conceptualisation of emotional labour (1983). I laboured in interviews to manage how I spoke, moved and positioned my body, as I found that my physical performance deeply influenced the success of interviews. During early conversations, I spoke too much; my way of speaking, intended to move the interview forward, cut off valuable comments from people not comfortable speaking about themselves. I worked with my whole body to create interview experiences that were simultaneously relaxed, but also understood by participants as serious efforts to document their perspective.

Interviews were semi-structured. I broke up my research questions into four broad sections (Appendix 1), but moved freely between them, following the interviewee's lead while doing my best to get coverage across all my points of interest. With practice, my interviews became more consistent, as I learned better ways to frame my questions and

as my own understanding of the field increased. Over time, I settled on what became an almost reflexive performance. After sitting down and getting our drinks or snacks and making small talk, I would open the formal part of the interview by handing over a paper copy of my research agreement (reproduced in Appendix 2), an 11-page document written in both English and Simplified Chinese. This document provided background on the project and me as a researcher, as well as privacy and ethical details. This physical action of passing over the document and starting the audio recorder shifted the tempo and intensity of the discussion.

At the end of each discussion, as it became time to leave, I did my best to remember to close by asking the informants to sign a signature form on the last pages of the research agreement allowing them to keep the rest of the document. Asking for written consent at the end of the interview allowed me to ask if the interviewees were comfortable with everything they had said after they had said it. Interviews then often continued into dinner and other social occasions. My experiences before and after the interview, such as the social media post in Figure 8, are included in the research material of this project. This is part of the challenge and privilege of the continuous field. It calls on comments by Crang and Cook (2007) and Luker (2008); these authors describe how critical social research is not a linear process, but instead involves continuous cycles between empirical data, theoretical tools and others' writing. These frayed ends of the "ethnographic place" remind us that "[w]e just live here and try to strike up noninnocent conversations by means of our prosthetic devices" (Haraway 1988:594).

2.3.1 Multi-person multi-language place-events

When seeing myself as a sensory apprentice, constructing interviews as frayed "ethnographic places," *who* is present becomes important. Issues of language, interpretation and multi-person interviews fit within the same conceptual territory. Angelica was present formally as an interpreter in 14 interviews and was present at, or passed through, others. I conducted nine group interviews where more than one practitioner was present, but there were countless occasions when other people popped in and out, be they family members entering or exiting the home or familiar passersby noticing us sitting in a café. In the same way, language passed in and out of every interview. Multiplicity again becomes a far better tool than binary to understand the use and presence of language in this project, exemplified by the social media post in Figure 8. Here, the writer, raised and educated in Mainland China, was using traditional characters, the older writing system still used in Hong Kong and Chinese communities outside the PRC, rather than the modernised "simplified" characters used in Mainland China. She was also freely mixing English words and Chinese characters, a pattern reminiscent of Katz's explanation of "minor literature" (1996). She was engaging with a major language on her terms, rather than revolting against it.

This written trilingualism (Roman script, simplified Chinese characters, and traditional Chinese characters) is matched by an everyday spoken multilingualism centred on Mandarin Chinese, Cantonese and English, though Hakka and other languages and dialects enter the fray regularly. Language both "constitutes our sense of self as well as enabling us to communicate the ways in which we are similar to and different from others" (Temple and Young 2004:174); it is one border alongside the many others I will discuss. It allows you to express who you are, but also – if you are talented – to represent yourself as someone you are not. Most extended conversations in Hong Kong and Shenzhen, as well as all my interviews, are multilingual events that, like the practitioner in Figure 8, intersperse different linguistic forms where convenient or necessary. Language is intertwined with politics in Hong Kong and Shenzhen. What you say and how you say it is part of both everyday activity and the crafted versions of self we present to others. Linguistic "passing" itself is a key border strategy I address in my empirical analysis. From both a methodological and epistemological perspective, languages do not operate in "parallel," but instead interrelate constantly with other border categories (Crang and Cook 2007:25).

When the ethnographic place of an interview is inhabited by practitioners and researchers with different language abilities, fascinating exchanges take place. I have very limited fluency in Mandarin and no fluency in Cantonese or other Chinese languages. To overcome this, I relied on interpretation and translation.[84] I promoted and shared using English and simplified Chinese text. I would engage initially in Chinese script with prospective interviewees, switching to English when they offered, usually after a major grammatical error on my part. That the majority of my interview material is in English reflects the higher level of education amongst the practitioners I worked with. Many had attended English medium universities or high schools in Hong Kong or abroad and were very comfortable speaking English. Others spoke some English, but preferred to have an interpreter present to address the topics they wanted to discuss.

One significant limitation of this dissertation is my lack of Chinese reading ability. I have tried to mitigate this through my choice of methods. My role as a sensory apprentice and my gravitation to more educated informants are practical measures to limit this disadvantage. In the same way, my gender gave me access to intimate masculine narratives that a female researcher may not have accessed, but simultaneously limits my access to others. I feel that these limitations made possible productive frictions; for example, my lack of language comprehension heightened my ability to observe its context, shape and form. It allowed me to play "the idiot" in ways another researcher could not have (Michael 2012).

Speaking informally with other researchers about the linguistic realities of working in modern China caused me to reflect on the performance of language in interviews. Starting from the position that everyone is multilingual, we reminded each other that language in practice is not monolithic. Even researchers who have reached fluency through training at elite Chinese universities will need interpreters to speak with recently arrived rural migrants

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[84] A single interview was conducted in Cantonese with interpreting by a Hong Kong-based doctoral student.

living in the same neighbourhood as the university. Informants frequently acted as their own interpreters, making a statement or comment and then interpreting it again and again until the researcher grasped it (Luker 2008). Many exchanges in my group interviews take this form, with couples speaking and then reinterpreting each other's narratives – an instinctive behaviour that is invaluable to our work as ethnographers.

Having a trained interpreter present adds a particular dynamic to the place-event. If the interviewee and I both had some understanding of all the languages being used, the experience felt like hearing yourself on a distorted loop. I would make an utterance, it would be repeated, and in my gut, I could trace the outline of what I had said in the interpreter's words. Then I heard the other person respond, and again I could *feel* what they had said, free to focus my attention on their expression, tone of voice and body language. Then my feeling was confirmed (or challenged) in words I understood intimately. This "distorted loop" experience is like the experience of fieldwork in the "continuous field." As the field keeps looping back on the researcher, we are required to perform "memory work" and acts of "imagination that link the researcher in the present to moments in the past" (Pink 2009:125).

2.3.2 Reconstructing events

What a fieldworker learns over time is an interpretive skill relative to the culture of interest. It is perhaps more akin to learning to play a musical instrument than to solving a puzzle. What the fieldworker learns is how to appreciate the world in a different key. Early experiences and understandings of the world studied (and their representation in fieldnotes) are not data per se but rather primitive approximations of the writer's later knowledge and perspectives of those studied – a little like the beginning pianist's two fingers playing of *Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star*.
(Van Maanen 2011:117–118, emphasis in original)

Van Maanen describes fieldnotes as "glop," saying that "events and conversations of the past are forever being reinterpreted in light of new understanding and continuing dialogue with the studied" (2011:118). His words resonate with Pink's, Crang and Cook's, and Luker's methodological arguments for a continuously engaged research process. When Pink rhetorically asks, "What is analysis?" she notes that "I treat analysis as a process of abstraction, which serves to connect the phenomenology of experienced reality into academic debate and policy recommendations" (2009:120). Crang and Cook suggest a need for a "balance of creative and structured processes" in analysis, "producing *less* and *more* systematic data" (2007:123, emphasis in original). They elaborate, "Analysis is not a matter of developing a definitive account, but of trying to find a means to understand the inter-relations of multiple versions of reality" (179). Luker gives the researcher "two tasks after we have gathered our data, namely to reduce our data to something we can manage, and

to analyse our data in meaningful ways" (2008:2325). All four authors suggest in different ways that what we should be aiming for is not "truth," but theoretical: sampling, saturation and adequacy (Crang and Cook 2007:146). This means that our projects are not judged in isolation as total "truths," but as adequate relative to the subject(s) we have approached through an investigation detailed enough to covered the possible narratives relative to the subject, as well as adequate enough to mix with other researchers' interpretations of similar situations (144–45).

My practice for dealing with my gloppy, messy data has been a mixture of *less* and *more* structured approaches (Crang and Cook 2007:123). Throughout my time in Shenzhen, I produced thousands of words of emotionally tinged, deeply personal text that were referred to in public as my "research journal," but were better understood as a therapeutic survival strategy to deal with the emotional labour of my research. In these journals, my personal and professional worlds become blurred. However, they allow me to trace the theoretical genealogy of this dissertation and were instrumental in forming my conclusions. From the beginning, I have collected and collated my data in numbered groups, originally meant to represent sites-homes. However, to make the text approachable, I have given practitioners consistent pseudonyms. I expect that practitioners will recognise themselves in the transcribed dialogue and case studies put forward. I have, however, deliberately withheld or obfuscated particular data points so that they should be untraceable to an unknown reader. For a *more* structured understanding, I have transcribed in part or in full many interviews. However, for others I have only produced narrative summaries. Across this interview material, I have organically coded for relevant experiences and practices. This coding process is ongoing and in a *less structured* dialogue with non-interview material.

Non-interview material consists of photographs, screen shots of social media posts, brochures, tickets and receipts in both physical and digital form. These fragments, along with audio recordings and my research journal, act as "prompts that help to evoke the memories and imaginations of the research, thus enabling me to re-encounter the sensorial and emotional experiences of research situations. Such bringing together of research materials creates the ethnographic place as a new event" (Pink 2009:121). This facilitates the "memory work […] that links the researcher in the present to moments in the past" (125). Moving between interview and non-interview material brings together *less* and *more* structured approaches, thus accounting for the continued presence of the field in my own "life's work."

The remainder of this dissertation is a temporary pause within the "distorted loop" of the continuous field; it is constructed through a process of distillation, including the necessary violence of representation. I have attempted to mitigate this violence through my choice of methods and analytical tools. These analytical tools evolved from and through my field experiences, and often in dialogue with border practitioners. The Hong Kong–Shenzhen border is one of many borders, and the border practitioners I spoke with taught me as their "sensory apprentice" how they practised the border in their own lives. I reference and draw on literature from other contexts, but the subject of this

dissertation is the intersection of a practice and a terrain. Therefore, its focus is within the lives of the border practitioners who spoke directly to me, and applications to other contexts must be done with care.

Border practitioners' awareness of the differences between their own internal understanding of Hong Kong and Shenzhen, and that of state, family and enterprise regimes is often one of their most valuable assets. Frequently this asset is what financially supports their family. In a similar way, this analysis funds my own private space and feeds my family. As the weaver of this ethnographic knot between experience and culture, I must bear all responsibility for the statements enclosed. Any mistakes and misunderstandings are my own.

3 We serve you in every stage of your life

Figure 13. "We serve you in every stage of your life." Hong Kong Immigration Department commemorative book (2001).[85]

> Migration chains are so complex that those passing through them may spend weeks, months or even years waiting. Final decisions related to acceptance or refusal of a specific status right, and hence about inclusion or exclusion to a society, are amenable to randomness, subjectivity, prejudice, the nature of contacts with migration managers, and the erratic judgment resulting from the hasty allocation of resources. The anticipation of significant time delays may even discourage otherwise eligible people from applying for work permits, insurance and so on. As such, the queue can never be fair to anyone "in any but the crudest sense" (Crowley 2005:154). (Pijpers 2001:431–32)

In November 2014 I took the metro from my apartment in Shenzhen to the border, proceeded through passport control and took the Hong Kong mass transit rail (MTR) to Kwun Tong in Hong Kong to spend a day in the Hong Kong Government Records Office flipping through a selection of Hong Kong Immigration Department annual reports and yearbooks.[86] In a hardcover volume entitled *Marking our Milestones for 40 Years 1961–2001*,

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[85] *Marking our Milestones for 40 Years 1961–2001* (pp. 24–25), Hong Kong Immigration Department. Available from the Hong Kong Government Records Office, locator ID BK008753.

[86] Only those since 1997 were available at the Hong Kong office, as documents from before the handover had been returned to London.

I followed the course of Hong Kong's modern history of mobility – until I reached a two-page spread (Fig. 13) with the title "We serve you in every stage of your life," which succinctly captured the conceptualisation of life's work and cross-border family politics that had been crystallising for me over the preceding months.

The border practitioners I had spoken with lived their daily lives under the gaze of two immigration departments that at times appeared ideologically opposed. Holders of "two-way permits," like Angelica, applied to leave Hong Kong and arrived as visitors, gaining visas on arrival once they arrived on the Hong Kong side of the Shenzhen River. Likewise, mainland Chinese who married Hong Kong permanent residents joined an almost mythical multi-year "queue" waiting to hand back their Hukou ceremoniously for a simple sheet of paper: a "one-way permit" that entitled them to arrive at the LoWu control point and begin the process of becoming Hong Kongers. Roos Pijpers and John Crowley propose (2005; 2011) that "migration chains," the series of opaque bureaucratic steps migrants are required to jump through, might in fact be a strategic move on behalf of border authorities to displace the costs of social reproduction.[87]

Pijpers suggests, in the context of the European Union's immigration policy regime, that their very nature means that it is almost impossible for queues to be fair in any but the crudest sense. Her concept for understanding these queues – the "political economy of waiting" – aims to comprehend the "rationality" of logics of flexibility, the logics of neoliberalism and the city without ground (2011). In this chapter and the next, I combine Pijper's observation with Elizabeth Povinelli's work on "genealogical grids" to describe the role of the immigration department in structuring relations between carnality (the social spaces between the flesh) and corporality (the material continuity and inevitability of the body over time). I find that border practitioners develop strategic responses to the violence of queues that make use of the *transgovernmental friction* they create.

Zhang, Lu and Yeoh propose "transgovernmental friction" as another way to theorise governmental waiting (2015). For migrants (in the case of their study, mainland Chinese women moving to Singapore to marry Singaporean men), "border crossing is not only transnational but also transgovernmental" (230). Heterosexual intimate migration[88] fuses governmentality and intimacy, providing not only sites of exploitation, but also opportunity: "Rather than portraying friction in a negative light, we stress its generative potential and the polyvalent forces that shape and are shaped by institutions and individuals through whom power operates in mundane ways" (Zhang *et al.* 2015:232). The metaphor of friction, which Zhang *et al.* draw from Anna Tsing, "disrupts and connects, resists and fastens" (232). Transgovernmental friction reminds both researchers *and* practitioners that family, intimacy, gender and the state are not monolithic, but rather simply necessary aspects of life's work. In this context, heterosexual monogamous modes of entailment, propagated by colonial regimes, sometimes inversely produce spaces of possibility for strategic resistance despite their aim to conform intimacy and carnality to a calculable

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[87] Mezzadra and Neilson (2012) make a similar argument using the term "labour benching."
[88] Homosexual intimacy is notably excluded in the logics of the genealogical grid.

form for the purposes of administration (Povinelli 2002). We need to look beyond simple understandings of hypergamy[89] because the uneven nature of the global mobility regime continues to provide opportunities for body politics (Zhang *et al.* 2015). When transgovernmental friction is recalibrated to include Hukou, race and gender borders, we can see possibilities for new kinds of intimacy, gender relations and accumulation strategies.

In this chapter, I use a conversation with Evelin, a woman in the late stages of her pregnancy, to pause at the border to address the structure and function of the border event. Using my discussions with George, who escorts his seven-year-old son across the border each morning to attend primary school, I then explore the complexity of educating a cross-border child; our discussion highlights the anxieties of cross-border parenting. These two border practitioners present the grounded practicalities of the border between Hong Kong and Shenzhen, hidden from the global traveller by the phantasmagoria of the city without ground. Such practicalities of social reproduction under the gaze of the immigration department set the scene for the next chapter, which delves into the emotional complexities created by the foundational love events that set border practitioners on their current life courses.

3.1 Pausing at the border

Figue 14. Approaching Hong Kong document control within Lok Ma Chau Spur Line (February 2014).[90]

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[89] See Chapter 2, Section 1.
[90] Health Department officials are seated at the desk on the left, with infrared cameras suspended from the ceiling.

Since its inception on August 4, 1961, the Immigration Department has been standing vigilantly as gatekeeper at Hong Kong's boundaries, safeguarding the city's security.

On the one hand, the Department is responsibilities to curb illegal immigration and fight against immigration-related crimes. On the other hand, it also needs to provide ways and means to facilitate the entry of visitors, businessmen, and investors who can contribute to Hong Kong's economy. The Department has to strike a balance between exercising effective immigration control and providing travel convention, ensuring the stability and prosperity of Hong Kong are maintained. (Hong Kong Immigration Department 2001:35)[91]

In April 1977, the Hong Kong Immigration Department was amalgamated with the Registration of Persons Department. Then, on 1 July 1977, the department further took over the responsibility for registering births, deaths and marriages in the city; "[s]ince then, the services provided by the department have become closely connected to the daily lives of each and every resident of Hong Kong."[92] Ten years later in 1997, as Prince Phillip sailed out of Victoria Harbour at midnight on the first of July, the department went through a period of transition: tens of thousands of British citizens who previously did not need a visa to work or live in Hong Kong became treated "like any other arrival."[93] The city's new "mini-constitution," the Basic Law, stipulated six categories of persons who could be permanent residents of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR). Descriptions of the first three categories made specific reference to the person's "Chinese citizenship," and the remaining three applied to non-Chinese citizens, their decedents and those already permanently in Hong Kong before the handover.[94]

Hong Kong's Basic Law makes clear that being a citizen of the People's Republic of China does not guarantee one equal treatment before the law across all of the territory the PRC controls, the essence of Ong's concept of graduated sovereignty. As I noted in Chapter 1, if we consider Hukou to be a form of inherited ascriptive citizenship with gatekeeping and opportunity-enhancing functions (Shachar 2009), then from the perspective of a seat in an upmarket café in Shenzhen or Hong Kong (where we will soon find ourselves in this chapter), "China" is folded into a global understanding of mobility that treats each body as a particular subject with its own particular attributes and values.

However, let us first pause for a moment within the air-conditioned tunnels that most passengers walk through to cross the Shenzhen River, which separates Hong Kong from Shenzhen and the rest of the PRC, and let the border take shape through a dialogue with Evelin, a master's degree student at a Hong Kong university. Married for three years, she

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[91] *Marking our Milestones for 40 Years 1961–2001.* (p. 35)
[92] *Marking our Milestones for 40 Years 1961–2001* (pp. 24–25)
[93] Between July 1997 and the end of March 1998, the department had received a total of 16,800 applications from British citizens. *Annual Department Report of Immigration Department 1998* (p.20), Hong Kong Government Records Office reference no. X1000010.
[94] Basic Law Article 24, available at http://www.basiclaw.gov.hk/en/basiclawtext/chapter_3.html (accessed December 2016).

shares a large apartment with her husband in Shenzhen on the weekends and lives in a small room in a shared flat in Hong Kong on weekdays while she attends class. When I spoke with her, she was seven months pregnant. The visa she describes is an "Immigration Arrangements for Non-local Graduates (IANG)" visa, granted after a minimum of one year of study in Hong Kong. It is a popular route to gain work rights and eventually the permanent unconditional right to stay in Hong Kong:

Jonathan: And so in terms of the documents you use to cross the border, what sort of visa do you have for Hong Kong?

Evelin: Er, in the last one year I used the student visa, but then from September I used the IA entry,

Jonathan: Individual visitor's entry? Or…

Evelin: No, no, no, it's for mainland China student. If you study in Hong Kong, then you have one year…

Jonathan: One year? So you have finished your degree, or – or finished your classes?

Evelin: I finished my class.

Jonathan: Now you still have to write your thesis?

Evelin: Not student visa, just visa for you to looking for a job.

Jonathan: And you are pregnant?

Evelin: Yeah.

Jonathan: And you mentioned that that caused some problems?

Evelin: Yeah.

Jonathan: What can you tell me about them? I am very interested; you're the only pregnant person who's crossing the border. Everyone else is scared. (*Evelin chuckles.*)

Evelin: Every time I go to the checkpoint, you know, the *Futian* [checkpoint], especially the Hong Kong way, people will look at you.

Jonathan: Coming from, too?

Evelin: From Shenzhen to Hong Kong, you know, they will look at you because, you know, from 2012 it's illegal for the mainland people to have… give birth in Hong Kong.[95] So they will – it's weird, it's weird, you know – people just check you if you just… I prefer [they] just come out to ask you question or check your visa. But no, they will look at you, stare at you, wondering for five or ten minutes. And then they finally have the courage to come up to me to ask me, "May I have a look at your visa?" or my Hong Kong ID card. Then I say, "OK." So every time now, I hold my Hong Kong ID, you know, just in case… Just [make them] feel comfortable… If they see the – my, my, my belly [and] my card, they maybe… less wonder, you know.

Jonathan: Are you talking about the general people or the official[s]?

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[95] It is not precisely "illegal" for mainland women to give birth in Hong Kong. But since January 2013, the government has worked to deny mainland women the ability to "book" a place to give birth in both private and public hospitals. Mothers who cross the border and give birth without a booking are prosecuted for giving false statements to border officials and are liable for jail time. http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/201212/28/P201212280415.htm (accessed January 2016).

Evelin: Official; general people they look at you also, but ah… they tolerate, you know, they just, like, foresee sometimes. Yeah, but it's OK.

Jonathan: So, because which line do you have to use?

Evelin: Hong Kong resident.

Jonathan: Hong Kong resident, because now you are resident?

Evelin: Oh, yeah, but we still use the Mainland China, the… the… I don't know what it's called.

Jonathan: The blue book.

Evelin: Yeah, the blue book.

Jonathan: The two-way permit, we call it in English.

Evelin: I still use that one, and with Hong Kong ID, so people usually notice the blue book so they talk. Hong Kong ID is too small (*laughing*). So that's the problem. The second problem is the school, I think…[96]

As a budding social scientist, Evelin was acutely aware of the politics of her body and the body growing within it.[97] Our dialogue above provides a vivid re-enactment of the physicality of the tension that exists at the core of mobility within the lifeworlds of border practitioners. The control point[98] is the location of the event where the mobile body or object must negotiate with the techniques and technologies of surveillance of the state, or in the case of control points between Hong Kong and Shenzhen, two separate manifestations of the same state.

As you leave the tunnel, having crossed the symbolic border marked in the floor tiles mid-river (Fig. 1), a team of officers surveys the flow of people approaching both the "e-channel" biometric stalls and the lines waiting for traditional manual inspection (Fig. 14). They have an unenviable task: assisted by infrared cameras, they must separate unhealthy and pregnant bodies from a constant oncoming flow before they reach the formal point of inspection.[99] Travellers not pulled from the flow by these officers then approach either a counter with a human officer or an electronic border gate. At this second stage of inspection, the body is more strictly "checked." A temporary link is forged between the body as a bundle of matter and as an assemblage of electronic records in computer servers. The frontline officials behind desks or lines of code guiding fingerprint scanners and facial recognition software have almost no discretion within their task; anything suspicious is pushed to the side lest it interrupt the oncoming flow.

Travellers then approach a final observation point. Customs officers are again standing silently, visually surveying the flow and occasionally directing passengers to X-ray

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[96] Interview conducted in English (vernacular speech maintained), Kowloon Tong, Hong Kong, August 2014.

[97] As I have explored in Chapter 2, the vast majority of people I spoke with were well educated and had *agency* in both what they shared with me and in relation to the border.

[98] "Control point" is how the Hong Kong government describes in English the gates in the "boundary" between Hong Kong and Shenzhen.

[99] In times of perceived heightened threat, such as during influenza epidemics and, in my experiences, seemingly at random, officers will systematically check each traveller's temperature with a handheld infrared thermometer.

machines used to find hidden undesirable or taxable non-human elements. This three-stage process – more-than-human, human, non-human – is the rhythm of the border. It is completed twice on each journey: one set for Mainland China, another for Hong Kong. Each official gaze, if it picks you from the flow, requires a response. Like Evelin, almost every frequent border crosser acquired and repeated a series of embodied gestures of avoidance or defiance. I never looked a customs officer in the eye; others did so defiantly and/or condescendingly to put the officers in their place.

If your body, your documents and your baggage are in order, the physical mobility practice of crossing the border can take only a few minutes. Most of that time is taken up walking in air-conditioned bridges or, at other crossings, on board a shuttle bus connecting the two sets of controls.[100] These layered, complex interactive events seem the obvious point of conflict – the threshold, the point of anxiety and uncertainty. Indeed, for most people, this is the case. The majority of the population, who are recognised internationally as "citizens" and who could apply for passports under the authority of the PRC, cannot cross this border – at least, not without joining an official tour or holding a confirmed ticket leaving from the Hong Kong airport.

However, for regular border practitioners, family, work and intimacy are anchored on both sides; the border is more than simply a frontier. At the control point, ascription and the emotional-biological self, limitations and agency, are dragged apart in the multiplicity of relations being formed and practised. A momentary technological relation was being built between Evelin's biometric data and her constantly changing body – a relation that at that point could not account directly for the body inside her without subjective human assistance. Evelin and I detected an intimacy, a sympathy, in the human hesitation of the Health Department officer wondering whether to delay Evelin or wave her through, although we cannot know the life history of the officer, her own emotional labours, her history of pregnancy and discrimination. During my many crossings of this border, I overheard the challenges of travellers whose "boundary objects" – which is what passports and ID cards have become within the "global mobility regime" – failed to match the embodied form the moment they approached the counter (Häkli 2015; Salter 2006).

Passports and ID cards are boundary objects that are common enough, often thanks to haphazard development over time, to "facilitate communication between parties that enjoy a degree of autonomy in the situation," such as Evelin and the officer (Häkli 2015:96). In this case, Evelin's "blue book," at a distance indistinguishable from my Australian passport, failed when carried by her changing, racialised, gendered body to act as a sufficient signal to the officer. However, as Evelin noted, it came close, signalling that the techniques of regulating physical cross-border mobility are more nuanced than the "corporeal turn," which focuses on border control using "bio" markers, would like us to believe (Martin 2010; Salter 2006).

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[100] If you are privileged enough to be able to afford to cross by private car, it is not expected that you leave the vehicle. At Shenzhen Bay control point, where immigration controls are housed within a single building, a shuttle bus is still necessary to cross the bridge from the control point to Hong Kong proper.

Analytically reducing this event of crossing the border to that of purely a body–object–machine assemblage would be devastating to Evelin – and, I suspect, to the officer as well. The border is not a simple binary, but a critical part of the life's work of both Evelin and the officer. Evelin followed the above dialogue with a critique of reports of other women whose families paid for them to study at universities in Hong Kong solely for the possibility to give birth in Hong Kong without penalty; she felt that the stigma of those women's actions could rub off on her. This rubbing-off of affect was a common refrain from practitioners, demonstrating the tension between ascription and becoming. Evelin had worked hard for her ability to cross the border: her relationship with her husband, whose wealth mixed with her skills, had placed her in this situation, but her individual becoming was being sullied by others who shared her ascription. However, when we discussed the future of her child later in the interview, she also expressed sympathy for those women who did not have her possibilities. This pause at the border – the intersection between the act of crossing the border and the terrain – is part of how I define my field of study. It is a border between two institutional histories and genres of logics for ascribing possibility onto bodies.

3.2 Mobility as fix

Figure 15. "Border nannies" at mainland Chinese immigration control (April 2014).

I, along with many border practitioners, critically observed the labour that goes into maintaining, surveilling and establishing territorial, physical mobility boundaries. A remarkable amount of labour and capital has gone into – and continues to be expended

on – establishing and maintaining this complex system, which aims to identify and record everybody (and to a more imperfect extent, every non-human thing or being) that moves between Hong Kong and Shenzhen. In conversation, we juxtaposed this effort with our own labours and costs of meeting the expectations of border control. Practitioners questioned the amount of time they spent waiting to cross the border or the time spent applying for and maintaining permission to cross, but if we float the idea of removing this physical barrier, we can see an additional complex system – a regime that has far-reaching implications for all of us.

The border is more than this event (Houtum 2011; Paasi 2009); over time, this event becomes routine and practised, and increasing levels of familiarity breed contempt. It rarely remains surprising, and instead becomes boring and repetitive. Regardless, it remains a key element or stage in "life's work." This event does not usually take place over a long or sustainable period, but even if practitioners cease to cross it regularly, the border lives on as a site of limitation and possibility. Regardless of how mundane it becomes, the border continues to solve problems for both the state, enterprises and border practitioners. It remains an actor: a "spatial fix" to the limitations of capital accumulation (Harvey 2001), a "value step… where people step up and down in value as they move across borders" (Heyman 2004:303), and a portal leading to opportunity in the "gated globe" (Cunningham 2004). Because of the borders role as both limit and solution, the border guard is in a tense position; they have been presented with impossible competing instructions, acknowledged by the immigration department in the reflexive text celebrating its fortieth anniversary above. Evelin's interaction represents the embodied border guard's dilemma in securing the border against undesirable bodies, viruses, objects and foetuses while at the same time not interrupting the flows of the bodies and objects that the city that employs the border guards depends on.

Layered on top of this is Evelin's residual embodied power: the ability to act, protest, cause a fuss and disrupt the flow, and call on the border's "customer service" management logic whereby travellers are able to give direct and continuous feedback on an officer's performance. Mainland China allows you to rate each interaction with document control by using a row of electronic "smiley face" buttons on the counter. Hong Kong allows travellers to vote annually for a "Most Courteous Immigration Control Officer"[101] award; it also maintains a robust legal system in which Evelin, as a well-off, educated subject, can seek redress. For much of my fieldwork, a particular sequence played as part of a series of promotional videos for the Guangdong border patrol, interspersed with commercial messages above the heads of the officers checking passports. This sequence had a primary-school-aged child running, border pass gleefully in hand, towards a smiling officer behind the counter, before cutting to a tearful grandmother left behind. This scene captures the contradiction of the border: the smiling officer in the video was dressed like the real-life one underneath the screen, flicking through my passport and asking me to take off my glasses and raise my chin so they could get a good look at my face. The interaction in

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[101] http://www.immd.gov.hk/eng/press/press-releases/20141107.html (accessed August 2016).

the video could be interpreted countless ways. However, each reading cannot escape the fact that the characters are all clearly emotional. Border work requires emotional work.

The juxtaposition of campaigns to re-individualise the control officer through customer ratings and the reality of their separating function not only emphasises the central dilemma of borders as regulators of mobility, but also highlights two intertwined visions of citizenship that were central to my discussions with border practitioners. In describing the process of constructing the ascribed identity of themselves or their children, border practitioners implied – and sometimes openly acknowledged – an emotionally laborious tension between the limitations of their ascriptive identity, often symbolised by the colour and shape of their boundary object, and their understandings of themselves and their particular vision of the world. For Evelin's son, these two aspects of his life will be under tension from the moment his mother gives birth to him in a Hong Kong hospital and applies at the offices of the Hong Kong Immigration Department and the Chinese Travel Service for the papers to take him home to Shenzhen. This tension will have to be maintained and repaired by his mobility in both its physical and socioeconomic forms.

Socioeconomic mobility is deeply intertwined with physical mobility and inseparable from discussions of everyday urban life. It became visible in our conversation when Evelin stated that the majority of her university classmates, who were raised in Hong Kong, were part-time students, likely unable to afford to study a master's degree program full time. That "Hong Kong people" might have "economic stress" affecting their ability to devote all their time to study is a signal of a different border regime – one that is harder to pin down and locate. However, like the physical border, this is a regime with "boundary objects": in this example, university degree certificates, ascription in the form of race and gender, and narratives of becoming and hopefulness in the drive to excel in both work and study.

If we consider family to be a regime that always has a stake in life's work, interactions between class and physical mobility are illuminated by the case of cross-border births. When I asked Evelin what her family thought of her coming to study in Hong Kong, Evelin eloquently described to me how each regime interacted to build her subjectivity:

Evelin: Well, my husband is very supportive because he has this understanding. Before we met, before we get married, I told him about my dreams to study linguistics. Yeah, at that moment I really want to study linguistic for master['s degree], you know, and my husband is a big fan of ethnography. He thinks. He saw it's the best major, you know. And, ah, when we… before marry, we talk and he's very supportive, and he [said], "That's a good dream, that's something you need to pursue." And he's very… it takes me one year to apply for this.

But his family, I mean his sister and, ah, his brother-in-law, something, they are very, very against. They think: You are married, you need to be at home. You need to… If you need to go to work, you only – you should only go to your husband's office, your husband's company, to help your husband's business. You should not go to another place.

And, ah, you will – will mention you choose a study. For my age, I am twenty-seven; they say, "You don't need to study, you are married now." It's no – it's not, it's not important, they think. So anyway, my husband is supportive and it's him to pay for the school ,so…

He's the boss, so he say I can go; then I come. But funny thing is, I get married and I get a pregnant and I can give, ah, birth in Hong Kong; the others in family, now they are happy.

You know, they think, "Wow, that's good, you can have birth in Hong Kong, that's very good news," you know… Yeah, I don't know how to impress them, you know. (*There is exasperation in her voice.*) It's difficult to communicate with them, and when they notice if I can graduate, I can work in Hong Kong, and then, yeah, if I work for seven years – [if] I stay in Hong Kong seven years, I can get the permanent you-know-what…

Jonathan: Seven-year ID… permanent residency?

Evelin: [They're] even more happier then – much happier, you know, and the issues [are about how to]… stay in Hong Kong. You definitely need to find a job; no matter what kind of job, you need to get a Hong Kong ID, because if I get a Hong Kong [permanent] ID, my husband can get…

Jonathan: Come across?

Evelin: Then my children… yeah, it's a good deal, great deal, yeah, so. So yeah, that's my family's attitude (*chuckling*); for my own character, they don't care. They just see you are happy, you do something you like. Yeah…[102]

Seven years of residency is needed for one to be granted permanent residency ("right to abode") in Hong Kong, and once that residency is granted, the holder's spouse, children and parents can apply to join them.[103] Evelin's family's logic was to use the family regime's resources to send a talented regime member for a one-year master's program in Hong Kong. After receiving a degree, a successful student may remain in Hong Kong and look for work, usually for two further years. If they remain employed at the end of one year, they complete a simple form and can extend their application an unlimited number of times until they reach seven years of residency, at which time they become eligible for permanent residency. This allows them to apply for a Hong Kong passport, which in turn allows them to travel visa-free to most countries across the globe.

Hong Kong's policy of monitoring the movement of foetuses across the border is aimed at preventing these future family members eventual access to permanent residence, which would allow them to receive the "opportunity enhancing" functions of such a status (Shachar 2009). In response, Evelin and other mothers I interviewed strategised their physical mobility. In Evelin's case, she remained in a cramped Hong Kong room for the last month of her pregnancy, and others had detailed plans to get to Hong Kong

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[102] Interview conducted in English (vernacular language retained), Kowloon Tong, Hong Kong, August 2014.
[103] If the holder is outside of the PRC when they apply for their student or work visa, they can bring their spouse with them from the beginning. Otherwise, they must apply through the one-way permit scheme discussed in the following chapter.

should they go into labour in Shenzhen. In the case of others resident in Shenzhen, the border regime's attempt to prevent them from giving birth in Hong Kong limited the possibility of travelling to Hong Kong for social and business activities during the late stages of pregnancy, regardless of their intentions. This small example of the interaction between socioeconomic and physical mobility compounds the existing marginalisation of women in Hong Kong and Shenzhen that Evelin described.

Evelin was not alone among border practitioners in bringing the extended family into discussions of border practices; this became a common turning point in interviews. Some, like Evelin, spoke of the border as having an emancipatory function within their family regimes; others saw their role as the family branch in Hong Kong as stifling their autological desires. Evelin's narrative resonates here, opening up a term occasionally used by interlocutors: "status anxiety." Parents and grandparents held anxieties as to whether the next generation would maintain their recently acquired standard of living (see Kuan 2015). Sending a member of the family regime abroad to study as a path to citizenship in another jurisdiction to gain residency is a far more popular fix than giving birth in a strategic location, but in Evelin's case, the two came together.[104]

As Evelin points out, family regimes are built around inherited understandings of gender – subjective changing understandings of productive bodies – but these gendered logics are flexible in relation to the family regime's logic of capital accumulation (see Ong 1999). As an exemplary juxtaposition, I turn to my conversation with George, a manager-partner in a freight forwarding company. Born in Hong Kong, he has been crossing the border daily for 20 years and divorced his Hong Kong wife when he had a son seven years ago with another woman, now his wife, in Shenzhen. He represents the antithesis of Evelin's husband, the wealthy mainland businessmen setting up a family branch in Hong Kong; instead, George is a working-class Hong Kong man who lived a moment of social mobility made possible by the creation of Shenzhen.

Over Hong Kong-style afternoon tea in Shenzhen with a view of the entrance to the Futian control point, George explained to me that when he first started coming to Shenzhen in the 1990s, "most Chinese people really like the Hong Kong guy"; "at that time they were poor and… the Hong Kong currency, the Hong Kong… really high. So we spent a lot here, daily, we spent a lot… buy some, eat something, night club, every night, very happy, paradise." "Right here," where we are speaking overlooking the exit of a control point, "paradise – after that, now it's totally different." However, "the China guy is now… really, really expensive; they bring a lot of money, ah, a whole bag of money [and] go to buy the things and on their mind, they are not like to be Hong Kong people. They will say, why live in Hong Kong? Live in Hong Kong? Only one thing: the freedom."[105] The freedom he speaks of is freedom for Mainland China's new rich to hide their assets from the prying eyes of the Communist Party. George has been working in logistics,

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[104] At the time of writing, there were only three economically prosperous jurisdictions that give ascriptive citizenship by birth: Hong Kong (only for mainland women), Canada and the United States.
[105] Interview conducted in English (vernacular speech maintained), Futian, Shenzhen, November 2014.

distributing the output of Shenzhen's factories, for 20 years. At different points in our conversation, he repeated, as did others, the role of the exchange rate between Hong Kong and Shenzhen: how its appreciation has governed life's work for border practitioners and continues to be a source of uncertainty today (Fig. 16).

I had been put in touch with George through an old acquaintance of his, another Hong Kong man who lived in Shenzhen. When we spoke, this man was without a child or a successful marriage, but overall had a similar life story to George. He had put me in touch with George because of George's seven-year-old son. His son, although born in Shenzhen, had quickly acquired Hong Kong identity papers through his father. Between bites of a sandwich, George, who is in his fifties, outlined the intricacies of the border and its role in a mode of life's work based on a desire for a multiplicity of types of accumulation. He paid particular attention to keeping his statements within a particular capitalist logic of life's work. He described how he met his current wife on a business trip in Guangzhou in a nightclub and invited her to come and live in Shenzhen (she herself is a migrant from another part of the PRC). Then his son arrived on the scene, he unapologetically explained, "and that's why we divorced… my boy, born here and [my ex-wife and I] don't have a child so I need to divorce…" By 2014, he had become a partner in another logistics firm based back across the border in the New Territories of Hong Kong.

A few years ago, George purchased an apartment (in his wife's name for administrative convenience) in Shenzhen, less than 100 metres from the control point where he sleeps.
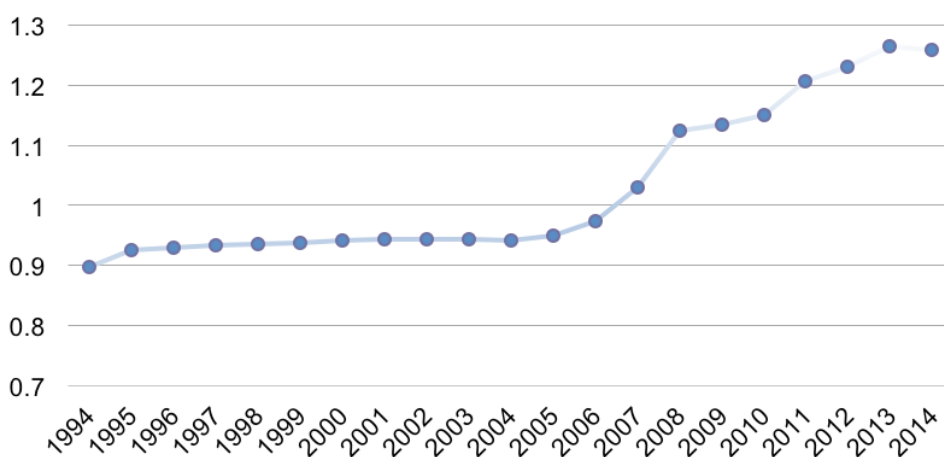
Figure 16. Hong Kong Dollar – Chinese Renminbi average annual exchange rate (1994–2014).[106]

[106] The Chinese Renminbi became fully convertible in 1994. Source: Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department exchange rate tool (Table 124), http://www.censtatd.gov.hk/hkstat/sub/sp110.jsp?subjectID=110&tableID=124&ID=0&productType=8 (accessed January 2017).

I asked George to describe his daily routine: each weekday morning starts at 6 am when he wakes up his son. They only have 30 minutes to do their morning ablutions before they need to be 100 metres away at the checkpoint, waiting for it to open at 6:30 am. They go through passport inspection, health screening and customs; there is a special "channel" and desk for students. Once in Hong Kong, they walk down a flight of stairs to his son's waiting school bus. Once his son is safely on board, George boards a different public bus for the 45-minute trip to his office. There, he has time for breakfast before he starts his working day. In the evening, George's son finishes school around 3:30 pm, and George pays a group of uniformed border nannies (Fig. 15) to escort his son from the bus stop back through customs and immigration control into Shenzhen, where they drop him at an after-school study centre (like Isabella's in Chapter 1). The study centre workers care for him until his mother finishes work in Shenzhen and takes him home. George usually works late and eats dinner in Hong Kong before catching the bus back to the border, making it to his apartment as his wife and child are going to sleep around 8 pm. The complexities of one country with two systems are not an abstract policy debate, but embedded in George's family's daily routine.

For George, like Evelin, Ken and Isabella (Chapter 1) and many other border practitioners I spoke with, the border contains a mixture of complicated emotional labours both alienating and rewarding, subject to change and uncertainty. What does it mean *over a lifetime* to be an "instrument of labour" (Hochschild 1983:3)? George is not taking his son to perform hard labour in a factory; instead, he is providing him with an opportunity to receive a quality education in his father's languages. Their routine is a spatial fix, a solution to a series of bureaucratic and economic problems – problems that will be drawn out and explained across the rest of this dissertation. I didn't ask George to rank these problems, but they are familiar to some extent across my archive. First, as a Hong Kong permanent resident in a romantic relationship with a mainland person, he was required to wait approximately five years (as opposed to less than a year for his son) for his wife to receive a one-way permit allowing her to work and live in Hong Kong – a set of regulations I will explore in the following chapter. She now has all the documents necessary to live and work in Hong Kong, but in the intervening five years, she has developed a career and social network in Shenzhen that she has no desire to leave, reminding us that the queue can only be fair in the crudest sense.

Second, George and his wife were fortunate to have purchased their apartment in Shenzhen in advance of the most recent jump in property prices. While this makes their lives comfortable in Shenzhen, the exchange rate and other factors make purchase or rental of a similarly sized apartment in a practical location in Hong Kong nearly impossible. Finally, when I asked George why he sent his son to school in Hong Kong, his first response was straightforward: if his son did not attend school, the child welfare department would come after him. Like other cross-border workers, he does not disclose his Shenzhen address to government agencies in Hong Kong: "It's easier that way."

The border has defined – and continues to define – each stage and day of George's life. When I asked him about the negative consequences of his current lifestyle, he responded, "Umm, I enjoy this lifestyle, so I'm not going to be changing in this [next] few years, but when my son grow[s] up. Maybe just I will move back to Hong Kong." At multiple points in our conversation, he suggested his plan was to move back to Hong Kong when it was time for his son to start secondary school. "Because, you know, when the child is growing up, I want him to live in Hong Kong more, to learn more, it's so different… Now my son is speaking Mandarin when we are at home. We speak Mandarin because my wife cannot speak very well in Cantonese. They communicate with Mandarin. So my son's Mandarin is better than [his] Cantonese. So I don't want him, umm, when he grow up, we move back to Hong Kong so [he will have a] more modern life, to see more… umm…"[107]

There is emotional labour for George in the tension he feels in his relationship with his son, who is growing up with a different set of experiences to his own. This is the central tension of cross-border parenting that I have encountered in my archive. In the words of many border practitioners, parenting is a form of accounting for the future – one that, given their experiences of change and economic and social transformation, is clearly uncertain when looked at through the timescale of the life course. This is one emotional labour of cross-border family politics, a complex labour that I will return to multiple times. My position as a sensory apprentice (see Chapter 2) lets me listen to George's comments alongside Evelin's words when our conversation turned to her own understanding of her unborn son's future. I asked if she and her husband had ever considered buying a house in Hong Kong:

Evelin: Ah. No, I never consider; he neither because it's very expensive and we don't like [to] live [in] Hong Kong, and we don't want our child [to] go to school in Hong Kong. I don't think Hong Kong education is good because I meet some children – they go to the private, very famous, very expensive school in Hong Kong – I don't feel they are very educated, you know. I don't see any[thing] special, you know. Maybe [some] shortcoming[s]: they are too free, they are not disciplined, they are not hard workers. Yeah, maybe creative but, ah, I don't know, I don't consider it as the first place, you know. For creative… for critical thinking.

Jonathan: So where do you think your children will go to school?

Evelin: I want them, for kindergarten, I want to send him to the international kindergarten, because I want him to get a good accent of English. Since I studied English here, I know that if you pass the time [age], it's very difficult to practise your accent. It's very difficult. I think it's very difficult, and I think if you don't speak very well English you might… people will look at a… In Hong Kong, if someone is speaking with fluent British accent, no matter what he [is] talking about, people will just worship him. Accent is very important, even [more] important than the vocabulary…[108]

[107] Interview conducted in English (vernacular speech maintained), Futian, Shenzhen, November 2016.
[108] Interview conducted in English (vernacular speech maintained), Kowloon Tong, Hong Kong, August 2014.

As Evelin's and her husband's families are from one of the cities surrounding Shenzhen, Evelin's Cantonese is indistinguishable from that spoken by the majority of people in Hong Kong. She noted that she was treated differently in Hong Kong compared to classmates and friends from northern China. Within my archive, emotive understandings of education abound. These are profoundly contradictory and inconsistent. Many parents stressed to me that they were not like "those" parents in trying to get their kids into the most highly regarded school, but others expressed exasperation at the expense and stress of attempting to do just that. George shared many of Evelin's concerns, and Ken (Chapter 1) was at a loss to understand what to do. Parenting is a particular form of intergenerational encounter, one that leaves parents struggling to predict the future depending on feeling rules inherited from different life experiences, as Evelin continued:

Evelin: I like the discipline study way, you know. Not the – how to say – the European way, people just sit around the circle and ask any question you want and feel free. I not prefer this way. I think maybe in middle school it's OK. But in primary school, I still want Chinese way. So we don't have the need to buy a house in Hong Kong.
Jonathan: You don't need to buy a house in Hong Kong...
Evelin: Yeah, for middle school, I think my son will go America, or... not Hong Kong.
Jonathan: You want to send your son to middle school in America?
Evelin: Yeah, I consider it? Because Hong Kong child is weird... Hong Kong teenagers...[109]

Evelin went on to explain her negative stereotypes of Hong Kong teenagers and her fear that sending her son to private school in Hong Kong will leave him obsessed with "brands." She uses her Hong Kong and American university classmates and news media as reference points. I include these contradictions to show that the mobility fix is temporal and that *feelings* towards the role of education are not monolithic. Evelin, like George, is an example of the propensity for feeling rules and the role of the border to change in practitioners' lives. In each interview, I asked how understandings of Hong Kong and Shenzhen had changed since the interviewee's first visit. Thinking back to her first visits in 2007, Evelin responded:

Evelin: [It has become] more boring. The first time, I think, wow, you have a lot of [to] explore – the bookstore, the movie. I used to [be] like a cultured person, civilised; now I'm a shopping person.
Jonathan: OK.
Evelin: You know, I went to Hong Kong to get a Nobel Prize [winner's] signature before, in a very small French bookstore. At that time, I think Hong Kong is very culture and very, I don't know, very special, you know. You can meet a Nobel Prize winner.
Jonathan: Nobel Prize winner?

[109] Ibid.

Evelin: And then he cannot go to China because of his politic[al] statement[s]. But now, no… I don't know if it because me or Hong Kong. I only care about the discount. The Christmas discount, the shopping mall, you know. Yeah, the movies still goes on; but more impressions are negative. Especially the Hong Kongese to[wards the] Chinese.[110]

Evelin's shifting feelings towards Hong Kong and her interpretation of her own repertoire of feeling rules relate with those of George and multiple other practitioners. These changing feelings – towards the border event, and of others towards border practitioners – are again a common theme across my archive. Each practitioner had his or her own interpretation of the timing of this transformation; its pace, nature and direction were subjective. These feelings matter, but they are also grounded in real physical restrictions. Methodologically, I now view each practitioner's interpretation as a form of minor theory for accounting for the larger transformation brought about by Hong Kong and Guangdong's transformation into centres for the material production of the world's consumer commodities. In discussing the role of the immigration department in life's work, we need to be continually aware of the interdependency of family regimes, the state and our commodity economies.

3.3 Gridlock

> We could argue that, in being democratized, the genealogical grid has become more vital and real to the political order, whether it is attached or defended […] [T]he genealogical grid now organizes democratic state dispensations like inheritance, marriage, child welfare, and capital gains. And not only does it organize the distribution of material goods within each of these agencies, the genealogical grid also provides a mode of translation among them. Genealogy allows governments and social agencies to coordinate people across social practices (e.g., the regulatory fields of inheritance and welfare). (Povinelli 2002:212)

Povinelli (2002, 2006) meditates on two competing archives: that of an aboriginal community in northern Australia and queer experiences of family and intimacy in the United States. Reviewing the stylistic tendencies of these two archives, she asks how genealogical "grids have made possible not only the thinking of sex acts as legitimate social acts but also the restricting and recirculating of the imagination of a counter ethics of national and everyday life" (2002:216). Povinelli observes that in the twentieth century, a particular research tool fanned out from Europe that took with it a particular genealogical theory of family based on "a couple of assumptions about human beings (sex difference and heterosexual reproduction), assumptions that could be claimed to be

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[110] Ibid.

the universal preconditions of human life," which "provided just enough structure for the maximal comparison among societies" (2006:223). Such assumptions, embodied in the use of family trees – a form of grid popularised by Claude Lévi-Straus and Alfred Radcliffe-Brown – have since been proven incorrect and harmful by countless authors and political movements. However, their logics have carried on and are enshrined in both understandings of social reproduction and border regimes.

The modern PRC state regime, including Hong Kong's immigration department, appears complicit in this, as it understands its population through the lens of the colonial nuclear family. This emphasis on the nuclear family clashes with news reports of the extramarital affairs of "corrupt" politicians and with popular period television dramas that remind viewers of the region's long history of polygamy, concubines, etc. (see Burger 2012; Hong Fincher 2014). Polygamy was legal in Hong Kong until 1971 and continues in the waxing and waning discourse of "second wives," women based in Shenzhen with contractual arrangements to Hong Kong men.[111] Traces of such non-binary families appear in histories of Hong Kong immigration law, as children of such liaisons request Hong Kong ascription.[112]

Intimacy has topological, spatial and temporal aspects. Borders, immigration departments, and families as biopolitical, emotionally aware regimes provide important sites that make visible and document the emotional labour of mobility as a multiplicity of "fixes" for limitations placed on an individual's life's work. The border regime, particularly if you include the use of denying Hukou or issuing fines for obtaining Hukou registration out of wedlock, or in the case of second or third births for mainland women, serves the population at every stage of their lives. Katz (2001) points out that children and intimate relations work at a different temporality than flows of capital and goods. Evelin, George, Ken and Isabella are highly mobile subjects, connected to the global flows symbolised by the ever-present global manufacturing supply chains they all have a direct or indirect stake in. However, they are also at the mercy of the biological timelines of pregnancy and their own intimate needs. These biological and emotional labours must be accounted for in understandings of life's work in the context of the global commodity economy – biopolitical bureaucracy is present at every stage of one's life.

I now turn to Povinelli's analyses of the interface between grids of intimacy and grids of genealogy – the foundational event – to illustrate how the autological built spaces of the liberal intimate event interact with inherited understandings of sexual reproduction to repair and maintain genealogical society.

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[111] This type of relationship can take the appearance of George's relationship, though he never used these terms himself.

[112] From 2011 a process to allow "overage" (18+) mainland children of Hong Kong Permanent residents to apply for one-way permits and move to Hong Kong was introduced. http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/201201/18/P201201180240.htm (accessed December 2016)

4 Foundational events

> The subject in love is like the self-governing subject insofar as both are ideologically orientated to the fantasy of the foundational event. Both self-sovereignty and intimate recognition establish a new husk out of the old and reset the clock of the subject at zero. But the foundational event of the subject-in-love is thought to happen through a relay with another subject who is likewise orientated to sovereignty as a contractually driven foundational event. In your gaze I become a new person, as do you in mine. (Povinelli 2006:188)

Foundational events, in the language of the modern liberal family, are the problematic encounters that produce new subjects out of the "husks" of the old, but must do so in the context of genealogical relations that have formed, maintained and now legitimise the newly created subject (Povinelli 2006). For both Evelin and George, the possibility and limitations of their life's work are inseparable from particular foundational events, such as George meeting his current wife in a Guangzhou nightclub and Evelin's chance first encounter with her husband at a friend's party. As Povinelli points out, intimate events like these are events only in the phantasmagorical sense; countless structures, inheritances and labours made these first encounters possible, and many more emotional and material resources went into developing and maintaining them. The intimate couple is never without ground (see Chapter 1). Foundational events are of key interest to the immigration department. Povinelli and I have both observed the "dense hermeneutics and institutional mirroring between economic, political and intimate contracts, not that it shows how these contract forms have collapsed into each other in some absolute way, but how their possible implosion creates widespread anxiety" (2006:196).

In this chapter, I address the foundational event through the division between carnality, the "socially built spaces between the flesh and the environment", and corporality, the "physical mattering forth of these manoeuvres" (Povinelli 2006:8). Carnality is the complex relations Evelin has with her in-laws and the state; corporality is the inevitability of the body growing inside her. Carnality is not simply the domain of the family, but also the domain of politics, the enterprise and the state. Here, I connect the image of the two parents standing with their infant at the Hong Kong immigration officer's desk that opens the previous chapter (Fig. 13) with the image on the subway billboard of Shenzhen's Top Ten Concept, "You are a Shenzhener once you come here" that opens Chapter 6 (Fig. 20). Both images represent a hypothetical, partly phantasmagorical nuclear family. Such imagery reasserts that "power in a robust sense – power over life and death, power to cripple and rot certain worlds while over-investing others with wealth and hope – are produced, reproduced, and distributed when we seem to be doing nothing more than kissing our lovers goodbye for the day" (Povinelli 2006:10).

Povinelli describes foundational events as occurring within genealogical society in the context of the liberal diaspora, and she identifies three "topographical spaces within liberal discourses of the genealogical society: the materiality of genealogy, the symbolics of genealogy, and the economy of genealogy" (2006:201). The empirical material in my archive represents at its core a collection of love stories (see Chapter 2). Each love story weaves between these topographical, genealogical spaces. Love is complicated; ascriptions and intimacies are unstable. I, like Povinelli, "want to show how the uneven distribution of the flesh – the creation of life-worlds, death – worlds – is a key way in which autology, genealogy, and their intimates are felt, known and expressed" (2006:8).

In this chapter, using three cases from my archive, I explore the foundational event in the context of the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border. First, I juxtapose a speculative relationship with a furtive one, both of which are between mainland Chinese women and their Hong Kong-ascribed boyfriends. I speak with Gillian, whose arrival in Shenzhen was only one part of a process of stepping out and assessing her past. We then turn to Stella, quoted in Chapter 1, who reinforces the fundamental tension between autology and genealogy. I then use the case of Li Yun, who shows the power of genealogy intertwined with foundational events over life's work and the emotional labour of maintaining a foundational event through an exploration of the "one-way permit" scheme. Each of these three cases highlights the tension of self between one's entailed citizenship ascription and autological desire.

4.1 Speculative encounters

> When we talk about an object of desire, we are really talking about a cluster of promises we want someone or something to make to us and make possible for us. This cluster of promises could be embedded in a person, a thing, an institution, a text, a norm, a bunch of cells, smells, a good idea—whatever. To phrase "the object of desire" as a cluster of promises is to allow us to encounter what is incoherent or enigmatic in our attachments, not as confirmation of our irrationality but as an explanation for our sense of *our endurance in the object*, insofar as proximity to the object means proximity to the cluster of things that the object promises, some of which may be clear to us while others not so much. In other words, all attachments are optimistic. (Berlant 2010:93, emphasis in original)

SinaWeibo, the dominant of the two Weibo (literally "small message") platforms popular in the PRC, has multiple accounts that use variations of the term "Gang Piao Qaun." Raymond Zhou's is by far the most popular, with over 150,000 members (including myself). The phrase means "Hong Kong [shortened form] Floating Circle" and for multiple generations, it has been used as a label for networks formed by mainlanders

in Hong Kong. Today it is used to describe the plight of educated mainland migrants, those moving from smaller to larger mainland cities and those moving abroad. In my understanding, from conversations with many people in Hong Kong who identify with the term, it serves to describe the cruel optimism of being "sent out"[114] to study in an unfamiliar place and then, after the structure of your educational programme has finished, being left to your own devices.

After obtaining permission, I placed a message on this and other Gang Piao Qaun networks calling for interviewees. Zhou's was the only one to bring consistent results. As Elisabeth Sinn (2009) notes, and as I put forward in Chapter 1 with regards to Ken's narrative, Hong Kong has long played a historical role as a "space of flows" for the Chinese diaspora, the archetypical city without ground. What is the *object of desire* in the context of a "floating" individual's lifetime? Is it a good salary or an emotionally rewarding career? Children? A wealthy, caring lover? Is it a nice apartment, or the freedom to travel unconstrained by a mortgage? These are fundamental questions of the nature of one's life's work, questions that draw on each of Povinelli's spaces of the genealogical society: material, symbolic and economic.

The cinematic trope of two strangers meeting and beginning a relationship by chance is the symbolic object of desire in the liberal notion that love can fix problems of ascription and its limits to autology. Gillian, whom we[115] came to know during a weekend hiking trip in Hong Kong, paused for a moment in our interview when I asked her how she met her boyfriend. "I went there [Hong Kong] just to visit some interesting places, and we kind of met each other," she chuckled shyly.

"Like randomly on the street?" I asked.

"It just happened," she replied with a chuckle. They met at an activity farm in the Hong Kong New Territories, where for an entrance fee you can see animals and hike on a nearby mountain. Prior to meeting him, she had moved to Shenzhen after graduating from a top university, and this was only her second visit to Hong Kong. The first visit, she noted, was only to buy an iPhone.

When we spoke, a little less than two years after they met, she explained how she leaves after work every Friday to spend the weekend with her boyfriend, who still lives with his parents in Hong Kong. When they met, they spoke to each other in English; now she is learning Cantonese from his parents, and he has started learning Mandarin. I asked what documents she used to cross the border, and she explained that she has a multiple entry permit. As this is usually restricted to those with Shenzhen Hukou, I asked how she got Shenzhen Hukou, and she provided an insight into the PRC's own internal mobility regime and its effect on life's work. As a graduate from a well-recognised mainland university and a member of the Chinese Communist Party, Gillian secured a graduate job in a large

[114] The process of being "sent out" has its roots in the Mao period, when city dwellers were sent to modernise the countryside, and was reproduced in the narratives of the young women who came to work in Shenzhen's factories in the '80s and '90s (see Chang 2009; Ngai 2005). Again, however, those featured in my archive are in far better material positions than those addressed in either Chang's or Ngai's studies.
[115] Angelica was on both the hiking trip and present as interpreter during our interview.

state-owned company, one of the most efficient ways for transferring one's Hukou (see Chapter 1, Fig. 6).

Normally, in a situation like Gillian's, the company would handle the Hukou transfer process on her behalf. However, she had originally intended to work for a company in Guangzhou and changed her mind at the last minute, leaving her *Dang'an* (人事档案) – the file containing all her graduation certificates, grades from school and other education-related documents, along with her application to join the Communist Party – stuck at this other company. We all chuckled as we tried to translate into English the "moral test" that she had to do to join the party as a university student: "It's actually a report I have to do every month before I joined the party. How I feel about my study, of the principles of the party and how I changed after I joined the party… You only need to do this during your preparation time, which is about one year; after you've joined it you don't have to do it, only during the pre-party membership period."

Stuck at a bureaucratic impasse, Gillian travelled to Guangzhou, to the office of the employer she had passed over to personally deliver her Dang'an to her new employer. She carried what she described as a "big yellow envelope," the size of the A4 notepad I was writing in, to her current employer so they could process her Hukou application (the Public Security Bureau keeps another copy). The majority of PRC citizens never get to see this file; Angelica jokes that hers must have been thrown away since she has been out of the country so long. However, as an object you are not readily allowed to view, its material, economic and symbolic significance to one's life's work is enormous. This collection of documents – like a Hong Kong-born person's registration with the immigration department, although the immigration department keeps far fewer details – serves you at every stage of your life, shadowing you from school to university to work and retirement. However, no border or bureaucratic system is perfect, and Gillian took a day out of her life to perform a minor repair, fixing a problem on behalf of the regime.

Membership of the Communist Party was not common amongst practitioners; the party does not operate publicly in Hong Kong or claim publicly to have Hong Kong members. I asked Gillian why she joined:

> I was just following the trend… I just follow the trend; everyone was doing that. But now I regret it a bit… I feel like when I was at university, it was a great honour to become a party member, so I did it. After I graduated and started working, I feel like there is a lot of bribery, corruption in the party. I feel disappointed, but the bad thing is I can't quit… I actually tried, but I need to write an explanation letter to explain why you quit, and this letter will be put in your personal profile, and this letter will go along with me wherever I go. It might affect my future career.[116]

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[116] Interview conducted in Mandarin and English (text rendered in English and edited for clarity), Nanshan, Shenzhen, November 2014.

Again, we cannot separate the regimes of family, state and the enterprise from the self. Instead, we rely on our own adaptable minor theories to act in relation to major discourses. Gillian's interactions with her boyfriend's family, whom she notes "look after her very well," have changed how she sees Hong Kong:

> Actually, I feel… The first time I went to Hong Kong, I have this stereotype in my mind that Hong Kong people normally look down on mainlanders, so I felt pressure as I crossed the border that people would discriminate against me. So I didn't feel very comfortable. But now I have changed. The people I have met in Hong Kong are very friendly.[117]

In the city without ground, each traveller produces their own understanding of the city in advance of arrival. Gillian and her boyfriend have their own theory of their place in the global mobility regime, which is subject to constant negotiation and acts of imagination. I asked her, "Do you see your future in Shenzhen or Hong Kong?" to which she responded:

> Yes, we discussed [the future]. I work at a software company, and there is a lot of Hong Kong staff there that gain very good positions, they get better jobs. So I think Hong Kong people will have quite a good career future in the mainland. So I ask my boyfriend to consider coming to work in the mainland. But my boyfriend has never had that idea. He doesn't want to come… He doesn't want to come at all… He just has a stereotype that he doesn't want to stay in Shenzhen. The stereotype is always better to stay in Hong Kong or go abroad… I feel like we are now just building up the financial base for the family, and then once we are married, I will move to Hong Kong. My boyfriend really wants to go to the United States.[118]

Gillian and her boyfriend's future as a couple is intractably tied to the start-up company they are working on together in their limited free time. If the start-up company goes well, she will quit her job and move to Hong Kong. She appears to feel comfortable with the uncertainty; her parents, she says, are accepting of her position and her Hong Kong boyfriend. Her attachments are optimistic; she is living the autological moment in the glow of the new subject formed out of the husk of the foundational event, contingent on her privileged genealogical position as a member of the Communist Party – a form of hybrid genealogical-intimate grid that has enormous power to direct life's work.

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[117] Ibid.

[118] Ibid. – workplace interactions between Hong Kong and mainland staff will be addressed in the following chapter.

4.1.1 Furtive encounters

> Because this kind of self-transformation leans on the openness of other people to the same type of self-transformation, autological intimacy functions as a proselytizing religion. Like capital, intimacy demands an ever-expanding market; and like capital, intimacy expands through macro-institutions and micro-practices. (Povinelli 2006:190)

The glow of the new intimate subject can fade quickly or last a lifetime. However long the duration of its glow, the subject formed out of the foundational event is never separable from its genealogy; like the religious bond, it is at least materially subject to the forces of the society the couple interacts with. It is subject to the limits of genealogy and corporality. I juxtapose Gillian's case with Stella, whom I met on a day off in Shatin in Hong Kong. Shatin is midway along the East Rail line, which leads through the New Territories along one possible route for the road between Kowloon and Hsinan inscribed in the 1898 lease agreement. Stella arrived in Hong Kong as a master's student in 2012, choosing Hong Kong – like Evelin, Ken and many other Gang Piao Qaun I interviewed – because it was simultaneously distant from and close to family and familiar contexts. Like many others, she came to speak to me with a specific topic in mind. After completing her bachelor's degree in Hunan, she did not know what she was qualified to do and was drawn to the idea of continuing her studies abroad. However, going to the United States was too complicated and expensive; she was set on going to France, but her parents thought it too far away, so she landed in Hong Kong.

Now, two years later, she is working doing "intern-type work" – "photocopying, editing," the sort of "stuff the intern would do" – for a young start-up in Shenzhen. She stays in a company-provided room during the week and returns to Hong Kong on the weekends, keeping her room in Hong Kong, which is subsidised by her parents, as her emotional-economic connection to Hong Kong. It is a "hope for me back to Hong Kong, and, ah… yeah…" she hesitated, visibly torn. She received her current position through a family connection; a relative proposed it as a solution to allow her to stay in Hong Kong. Upon graduation, she was issued an IANG visa (the same as Ken and Evelin), which allowed her to stay for one year and look for work.

At the end of the year, when her current permit expires, Stella must have an active employer. Although she works in Shenzhen, for a Shenzhen "intern" salary, she is officially registered as an employee in Hong Kong. She was initially promised that at the "end of the year," the office would relocate to Hong Kong; a year later the company is still making the same promise. Now she is counting down the months until her new Hong Kong working visa is issued, which will free her up to quit and look for a job in Hong Kong. There is no time now to look for a new job before her permit expires; "after we graduate, one year we need to find a company, help us continue… our visa. So I must wait two or

three months later, then I can change this job… I can't change this job now because if I change it, my visa cannot continue and I can't find a new company [to] help me quickly."

The border, state, family and capital are producing a strategic *fix*, a strategy for maintaining a particular life's work. A political-economic reading of her situation would hide its emotional-political-economic complexity. What is anchoring her to Hong Kong is complex, emotional and intimate. She arrived at our meeting with a male friend – as you would expect, and I would encourage, when one is meeting a stranger from the internet. This was not her boyfriend, they mutually assured me, but a hometown friend who also ended up in Hong Kong. Minutes into the interview, after telling me about her job, she opened up with her main concern as soon as I asked about her studies:

Stella: …Actually, I like this major very much, but I don't have enough time to study. (*Nervous laughter*)
Jonathan: Why not?
Stella: Because if you want to continue [to] study, [the] next phase is the Ph.D. degree, but for mainland girls, we have the age at, ah, year. (*Chuckling nervously*)
Jonathan: The age…
Stella: After you finish your master's degree, also the age of girls at around 25 or 26, and yeah, the parents and the family, they think [that should be] your main work.
Male friend: It's your time to… work on the marriage.
Stella: It's time to find a… your husband, yeah, yeah, yeah.
Jonathan: OK.
Stella: It's [more] important than just continue your study.
Jonathan: OK.
Stella: But I think 25 is too young.[119]

I have had this conversation multiple times in both Shenzhen and Hong Kong. In her January 2014 book *Leftover women: the resurgence of gender inequality in China*, Leta Hong Fincher traces this phenomenon of social fears of "leftover women," usually unmarried educated women over 30, as a deliberate state-endorsed sexist biopolitical project – one that, like Yuan Geng's "time is money, efficiency is life" slogan in the following chapter, claims a genealogical inheritance from historical tradition as an alternative to a conflicting material history.[120] A few minutes later, after Stella's male companion excused himself, saying, "Maybe she will tell me something she don't want me know," she repeated that her mother was constantly asking her about her future marriage and the existence of a secret boyfriend, a relationship they have withheld from both their parents. Her boyfriend, a Hong Kong person (who has lived in Beijing for multiple years), is a practical person, she said. Once she had mentioned him multiple times, I asked a challenging question:

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[119] Interview conducted in English (vernacular speech maintained), Shatin, Hong Kong, August 2014.
[120] Materially Hong Fincher argues female economic empowerment has reduced in the decades following the death of Mao and the transition to a market economy (2014).

Jonathan: You said you worry about whether you can renew your visa.

Stella: Yeah.

Jonathan: Do you know what you are going to do if you can't?

Stella: My plan?

Jonathan: Your plan…

Stella: If I can't get my next year working visa. Ah. Maybe I will find another work in Beijing or Shanghai, just not Shenzhen, because I don't like Shenzhen. Yeah, I want to find another city for living. Yeah, for living.

Jonathan: Do you talk about this with your boyfriend?

Stella: He know, and actually he told me that if I feel, ah, pressure, and umm… I can make another choice and ah, he, insist me to have my own choice. (Her voice is soft.) But yeah, actually, yeah, he can't; he will definitely not come to Mainland China with me. Yeah. Yeah. I know, he didn't say, but I know. Yeah, I know.

Jonathan: He didn't say, but you know he doesn't want to go back to Mainland China.

Stella: I think that he… umm… his point is… umm. Indepen… dent…

Jonathan: Independent person?

Stella: Yeah, and he think, even you are the couple, you are the boyfriend and girlfriend, but you are two people, you are not one people. And you have your work, you have your work and, umm, if you make another choice, the first, the first, ah, the first place you need to think about [is] your family; you need to think about yourself and maybe at this time you will think [about] your partner.[121]

Her boyfriend still lives with his parents and holds down two jobs, and she barely manages to see him for a meal once a week. Stella's description of their unspoken prioritising of intergenerational over intragenerational intimacy reminds us of the complex tension and interplay between intimacy, genealogy and autology (Povinelli 2006). Ground is the missing element in this discussion; her boyfriend's lack of his own "ground" (private space) makes introducing their relationship to her parents problematic. Security, her boyfriend points out, is not provided by love or affection, but by family obligations and labour. However, his rational argument pastes over their different positions in this landscape of graduated sovereignty. He is subject to neither the gendered "ticking clock" nor the threat of deportation. The angst in Stella's voice talking to me, I suspect, mirrors that of her mother confiding in her friends.[122] Their simultaneous emotional labouring is what I believe Berlant was trying to capture in the notion of "cruel optimism": "scenes of conventional desire that stand manifestly in the way of the subject's thriving" (2010:112).

The complexity and violence of such a system built on inheritance become visible through its cracks when we seek opportunity in unfamiliar places, as well as in families of mixed ascription. The violence between inherited citizenship and socioeconomic mobility is justified discursively by liberal political-economic discourse, which promises that an

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[121] Interview conducted in English (vernacular speech maintained), Shatin, Hong Kong, August 2014.

[122] I base this on private conversations with older women discussing their daughters.

individual can remake the self through mobility, both physical and socioeconomic. What the typology of autology, genealogy and intimate events provides is a way to express reality, as evidenced in the words of practitioners: Evelin's oscillation in our discussion between pride at being able to study at a highly ranked university and acknowledgement of her dependency on her husband as her "boss." The intimate and emotional tension George expressed when describing how his son may not grow up like him, and Evelin's sense of optimism as to her son's possible opportunities. Gillian's chance encounter on a weekend trip, which saw her imagining life in the United States and questioning the elite schooling and position in the Communist Party that enabled her to get the secure job she would give up to be with her boyfriend in Hong Kong. Stella's negotiation between her personal desires – continuing her studies, her own creative and intellectual projects – while fielding calls from her nagging mother. Connecting all of these cases is the notion of time, the queue that can never be simply fair (Crowley 2005; Pijpers 2011). For all of them, the border is simultaneously a site of tragedy and opportunity.

4.2 Legacies of graduated sovereignty

In May 1950, the Hong Kong Government first invoked its powers under the Immigration Control Ordinance 1949 by unilaterally introducing a daily quota system to restrict entry of migrants from the Mainland so as to make those entering roughly equal to those leaving. This quota system prompted a protest from the Foreign Ministry of the [eight-month-old] PRC to the British Government for being "an unreasonable and unfriendly act towards the PRC and its people". Probably in retaliation, the PRC imposed a stringent exit control on Chinese citizens in 1951. This set the scene for numerous tragedies in the following decades. (Chan 2004:7)

It is the small, subtle details of the border's enforcement that, alongside the large tragedies, form a hidden, intimate history of the region – a "counter-topography," in Cindi Katz's terms, that runs through how the legacy of graduated sovereignty has become intertwined with family regimes, intimacy and carnality: "To do a topography is to carry out a detailed examination of some part of the material world, defined at any scale from the body to the global, in order to understand its salient features and their mutual and broader relationships" (2001:1228). Counter-topography reminds us of the flows unrecognised by major theories. The daily "quota" system introduced with the closing of the border has remained controversial since it was implemented, during the opening days of the Cold War, as Hong Kong was seeing thousands of refugees arriving; in early 2014, it was still being debated in Hong Kong's legislature. Here, I want to explore today's politics of waiting for one's one-way permit – the waiting process that has shaped George's daily routine and complicates Gillian's and Stella's discussions of the future with their boyfriends and frames Li Yun's life's work below.

The one-way permit scheme, officially known today as the "People's Republic of China Permit for Proceeding to Hong Kong and Macao," is juxtaposed in everyday life with Evelin's "blue book" – the two-way permit ("Exit-Entry Permit for Travelling To and From Hong Kong and Macau"). It is the scheme that most exemplifies the graduation of sovereignty in the context of the mobility regime of the PRC. It is the scheme that allowed George's son to receive his Hong Kong ID card and permission to live in Hong Kong in under a year but delayed his mother's by another four years. I have many different experiences of this process in my archive, but I will share one that of Li Yun here, as her case is exemplary of the way waiting acts as a particular form of transgovernmental friction, addressing Roos Pijpers' (2011) question in the context of the EU immigration policy: "Is waiting *just* a by-product of state institutions and bureaucracies or might it be a tactic, a management technique that is not outside but fully part of the state, struggling as it does to strike a balance between sedentarist and flexible ideologies" (432, emphasis in original).

On 22 January 2014, in response to a question from an opposition lawmaker, Secretary for Security Mr Lai Tung-kwok outlined a version of the recent history of the one-way permit scheme. With the aim of placating his questioner's diplomatically worded three-part question – which probed at whether the government had "consulted on the number of persons" arriving by the one-way permit scheme or "vetted" applicants, as well as asking about the government's plans to honour the chief executive's promise to "screen and approve newcomers" – the answer he gave to all three questions was a diplomatic "no": such powers reside with the central government, but Hong Kong is "consulted."[123] In this exchange, we can see parallels to other exchanges over the nature and control of mobility, particularly in the references to "vetted" and "orderly" migration. But this was not a public debate over the mobility of differently skinned refugees or potential guest labourers (those debates exist in Hong Kong and are often explicitly racist), but instead was centred on the reunification of children and lovers with their parents and partners who are citizens of the same state. A state which claims both spaces are part of a single national entity. Around a year earlier (20 March 2013), the same secretary for security had explained the current parameters of the programme:

> According to the announcement of the Mainland authorities, Mainland residents under one of the following situations may apply for OWP to come to settle in Hong Kong:
> (1) his/her spouse is settled in Hong Kong; may bring along children aged under 18.
> (2) he/she is aged above 18 and under 60 and need to come to Hong Kong to take care of his/her parents settled in Hong Kong both of who are aged above 60 and have no children in Hong Kong.

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[123] news.gov.hk, press release 22 January 2014. http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/201401/22/P201401220520.htm (accessed August 2016).

(3) he/she is aged above 60 and has no children in the Mainland, and has to depend on his/her children aged above 18 settled in Hong Kong.
(4) he/she is aged under 18 and has to depend on his/her parents settled in Hong Kong.
(5) he/she is a child of Hong Kong permanent residents and holds a Certificate of Entitlement.[124]

In 1995, within the climate of Shenzhen's economic boom and the impending return of Beijing's rule, the daily quota was increased to 150 – from 50 in 1950, 75 in 1982, and 105 in 1993, due mainly to pressure to address long waiting times (>10 years for many couples) (Chan 2004:61). In 1995, the quota was further split between 60 places for eligible children, 30 for long-separated spouses (more than 10 years) and 60 for the remaining categories (61). With the transfer of sovereignty in 1997, the system was reformed and a rationale based on "eligibility points" was introduced. By 2001, unused quota positions existed (usually in the category for long-separated spouses), which were then reallocated – meaning that since 2001, the period of "waiting" for spouse applicants, understood by many as a process of "lining up," has not been due to the desire for an orderly number of arrivals, but deliberate government policy, as the secretary for security explained in 2014:

> Before 2005, separated spouses in Guangdong had to meet a higher level of "eligibility points". Generally, their waiting time was six and a half years or more vis-à-vis around five years for those in other provinces and cities. In 2005, the "eligibility points" for OWP applications of separated spouses in Guangdong were relaxed. Their waiting time was shortened to five years, in line with that of other provinces and cities. In 2009, the "eligibility points" for OWP applications of separated spouses were further relaxed, thereby shortening their waiting time to four years.[125]

I left the field convinced that there was some type of formal "queue," explained to me by practitioners as having a degree of "flexibility," as it was managed at a county or city level and open to the routine forces of gift-giving and socialisation that permeates mainland Chinese bureaucratic life. Indeed, in the early years Chan (2004) describes a form of complex queue that you joined on your weeding day, like the one Li Yun describes her mother participating in, then being exempted from below. However, in attempting to track down written policy details after leaving the field, I discovered that, like the points system used to apply for Hukou in Shenzhen (see Zhang 2012) or the "Quality Migrant Admissions Scheme in Hong Kong" or its Australian or UK equivalent, these enumerated queues all offer insights into each border regime's understanding and

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[124] news.gov.hk press release. Available at http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/201303/20/P201303200372.htm (accessed August 2016). Other documents refer to permits being issued to those inheriting property in Hong Kong (see Chan 2004).

[125] news.gov.hk press release, 22 January 2014. http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/201401/22/P201401220520.htm (accessed August 2016).

valuing of migrants' autology and genealogy. As of 2011, the one-way permit formula has been peculiarly straightforward: for every day after you are married, you receive .01 points. After you reach 146.1 points (four years), you join a "queue," usually for only a few months depending in which part of China you applied. Points are allocated using the same daily rate for newly born children, but the target is one point (or 10 days).[126] In the context of other policy changes – the inclusion of one child under 18 automatically with their parent, and the removal of age limits for the category of "child" in 2011 – this has meant that the system now in practice separates children holding "Certificate of Entitlement" documents issued to those who can confirm a form of genetic descent, possibly requiring confirmation through genetic testing,[127] from a Hong Kong resident at time of birth (with certain caveats for older applicants). Applicants through descent gain permits in around a year, with the wait time mostly the result of bureaucratic procedures. Spouses, the outcome of over 25,000 cross-boundary marriages each year, are expected to either remain in mainland China, remain separated for at least four years, or become cross-border commuters (Fig. 17). Absent from the secretary for security's diplomatically
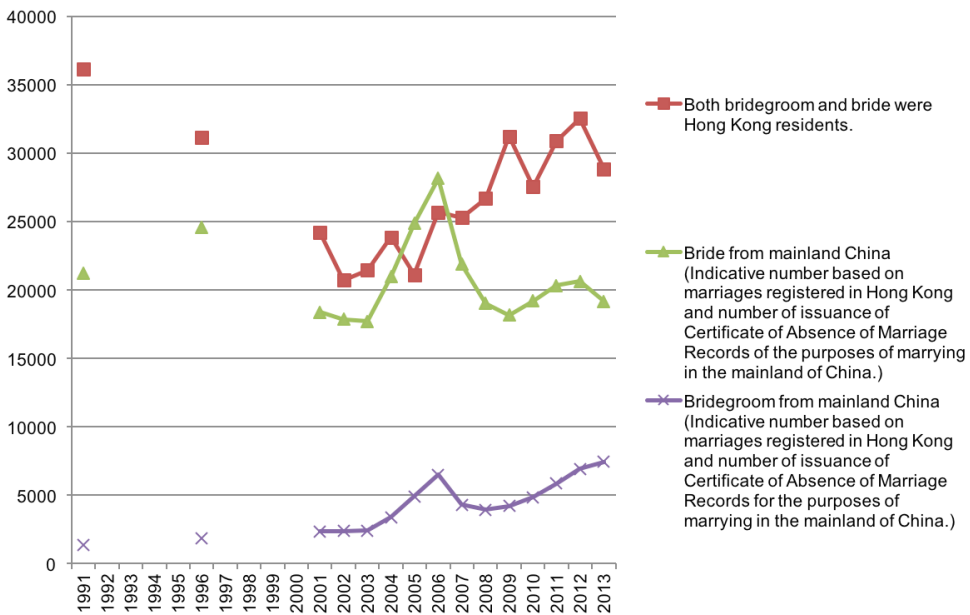
Figure 17. Cross-border marriages by gender.[128]

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[126] Details of this points system were particularly hard to find, and the only authoritative source (i.e. not from an online message board or page that required opening an online application) available was this 2011 Chinese-language press release from the Guangdong Provencal Public Security Department: http://www.gdga.gov.cn/wsfw/bszn/crjgl/ndga/201012/t20101230_491635.html (accessed August 2016).

[127] The Hong Kong Government Laboratory investigated 2,834 cases in 2014. http://www.govtlab.gov.hk/english/abt_fsd_pts.htm (accessed October 2016).

[128] Developed from: Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics, January 2015 Feature Article No. 10. Table. 5 http://www.statistics.gov.hk/pub/B10100022015MM01B0100.pdf (accessed August 2016). Hong Kong and Mainland China do not recognise same-sex marriage.

worded 2014 remarks is an awareness of the *gendered* consequences and *emotional labour* of such enforced spatial practices and emotional and economic waiting.

These state restrictions on intimate spatiality highlight the limitations of genealogy on the intimate event: the new legal union – the newly created subject – is produced "out of the husk of the old," with the "clock of the subject" reset at "zero" (Povinelli 2006:188). In the case of cross-border marriages, many practitioners may feel that their wedding day and the trip to their mainland spouse's place of Hukou registration to apply for the one-way permit starts a literal ticking clock for a semi-opaque period during which they are two different privileged subjects, often forced to live apart. The process, as I will continue to discuss, operates to reinforce gendered familial regimes. It also raises concerns on both sides of the debate over migration when compared to alternative routes for migrating to Hong Kong – to study, work or start a business – that do not involve such enforced periods of waiting.

4.2.1 Reduced to genealogy

> When I first moved there [Hong Kong]? I felt, how can… I say… Everything had changed. My mum was nice to me. She remarried because my biological father passed away. She thinks that it is better having company in life. Then we moved here. To begin with, I lived with my auntie. She lived in public housing. She had three rooms. It was considered big. (Li Yun)[129]

Li Yun, in her description of her life's work, adds another complexity to the cases and politics of waiting already presented. Within my archive, she has a special place as one of the small number of practitioners I spoke with without any post-secondary education.[130] In her early twenties, she had found herself a particular niche in the border regime that had sparked my friend's interest, and then her own interest, in my project. We met on a weekday afternoon, on her day off, in a Pizza Hut near the famous SEG Electronic Market in Shenzhen. Angelica acted as interpreter. Li Yun spoke in Mandarin, concerned that her "soft" voice would not be properly recorded; she also frequently rehearsed her sentences in Cantonese before enunciating them to us.

Having accepted the interview at short notice without the usual background information, I was unsure about Li Yun's situation other than that she worked in Hong Kong and lived in Shenzhen. She did indeed work in Hong Kong and live in Shenzhen; however, she worked not just anywhere in Hong Kong, but in one of the small retail shops that greet passengers disembarking in LoWu on the East Rail Line from Hong Kong, a few metres from Hong Kong Immigration Department document inspection.

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[129] Interview conducted and transcribed in Mandarin (English translation of transcript), Hua Qiang Bei, Shenzhen, November 2014.
[130] I reflect on this methodological limitation in Chapter 2.

She worked a range of shifts, sometimes having to ask a favour from her workmates to leave early in order to make it back across the border before it closed for the evening. In the mornings, with a special pass applied for by her employer, she joined the other travellers as they passed through both sets of document control before showing her pass to double back into the passageway towards Shenzhen.

How she came to be in this position shows the dense hermeneutics that weaves together intimacy and genealogy, as well as how the friction between the two can be both productive and alienating. At 17, Li Yun moved with her mother to the New Territories of Hong Kong from a small city (population approximately 500,000) in Guangdong province. As she explained in the quote above, this was a challenging time in her life. Her mother had remarried; they had applied to move to be with her stepdad when she was 13, but were granted one-way permits three years later. By coming to Hong Kong, she was unable to sit the final Gaokao, or National Education exam. A Gaokao score is essential for gaining a university place in Mainland China (and is recognised by a limited number of overseas universities). In the context of the PRC's one-child policy, a cultural logic has formed around the Gaokao. For many, a Gaokao score has come to be seen as critical to the social mobility of a child's entire extended family. Li Yun's mother realised that to get a job in Hong Kong, her daughter would need at least a high school diploma, so she kept paying the tuition in order for her to receive one. When I asked Li Yun how it was possible for her mother to meet a Hong Kong man, she replied:

> Actually, many of my family members are married to Hong Kong people. We came to visit them. My two aunties and my cousin's mum are all married to Hong Kong people. I came to hang out with them during summer holidays.[131]

Like the distribution of mobile peoples across the world, mobility between Mainland China and Hong Kong is not evenly distributed, but flows through family regimes and connections. Borders and families reproduce each other. The connections between this community, around four hours' drive from Shenzhen, and particular regions of Hong Kong spanned many generations, and these interactions mesh together intimacy, genealogical connections and gendered society that continue today. After arriving in Hong Kong, Li Yun, with good Cantonese skills, quickly found retail work. Despite her lack of qualifications, her base salary in Hong Kong is HKD 10,000 a month; with the exchange rate, this turns into around 7,000 RMB. She said that it was almost impossible to be paid this much in Shenzhen with her qualifications: "Though it is hard work to travel between every day, my job is a lot better than those who work inside [Shenzhen]."

My own rough survey of job notices displayed in similar shops in Shenzhen puts a similar role's salary at 2,000–3,000 RMB per month, though this may include meals and a bed in a dormitory with other migrant workers from outside Shenzhen. In February 2014, the minimum wage in Shenzhen (minimum wages are set at a municipal level in the

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131 Interview conducted and transcribed in Mandarin (English translation of transcript), Hua Qiang Bei, Shenzhen, November 2014.

PRC) was 1,808 RMB per month or 17 RMB per hour,[132] while Hong Kong minimum wage in 2014 was HKD 30 per hour (~24 RMB at the 2014 exchange rate).

When I asked why Li Yun had moved back to Shenzhen, she answered, "Because of my boyfriend; he was working in Guangzhou, not so far from Shenzhen. If we travelled between the two, they are far away; our love would fade. So we come up with this idea." Her boyfriend was also a member of her childhood community; they had met in high school but had grown apart when she moved to Hong Kong. When they got back together, he was working in Guangzhou, and she moved to Shenzhen to be closer to him. Around this time she found the job in the checkpoint, and it all made sense. Her Hong Kong salary is enough to rent a comfortable private apartment for the two of them near the border; her earnings in Hong Kong are significantly more than his earnings as a customer service representative for an online store.

I asked, "Do you have a plan to move back to Hong Kong with your boyfriend?"

"He cannot go to Hong Kong. If he wants to move to Hong Kong, we have to get married, then wait for around 5, 6 years to move to Hong Kong," she replied.

Li Yun is stuck again in the paradox of the political economy of waiting, like her mother years before. However, she explained that her mother's wait was shorter than normal "because they reviewed our material and considered that my mum was single for many years." However, she sees herself as having no such opportunity. She has asked her boyfriend to look for a job in Hong Kong, but he has not shown much interest, and it is hard for her to push the topic:

> Yep, it is very difficult. I read the news saying that many people have sham marriages in order to go to Hong Kong. Many people ask me where I am. All my classmates know that I am in Hong Kong. They feel that Hong Kong is great. But I want to say that Hong Kong is not as good as they think. Hong Kong is actually not as good as most people think. Accommodation is a big issue![133]

Li Yun's mother would like her to move back to Hong Kong, feeling that she would have better career opportunities if she had stayed. Indeed, part of Li Yun wants to move back:

> I want to go back to Hong Kong. But the housing in Hong Kong is bad. Accommodation is too small and mice appear often… Mice, cockroaches, lice. A room takes your month's salary. The cheap ones are dirty with mice…[134]

Li Yun occupies an emotionally laborious physical and economic niche in between regimes of borders, family and enterprise. This once caused her to leave her friends and lover to live in a cramped apartment in Hong Kong, but now it allows her to earn a white-

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[132] http://www.china-briefing.com/news/2014/04/02/chinas-2014-q1-minimum-wage-hikes.html (accessed August 2016).
[133] Interview conducted in Mandarin (transcribed and translated into English), Hua Qiang Bei, Shenzhen, November 2014.
[134] Ibid.

collar salary in Shenzhen with only a high school certificate. Like the other practitioners I have introduced, the border acts as her personal *mobility fix* for this moment of her life's work. Despite monolithic interpretations that present the border as separating labour from capital, its terrain makes possible new forms of labour for a small minority. For this small group, the border is a site of emotionally laborious repair, giving them agency to make possibility out of grids that desire to apply impassionate logics of inheritance to their economic and affective possibilities.

After a forced period of waiting, on accepting her one-way permit Li Yun ceased to exist within mainland China's internal Hukou system, exchanging her Hukou for Hong Kong identity and her "two-way permit" for a "home return permit" (officially known today as a "travel permit" for Hong Kong and Macao residents), which she now uses every day to travel from her workplace in Hong Kong to her apartment and boyfriend in Shenzhen. Other practitioners and interlocutors recalled the particular material experience of this process: they described travelling to the Public Security Bureau in their Hukou location in order to finally receive their one-way permit, which was "just a piece of paper." One interlocutor recalled sitting in a room at the police station in her early teens with her parents as an officer held up her Mainland Chinese ID card in front of her. The officer addressed her directly, using a disconcerting tone of voice, and asked if she was "absolutely" certain that she "*really* wanted to do this." The officer then symbolically snipped a corner of her card, rendering it invalid and physically symbolising her departure from Mainland China. Her migration was a version of the foundational event; after a long engagement the she is married to a new ascription, the one-way permit holder gives up the rights and possibilities of the old self.

With their A4-size single-use one-way permit, migrants arrive at LoWu control point, visit a special desk and complete an intake questionnaire that produces one of the few publicly available records of this population.[135] Hong Kong permanent residents and those who have activated their one-way permits and hold Hong Kong Documents of Identity for Visa Purposes approach the mainland Chinese boundary control with a credit-card-sized "Home Return Permit." These permits must be applied for at branches of the China Travel Service (H.K.) inside Hong Kong. The need to apply for such permits at a state-owned travel agency is a legacy of Beijing's claim of sovereignty over Hong Kong, which prevented it from opening embassies and consulates to issue travel documents.

To receive a Home Return Permit, you must prove "Chinese nationality" under PRC law, which requires proof of at least one Chinese-national parent. While naturalisation is theoretically possible, only 941 such people were counted in total in the 2000 PRC census.[136] Mainland China, Macau and Hong Kong all issue their own different internationally recognised travel documents, as well as temporary and transitional documents, like the

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[135] They are also recorded in the Hong Kong census under the category "People from mainland residing in Hong Kong less than 7 years." The results of these questionnaires are available from the Home Affairs Department, at http://www.had.gov.hk/en/public_services/services_for_new_arrivals_from_the_mainland/surveys.html.

[136] http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/ndsj/renkoupucha/2000pucha/html/t0106.htm (accessed August 2016).

Document of Identity for Visa Purposes, given to those like Li Yun who have arrived on one-way permits for the first seven years while they await permanent residency. Permanent residents of Hong Kong who cannot prove their "Chinese nationality," still maintain full citizenship rights, including the electoral franchise in Hong Kong, but are denied Home Return Permits and must apply for a visa to cross the border. The border applies a complex grid of inheritance to value each subject that approaches it.

4.3 Between ascription and becoming

> The liberal subject is said to become sovereign at the moment she projects herself as her own authentic ground. This foundation itself is necessarily phantasmagorical for the simple reason that no one can pick herself up by her own bootstraps. The felicity of this foundational event depends on an entire host of conditioning social institutions and relations. (Povinelli 2006:194)

> The art of acting, of making avowals, not in accord with feeling, became a useful tool for taking advantage of new opportunities. As mobility became a fact of urban life, so did guile and people's understanding of guile as a tool. (Hochschild 1983:191)

Guile (duplicity) and felicity (optimism) have always been tools for class maintenance and advancement Li Yun's case teaches us. We learn to interpret signals, images and words into particular emotions. Hochschild suggests that "families are the original workshops of emotion" (2011:270), laboratories where we develop *feeling rules* that help us behave in ways that are correct for the given social context(s). Over the course of a life's work, we are trained to be attentive to particular stimuli in ways that can actually *change* feeling (Hochschild 1986:27); "[a]s such, [emotion] has a signal function; it warns us of where we stand vis-à-vis outer or inner events. (here I draw on Freud). Finally what does and does not stand out as a 'signal' presupposes certain culturally taken-for-granted ways of seeing and holding expectations about the world" (28).

Research on mobility from the PRC into Hong Kong has justifiably tended to focus on arriving women's experiences of waiting to reunite with their Hong Kong spouse. Studies have centred on the adjustments necessary once families are reunited in the same space (see Newendorp 2008) and the affective identity of these "new immigrants" (see Siu 2009), along with the more visible domestic helper (see Constable 2014) and (non-Chinese) refugee population (see Mathews 2011). However, this macro discourse pushes discursive gendered positionalities onto subjects, propagating discursive frames that reflect a particular understanding of intimacy and gender. It is an understanding premised, governed and tabulated through the useful – but, as I have discussed, imperfect – lens of the gendered nuclear family.

Family regimes are multi-generational and highly flexible, adapting to technological, economic and political conditions; these "flexible citizens" (Ong 1999) provide a viewpoint in which the topological nature of intimacy becomes entwined and reshaped by the pleasures of intimate encounters and the politics of genealogy. Transgovernmental friction and economies of waiting are not only the products of intimacy, but as Gillian shows foundational to it. They cause couples to consider and construct their understanding of each other in the context of governmental categories, but these categories at the same time formulate and produce new objects of desire; your own start-up company or a new life in the United States. In other words, while state interventions in family life may seem violent, they also structure how we experience and emotionally construct intimacy. In Povinelli's formulation, apologists for intimacy and the possibilities it produces clash with defenders of genealogy and entailment (2006:208).

As we will see in the following two chapters, prioritising of familial intimacy has been a (re)emergent norm since the latest version of "new China," which was brought into being to overcome material shortages by Deng Xiaoping in the 1980s. However, the nature of this new intimacy is contested. With the reintroduction of private property in concert with the logics of neoliberalism came a new way of understanding one's intimacy, and family was freed to return to old genealogical and gendered ways of structuring society (Hong Fincher 2014). In this new reproduction of the genealogical society, who your parents are still matters, but the effect manifests in different ways as the three cases above show. In exploring the way love stories integrate themselves with the regime of the border, carnality comes to describe the space between life's work and the immigration department, as well as the spaces between Stella's conversations with her mother, boyfriend and employer. We find ourselves again in a city without ground, building low theory which draws us in two productive directions: a phenomenological experience and a grounded reality. "Each [subject] can be said to have two modes of intimacy. Those enthralled by the intimate event say that in matters of the heart and the labours of a life, attitudinal and discursive practices *should* be based on foundational events, at least most of the time, at least in the social form that has been advanced as the end of history" (Povinelli 2006:208, emphasis in original). Like the family, state and enterprise, the intimate and genealogical ideals of the immigration department are flexible and subject to the whims of other similarly unpredictable forces of history. It is to a grounded history of these whims that I now turn.

5 Time is money, efficiency is life

Figure 18. "Time is money, efficiency is life." Shekou, Shenzhen (2014).

> In the early days of Shekou, everything was left undone and Yuan Geng always
> felt that 24 hours were not enough for each day. In 1980, to speed things up,
> China Merchants Group decided to provide an incentive for construction workers
> by giving them a bonus of four fen (less than one U.S. cent) for carrying an
> additional load of earth. This measure immediately sparked a lot of controversy,
> as some people called it "bonus abuse." The government blocked the potentially
> effective measure. Efficiency was greatly impaired. (Xue 2012:16)[137]

"Time is money, efficiency is life" is one of the founding mottos of the Shenzhen Special
Economic Zone, coined in 1981 by one of the leaders of the latest attempt at producing
a "new" China. Recently released from prison with his previous political actions forgiven,
Yuan Geng asked to be put in charge of a Communist Party-owned Hong Kong company's
subsidiary in Shekou (Shenzhen, Guangdong). The slogan he created was originally

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[137] From the section titled "The First Spring Thunder That Awakens People's Minds" in the volume *Top ten concepts of Shenzhen,* edited by Jingsheng Wang, first published in Chinese in 2010. I rely on a 2012 official English translation in my analysis.

intended for a company meeting, but ended up on a billboard outside the company's headquarters (Xue 2012). The slogan was greeted with considerable controversy, which led to it being quickly pulled down. The full original slogan read, "Time is money, efficiency is life, the customer is the emperor, safety is the law, everything has a person in charge, everyone has something to do." Today, after a number of attempts to materialise the phrase, only the first two statements remain, immortalised in cement on the intersection between post-Mao China's first private factory and housing complex.

The slogan is a rendition of a particular version of the logics of neoliberalism. Its author claimed the slogan was rooted in historical "Chinese" thought modelled on life at the time in Hong Kong. In 2010, it became the public- and jury-selected top concept of Shenzhen to celebrate the city's 30th birthday (Wang 2012). In this chapter, I address Shenzhen's transformation from a series of market towns and military encampments to a major centre for assembling electronics and other consumer goods that is today seeking to reinvent itself in the image of California's Silicon Valley. I tell this story from the perspective of a single family: a mother, her sister, her son and brother-in-law. Our conversation took place 30 or more storeys in the air on a private sky deck – complete with elaborate water feature – in a building built on reclaimed land overlooking a container terminal, part of a seemingly endless string of similar newly built multi-tower complexes. I focus on this intergenerational interview to address the new spaces produced by the transition from the words of the Maoist class struggle to "Time is money, efficiency is life." I argue that the success of both slogan and city was made possible by leveraging emotive ethnic narratives to cover for histories of violence and struggle.

In telling Shenzhen's story through the lens of the inter-generational encounter, I hope to draw out the emotional labour embodied in seemingly groundless commodities. The contradictions of globalisation are most visible to those whose daily labour is to hide them – the emotional labour of the foot soldiers of capitalism.[138] The managers and entrepreneurs that negotiated the opening up are critical to the way capital coagulated around Shenzhen in the 1980s and 1990s. Emotional work – the work of trust, family and guile – is critical, I argue, to the global neoliberal production model. An unseen multitude of individual spatial fixes have brought us the low-cost electronic devices that make today's life's work possible.

5.1 "I used to go fishing here"

"Time is money, efficiency is life" is not a quote from a leader or an official document [...] It was born on a rumbling construction site and sparked much controversy. Its "birth permit" came from Deng Xiaoping, the chief architect of China's reform and opening up. It became known across the country at

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[138] This term and concept formed the base of my 2011 master's thesis. I was inspired by Smart's (2008) description of these actors as "petty capitalists."

a ceremony to celebrate the founding of the People's Republic of China at Tiananmen Square. (Wang 2012:11)

On a Sunday morning in October 2014, Angelica and I travelled from our apartment to Linhai subway station and emerged into an open field. To the west of the station's single functioning entrance was rolling short-cut grass. In the other direction, we could see a row of fenced compounds of modern urban China's ubiquitous white with blue-trimmed transportable buildings: the living quarters of migrant construction workers expanding the subway and building even more towers. Past these temporary buildings across an empty eight-lane road rose up a series of apartment buildings at least 40 storeys high. The station's name translates as "waterfront," but it was in fact around a hundred metres out into former mangroves from the historic shoreline. To the south, the "Qianhai [literally Forward/Front Bay] Shenzhen–Hong Kong Modern Service Industry Cooperation Zone" was still a series of dry fields, as construction workers were waiting for the dirt used to reclaim its terrain from the sea to settle so that construction could start in earnest.

Qianhai is the latest iteration of the political-economic concept of "zone" now that Shenzhen is no longer itself a zone and its practices have been rolled out across the PRC (with some adjustments). The new one is proposed to be a "modern service industry cooperation zone and a pilot district for future cooperation between Hong Kong and the Chinese mainland" and "will offer low corporate taxes, tax-free working, and a strong legal regime with nearby Hong Kong playing a key role in its success."[139] The new zone's yet-to-be-realised function is as a site of encounter between disembodied mobile capital, unburdened by the practicalities of producing physical objects.

Qianhai represents the upcoming round of this terrain's role as mediator between a Chinese state and global capital. Around 70 kilometres to the north is Humen, the site where Lin Zexu supervised the destruction of opium in 1839 during the first Opium War, which led to British control of Hong Kong. The sea route, running from Hong Kong via Humen to Guangzhou, has parallels to the road between Kowloon and Hsinan protected in the lease of the Hong Kong New Territories. Further south from Qianhai lies the Shekou Peninsula, whose historic shoreline of sheltered fishing villages is preserved only in the names of subway stations now hundreds of metres inland. This transformation is a story of successive deterritorialisations and physical and administrative restructurings of terrain to overcome ideological differences.

During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, the area was called Xin'an County. As part of the treaty that ended the first Opium War, Hong Kong was ceded to the British Empire. "Subsequently, the Kowloon Peninsula and the New Territories were incorporated into the colony. North of the border, Xin'an ceased to exist in 1913, when the Nationalist Government renamed the area Bao'an County" (O'Donnell 2001:246). In the 1950s, the border became a boundary of the Cold War, but this border was never closed completely; the two territories always had a need for each other. Rather, as Mary Ann O'Donnell,

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[139] http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2012-06/30/content_15538337.htm (accessed July 2016).

writing in 2001 based on ethnographic fieldwork in the 1990s, points out, "Shenzhen is not simply a geographical place, but rather a spatial mediation of an alliance between the Chinese state and capital, domestic and foreign" (425).

That Sunday morning, and in other conversations with practitioners and interlocutors whose living memory extended beyond the latest writing over of history as they reflected on a life's work interrelated with the city's story, I felt a subtle deeply minor narrative running parallel to the major narrative that emphasised a particularly emotional transmutation – a history of continuous recalibration of feeling rules to meet the demands of political-economic change. "Transmutation," Hochschild argues, is the moving of emotional engagements that were once private but "nowadays often fall under the sway of large organisations, social engineering, and the profit motive" (1983:19). The language of the enterprise – I observed – encroaching gradually on the symbolic spaces of the family. As if to emphasise this, in the final minutes of our conversation that morning, after I had asked all my questions and they were asking questions of me, Mr Yu made an effort to teach me about the terrain I could not see:

Mr Yu: Sure, sure, it is the truth. Cities developed at a very high speed. So you can say there are four dialects in Guangdong province. The largest is Cantonese, then Chaoshan dialect, then Hakka. There is one branch in Hainan – not Hainan dialect, not Hakka. It is in the west. It is a totally different one. Chaozhou language is from Fujian. So in Chaoshan, to pray for their ancestors, they have to go to Minnan in Fujian [thousands of kilometres away]. Hakka culture is from Heluo culture [Henan province]; then it flowed down, slowly, slowly, slowly, until they reached here.

Mrs Yu: Like here, each village, even if they are just two or three villages apart, they are completely different. There (*pointing*) is a village speaking Cantonese.

Mr Yu: It is better to say that here, in our east and west, Shenzhen and Shiyan area, they speak Hakka. In the west, they speak Cantonese… Shiyan River. Shiyan district. Actually, there is a Shiyan town. Now it is renamed as Guangming New Development District. Shiyan is where the divide is. There is a branch that speaks Cantonese; the others… er… Hakka.[140]

At this point, he had stood up and was leaning over the balcony railing, pointing in different directions. We were quite confused; I named a mountain that is in fact on the other side of the city, and he corrected us:

Yep, one side (*pointing*) is Hakka. Originally, this side – Xixiang, Shajing, Fuyong – was all Bao'an towns. Until Nanshan, Futian [were created as new administrative areas]. They all spoke Cantonese. To be more accurate, on the east side of 107

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[140] All interview quotes in this chapter come from our conversation in October 2014. The quoted text comes from a translation of a Mandarin transcript of the conversation. Where interpretation of my questions differed from my original statement, Angelica has been noted as speaker. Efforts have been made to retain the cadence of their speech.

National Road, they speak Hakka. Of course, in Shiyan, mainly they speak Hakka. Longhua area, they all speak Hakka.

Mr Yu was pointing out – specifically to me, Angelica and his nephew, as the next generation – the linguistic-cultural intricacies of the landscape below, where he had earlier told me he once spent his weekends fishing. Today, these language groups have been subsumed by migrants from other parts of China with their own dialects and cuisine. He noted that even these ancient language groups are from elsewhere and that members of these groups still travel many hundreds of kilometres to "burn incense" and fulfil their religious obligations. Exploring Shenzhen today, it is normal to stumble across a small, partly abandoned ancestral hall surrounded by newly constructed skyscrapers. Drawing on a more extensive oral history archive of reflections of Shenzhen's early years, O'Donnell notes that Shenzhen's physical development is not apolitical:

> Urban Shenzhen has pursued the policy of "moving mountains to fill the ocean" (yi shan tian hai). By razing entire villages and replacing them with planned developments, Shenzhen has produced spaces that are independent of the immediate history of the area. Indeed, the architecture – modernist and postmodernist alike – that Shenzhen commissions further emphasizes a radical break with a past that Shenzhen must overcome if it is to become a modern world city. (O'Donnell 2001:429)

Scholars, visitors and residents (including myself) are guilty of being mesmerised by the physicality of the growth of concrete and reclamation of land that has sprung up within a lifetime. This physical reconstruction has successfully given the city a well-rehearsed "arrival story" to go with each new immigrant's story. The Shenzhen Museum devotes a large section to the topic of the arrival of "city as construction" as opposed to the "city as agriculture," including a life-size diorama of the zone's first construction workers: demobilised soldiers, put to work constructing modernist buildings on the first private property[141] in the PRC since the 1950s. Another motto, "Shenzhen Speed," is described in the display as commemorating the rapid construction in 1985 of the World Trade Tower in LoWu, representing Shenzhen's ideological separation from that of the Mao period (Bach 2011). Hong Kong's imaginary traces a similar path, but a generation earlier: its modern arrival began after World War II with a period of rapid growth accompanied by massive hardships and material shortages. This growth was made possible by the arrival of thousands of refugee bodies and financial and intellectual capital from Mainland China (particularly Shanghai). With the creation of the SEZs in the 1980s, often the same bodies and capital (or their descendants) moved north again.

I was there that Sunday morning to hear another iteration of the story of arrival, but before I left, Mr Yu wanted to be sure I was aware of what his arrival had displaced.

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[141] The irony of Communist soldiers building private buildings highlights the type of ideological repair that Shenzhen's imaginary facilitates.

I was here because of a chance encounter with Henry, Mr Yu's nephew, a few months earlier at the annual 4 June 1989 Commemoration Ceremony in Victoria Park on Hong Kong Island.[142] Sitting with me on the balcony this morning were Henry, in his twenties, his mother (Mrs Xu), his mother's sister (Mrs Yu) and her husband, and Henry's uncle (Mr Yu), along with Angelica acting as interpreter. Henry's grandmother came and went frequently without participating in the discussion, and later Henry's cousin, her husband and their small child arrived in the final moments of our conversation for Sunday lunch.

In a one-to-one interview earlier in Hong Kong, Henry had attempted to describe his family's translocality.[143] His "core family," as he termed it, consisted of his grandmother, cousin and aunt alongside himself and his mother. His maternal grandmother was born in Huizhou, an ancient city around one hundred kilometres north of the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border, so Henry considers himself, with a chuckle, "Hakkanese," one of the linguistic groups dominant in Huizhou that Mr Yu had just described as having migrated south in ancient times. Henry has never lived in Huizhou; his grandmother was born there, but his mother and aunt were born in Indonesia. At the age of three, his mother returned to Fujian Province (PRC), growing up and attending university there before moving to Hong Kong in her early twenties and finding work as a mechanical engineer. In the year 2000, while Henry was in elementary school, the factory she worked for was relocated from Hong Kong to the far eastern edge of Shenzhen. She moved to the new factory but came back frequently to visit Henry, who lived with his cousin and grandmother in Shatin in Hong Kong.

In 1987, Mr Yu, Henry's uncle by marriage – who, unlike Henry's mother, has an ownership stake in his employer – began the process of opening a factory in Nanshan, Shenzhen. I started our conversation by asking him what it was like when he first started living in Shenzhen:

Mr Yu: Ah, Shenzhen. I came here in [19]87. When I came, it is… (*pause*) so, at that time it was a place with lots of weeds. I first set up my factory in Nanshan in '87. Mm… Nanshan, my first factory was set up here. So I came here [the location of the building where we are speaking] often to catch fish. On Saturday and Sunday, I came here to catch fish. There were lots of fish here. In the beginning of '87, when we came here, there was nothing, no houses. It was a giant mud land. So like you said, slowly, slowly we witness the growth of Shenzhen… Did you know, then, the whole place is a mud land?… I can tell you, today I get lost, even in Nantou [a sub-district of Nanshan]. You know. Do not laugh at me. Nanxin Road. There was no Nanxin Road. There is one Nanxin Road… Ah…Shenzhen University, Taoyuan [now the name of a subway station], right! No, then they were all low-built houses…

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[142] The full context of our first meeting and interview will be explored in the following chapter.
[143] As discussed in Chapter 1, translocality is used in this dissertation as an alternative to transnationality, which has been deeply colonised by state discourse (see Oakes and Schein 2006).

Mrs Xu: At that time, the roads are narrow. Every time we came here. We came here very often. In '87, we came here often. We took a minivan from LoWu [railway station]. It took about one hour without traffic jam. Lots of dirt roads.

Mr Yu: There was no asphalt road – only two lanes, only two lanes.

They travelled along Shennan Road, which runs from LoWu to Nanshan. Under it, the city's first subway line was constructed. Now, the road is at minimum eight lanes wide, and up to 12 in some places. It acts as the central axis to what in urban planning terms could be called a "linear city" (Craciun 2001:123). The linearity is unintentional. It is the result of the city's connection at two points: the port in Shekou and the railhead in LoWu. The linear city is an example of the implications of planning a city without ground that does not recognise the complex pre-existing boundaries Mr Yu describes. Instead, to control urban space, the city's planners broke the city down into eight "blocks" in 1984, decreasing to five in 1990 and three in 1996 (Craciun 2001:127). Each block originally had a theme, such as leisure or high technology. However, eventually buildings of all types clustered in certain blocks. In 1987, a younger Mr Yu, sought a spatial fix to keep his enterprise competitive. I asked him why he came to Nanshan, the district of Shenzhen where we were speaking:

Mr Yu: I came to set up the factory… after '87 the opening-up policy had started; gradually they [factories] were moved to the mainland. The cost of labour was lower.

Mrs Xu: Here [Shenzhen], the cost of labour was low.

Jonathan: Did you have a factory in Hong Kong before?

Mr Yu: Yes, a factory.

Jonathan: Did you move the factory?... Is the Hong Kong factory still open?

Mr Yu: Yes, the Hong Kong [office but not the factory] stayed open.

Jonathan: Do you still have an office in Hong Kong?

Mr Yu: Yes.

Jonathan: Why did you keep an office in Hong Kong?

Mr Yu: Because; our company… The mother [parent] company was in Hong Kong; the Shenzhen one was a son [child] company.

Mrs Xu: Because our accounting system is set according to Hong Kong regulations… it is still a Hong Kong company. So it's accounting; systems must follow the government requirements. The accounting department is required to be in Hong Kong.

With their embodied skills and physical and non-physical capital, Mr Yu's and Mrs Xu's enterprises – like Ken's, George's, and Evelin's families (Chapters 1 and 3) – are translocal topological regimes seeking to stay competitive against an uncertain future.[144] Towards the end of our conversation, after we had addressed the life course of Mrs Xu's factory,

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[144] For a more detailed discussion of topological families, see Chapter 7.

Mr Yu reflected on the next generation's prospects, embodied through his nephew as we sat on his balcony:

Mr Yu: So people from his [Henry's] generation… How we call them…You cannot let them repair machines, nope, you won't. Hong Kong… only if they are willing to come to the mainland to learn. Because a fresh graduate needs to have working experience. Hong Kong will be… like him… [looking for work] or work in the service sector or finance. Factories like hers [Mrs Xu's] do not exist anymore. … Our next generation, lots of them do not want to continue in this industry. So many of them; so many, so many. You see cases like it all the time.

Jonathan: So do you think you will move your factory out of China somewhere there is more people willing to work?

Mr Yu: We are going to move to India. We are planning now.

Jonathan: India?[145]

Angelica: They have more labour and salary is lower?

Mr Yu: Because the salary is lower in India. You see the cost of production here. It is more expensive now to manufacture things here. It is not cost-effective… We are preparing; "bonding," now, we are sending machines to India.

Mrs Xu: It is a labour-intensive industry.

Mr Yu: There are a lot of pieces, you see; it's a labour-intensive industry. Assembling computers is a labour- intensive industry. You see, right? Assembling cell phones is also a labour-intensive industry. There are so many components in there. Foxconn [the contractor that manufactures the iPad and iPhone] says they have a million total workforce – mainly for working on the iPhone, but not only for iPhones.

Jonathan: There are many small pieces in each…

Mr Yu: Right; lots of components. Lots of them are needed if you want to assemble something. It involves various aspects… you have to have the supply chain. And there're so many processes involved in manufacturing, it involves… For example, Foxconn, I really admire them. They claim that they make 90 to 900 iPads every minute. So I must say that I respect that guy, the chairman [Guomintai], owner of Foxconn. Because it involves lots of processes, not only his company could do it all. Many things are involved in production… He not only needs to prepare all the materials, but also produce them at 900 pieces a minute. He is the quickest in the industry… See, in India it is really hard to catch up with him. 900 pieces or 90 pieces [the flexibility of speed]. Because the market demands must be matched this way. Meeting the market's demand is very important.

Jonathan: But you created that environment in Shenzhen, so you should be able to re-create it in India?

Mr Yu: Of course; it depends on the nation's policy and its religion and staff. Maybe the market will not open fully; they are conservative. I cannot predict the future there.

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[145] I had no warning of this; however, I suspect Henry had it in mind when he suggested I talk with his uncle.

Mr Yu had just described an emotional-political-economic tension inherent in the use of space to overcome limitations to capital accumulation. As Mr Yu theorised, Foxconn has invested heavily in building an inflexible network of physical infrastructure to enable it to be flexible with its output. They have built not simply a logistical network, but a complex emotional-political-economic regime – a regime that requires an emotive logic spelt out in the slogan "Time is money, efficiency is life." This slogan has been taken up by a coalition of family, state and enterprise regimes that allows for and sustains such an organisation of humans, information and objects. The question troubling Mr Yu is precisely how fixed to terrain Foxconn's regime is. Flexibility can be a blessing and a curse, a violence and a possibility. The factory-city Mr Yu was referring to became known worldwide in 2010 because of a cluster of suicides by young factory workers that continue to occur today.

Foxconn's Longhua campus is often referred to in everyday discussions in Shenzhen, where its workers can be seen in uniform and its white-collar employees meet in local bars. It is far from the most exploitive factory in Shenzhen and has some of the best staff amenities in the PRC. However, under the doctrine of "Time is money, efficiency is life," there is little opportunity to use them. As a translocal enterprise, Foxconn takes the form of a network of small, closely controlled private cities and requires a particular set of feeling rules from its workers. Mrs Xu, whom we will now hear from, is a manager in the design department of a factory in the opposite corner of Shenzhen. She has spent the last decade of her working and personal life negotiating the transferring of feeling rules that Mr Yu is uncertain he will find in India.

5.1.1 Mobility as fix

> In December that year [1981], two months after the course commenced, the students met Yuan for the first time. He explained why he came up with the slogan, "Time is money, efficiency is life." … Yuan told them something he had learned in Hong Kong. To save two days' interest, Hong Kong people would keep their cars idling so they could rush to the bank [presumably after their businesses closed on Friday] before it closed. In this sense, time is money. Also, there was an old saying: "An inch of time equals an inch of gold, yet gold can buy no time." Therefore, the Chinese have understood that time is money since ancient times. (Xue 2012:16)

Having lived in Indonesia, studied in Fujian Provence and worked for over a decade in Hong Kong, it had become time for Mrs Xu to follow her employer to Shenzhen. I asked her if she remembered them announcing the move to Shenzhen, and what people's reactions were:

Mrs Xu: Of course I did not want to go; the company leaked the information gradually, and then when people accepted it, formal notice was released. Most people did not like it. No one liked it.

Jonathan: …Did people not want to move?

Mrs Xu: Of course; they would be away from home. The other thing was the gap between Hong Kong and the mainland. You see, a normal worker, we are a mechanical factory. Our workers' salary was almost [HKD] 10K. But in the mainland, the minimal wage was around 500 [RMB]. We were so afraid of what our future would be like.

Henry: And the currency rate was different, opposite from now.

Jonathan: It was even bigger, but did they offer you something when they transferred you to Shenzhen? Did they keep paying your Hong Kong salary, or did they give you a Shenzhen salary?

Mrs Xu: In terms of salary, the company wanted us to stay. Because it is a big mechanical factory, it is impossible to run without staff from before. So the company wanted us to come; they made some efforts to persuade you to go. If he [the boss] thinks that you have to come, he will increase your salary and also give you better welfare [conditions]. I came here at that time because he gave me a pay raise. Also, he promised us that the salary would never be lowered. At that time, RMB and Hong Kong dollars, the Hong Kong dollar's value exceeded RMB. He promised us that we would be paid in Hong Kong dollars.
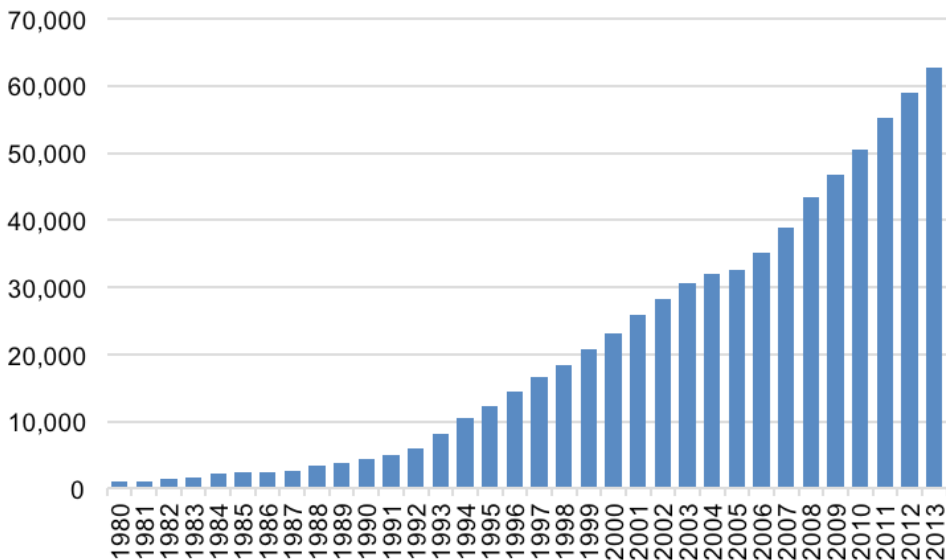
Figure 19. Average annual income in Shenzhen in RMB (1980–2013).[146]

[146] Shenzhen Statistics Yearbook 2014, Table 14-1. http://www.sztj.gov.cn/nj2014/szen/14-1en.htm (accessed January 2017).

Later in our conversation, Mrs Xu lamented her decision to take her salary in Hong Kong dollars, since the exchange rates, as her son noted, have reversed (see Fig. 16), but she no longer holds the bargaining power she once had. Her comments remind us that capital is not "self-operating," but relies on skilled border practitioners to move from Hong Kong to Shenzhen or Shenzhen to India. Henry's grandma then came out with a tray of Indonesian prawn crackers; the sun had swung around, and we moved to another balcony on the other side of the building. As we moved, Mrs Xu explained that there were around 100 members of staff that relocated from Hong Kong to Shenzhen, but now only about 20 of them are still there. The company provides her with accommodation; while she could find her own place, she prefers this arrangement. Most of the remaining original Hong Kong staff still have families in Hong Kong, but some have also remarried on the mainland. Nobody, she said, moved their family to Shenzhen, but many have houses in both places. The transport situation has improved dramatically over the years, she explained:

Mrs Xu: At that time [2000], traffic jams happened very often… the journey was about two, three hours. One of the reasons was our factory was in the eastern part of Shenzhen, the most remote and the poorest town in the east [of Shenzhen]. Now, it is Pingshan district... The town is the most remote among all the towns in Shenzhen. Also, its development was the slowest. At that time, the road to the district was really bad. At that time, the Nanshan roads were quite developed, whilst our road was bad… We had dormitory accommodation… You did not have to travel every day.

Angelica: …How many times did you travel a week?

Mrs Xu: Per week – err... weekly. Go back on weekends, and probably on Wednesday? Normally it was like this.

Henry: Not every day when it started.

Jonathan: Why did he [Mr Yu] travel back every day, and not you?

Mrs Xu: Some colleagues travelled every day, mainly because they had a family. Kids were small, and they had wives. There was a trend here at that time of having second wives. So they wanted their family to relax.

Mr Yu: They had a family, parents and kids!

Jonathan: OK, so it was mainly to prove loyalty to the family? (*Henry laughs.*)

Mrs Xu: In order to prove that they did not have a second wife.

Jonathan: I have interviewed people, and that is still the reason that people go back every day. (*Henry is chuckling.*)

Mrs Xu: Yes, yes. Some men… yes, yes, especially men.

Mr Yu: Vulnerable to seduction…

Mrs Xu: In fact, it is true. We were together every day; some of them would have affairs.

Intimacy has a particular topology and topography; this family's comments about gender are another example of the emotionally laborious and gendered nature of each individual's

cross-border mobility. The gendered and aged nature of the arrival of manufacturing in Shenzhen, like the arrival of industrialisation in England, built on existing logics of gendering and classing bodies. The majority of factory workers arriving to work in the export-orientated factories in the '80s and '90s were young women (see Ngai 2005). As children of rural subsistence farmers, coming from the interior to the booming cities on the coast offered a possibility for new – and cruelly optimistic, as they were working long hours in poor conditions – possibilities for affective becoming away from their genealogical grids.[147]

The one-child policy had only begun in 1978, shortly before the SEZs were founded, so these women were usually one of many siblings in families whose resources were directed to male children. Called *da gong mei* (打工妹, literally "factory sisters" as opposed to "factory brothers"), most returned to their family villages after working for a few years. However, some stayed, and very occasionally you may run into them in higher-level positions, even occasionally as border practitioners (see Chang 2009; Ngai 2005). Hong Kong men, the gendered representatives of familial configurations of capital, managed and controlled these women, who usually lived in dormitories. As the economy changed and more migrants chose to stay, Shenzhen has gone through a minor baby boom as the city's migrants have come of age, creating new pressures on the PRC's hereditary Hukou system for distributing urban possibility.[148] As Katz observes, mobile processes of economic reproduction and less mobile and flexible process of social reproduction, are intertwined (2001) with cultural logics such as gender (Ong 1999).

Logics of maintenance and repair go beyond simply how we understand and reproduce physical infrastructure (see Graham and Thrift 2007). Life's work requires particular types of labour and capital and leaves particular marks on individuals and the terrain. This family listed multiple strategic "fixes" for both capital and family life, showing an overlapping of emotional and material labours (retaining accounting and business registration in Hong Kong; the proximity of the factory in Shenzhen to allow for care of children; "second wives" as a fix for loneliness). The movement of factories from Hong Kong to Shenzhen, and now to India, cannot happen without the participation of skilled actors like those I spoke with, leaving marks on the terrain and in the life stories of workers.

5.1.2 "But we are not very flexible"

Even the "time is money" part was criticized by some, who argued it encouraged worship of materialism. To avoid unnecessary clashes or upsetting the Central

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[147] A tension exists in conversations amongst scholars and practitioners as to how to account for the contradictions inherent in this situation. In this dissertation, I draw on Berlant's "cruel optimism" and Halberstam's low theory, but there have been other attempts, notably Bach (2010, 2011), O'Donnell (2006) and Ngai (2005).

[148] https://shenzhennoted.com/2014/03/22/gentrification-with-shenzhen-characteristics/ (accessed December 2016).

Committee of the CPC, Yuan had the billboard taken down and stored in a warehouse. It was soon burnt as firewood by the warehouse manager. No one at the time foresaw the historical significance of the slogan. Until today, many regret that they did not respect the billboard. (Xue 2012:16)

As critics of the slogan, both then and now, have asked, how do we value the care of others if "time is money, efficiency is life"? The slogan is a call to produce a new set of *feeling rules* for answering Marx's question: "What does it mean to be an 'instrument of labour?'" (Hochschild 1983:3). In an attempt to answer this, I asked Mrs Xu what her first reaction was to the company's move to Shenzhen:

Mrs Xu: I did not want to come. But we faced a problem; what was that? In that era, manufacturers, all the manufacturers, were real factories. We make machines. Others, mills… factories were moving to the mainland. There were a few left in Hong Kong. If we did not move, we had to think if we could ever work in this industry. A lot of people had no choice because of this.

Jonathan: So you were resigned to that fact? The emotion was resignation, or… you assumed that it has to happen?

Mrs Xu: Ah…right. Another option was to change to another industry. But we are not very flexible. It was very difficult to make that change.

Earlier, when I had spoken individually to Henry, he had noted that he was not like his mother; he was not as flexible as she was (see Chapter 6). The feeling rules, through which we engage with the world, are built up over time and unique to our own individual life's work; they have their own inertia and friction. The emotional labour experienced by the people who are tasked with overseeing and managing economic transitions offers a vantage point to observe how emotions are involved in exploiting the friction of globalisation. This does not discount the far more violent effects of this on other groups, particularly production workers, but I want to suggest that attention to managers' emotional labour is important to a holistic understanding of these phenomena. As our conversation continued, I asked Mrs Xu about the experience of interacting with her new colleagues when she moved to Shenzhen:

In fact, in reality, Hong Kong staff take the higher-ranking positions. As for our company, it trusts Hong Kong staff and does not want to risk giving important positions to mainland staff, because mainland staff are more entrepreneurial whilst Hong Kong staff are happier to be where they are. The company is afraid that mainland staff will go start up their own company after gaining some experience here. Another reason is that they often make mistakes. We often need to purchase supplies; if it is done by mainland staff, lots of them will take advantage of the task and make themselves some extra money. It has

never stopped happening… Ah, slowly, it's changing... But in fact, the leading positions are still appointed to Hong Kongers. My company is relatively big, on a bigger scale. A company like my brother-in-law's [Mr Yu's] is not as big as ours. So the boss could manage staff by himself. So he would like to appoint mainland staff. He can manage them well. But our boss, he does not want to take the risk on staff, so he would rather appoint Hong Kongers.

Mrs Xu's statement highlights family and ethnic affiliation as a particular emotional, political and economic actor in the daily tasks required for capital to take advantage of the border. These uniquely skilled actors, embodied by Mr Yu and Mrs Xu, must calculate their role in each round of spatial reproduction, assessing their economic and personal futures, their agency and their emotional flexibility. As noted by Mrs Xu, they must assess how to simultaneously remain economic and familial actors, earn an income and prove their loyalty to their intimate partner and children along with their employer. Such decisions and actions are emotionally laborious, as practitioners must weigh up the outcome of the contradictions spelt out in Harvey's analysis of the spatial fix (2001): *Where will capital leave to next? How long will it stay there, and how will my emotional, economic and reproductive investments fare in these inevitable changes?*

5.2 Fortune seekers

Let's trace the changes in Shenzhen people's identities over the past 30 years. In 1983 Shenzhen promulgated the Regulation on Temporary Residence in the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone. After that, temporary residence became a standard way of life for residents. In the following 20 or so years, almost all migrants had the same realization: the most important thing to do after entering Shenzhen was to apply for a temporary residence permit. When things turned for the better and incomes rose, the most important thing to do was to obtain permanent residency and a Shenzhen ID card. (Yisi 2012:193)

There are similarities in the context of Shenzhen between the phantasmagoria of the migrant's arrival, the new subject formed out of the intimate event and the transition from agrarian to industrial city. In each, there is an act of transmutation, a reproduction of the "object of desire" with clear inheritances from the old and aspects of the new. That leaves invisible borders of "tradition," be they in the form of gendered "ethnic" narratives or "ethnically" styled buildings (O'Donnell 2006, 2001). The departure of Xin'an in ancient times ultimately led to the arrival of Hong Kong and Shenzhen. However, arrival is always temporary. Borders, understood as a genre of feeling rules, make arrival possible; they hold genres of things together, often using violence until their genre-form changes (see Chapter 1). The story of the dismantling of Shenzhen's border with the rest of China –

both materially and in state narratives – aims to use "tradition" to cover for feelings left over from past acts of violence (O'Donnell 2001).

Shortly after its transformation into a Special Economic Zone, a fence was erected with six checkpoints to physically insulate the laboratory of Shenzhen from the rest of the PRC. This fence is known colloquially as the "second line," with the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border representing the "first line." The fence ran roughly along the ridge of the mountain range that rises to the north of what is now Futian district, meeting the water to the west near where our interview was taking place. Within this laboratory, those in power hoped to quarantine the feeling rules of "capitalism." The quarantining of feeling rules is problematic: Ken (Chapter 1) struggles to turn his mind to work when he leaves his daughter in Shenzhen on Monday mornings and heads for Hong Kong. George and Evelin (Chapter 3) worry about what kind of feeling rules they will be able to impart to their children. And here, Mr Yu worries that the profession that brought him much wealth will not exist for the next generation, at least not for his children.

Their anxieties represent a hidden counter-topography of subtle violences that make up this dissertation. Sitting on the balcony that Sunday morning, I asked Mrs Xu what immigration documentation they used when they first came to Shenzhen. Her employer provided them with work permits, but they crossed the border with their Home Return Permits from the China Travel Service in Hong Kong. Mrs Yu then interrupted to explain how graduated sovereignty was enforced in the new zone:

> …Many people needed to go around with temporary residency cards. They were checked on the side of the road. Here, where we are today, is Bao'an district; [back] then there were many restricted areas. People who travelled without temporary residency cards would be caught, because at that time it was called a special zone. There was a gate over there (*pointing*). If you arrived from the mainland, you have to have the special zone pass. People who come here, inside the gate, needed a special zone pass… LoWu was a border. Here [in Bao'an] was a military border. So they have a military border card. Here was the inner gate; over there (pointing) was outside the gate. Bao'an is outside of the gate. Shenzhen city is inside of the gate.

Mrs Yu explained that because large areas around the second line were controlled by the military, two types of passes were needed. One pass allowed people to travel through and reside in the Special Economic Zone (Shenzhen Special Zone Card), and the other was a "military border pass"[149] used to enter the restricted military frontier areas. Reports of fake cards were common, and in general the system could be described as flexible. Shenzhen municipality gradually annexed the rest of Bao'an County, leading to the current municipal borders. From 2001, second-line border checks were phased out, and by 2014 they were in the process of removing the last abandoned inspection buildings

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[149] There are two translations of the term Mrs Yu uses (边防证). Literally the translation is "military pass," but it could also be translated as "frontier pass." I revisit this military control in Chapter 6.

to improve traffic flow. Mrs Yu, who had dipped into and out of our conversation as she was preparing lunch, continued:

Mrs Yu: The public safety was bad at that time. Robberies, murders happened quite often. We were terrified every time we went out. Because the whole situation was bad in China, people did not have jobs. Criminals came here. Many adventurers came here [seeking their fortune]. They did not have money. They robbed.

Jonathan: When do you think the security situation improved?

Mrs Yu: Should be roughly around 2000.

Mrs Yu was expressing a complex sympathy for these adventures; the deliberate irony of her statement has been lost in its transcription. In the spur of the moment, her statement was interpreted as "fortune-seekers." The group was trying to make sure I was aware that they were all seeking fortune, some with papers and some without:

Mrs Xu: …At that time, our colleagues, they took public minivans to work. They often saw people on the bus robbing others. They did not dare to speak out. I had seen the thieves. But I was afraid to speak out.

Jonathan: Why?

Mrs Xu: They are fierce. Thieves were fiercer than the public. Because we heard the news often saying that thieves would hurt people. We were all afraid of them. They hurt people, also because they worked in groups. One was stealing, the others were protecting him…

Mrs Xu: At that time, pocket lifting and things like this, police would see as small cases.

Mrs Yu: Murder cases were often seen that way as well. You often saw… umm… a landlord who went to collect rent was robbed, then killed by the tenants. At the back of the hill [near the second line], there were often people being robbed. Really, it happened really often…

Mrs Xu: It was such a big city with lots of population from outside.

Again we hear a narrative of outsiders and orderly arrival, similar to the secretary for security's comments in Chapter 4 about one-way permit holders. This family, and others in my archive, described Shenzhen in the '80s and '90s as simultaneously a place of lawlessness and a place of opportunity. They highlighted the complexity of Shenzhen as a place of arrival, dreaming and optimism, captured in the slogan "You are a Shenzhener once you come here" that I will address in the following chapter. Like George and Evelin (Chapter 3), their compendium of feeling rules about the borders between themselves and Hong Kong and Shenzhen are temporal. These rules are subject to change over time, and they are necessary to perform the emotional labour that maintains and repairs cross-border enterprises and families.

In their conversation, this group blended the flow of commodities, their emotions and public security. They weaved together for me explanations of the improvement in the quality of the goods manufactured in Shenzhen, their employees' wages, crime rates and public security. After 2000, they suggested, as the zone's physical borders were coming down, the zone's electronic manufacturing turned; Shenzhen still could not compete in quality with foreign-made electronics, but over time Chinese products "became usable." More importantly, their employees began to be able to afford what they had a part in making. These expert border practitioners produce an understanding of the changing security situation not as the result of a specific government strategy, but as the result of "certain expansionary patterns of global flows of commodities, capital, and people" (Harvey 2001:29).

5.2.1 Enchanted objects

> Picture a world where wondrous events compete with acts of cruelty and violence, where magical gestures occasionally displace instrumental reason… Enchantment consists of a mixed bodily state of joy and disturbance, a transitory sensuous condition dense and intense enough to stop you in your tracks and toss you onto new terrain and to move you from the actual world to its virtual possibilities. (Bennett 2001:111)

Arrival is enchanted with fear and possibility, as Jane Bennett explains in the above quote. One can easily be enchanted by "city as construction" and activity. Enchantment is a form of optimistic relation, an encounter with something you "are not fully prepared to engage" that leaves you with a bitter taste in your mouth (Bennett 2001:5). Affective citizenship, the sense of belonging to a community, is enchanting; but as I have addressed above, citizenship is also material, ascriptive and biological. The border as a fence and control point is simultaneously affective and material: affective in how we understand order and safety, and material in its regulation of the things we carry.

Within my archive of images taken at the border during fieldwork is a collection of photographs of "random" unusual things I observed people carrying across the border: steaming takeaway meals, a baby's bath, a water heater, and speciality desserts (my contribution). My interview grid contained a question about what practitioners carried across the border and why. Responses showed that the border is not only a site of complex, flexible spatial fixes for far-off hidden assemblages of transnational capital. It also offers opportunities for minor daily strategies, such as picking up cheaper and more trustworthy medicines for your parents; or stopping at Sheng Shui to collect two tins of infant milk powder (the daily limit in 2014), moving them through the border and pocketing enough cash from the trader on the other side to cover your ticket back home from work or school.

Mobility, then, not only acts on bodies and human-to-human relations, but also acts on commodities, non-human animals and treasures (Smart and Smart 2012). Embodied histories of the border argue that it was never truly "closed," and that flows of things and people have always travelled between the two cities (O'Donnell 2001; Chapter 6). What changes is the friction and "value step" (Heyman 2004) applied to each object and body. When sovereignty is graduated, the cross-border value step of each body and commodity is a unique proposition. The actions of Shuike (parallel traders) moving commodities and factory owners moving cash both represent particular muddling of value that relies on ethnic and intimate relations to repair the failures of enterprise and state regimes, making the most of the border's frictions.

On this Sunday morning, as a string of dialogue started to get knotty beyond repair, I attempted to bring the conversation back to the material world by asking the group, whose working life has involved the border, what they used to bring across the border with them "back then." I struck a chord; everyone responded at once, speaking over each other. Mr and Mrs Yu explained how in the '90s, they would ask their foreign clients to bring electronic appliances, particularly microwaves, with them as they were so valuable. At that time there was no need for infant milk powder, now the dominant symbolic cross-border commodity; Mrs Yu noted, "They had not reached that level of consumption." Also, as holders of Home Return Permits (and therefore "foreigners"), they were subject to different rules, a reminder that ascribed identity does not stop at the body, but can affect the goods one carries. While offices no longer differentiate between overseas Chinese and Home Return Permit Holders (but do take into account a traveller's race, I believe), the enforcement of object mobility remains fragmented and messy. Moving goods across the border is a productive friction of the border that can provide fortune to those able to act strategically; Mrs Xu explained that until 2000, they could purchase goods such as cigarettes in Hong Kong and sell them to their mainland colleagues for a decent profit.

However, as a working person, Mrs Xu did not have time to take advantage of this value step. She reminded me that during those years, many others in Hong Kong went to Shenzhen to buy daily necessities. However, this no longer happens; "the gap was huge before," but now the difference is small, she said. Instead, Shenzhen residents come to buy groceries and other daily necessities in Hong Kong out of a combination of fear and price advantage. In late 2014, a practitioner who was involved in a Shuike enterprise noted to me that a tipping point had been reached. The price of seasonal basic green vegetables (*liu cai*), which had until then always been cheaper in Shenzhen, had become the same in both cities. At the time, this practitioner specialised in moving dietary supplements and other medicines across the border in her large handbag. However, shortly after we spoke, she started moving children's products across the border, working with a business partner who had access to a car and was able to subcontract the movement of goods across the border to others.[150] Without a child of my own, I was puzzled as to why a

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[150] She has since closed this business and moved into another industry. Multiple practitioners I interviewed were involved in some way with the cross-border hand-carrying "parallel goods trade."

customer would pay a premium and place greater trust in a good carried by a stranger over the border, rather than buying a similar, often identical item in a local shop. That Sunday, Mrs Xu shared my intrigue:

> Regarding the milk powder, one of the reasons is that mainlanders pay a lot of attention to the raising of a child, more than Hong Kongers. You see our staff. Their salary is around three to four thousand [RMB] a month, but they often ask Hong Kongers to buy milk powder for them. A tin of it costs more than 200 kuai [RMB], even more than 200 kuai – how much they have to spend on kids' food? But they are willing to do it. Yes, they are all willing to do it.

Recalling a seminar presentation by Yuk Wah Chan a few months earlier at the Chinese University of Hong Kong's Department of Anthropology, I repeated Chan's suggestion that milk powder represented an "enchanted" commodity, one that had value beyond simply nutrition. They responded:

Mrs Xu: Yep, it is like that. They see it as like… For example, we treat others to meals. If they know it is imported, they would enjoy it more.

Mr Yu: They would enjoy it more; they trust the food regulations overseas. It is better than the mainland.

I now view Mrs Xu's comments and the response to my questions from those involved in parallel trading as a low theory that synthesises optimism and enchantment to produce feeling rules in order to cope with life's work in the city without ground. As Mrs Xu noted, paying both financially and emotionally (by asking people in higher positions in the workplace) for imported milk powder, is linked to feeling rules about caring for your child. Sau Wa Mak (2016) points out that infant feeding is part of an emotional relation of care in a precarious "risk society." In Hong Kong families, Mak proposes, mothers are seen as "risk managers" for their (often only) child, and formula companies are only too keen to stress the possible edge their particular milk product will give a child; breastfeeding, as a non-exchange commodity, is unable to fund an alternative media narrative.[151]

The reason for the disenchantment with mainland infant formula stems from the melanin crisis in 2008, which saw 290,000 people in Mainland China, most of them infants, poisoned by mainland processed milk (Xiu and Klein 2010). The uncertainty and fear generated by pollution and tainted food are part of the daily emotional labour of remaining optimistic for those living in Mainland China – it is a form of *disorder* that is felt emotionally. It produces similar emotions to Mrs Xu's descriptions of her feelings about the criminality of the 1990s and early 2000s above. This fear has spread to other products, particularly diapers, infant bottles and toys, but border practitioners also report bringing basic foods, such as rice, from Hong Kong for their families. For parents, caring

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[151] On public transport in Shenzhen and Hong Kong, the number of billboards advertising milk-based supplements for either children or the elderly is overwhelming.

for your child is a strong, thick *fix* in an environment of uncertainty and flexibility. While Ken's infant daughter (Chapter 1) lives with his mother-in-law in Shenzhen, she drinks Hong Kong formula and often eats imported food, brought to her each Friday evening by her father.

In early 2013, the intermingling of regimes of state, family and enterprise embodied in a can of milk powder came to a head: a social media movement argued that the flow of milk powder from Hong Kong into China was denying Hong Kong children sustenance (Mak 2016).[152] There were short-term shortages in this commodity, seen as critical to the reproduction of the family regime. The Hong Kong government responded with the introduction of export restrictions for infant milk powder carried by individual travellers at its borders with Shenzhen, which remain in place today. Infant formula rests on a volcano of feeling rules around gender roles, biological necessities and intergenerational relations, as access to infant formula allows grandparents to take over complete care of the infant.

The state's response to the flow of enchanted objects, infant milk powder and other consumable goods *felt* to be safer speaks to the emotional labour of living under the mantra of "Time is money, efficiency is life." How does one address the possibility of inefficiency or failure? How does one stay enchanted with modernity and development when feeling the cost of that development on the many days when the air is so thick with pollution, you can feel modernity in your nostrils? Fortune inherited or acquired through leveraging productive border friction offers a solution in the form of imported formula, a high-end indoor air filtration system or a retreat to North America, Europe or Australia to wait out pregnancy and childhood. These strategies each again allow for further productive frictions, risks and rewards.

These frictions also offer small gaps of opportunity to make a few extra dollars from the empty space in your handbag. They remind practitioners that borders are built from particular genres of encounter. Like the interaction between Evelin, waving her Hong Kong ID card, and the Health Department official (Chapter 3), transporting goods across the boundary is interactive. The state seeks to instil a feeling of security in the population by controlling the flow of information, regulating speech and public space, but it is powerless to inspect or control all the goods that cross the border. Maybe the upper levels of the Communist Party are the enchanted ungrounded ones, other practitioners have joked with me.

Mr Yu piped up, directing the conversation back to his complex admiration for the city's larger-than-life product, the iPhone, and its factory. It "scratches" his heart, he tells me, to see Apple make so much money from, as he puts it, "fucking up" the Chinese customs by releasing the iPhone earlier in Hong Kong than Shenzhen, thus creating a lucrative smuggling market and circumventing attempts to tax it as a luxury good.[153]

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[152] http://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/article/1224100/new-measures-ensure-milk-supply-hong-kong-mothers (accessed August 2016).

[153] In September 2014, the iPhone 6 was released one week earlier in Hong Kong and the United States than in Shenzhen and the rest of Mainland China, creating an even more lucrative smuggling business opportunity than the normal price difference due to additional taxes on Apple products in Mainland China.

Many practitioners in this dissertation participated in this trade to varying degrees. I have witnessed people emptying suitcases full of iPhones onto customs counters; I have also heard reports of corruption within the control points. If you were caught with one phone, you could pass freely if you simply opened the package, the phone being deemed for personal use. You could also simply turn around and head back without penalty, or you could pay the appropriate duty. The flow of iPhones is punctuated – but not controlled – by the border and used strategically by all three regimes.

Mr Yu had become agitated by this point: "Apple fucks up the national customs system. It makes the customs staff busy with checking the phones." In the same tone, he said that domestic milk powder factories cannot produce enough milk powder to meet the current demand, so the debate about imports from overseas acts as a diversion. The failure is really the responsibility of the coalition between the milk manufacturers and the state. But, he said, thanks to the border trade, everyone is still getting paid. The border, then, in Mr Yu's low theory is a way of deflecting and mediating the population's access to secure products. For emphasis, he quipped, "For example, the red wine Lafite, how many bottles can they produce every year? Can everyone in the mainland afford to drink it?"

Hong Kong may act as a reservoir of authentic goods for those who can afford them, just as it acted as the reservoir of feeling rules Yuan Geng and his peers drew on to develop their interpretation of the logics of neoliberalism. Fake aspirational products such as limited-edition French wine enable those behind the "line" to experience some of the enchantment of modernity, feelings of aspiration and optimism. Borders, Mr Yu might say, are allowing the state to have its cake and eat it too, hiding the population from the physical limits to their consumption. There is not enough milk behind the line for every baby to have top-quality formula, nor is there enough affordable limited-edition French wine. However, when such enchanted aspirational products exist over there, the limits are not the state's fault, but the responsibility of enterprise or family regimes.

Acts of flexibility and optimism within the city without ground allow us the capacity to wonder and to use emotional skills or financial capital to overcome the limits of ascription. Just as Mrs Yu has quiet respect for those seeking fortune in the opening days of Shenzhen, to "claim that the capacity to wonder is restricted to the rich, learned or leisured" is false (Bennett 2001:10). There is value, Jane Bennett proposes, in naïve optimism. Enchantment "is an uneasy combination of artifice and spontaneity," and "embedded within the charge of optimism is a rejection, on moral grounds, of the idea of a designed universe" (10).

5.3 Feeling the friction of globalisation

> Beneath the difference between physical and emotional labour there lies a
> similarity in the possible cost of doing the work: the worker can become
> estranged or alienated from an aspect of self – either the body or the margins
> of the soul – that is used to do the work. The factory boy's arm functioned
> like a piece of machinery used to produce wallpaper. His employer regarded
> that arm as an instrument, claimed control over its speed and motions. In this
> situation, what was the relation between the boy's arm and his mind? Was his
> arm in any meaningful way his *own*? (Hochschild 1983:7, emphasis in original)

How do we feel the friction of borders? When and how does emotional labour become
exploitative? It is not the emotional labour or friction itself that is exploitative, but the
system of amelioration – accounting and compensating us for our labour – which causes
the alienation Hochschild proposes. Like others I spoke with, members of this family
have conducted their life's work in relation to disparate sets of immigration departments
as they moved from pre-Mao China to Indonesia, then to Fujian, then to Hong Kong and
Shenzhen. With each move, they have had to consider the interplay between flexibility
and fixture. When his factory moved to Shenzhen, Mr Yu still took the long journey back
to Hong Kong each day to show loyalty to his family. Today, he must analyse the weight
of his factory's machines and balance that with the emotional bond he may have with
his employees in Shenzhen. Mrs Xu says her enterprise prefers Hong Kong managers
because they are accountable in an emotional and affective way to the Hong Kong entity;
like children or lovers, they are imagined as having affective obligations to the enterprise,
unlike the young workers in the purchasing department, who are acting in their own
interests without affective obligation to the enterprise. However, what is the enterprise's
obligation to *her*? How should we address how Mr Yu and Mrs Xu construct the relations
between regimes of family, state and enterprise?

Each border practitioner has his or her own personal theory of accounting for the
future in light of their past in the city without ground. Some are cribbed from dominant
political-economic narratives; others are more nuanced or opaque. When asked, "Where
are you from?", Mrs Xu says she is from Hong Kong, as it gives her specific advantages.
She has watched the economy of Shenzhen transform around her. She reminded me that
she is still healthy and happy: her work has supported her family and satisfied her personal
emotional needs, but like Mr Yu, she is reaching another turning point in her life's work
where she needs to consider a life beyond work. In response to a question about comfort
in Shenzhen, she told me:

> It looks like I am used to life on the mainland… Umm, I have spent a long time
> in the mainland. You mentioned returning to Hong Kong. The benefit would
> be "order"… But after ten years, we started thinking about buying houses here.

I had never thought of it before. In the past, we thought only to make money here, then we would go back. Definitely, we would to go back to Hong Kong. Now I do not have this thought.

I had reached my last question for her: where will she retire, Shenzhen or Hong Kong? She replied, "Probably Shenzhen," as she has been away so long and lost contact with much of her network in Hong Kong. "I feel more at home here in China. I care more about China than Hong Kong now," she explained.

Intimacy is both topological and topographical. As Mr Yu would soon mention, historical mobility in China has meant that even those who have been in Shenzhen for many generations must travel thousands of kilometres to burn incense and express devotion to their ancestors. Mrs Xu's emotional obligations span the border. She has been flexible; she has shown dedication and commitment to her employer. She understands that flexibility carries with it costs, particularly for intimate relations that are not that flexible. I want to emphasise that *flexibility*, as Ong frames it, works both ways (1999:5). Both the citizen and the state can and do act strategically. However, they both act with imperfect knowledge and uncertainty, as Henry's uncle attested, reflecting on the moving of his factory to India. The emotional labour of this subjective, strategic process, of using your past experiences to project your future self, is the inherent contradiction of life's work.

The spatial fix, working across scale, binds economic relations only temporarily before they break up and need to be reproduced again. Many would conceptualise Shenzhen and Hong Kong as two strategic, bureaucratic, ideological formations with complex and intertwined genealogies that work flexibly with the *state, capital* (often represented by the same human body) and *social relations* to push forward a regime of accumulation (Smart and Lee 2009). This terrain, with its multiple border regimes, is structured by design to allow for the operation of parallel regimes of identity, forms of graduated sovereignty that permit the strategic use of ideology to enable flexible accumulation. We can trace this logic through each iteration of "zone": from the colonial enclaves of the Opium Wars to low-cost manufacturing zone, to Qing Hai as financial services zone. However, the success of each iteration has been contingent on particular groups of border practitioners' *flexibility*. The costs and benefits of flexibility are filtered through the *feeling rules* life's work has bestowed on the participant.

However, at this point, Mr and Mrs Yu's daughter, son-in-law and granddaughter had arrived. People started moving out of the conversation, lunch was about to be served, and we took this moment as the appropriate cue to leave. Genealogical space, in its symbolic, economic and material dimensions (see Chapter 1), is not the expectation that things will remain the same, but that each generation will produce their own understanding, their own language, while others will fade away. However, until past generations fade from memory, while they are still deliberately maintained or repaired, they remain a site of emotional labour, a dreamy *intergenerational border-friction* that separates a disordered past from an ordered future. To this friction, I now turn.

6 You are a Shenzhener once you come here

Figure 20. "You are a Shenzhener once you come here," subway billboard (2014).

> Dreaming is the power of spirit, the most powerful driving force that mankind possesses. Dreams are certainly not exclusive to Americans. Shenzheners also have their own Shenzhen Dream. (Yisi 2012:189)[154]

The last of the *Top Ten Concepts of Shenzhen*, closing off the volume and celebrations, is the concept "You are a Shenzhener once you come here."[155] On subway billboards, this text is accompanied by a heterosexual couple, the man holding a tightly wrapped newborn (Fig. 20). This statement of acceptance is a powerful message to place in subway stations across a metropolis where the vast majority of the population was born elsewhere. In the volume celebrating the top ten concepts and in many of my conversations, the "Shenzhen Dream" or the "Chinese Dream"[156] were described as descendents of the "American Dream." The 2010 commemorative book describes Shenzhen "as the Chinese city most like the United States, Shenzhen is deemed by all as a place where one can realize his or her glory and dream. When someone arrives in the city, carrying few belongings but a host of dream [*sic*], he says to himself: 'Shenzhen, I have finally come'" (Yisi 2012:190).

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[154] From the section titled "Being Open and Inclusive to Build a Better Home Together" in the volume *Top ten concepts of Shenzhen,* edited by Jingsheng Wang, first published in Chinese in 2010. I rely on a 2012 official English translation in my analysis.

[155] Literally, it could be translated as "Arrive, become a Shenzhen person"; some of the nuance I feel is lost in the official translation.

[156] The "Chinese Dream" is both a colloquialism and a specific set of state policy and propaganda aimed at defining the policy position during President Xi Jinping's period in office.

In this chapter, I will make clear the ways in which this statement, like versions of the meritocratic dream elsewhere, represents a tension between grounded truths and phantasmagorical embellishments. The Shenzhen Dream, much like the American Dream, represents a technique of social control. I juxtapose the above paragraph with Berlant's statement "that the irony of the labour of reproducing life in the contemporary world is also the activity of being worn out by it." This wearing out "has specific implications for thinking about the ordinariness of suffering, the violence of normativity, and the 'technology of patience' of lag that enables a concept of the later to suspend questions of the cruelty of the now" (Berlant 2010:222).

First using a single family historically divided by the border, I will explore the dream as a method of spatial control using the genealogy of the terrain of Hong Kong and Shenzhen, tracing its transformation from a landscape of military surveillance in the 1970s, where vicious guard dogs chased down those seeking a better life in Hong Kong, to the present, where a father who snuck across the border as a teenager feels that the best future for himself and his daughters is back in the town he once fled. I retell this family story of a brother and sister who tried to travel together clandestinely to Hong Kong in the late 1970s: one made it and recalled the experience of arrival and return, while the other stayed behind and married a fellow failed refugee, making a successful life and new familial branch in Shenzhen.

The dream of becoming a Shenzhener or Hong Konger is also a form of intergenerational encounter. To understand this, I juxtapose this brother and sisters' comments with those from Henry, who was present on the October morning that makes up the previous chapter. Using the context of his family's experience, we work together during our co-constructed conversation to understand the role of memory in the transmutation of feeling rules. From my position as a sensory apprentice, these three conversations stand out for the way they can be seen as a form of private effort to transfer feeling rules onto the next generation. All three conversations continue my counter-topography, a thick description of a particular location at a particular moment in the history of globalisation (Katz 2001).

6.1 Escape to Hong Kong

> The "reached base" policy has become a tragic charade in which the illegal immigrant had little to lose and everything to gain by attempting to run the gauntlet of Chinese and Hong Kong forces, and even if caught has every incentive to try again. The Chinese accuse us, with some justification, of applying a policy which positively encourages illegal immigration. If this movement is to stop, the potential illegal immigrant in the commune must be made to realize that even if he gets through the security cordons, he would not have reached base

and safety, but like an illegal immigrant anywhere in the world will be constantly liable to arrest and return. We propose that this should be the case for anyone who arrives as from tonight. (Sir Maclehose, Governor of Hong Kong, to the Hong Kong Legislative Council, 23 October 1980)[157]

On 23 October 1980, the Governor of Hong Kong made the above statement, after first speaking with his mainland counterparts, with the aim of making repairs in the understanding of the boundary between Hong Kong and Shenzhen. From that day, refugees from Mainland China had three days to register their presence with the Hong Kong authorities, as from that point onwards, all who arrived or had not registered would be quickly deported. Since 1974, refugees who had made it through the "exclusion zone," a band of military police-controlled land adjacent to the border that is still restricted today, could seek protection, having "touched base" (Chan 2004:12).[158] While previously crossing the border without documents had been "illegal," most arrivals were either not caught or were able to regularise their arrival with the immigration department. The legislative council of Hong Kong, appointed by the British government, passed the new immigration bill in a single day. Across the river, Yuan Geng was preparing to implement the logics of "Time is money, efficiency is life" (Chapter 5). With this policy change, the British colonial government, in concert with mainland authorities, was transforming the border from one between two ideological spaces into a pause in the global mobility regime – making un-ascribed mobile subjects fleeing the PRC, in the governor's language, "like an illegal immigrant anywhere in the world."

My counter-topography of this historical moment radiates, like the one in the previous chapter, from a sunny Sunday in a family's apartment. This apartment is a fraction of the grandeur of Mr and Mrs Yu's penthouse. It is a middle-storey two-bedroom apartment in a free-standing building, some 20 storeys high, built as an infill project 20 minutes north of the LoWu checkpoint and surrounded by "handshake buildings" – neighbourhoods built haphazardly following the street layout of the original villages that became part of Shenzhen to house the influx of migrant workers arriving from the 1980s. These vernacular constructions are called "handshake buildings" colloquially because they are built so close together that you could shake your neighbour's hand through the window, even on the top floor.

Present that morning were: Mr and Mrs Lin (in their late fifties), their two daughters, their son-in-law, Angelica as interpreter, and myself, along with the family's small poodle. A close friend of the family and Mr Lin's business associate, described as an uncle but of no biological connection, arrived partway through our conversation. The couple asked that I not audio record our conversation; they were happy to talk and share their story, but reluctant to be quoted at length. Hence, this recollection is deliberately vague in parts

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[157] http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr80-81/english/lc_sitg/hansard/h801023.pdf (accessed October 2016); also quoted in Chan (2004).
[158] There were further requirements at the time, but ultimate discretion lay with individual British officials (Chan 2004).

and based solely on my notes. My conversations with their daughter and son-in-law had inspired them to investigate further into their parents' past, bringing us together. Our conversation was as much for their children's benefit as mine.

Part of their reluctance to be recorded was that our conversation was taking place during a particular political moment. A critical interlocutor that afternoon was a large flat-screen television playing almost silently in the background. It showed some of the first in-person official media reports of the occupation of the streets in Hong Kong that I will address in Chapter 8. These images were coming after one week of deliberate silence, with only brief opaque statements available from mainland media outlets. That afternoon, the TV addressed the protests directly. The actual protestors were not shown. Rather, reporters stood in front of empty schools, noting the effect of the protests and temporary school closures on primary- and secondary-school students. The way in which power relations, time memory and politics are embodied and troubling in research is exemplified in this sensory event (see Chapter 2). I had been walking among the protesters in Hong Kong the night before, but no one else in the room had any firsthand experience of them. They were relying on state narratives and secondhand information, including from me, to form their opinions, which they clearly had. The room was a site of encounter – across generations, languages and memories.

I opened the conversation by presenting Mr Lin with a gift: a copy of *The Great Escape to Hong Kong: the birth of Chinese reform and opening-up policy* by Chen Bingan (2010) (which is only available in Chinese), explaining that I was here to establish the book's accuracy and ask his opinion of it. The cover of Chen Bingan's book contains a challenging subtitle: "Unfold the real history of the great escape to Hong Kong. Unfold the real cause of the reform and opening-up period." Mr Chen is a writer and journalist living in Shekou, Shenzhen. The quote under his inside-flap biography reads, "If I did not write this history, history would have been left out blank." On the inside title page, he shows a grainy image of the cemetery overlooking the LoWu checkpoint, where he says many failed refugees are buried.

This is the only book-length treatment I have found recording the oral history of people who crossed clandestinely from China into Hong Kong before 1980. Chen Bingan's many years of research led him to believe that around two million people were involved in this great escape, but official figures limit this number to the hundreds of thousands.[159] Mr Lin looked at the book, flipped through the pages and studied the map on the back cover (Fig. 21). Speaking the place names aloud, he attested to the accuracy of the routes the map showed through what is now Shenzhen Municipality to Hong Kong. Mr and Mrs Lin's children had brought me here because separately, both their parents had tried and failed to escape to Hong Kong, while Mrs Lin's brother, Mr Wu – whose story I tell below – was successful, making this a particularly interesting case for this dissertation's discussion of cross-border family politics.

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[159] For an English overview, see http://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1126786/forgotten-stories-huge-escape-hong-kong (accessed September 2016).

偷渡香港路线图
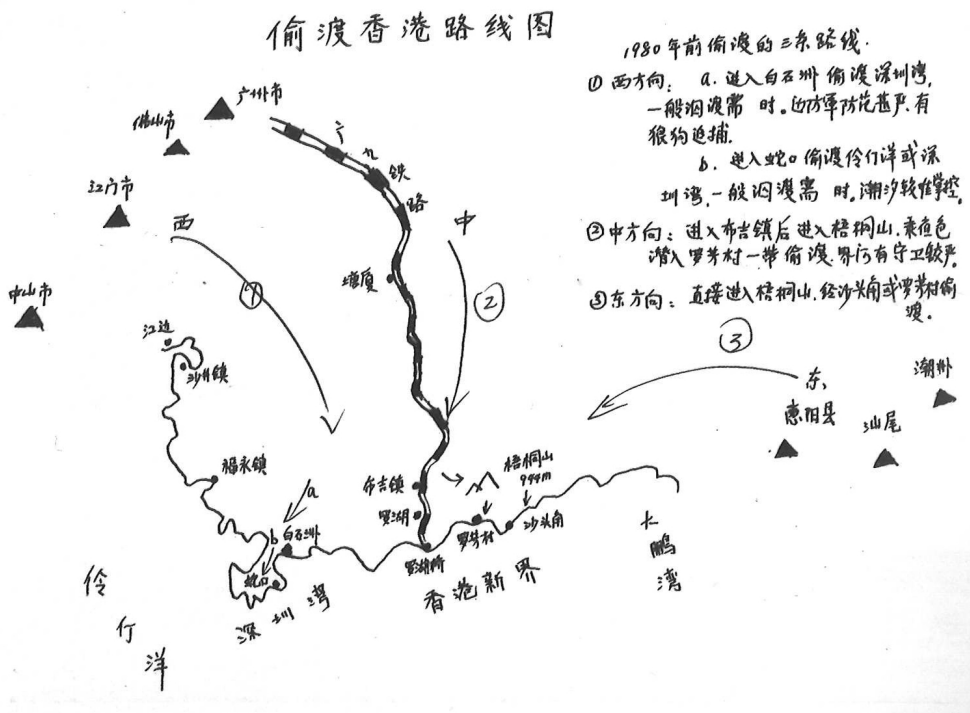
Figure 21. Escape routes to Hong Kong before 1980.[160]

Translation of text from Figure 21:
Three smuggling routes to Hong Kong before 1980

1. Western route: a. Enter via Baishizhou, then smuggle yourself across Shenzhen Bay. Swimming is required. Border security is heavily controlled. Guard dogs in place. b. Enter via Shekou, then smuggle yourself across the Pearl River Channel or Shenzhen Bay. Swimming is required, tide is hard to overcome.

2. The middle route: Enter Buji town, then smuggle yourself across Wutong mountain. At night, smuggle into Luofang village. Security along the river is heavily controlled.

3. Eastern route: Enter directly to Wutong Mountain. Smuggle yourself through to Shataujiao to Luofang Village.

Mrs Lin started her story by explaining to me that she was just a "local person" growing up in Huizhou. She said she left for Hong Kong multiple times; she didn't specify exactly how many. After leaving Huizhou, she recalled walking across flat land, then mountains: "We had a compass, just kept walking south" from Huizhou towards Wutong Mountain,

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[160] Image taken from the back cover of *The Great Escape to Hong Kong: the birth of Chinese reform and opening-up policy*, Chen Bingan, 2010.

where they slept over. Mr Lin interjected that he stayed over at a village. Mrs Lin disagreed, saying there was no village. "It could have been called Lou Fang or something," Mr Lin said, pointing to it on the map, located just inside Hong Kong. Mrs Lin said that he didn't have clear directions and there were many routes, especially once you were in the mountains. I asked if there was a fence; yes, they said, it was made of barbed wire, possibly strung between trees – well, there was wire mesh on posts and trees and sharp wire on top. First there was a road, then Chinese fence, then river, then Hong Kong fence. They both agreed that the fence was not very consistent and that the river in that area was only a few metres wide.

Mrs Lin energetically told a short story about being bitten on her bottom by a Chinese border guard dog, to laughter from her children and references to the family poodle sporting a plastic cone around its neck that day. The incident occurred in what is now Futian, she said. There was no city or town there, just "uncultivated land" that was open, flat and not an ideal route; that's why she got bitten by the dog. I asked which side the dog belonged to, and Mr Lin said, "The Chinese side, of course." Hong Kong was more civilised, he said; they didn't use dogs. "If you crossed during cold weather and got caught, they gave you clothes."

Mr Lin was originally from Zhejiang Province, just south of Shanghai; he was headed to Hong Kong for a better life. He had learned about this possibility through listening to foreign radio broadcast in Mandarin from Taiwan. He had to listen secretly, hiding under a blanket – just a 16-year-old dreaming of a better life. Heading south from his home village in Zhejiang, there were eight barriers before reaching Huizhou, plus the Hong Kong border. He pretended to be a traditional craftsman, painting furniture as he travelled from village to village. In those times, he explained, if you wanted to travel between towns you needed a specific pass for each trip, which made the second-line fence and checkpoint separating the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone unremarkable when it was first constructed. These travel passes, he said, were usually one-offs, hence the benefit of his travelling-painter strategy.

Mrs Lin interjected, saying that I needed to know about the two different types of police: there were undercover police and regular police. Mr Lin confirmed this, explaining, "Undercover police have guns." While we were talking, Mr Lin's friend and business associate had arrived. Although he had stayed on the edge of the discussion thus far, he now entered the conversation to bring up a salient point. He was a military police officer at the time, actively engaged in stopping the likes of his now-friend and business associate. I asked Mrs Lin, "Did you tell your parents?" She replied that she hadn't, but she had tried seven or eight times and knew the road well enough to take other people – not strangers, she said. Her companions were "fellow travellers" and "village friends" from Huizhou; she didn't charge them. They would leave from Huizhou together, travel as far as Fanling where the mountains end, then separate. On one trip, her brother Mr Wu made it past the patrols. They became separated, she said, because the Hong Kong police were using a large searchlight to track them.

"No matter the weather, you had to continue," she explained. The trip took three days. You needed to bring along three kilos of food; the route was one mountain after another. Once, Mr Lin made it to Fanling, past the Hong Kong patrols. Once you made it through the exclusion zone, the procedure was to find a sponsor – a family connection – to apply for a permit on your behalf for you to stay in Hong Kong. Mr Lin's connection wasn't a family member, but an acquaintance of some kind; a "random connection," he said. The process went as follows: arrive in Hong Kong, then have your sponsor apply for a "walk on the street" certificate, which took around a week to process. If you were caught on the street during this week, you would be sent back; after three months, you would get an ID card that allowed you to work. They didn't need to elaborate on the risk of exploitation and slavery present in this arrangement.

Mr Lin wasn't patient and got caught. He was detained in Hong Kong for around a week, then one night he was handed back over the border. He spent 10 days in Longgang detention centre, he explained, pointing to its former location out his apartment window. He then embarked on a long monologue, directed at his children, about a man from Hunan he met at the detention centre. The Hunan people, he explained, would take the train to Guangzhou and then sneak onto trucks taking goods to Hong Kong. The man he met in Longgang detention centre had broken both his legs jumping from a goods train. But, Mr Lin emphasised, even after he recovered, the man still wanted to try for Hong Kong. The punch line addressed to his children was: "It was so bad in China that even a man with stumps for legs would try to walk to Hong Kong."

After his stay in Longgang, Mr Lin was sent to a detention centre in Guangzhou. He waited five months in Guangzhou before being returned to his hometown detention centre. Arriving at his hometown centre, they greeted him, then told him they had nothing to eat and showed him out. It was 1978. He didn't stay there long; Mr Lin's father had a high rank in the Kuomintang (nationalist government) and had been "sent down" to the countryside. There was nothing for him at home; life was strictly controlled, he said. Heading back south in 1979, he wound up in Huizhou. Shenzhen, he said, didn't exist at that time, so he gave up trying to get to Hong Kong. Things were changing; businesses were starting up everywhere. Setting himself up as a trader, he sourced goods using the "public sea" smuggling technique, whereby fishermen would go out to international waters to pick up goods. He would then buy the goods from the fishermen and sell them on. At that time, the government was encouraging people to build factories. I asked where inputs came from and where the goods went; it was all "mixed up," he said.

It was time for dinner – traditional Huizhou food – and a chance for Mr Lin to show off his collection of foreign whisky. He explained, without a hint of irony, that he had brought back this whisky from a recent trip to Hong Kong. We talked about the damage the Cultural Revolution had done to society, then discussed both Mr and Mrs Lin's transformation from dejected escapees to supporters (though not members) of the Communist Party. Over the past 40 years, the party – rather than Mr Lin – has transformed. As the Lins' daughter put it, her mother tried to go to Hong Kong because everyone else was, but

her father tried to leave because his background left him no reason to stay. The party has redeemed and reinvented itself, and now gives them a reason to stay.

After dinner, we returned to the sitting area for more tea and whisky. The television showed a clip of jets bombing Iraq. Mr Lin announced that everyone should hate the United States. He even asked me how to pronounce "America" in English. Americans, he proposed, are like Japan, aggressively trying to take over the world. It was time to leave; his daughter and son-in-law showed us to the bus stop below. Outside, his daughter apologised for her father's outburst, blaming his constant watching of Chinese-made Chinese-Japanese war films for his aggressive opinions. She recalled how as a high school student, she had become interested in Japanese anime and struggled with her father over this.

Our understanding of borders needs to be attuned to these kinds of conflicting imaginaries which exist both vertically, in families between generations, and horizontally, between living rooms in Shenzhen and Hong Kong. Katz, in proposing a method for counter-topographies of globalisation, suggests that the contour lines of topological maps that connect similar elevations provide a strategy for empowering discussions of the impacts of globalisation (2001). Now we will follow the contour line at the base of the mountain range visible from Mr and Mrs Lin's balcony, past the cemetery that, according to the oral historian Chen Bingan, holds the unmarked graves of many who died escaping to Hong Kong and now overlooks the border's busiest checkpoint, to a government-run housing estate within a high-rise factory district of Hong Kong, to find out what exactly they were escaping to.

6.2 Wearing out of the subject

> One makes affective bargains about the costliness of one's attachments, usually unconscious ones, most of which keep one in proximity to the scene of desire or attrition […] one must embark on an analysis of rhetorical indirection as a way of thinking about the strange temporalities of projection into an enabling object that is also disabling. (Berlant 2010:95)

We re-join this family on a night in 1979, when Mrs Lin's brother Mr Wu lost track of his sister and travelling companions and made it out from under the Hong Kong officer's spotlight and through the exclusion zone into Hong Kong. I travelled to Hong Kong to interviewed Mr Wu two weeks after I spoke with his sister. It was early on a Sunday morning, in a bustling McDonald's of a large Hong Kong public housing estate, during a small slice of his valuable free time before he had to rush to his job as a Cantonese cook. He had a generous disposition and was familiar with many faces in the restaurant, proudly pointing out to them that he was speaking with two Ph.D. students. I was accompanied

by a Cantonese-speaking Ph.D. student, as Mr Wu did not speak Mandarin or English fluently, but was able to understand quite a bit of both. Critical to the understanding of what became a three-way dialogue, this student confessed afterwards that she had herself migrated as a preschooler from Mainland China – a fact she was reluctant to disclose, and for this reason she remains anonymous.

Mr Wu started telling his story without prompting, which I paraphrase here. He began his story around 1976, when he was in secondary form one (middle school). At that time, he explained, China was in the midst of the Cultural Revolution. They had categorised people into three categories – landowner, rich farmer, and the proletariat – and he was classified as the proletariat (see Goodman 2014). No, he interrupted my interpreter, he was being categorised in the middle category of the proletariat because his father was working in a government committee. However, this category, Shenfen ("character"), was not high enough to allow him to continue his studies, so instead he began working in the village. The situation was not good: "It was really poor, and all people could think about is coming to Hong Kong." He recalled the whole family having to share a single *wu tao*, a local type of taro root vegetable – "sometimes even only a quarter of one *wu tao* for the whole family."

He became even more eager to escape to Hong Kong after a group of Hong Kong residents visited his neighbourhood. He was adamant they were not smugglers, but that they had some form of ancestral connection to him; he wasn't specific. Upon meeting these Hong Kong people, they told him, "Maybe we can help you; you can just come and find us in Hong Kong." It was around 1979 when he was finally able to take them up on their offer. He was 18, and he went through the mountains because he didn't know how to swim. The expedition took around a week, so they had to carry enough food for the whole week – just rice with some sugar. After he had made it through, he made contact with the men he had met in Huizhou and spent two months with them. After two months, he got a job as a "coolie," a labourer loading and unloading groceries. He explained that it took him a long time to get used to working in Hong Kong. In the beginning, he wasn't treated well. He could only speak the Hakka language, and he couldn't communicate with people – "those really local people" – whom he says controlled the workplace, so he was forced to do every kind of manual work.

After one year, he finally received his temporary Hong Kong identity papers (行街纸) allowing him to return to Huizhou. It was around 1980, the beginning of Shenzhen and the "opening-up policy." This is why he felt OK about going back to China. I asked how his family treated him, recalling that his sister remembers not telling their parents they were leaving. However, he recalled telling them. When he first went back, his parents were still alive, and because life in Huizhou was so underdeveloped, "very poor people are very welcoming," he said. They always expected him to bring something, he said – not just for them individually, but also for the community. He kept in touch with his parents until their death. I asked if people were jealous of him. They were not really "jealous," he said,

but were always trying to approach him for some advantage, because usually he would give them some biscuits or maybe some cigarettes, or he would pay for dinner. People would treat him like a Hong Kong person – "Aha, like a tycoon or something," he smiled.

I asked him what he took back with him; at that time, he said, people were beginning to be able to buy electronics, cassette players and radios. In '83 and '84, he would buy jeans in Hong Kong and bring them back to China. I asked what else he took with him; he mentioned batteries and very early mobile phones, making my interpreter laugh at his description of their size and weight. However, trading these items required a significant amount of capital – around HKD 20,000, he says. These things were not for people like him, but for the "new rich." He described how the police would "charge" the smugglers when they crossed the border. He did not have the capital to pay them, so he risked losing his cargo. In 1986, he began working as a cook in restaurants, and this is what he is still doing today.

When I asked him what crossing the border was like in the 1980s, he explained that he would take the train from Hung Hom through to Shenzhen. Then, in Shenzhen, he would get off and buy another ticket on a different train to Huizhou. A normal journey from Hong Kong to Shenzhen at that time would take two to three hours, and then from Shenzhen to Huizhou it would take at least another three to four hours; he could not remember exactly. He remembered arriving in Huizhou and having to register with the police; he was really considered a Hong Kong person. Hong Kong was a British colony, and you really had to register, my interpreter added. He only registered the first two times, but they were really treated differently from the people who remained in China, he and my interpreter emphasised.

He has two school-aged children, so I asked him what was it like finding his wife and starting a family in Hong Kong. He explained that it was painful at the beginning living in Hong Kong, and he missed the chance to date a Hong Kong girl in the usual way. At that time, he was travelling to China as a trader and visiting family, so he had the chance to meet a woman in China. They got married in 1990. I asked if at that time he ever considered moving back to China. No, he said, because he can apply to bring his new wife to Hong Kong.

How had his experience of Shenzhen changed over the years, I wondered? In the '90s in Shenzhen, he told me, there "was nothing, only a cinema and two or three streets." Over the past two decades, lots of new high-rise buildings have been constructed, and he cannot recognise anything; even his hometown Huizhou feels unfamiliar. I asked what he would think if his children asked to go back to China. "It would be OK; Hong Kong has changed a lot, it is difficult to survive," he said in a tone I was not expecting. When I asked about his own plans, he said that he was also considering moving back to China when he retired.

I asked him what was different now about being young in Hong Kong compared to when he arrived. Back in the 1980s, he said, Hong Kong was not just a trading point, but the "factory for China." The centre of industry was still in Hong Kong, so trading into

China still provided opportunity. Hong Kong had the products, and you took advantage of the difference when you traded them. However, now he felt that China has much better opportunities because the factories have all moved back. What Hong Kong has instead, he said, is experience; China needs this experience, so now going to China is a better option. "You can have a better life in China than Hong Kong now."

At this point, we were delaying him from getting to work, so I raised my final question: "What do you think will happen between Hong Kong and China?"

"In the future, they should combine economically… but the identity difference should remain," he responded. The real problem, he said, is the property prices; "the living condition is really getting worse." Even though the cost of living between Shenzhen and Hong Kong is similar, he said, property prices mean it is really hard to find a good living place in Hong Kong. In the past decade, all the industry has moved to Shenzhen, and that has made economic integration possible, he explained.

"But what about identity?" we asked.

"That's just de facto; we just have a different system of identification."

He needed to leave; my interpreter was getting concerned.[161] Mr Wu, having survived – unlike many others, often those who chose to swim – only stayed one year in Hong Kong before making his way back across the border, a new person and a different type of citizen. In the eyes of his family and his childhood neighbours, his subjectivity had been *repaired* through the process of *becoming* a Hong Konger. Without access to capital, he lamented that he was not able to become rich out of the "opening up" as others had done. Instead, in his aging years, he works hard cooking for others and lives in a government-subsidised flat, only able to joke with two Ph.D. students before work about the time he was treated like a "tycoon."

Mr Wu's case reminds us that arrival – the "foundational event" of migration, to extend Povinelli's work on intimacy (Chapter 4) – is more complicated than a simple linear process of arriving, becoming and staying. At the scale of life's work, arrival can be simultaneously violent and affirming. The "object of desire," as a "cluster of promises" of a rewarding life's work, is complicated not only by the friction of political and economic borders, but also class and linguistic ones (Berlant 2010:93). Citizenship acts as a double-edged object of desire; it presents a form of belonging that is tinged with violence. The temporality of the object and the way it is granted, with very real "opportunity enhancing" functions (Shachar 2009), means that we must prepare to overlook past grievances in order to remain optimistic. The "touch base" policy, which had allowed Mr Wu to "really become a Hong Konger" so quickly, ended in October 1980, coinciding with the formative years of the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone and the negations between Beijing and London over Hong Kong's future.

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[161] This Ph.D. student, who was researching cultural policy in Hong Kong, had just stepped well outside her comfort zone in talking with someone she shared an invisible genealogy with, but struggled to empathise with. She criticised my questions for being two "conceptual" for him to understand; I disagreed, saying that he had experienced things neither of us would. Decades after arriving in Hong Kong, the border for her is still complicated and emotionally laborious.

During the three days after Hong Kong Legislative Council passed the new immigration law in October 1980, thousands of refugees lined up around government offices in Hong Kong to register for identity cards in what amounted to a general amnesty for "Chinese" who had entered Hong Kong clandestinely.[162] After that, the border changed again: those without papers were deported immediately, even if they had been living in Hong Kong for some time (Chan 2004). Also around that time, a fence was being reinforced to separate the new Shenzhen Special Economic Zone from the rest of the PRC. The ending of the "touch base policy", and the opening of Shenzhen Special Economic Zone and its enclosure, were acts of governmentality – policy solutions to problems of control, with the tactical support of the security apparatus and the intention to create a new emotional-political economy. As Mr Lin pointed out, on his return from Zhejiang he no longer felt compelled to try for Hong Kong.

The confluence of connections in this family's story – universals of corporality and hunger, and specificities of constantly changing state policy – means that citizenship needs constant, emotionally laborious maintenance and repair. It requires the sacrificing of present rewards for future ones, the same repair that Evelin and George both discuss, speaking about their children in Chapter 3. However failure is possible, below I juxtapose Mr Wu sacrifice with Henry refusal to accept the feeling rules his mother has passed onto him. As Berlant proposes, writing about the context of the United States, cruel optimism "is an incitement to inhabit and to track the affective attachment to what we call 'the good life,' which is for so many a bad life that wears out the subjects who nonetheless, and at the same time, find their conditions of possibility within it" (2010:97).

The temporal elements of citizenship – negotiations between children, parents and the state – frame my understanding of it. The event of arrival is tempered by the logistics of becoming. The object, as Berlant explains, is cruelly optimistic, predicated on access to a dream and grounded in the context of social reproduction, material biology and genealogy. As Mr Wu explained, by making it through to Hong Kong and "touching base," he was able to return to be treated as a "tycoon." However, without family capital or access to new forms of clandestine activity, Mr Wu took up manual labour, which I believe he finds emotionally rewarding. This is another rendition of the complex friction and emotional labour of translocality; the interrelation between physical and social mobility. What one person perceives as violent and alienating may not be perceived as such by someone else as Henry now explains.

6.2.1 "But they are not like me…"

Because at least for my family, we are very practical. So all of us think Hong Kong passports are much better… But the identity, they never really feel themselves to be Hong Kong people… they always feel as a mainlander. That's reasonable, they

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[162] The amnesty did not apply to the colony's substantial population of Vietnamese refugees.

feel Hong Kong is part of China, so Hong Kong is just one part of China that they lived for like 20 years. Now they move to another part of China, it doesn't change… So it's never having problem. *But they are not like me* because I identify myself only with Hong Kong. I wouldn't say I'm a Chinese, but I identify myself as Hong Kong. But they never have this kind of identity. (Henry)[163]

With every act of reproduction, there is always some loss and there is always some change. I first met Henry, whose mother and uncle's story make up the previous chapter, a few months before I interviewed his family. We met at the annual 4 June 1989 Commemoration Ceremony in Victoria Park on Hong Kong Island. This annual ceremony is a reminder of the complexity of Oakes and Schein's (2006) description of translocal imaginaries in the context of the PRC. The commemoration, held in a park named after an English queen, provides a symbolic stage for territorially ambiguous remembering. Speakers remind the crowd that "This is the only place in China we can do this!" – a political statement made possible by a compromise between two distant powers to ensure the free movement of goods and capital. Border practitioners move back and forwards across a border of memory and forgetting. As Louisa Lam notes in her 2014 book, *The People's Republic of Amnesia*, about the forgetting of events that occurred across the PRC in June 1989 (including Shenzhen), "Chinese people are practiced at not dwelling on the past" (157). However, throughout her extended study, she goes on to emphasise that not publicly remembering is not the same as forgetting.

Families are not public spaces; they offer both laboratories for trying out feeling rules and routes for handing them on across time (Hochschild 2011). In all the cases mentioned above, parents have sought, or seek to impart, particular ways of seeing the world to their children. This is the emotional labour of the intergenerational encounter. In my archive, instances of passing on the feeling rules that place one's child in the best position to address the future can be seen in widespread expectations of parents – usually the mother – to be a "manager" responsible for their child's future (see Kuan 2015).[164] However, Henry, in his twenties, is separating himself from his family. He is coming of age with a double-edged privilege: the passed-down knowledge of the workings and intricacies of flexible accumulation and mobility.

The dynamics of this intergenerational transmutation of feeling rules could be viewed as a geographical encounter at the scale of the city on the night we met. In 2014, two loose factions were forming in what in Hong Kong parliamentary terms is called "Pan-Democrats" – the opposition to dominant pro-Beijing parties and organisations (see Ng 2015:45). This split came to the fore during the 4 June commemorative events of 2014 and continued throughout the street occupations. The friction arose from negotiations over the latest round of the ideological bargain over Hong Kong's identity and the meaning

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[163] Interview conducted in English (vernacular speech maintained), Tsim Sha Tsui, Hong Kong, September 2014.
[164] Kuan's study focuses on the gendered nature of this "manager" role and how it has responded to the "opening-up" process of the last 30 years (see also Goh 2011).

of "Chinese" – an intergenerational negotiation Henry expressed when he noted that his affective citizenship will be "Hong Konger," not "Chinese" like his mother's. On 4 June 2014, a group of people calling themselves "localists" boycotted the Victoria Park event and created their own commemoration event on Tsim Sha Tsui's waterfront, just visible across the harbour. There was double symbolism in this act, as the harbour itself often acts as a social barrier separating property of differing value and high-income and lower-income places of work.[165] The two political agglomerations on either side of the harbour were drawing out Henry's generational challenge to his mother's translocal Chinese imaginary.

Ethnic-linguistic traditions, such as those described by Henry's uncle in Chapter 5, are used by the state to cover for violent histories. They provide shared phantasmagorical contexts that use affective understandings to bring order to chaos and hide political-economic inequalities. As O'Donnell argues, in promoting pre-Communist traditions, the state can offer an alternative for messy histories in Shenzhen to enable economic growth (2001). However, tradition as an alternative to literal histories also denies economic disadvantaged Hong Kong residents – both young people entering the housing and labour market and older people struggling through retirement – cathartic narratives of victimhood. In response, those across the harbour had turned to a global imaginary, an imaginary that puts them at odds with their parents and the state.

Calls by Hong Kong students for international notions of justice and human rights are aimed at securing their generations place in the global mobility regime, not that of the PRC. In the city, the intergenerational encounter is one of many encounters: at the border, for example, or between worker and enterprise. Seeing generational encounters as one of many urban encounters reminds us that generation is contextual; it is between, not within, bodies (Kallio 2014). An act of encounter is not the same as an act of recognition (Valentine 2008a). An encounter does not require that the encountered change their mind, and it may even harden feelings or produce alienating feeling rules (Hochschild 1983; Valentine 2008a). Intergenerational recognition, on the other hand, occurs when this exchange is productive; it implies the "mundane politics where people from different generational positions meet" (Kallio 2014). The material space between those commemorating that evening in Victoria Park and across the harbour in Tsim Sha Tsui signalled an encounter in search of recognition.

I return to my one-to-one conversation with Henry, in a Starbucks jammed into a corner underneath an escalator in Mong Kok, to examine further the tension between encounter and recognition. Henry was waiting to meet his cousin after he finished work nearby and travel with him back to Shenzhen. Our discussion was wide-ranging, but with a focus on his job prospects. At one point, I was trying to work out how interested he was in working in Shenzhen; would he move for economic reasons like his mother? At first he indicated acceptance, but then his views hardened:

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[165] This is also the barrier between Hong Kong's initially ceded and subsequently occupied territory.

I don't want… [a job in Shenzhen]. Exactly, because I went back so often; I know the cultural difference is huge, between Hong Kong and Shenzhen. It is not any my own opinion; it really is a huge difference between them… Because I feel the cultural difference is so huge… You know the *guanxi* in mainland China, that's the most important number-one thing by far in business. In Hong Kong, it's still maybe your capability still come first, networks are still important but at least you can still do, you can, you can, umm, progress by your ability without too much network…[166]

Guanxi is a Mandarin term for a genre of feeling rules that are central to social mobility in the PRC. In the concepts of this dissertation, they represent intimate practices that prioritise genealogy over autology. Moments earlier, Henry had explained how his family was his only regular connection to Shenzhen. He is reflexive as to what these contextual differences are. As we discuss, we agree that over time, interactions and complexities make any strong binary statement about these differences unstable. For Henry, this is a personal decision. He is unencumbered, unmarried and unemployed – unlike the cousin he is waiting to meet this afternoon, who married a mainland resident woman and commutes daily from central Shenzhen to Tsim Sha Tsui. Henry explained to me why his life's work and identity is different from his cousin's:

Not because of work, but, ah, he got an HK ID card but, umm, actually he's a mainland person because he… Most of his education is done in Mainland China, but actually he work[s] in Hong Kong. But his whole family is still in Shenzhen city centre, so every day he can get to go back, go home to Shenzhen city centre and go to Tsim Sha Tsui and go back… Because he lives in the Shenzhen city centre, and also because he is the other way around, because actually it's a big deal to him because his salary [as a business-to-business salesperson] is much higher than in Shenzhen. It's like just working OTs (overtime), see the traffic time as OT. Earn more money for his family.[167]

Around this time (September 2014), I was finally grasping that intergenerational issues and social reproduction were more significant to wellbeing than the physicality of the border, so I put it to him that maybe all this political debate was about interaction between the generations. He paraphrased my mumbling and expressed his theory:

Henry: So basically it's [about] the decision of what their children will be? Actually, in my opinion, also a couple, if they can, they will choose Hong Kong because the education in Hong Kong is obviously easier and better, but in many cases they can't. If one of the

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[166] Interview conducted in English (vernacular speech maintained), Tsim Sha Tsui, Hong Kong, September 2014.
[167] Interview conducted in English (vernacular speech maintained), Tsim Sha Tsui, Hong Kong, September 2014. I was not able to formally interview this cousin, though I met him during the family interview in Chapter 5. I did interview a number of men in similar situations (see Appendix 3).

parents are in Mainland China, they can't stay in Hong Kong for a long term, so that's why they have to go [to school] in Mainland China.

Jonathan: So that's when you end up with people like your uncle, going backwards… forwards…

Henry: Yeah, yeah, yeah, my uncle is like this, and my cousin is like this and my other cousin also. Kind of debating their child's education and they will have to stay in Shenzhen.

Jonathan: Will your cousin's children… will they go to school in Hong Kong?

Henry: No.

Jonathan: They will just go to school in Shenzhen?

Henry: Yeah, yeah, yeah, they can't [go to school in Hong Kong] because it's especially dependent on where the mother is, right, because if the mother is in Shenzhen, they don't want to go to Hong Kong.

Jonathan: Or they could go across every morning like the… [cross-border commuter school children we had discussed moments earlier]

Henry: Yeah, but that's quite bad for the children. Because, you know, how confident are you about the education in Mainland China? If you don't feel it's very bad, then probably you won't take it [Hong Kong education] because that's a huge [deal]. For children who will cross the border every single day for like 12 years. That's a big deal…[168]

As an experienced border practitioner, Henry was summarising the central elements of *cross-border family politics* which structure this dissertation. Prompted by my bumbling interrogation of his genealogical and intimate grid, he described some of the multiplicity of responses to, and the agency and limitations for, families in being across the border. Henry – single, well-educated, with strong family support – should be the model flexible subject. He needs to find a job, but one he likes in a location he can feel comfortable, with a lover amenable to his desired life's work. We can read his words alongside those of Evelin (his age peer), his own mother and uncle, and Mr Wu to get an understanding of the complexity and diversity of the emotional labour involved in physical and social mobility in the context of the border between Hong Kong and Shenzhen.

Translocality, using Oakes and Schein's generous definition, acknowledges the contradictions between the physical and the imaginary (2006) and reminds us that cross-border family politics is a minor politics pressing forward through time in relation to major politics. Family debates about which school system have a significant bearing on the direction the family branch takes in the future. These are unstable and unpredictable futures, certainly, but ones these families nevertheless have agency in approaching. Henry's observation of how each generation constructs their identity continues as he outlined his interpretation of Hong Kong politics, highlighting the fracturing of imaginaries.

I returned to a question I asked towards the end of each interview. "Do you think they will get rid of the border?"

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[168] Interview conducted in English (vernacular speech maintained), Tsim Sha Tsui, Hong Kong, September 2014.

"No, no, at least Hong Kong people will fight by everything to keep the border there. So I think at least not in, like, the future 20 years."

With this, we began to discuss the political tensions over electoral reform currently building in Hong Kong. Returning to the topic of education, Henry expressed doubts that the students proposing to go on strike the following week would succeed. He would pessimistic; it was the mainland students who actually attended class, he said. They wouldn't go on strike, so he "doesn't expect a big difference."

Education is a critical site of the reproduction of borders – or more specifically, the political-economic logics that establish them. It is not a straightforward binary. The border regime's use of education as a pathway to permission to work in Hong Kong, as in the cases of Evelin, Stella and Ken, can be read multiple ways: as de-bordering students, creating migrants familiar with the practices of the city, or bordering classrooms and diluting the university as a site of oppositional politics. Later in our discussion, I asked Henry about his political education. He said it was not part of his education: "You can easily finish Ph.D. without knowing a thing about politics."

"Which is the opposite to the mainland, because from when you are born it's drummed into you," I said.

"However, the politics [there is] very different: Marxist…" he reminded me.

The PRC state was being framed in our discussion as having a particular form of pragmatism. Henry suggested that Hong Kong has a long-standing symbolic position within the imaginary of the PRC state, to such an extent that "at most what they can give Hong Kong is like fake democracy, so that when Chinese people in other province[s] demand it, they can say, like, I will give you the same democracy as Hong Kong…"

There is a tension in the translocal imaginary: while it denies access to the use of ethnicity as a cathartic emotional release, it also binds the two spaces. Hong Kong in 2014 was being used as a spatial mediation between the state, capital and the development of translocal imaginaries. Permitting protests in Hong Kong but controlling their representation in mainland China allowed the state to access genres of feeling rules and memories – in this case, memories of "chaos" as captured in the narratives of Mr Lin and Mr Wu above.

The control of text and images as they cross the border is significant, but as Henry and Mr Wu have pointed out, borders are as much about the mental world an individual inhabits as physical location, therefore we need to add *ideas* to our list of items to be included as regulated by not only the border, but also by family, state and enterprise regimes. In contexts of graduated sovereignty*,* the city is a territorial field of circulating body-zones where each person carries their own legal and discursive imaginary with them. Each person carries their own history, dreaming in their own mental space until an encounter happens to pull those walls down just a little bit.

6.3 Without history

> There are many other people and stories not mentioned here because of space limitations. Shenzhen is not a Garden of Eden or utopia, but a dream factory. Everyone who comes here seeking a dream, despite their background, starts from scratch the moment they enter Shenzhen. (Yisi 2012:189)

In colloquial conversations in Hong Kong, interlocutors might refer to Shenzhen as having no culture, being a cultural wasteland or a "city without history," or as the "generic city."[169] However, as this and the previous chapter have demonstrated, this is far from the truth. Mr Stewart Lockhart, the official tasked with representing the British crown, negotiated with local officials about the boundary as "generally defined on the annexed map" attached to the lease agreement. In 1899, Lockhart argued strongly that the boundary of the leased territory should be drawn to include the market town of Shenzhen and the surrounding plain, because the boundary drawn on the lease's map:

> …[cut] in two the rich valley of which Sham Chun [Shenzhen] is the centre, and while excluding that town, divided the villages in the valley hitherto linked together by family ties and common interests, and at present separated, so far as the river extends, by about 100 feet of a tidal river, and onwards from Sham Chun to Starling Inlet by no boundary whatever. All these villages regard Sham Chun as their central and most important market, where they dispose of their goods and make their purchases, and much difficulty and *friction* would be certain to arise if the villages on one side of the stream or road came under British jurisdiction whilst those on the other remain under Chinese rule. (*The Hong Kong Government Gazette*, 8 April 1899:550, emphasis added)[170]

As Lockhart foretold, a multiplicity of frictions has arisen. The local people, just as he predicted, did not agree with the imposition of British colonial rule. In the opinion of the colonial officials, the local inhabitants could not comprehend the governor's "enlightened" intentions. In the section of his report arguing for the inclusion of Shenzhen in Hong Kong, Lockhart goes on to outline issues of irrigation, smuggling, local authorities and traditional obligations that are eerily reminiscent of the issues prominent today. Lockhart's proposed alternative borderline, which was overruled by the Chinese officials in Guangzhou, ran along "the crest of the hills [behind the village of Sham Chun], is easy of defence, and would help to check smuggling." This is the ridgeline that the "second-

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[169] The terms "city without history" and "generic city" are often attributed to Rem Koolhaas (1998), but I have heard it used in general conversation multiple times.

[170] This account is based on a collection of papers tabled in 1899 in the Hong Kong legislative council that summarise communication between Hong Kong and Beijing; *Dispatches and other papers relating to the extension of the colony of Hong Kong* available via Hong Kong University Library: http://sunzi.lib.hku.hk/hkgro/view/s1899/1610.pdf (accessed December 2016). See also Hase (2008).

line" fence would follow when it separated the Special Economic Zone from the rest of the PRC 81 years later.

The aim of the city without ground, then and now, is to permit trade and accumulation while hiding from view the grounded labour that goes into making these transactions possible. The Chinese and British officials that negotiated the handover of the New Territories in 1899 were mostly concerned with the collection of customs duties and tax revenues. At the ceremony to confirm the transfer of sovereignty, Henry Blake, the British governor, delivered an address that sought to reassure the landowning population that their property rights would be maintained (Hayes 2012). These reassurances, along with the prioritising of the movement of capital and entailment of property, were repeated in the lead-up to Prince Philip sailing out of Victoria Harbour in 1997, and again in September 2014 when thousands of citizens occupied Hong Kong's streets.

Shenzhen and Hong Kong have continuously been reproduced as two bureaucratic-ideological formations with complex and intertwined genealogies that work flexibly between the state, capital – often represented by the same human body – to push forward a regime, and the phantasmagorical dream of accumulation (Smart and Lee 2009). I trace this through each iteration of "zone," from the ceding of Hong Kong Island in 1841 to facilitate trade in opium, to temporary circulations of gendered labour and capital during the low-cost assembly boom, to Qing Hai as post-material "financial services" zone (Chapter 5). The genealogy of Shenzhen and Hong Kong is contingent on an interpretive *flexibility*. This evolution, in Alan Smart's analysis, is "premised on actors 'muddling through,'" rather than with any strategic aim (2008).

The border changed as Shenzhen, and then China, entered the global mobility regime that seeks to prioritise the movement of goods and capital over bodies. Many former refugees moved from Hong Kong to Shenzhen to open factories and rekindle family ties. However, this process was premised on cheap land and the making of "things," as Mr Yu and Mr Wu asserted. Qing Hai is the latest reproduction of the concept of zone; this time, however, it does not seek to "make," but to connect. The cases in this and the previous chapter ask: What opportunities can such zones provide for grounded subjects? Ground, then as now, remains a critical element of social reproduction; it is necessary for intimacy and the branching of new genealogical entities. The border once separated vastly different modes of accumulation: in the PRC, a state-led form of accumulation (communism with Chinese characteristics), and in Hong Kong, a liberal "bare minimum of welfare" colonial mode of governmentality. Today, however, as Mr Wu noted, property prices and access to private space are what matter; they are what have brought him to consider moving back.

Listening to foreign radio broadcasts under his blanket, Mr Lin and many others left out of social mobility sought refuge – and most importantly, optimism – in Hong Kong. Feelings of optimism are critical to the survival and reproduction of states, enterprises and families. To continue to function as a "mediator" between the state and capital, the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border must remain both a place of opportunity and becoming.

The next generation must remain tolerant and resilient in their role as grounded labourers in the city without ground. They must continue to dream that they can truly become a Shenzhener or a Hong Konger once they arrive or come of age. Critical to that dream, an aspect already beyond Henry and Mr Wu's reach, is the ability to buy an apartment, a private space in which to conduct a deeply public act: starting a new branch of the family tree.

7 Topological homes

Figure 22. Protester's tent in Admiralty, Hong Kong (November 2014).

> "Topological home" hence denotes an *inter-subjectively established and mutually shared lived space of the family (whomever it may include), existing particularly to each of its members through subjective engagements* […] the shifting and multiform presence of topological homes can be traced from the relational spatial attachments that people create and cherish in their familial lives. (Kallio 2016:3, emphasis in original)

In this chapter, I use the cases of two families to highlight the friction of living between the discursive spaces of Hong Kong and Shenzhen and its connection to the politics of residential space: the grounded, material space of the discursive genealogical society and cross-border family politics. The home is where one might imagine the "heat" generated by "border frictions" dissipates and border practitioners can find respite from the emotional work of creating the phantasmagoria of frictionless global trade. However, each family member enters the "topological home" with their own positionality (Kallio 2016). Borders such as gender, age and education are constantly present as part of human sociality – a perennial, productive friction that is a site of emotional labour that may be alienating, rewarding or both. When combined with the concept of the family regime and genealogical society, the "topological home" offers a functional method for writing about familial space as thrown together across multiple physical locations, rather than as a single "romantic" site.

Topology offers us a tool to bring subjectivity, which is deeply emotional, into conversation with spatial theory (Secor 2013:436). The theoretical problem at the heart of understanding and representing cross-border family politics, the point I wish to convey through the topological home, is that it offers a flexible site to address how the autological relations of intimacy (Chapter 4) and commerce (Chapter 5) are grounded by the material, economic and topographical spaces of the genealogical society. Just as border practitioners must balance checkpoint opening hours with desires to care both economically and emotionally for children and lovers, our use of topological theory must balance "complex topological imaginations and the banal practices of everyday life" (Kallio 2016:376; see also Martin and Secor 2014).

Topology is usually discussed "more ontologically than empirically" in geography, (Kallio 2016:375) but empirical studies of topological homes provide an opportunity to explore how the symbolic space of the genealogical society interacts with the material by treating the material-located home(s) as resulting from a particular set of historical relations that are handed on through generations and therefore connected through time. In these material spaces, the family regime co-constructs and reproduces itself through encounters between unique individuals. These differences are both the biological imperative and emotional backbone of the family regime. Without differences in gender or generation, new family branches would not be able to form through foundational events out of the "husks" of the old (see Chapter 4).

With each new foundational event, the new subject does not slide neatly into a solid genealogical space. However, as Povinelli explains, the subject navigates as best it can through a topographical map drawn over time by the genealogical society – in the case of the liberal diaspora, a landscape defined by heteronormative and capitalist symbolic structures (2006). Counter-topographical mapping allows us to draw representations of connections between spaces, as Katz points out (2001). Topology offers us the basic insight "that some spatial problems depend not on the exact shapes of the objects involved but on the ways that they are put together, on their continuities and cuts" (Secor 2013:431). Combined, they allow us to investigate and describe the "space" of family life in the city without ground.

7.1 Mobile homes

The mainland should respect and tolerate the capitalism embraced by Hong Kong while upholding its socialist system, and draw on the successful experience of Hong Kong in economic development and social management. Only by respecting and learning from each other can the "two systems" in the "one country" coexist harmoniously and achieve common development. (*The Practice of the "One Country, Two Systems" Policy in the Hong Kong Special*

Administrative Region, Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China 2014)

Eric arrived in Shenzhen from another part of Guangdong with his family as a toddler. He describes himself as an entrepreneur and business consultant, saying, "In the mainland, I am what they call the 'second generation rich.'" Angelica[171] and I were speaking with him on a weekday morning, in a Starbucks in downtown Shenzhen. We were speaking with him particularly because of his two-and-a-half-year-old daughter, who was born in Hong Kong just before the policy changed in 2013 and had started kindergarten in Hong Kong the previous August, four months before we spoke. Eric's daughter represents a complex branch of the family regime. Embodied in this two-and-a-half-year-old, whom we did not meet physically, is a complex web of material, economic and symbolic genealogical spaces. It is also an extreme narrative of the topological nature of home for this young girl and her father – a home that bends time, the border and the city for both of them.

Each Sunday night since August, Eric has packed his daughter's things into her bag in the 300-square-metre home above a luxury shopping mall that they share with Eric's parents in Shenzhen. He then drives her and either his mother-in-law or the family's nanny (from his wife's hometown, she has a long history of working for the family) to the LoWu control point. Parking his car in the garage directly above immigration control, he then escorts them across the border and onto the MTR. They travel for around an hour to one of Hong Kong's eastern districts, where he rents a 40-square-metre apartment, chosen because of its location in a famous school district.[172] His daughter attends class from 11 in the morning to one in the afternoon; as he reminded us, Hong Kong kindergartens work in shifts. He returns early to work on Monday morning, leaving his precious daughter behind. On Friday, she returns from class to the apartment for a meal, then heads back to Shenzhen with her grandmother or nanny.

Sitting with Eric at Starbucks, I reflexively asked, "Does your daughter feel happy going to Hong Kong? Do you know how she feels?" He responded:

> She has just started to have some concept of a Hong Kong and a Shenzhen. She has this concept. We tell her that we are going to our Hong Kong home, but she does not seem to be excited. She feels it is normal.[173]

I went on to ask why they did not travel on Monday morning. His daughter's sleep was not regular at the moment, he said, and they did not want to get stuck in the Monday morning traffic. I asked why he must go as well, but he did not answer directly. I think there is an emotional dimension to his decision to escort them. However, this creates a

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[171] Angelica interpreted our conversation, though Eric was able to engage with me at some points in English and understood many of my questions directly.

[172] 40 square metres is a substantial-sized apartment for only two people by Hong Kong standards. I give these measurements to show the expense of sending their daughter to preschool in Hong Kong.

[173] Interview conducted and transcribed in Mandarin (English translation of transcript), LoWu, Shenzhen, November 2014.

problem: both he and his wife have Shenzhen Hukou and are eligible for an unlimited number of entries, for seven days, to Hong Kong as visitors, but the two women able to care for his daughter during the week – his mother-in-law and the family's nanny – are from a town hundreds of kilometres away and are ineligible for multiple entry permits under the individual visitor's scheme. Thus, after every second entry they must return to their hometown, apply, and wait for a permit to be issued; a particular form of "transgovernmental friction" (Zhang *et al.* 2015) is being applied to this material circulation of care. Once, Eric told us, this finely tuned system broke down, and he had to spend the week with his daughter in Hong Kong. He explained that as an entrepreneur, his time is flexible, but for his wife, working as a lawyer, her time is not.

Circulations of care are at the core of family politics, and borders of gender and age must always be kept in consideration. Transgovernmental friction adds another dimension to family politics: the border creates a type of "throwntogetherness" (Massey 2005), which is deeply grounded in material things like border passes and immaterial topological relations, such as Eric's emotional bond with his daughter. Earlier in our conversation, I had asked why his daughter was going to school in Hong Kong. He explained:

> Just back in 2012 there was a policy that allows "double not" women to give birth in Hong Kong. She [my wife] caught the policy in its last moments. So we went to Hong Kong to give birth, and my daughter was born with Hong Kong identity.[174]

We asked him to explain the procedure, as he was the only person I spoke with who was a true "double not" parent. The others, such as Evelin (Chapter 3), all had family members or another reason to be in Hong Kong when they gave birth.

> I had just got married; I got married in that year. Our family discussed the issue even before we were going to have a child. Actually, except for my wife, the rest of the family opposed it. We saw complications associated with giving birth in Hong Kong occurring after the child was born. Because we have been living here since childhood, I was worried that there would be contradictions between here and Hong Kong. Ultimately, my parents supported our decision regardless of their own feelings [they paid much of the cost], so they agreed with my wife's choice. This is how our family works. I tend to accommodate her ideas more, and that is why I agreed. She booked a bed in Hong Kong and knew an agent through friends. The agent was an insurance broker, but did this work part-time. There is a demand for this sort of work, so he worked part-time providing agency services to pregnant women. We followed the schedule

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[174] Interview conducted and transcribed in Mandarin (English translation of transcript), LoWu, Shenzhen, November 2014.

and went to Hong Kong to do checkups at certain months. This is the whole process. Is there anything that needs to be added?"[175]

We discussed the details; he did not pay the agent directly, but did buy insurance from him. The hospital priced it as a package: "More than 70,000, but we had an operation so that cost was added on. The total was around 100,000 Hong Kong dollars." I asked why his wife was so keen to give birth in Hong Kong despite resistance from both him and his family. At first, he said, she was concerned with the child's upbringing. When I asked if she "feels Hong Kong is better" he replied:

> Sure, it is her view. But from my point of view, she thinks everything is better in Hong Kong… It is an issue associated with where you grew up. She went to school in her hometown, whilst we grew up in Shenzhen. People from her hometown, her relatives know Hong Kong as a developed, rich place. But we who grew up in Shenzhen do not have the same feeling.[176]

His wife's only experience of Hong Kong before she gave birth was from shopping trips and friends who had married Hong Kong people, he explained. At this moment, he was not telling us something critical that he revealed in the final minutes of the interview. When I asked for details of the advantages and disadvantages of his daughter's situation, he brought it up:

Eric: In fact, the thing is. In fact, my father has Hong Kong ID, so what are the advantages? I basically feel there is no advantage to having it… I missed out my only chance; it was before I turned 18. Hong Kong policy allows children of Hong Kong people to migrate before they turn 18.
Jonathan: Did you know this before you turned 18 or discover this after you had turned 18?
Eric: I knew about it a long time ago, but I felt it was meaningless except for gaining extra points when you take [university entrance] exams.
Jonathan: Did you make the decision?
Eric: Yep, my family asked me if I wanted it or not. I refused it on the spot. I did not think after I got married it would be like this. I am regretting that I did not migrate at that time… There is another difficult issue: my wife wants to have the second child. But the policy no longer allows ["double nots" to give birth in Hong Kong], so she wants me to become a Hong Kong person.[177]

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[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Ibid.

A decade after flatly turning down a Hong Kong ID, Eric was investigating different ways to get a Hong Kong ID at his wife's request so that they could have another child in Hong Kong. He listed them out to me: investing in a company; using the elite (points-based) entry program;[178] investing in "stock" (capital investment), which he says will cost around twenty million; and finally, going to study. This last option was the most promising; he already has a study place, but he was putting off starting the program to see if his business in Shenzhen takes off. I couldn't help but ask, "If your wife wants to go, why didn't she apply for it by herself?" He explained that she couldn't meet the conditions of any of the professional routes, and his study skills were better. In a few minutes, the complexities of cross-border family politics came gushing out. Gender roles, inherited wealth supporting autological choices, and reconsideration of youthful decisions are all made more complicated by the tension of citizenship between the words on our passport and how we feel about the world.

Different strands of time run through both the city without ground and family politics. The lived space of the topological home exists in particular ways to each of its members (Kallio 2016:384). As Eric described it, each family member's imagination of Hong Kong is uniquely constructed over time based on collections of individual memories. Eric, his wife, his daughter and his parents all arrive each Friday to the family's topological home with different lived experiences. Such differences create productive friction between family members, who are constantly not privy to each other's experiences and must rely on feeling rules and other discursive cues to push forward the regime and negotiate its reproduction in the context of each member's embodied timelines.

Some timelines are flexible; Eric's job gives him the opportunity to spend precious time with his daughter. However, his daughter will not stop growing up, nor can his responsibilities as a husband be paused to allow him to work on the business dreams he is passionate about. These are the types of "universals" Tsing speaks of in her metaphor of friction as offering a way of analysing the universal in the context of the particular (2005). There is one particular temporal friction that I felt obliged to ask about:

Jonathan: Last question: what do you think of the future of Hong Kong and Shenzhen?
Eric: I feel Hong Kong eventually will integrate with this [Shenzhen] side. Probably the border will disappear and they will merge into one city.
Jonathan: How long do you predict it would take?
Eric: Twenty years. So with this thinking in my mind, Hong Kong ID is meaningless.[179]

These sentences from Eric are what define for me the emotional labour of cross-border family politics. When I heard them, I felt I had finally found the "problem" in the context of the feminist research methods I outlined in Chapter 2. Now, after many twists and

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[178] The program is officially known as the Quality Migrants Admission Scheme.
[179] Interview conducted and transcribed in Mandarin (English translation of transcript), LoWu, Shenzhen, November 2014.

turns, the notion of the topological home in the discursive topography of the genealogical society allows me to bring Eric's particular subjectivity, with which I deeply empathise, into discussions of spatial theory. However, Eric was not done yet; he queried whether I had truly understood his point; suggesting that his story was "broken" and that he had not represented his "complete ideas." He felt that I have not asked him enough about his impressions of Hong Kong people. We posed the question again, and he explained his experience of Hong Kong as that of micro-encounters that have caused how he "feels" Hong Kong, his partly conscious feeling rules, to change:

Eric: I have lived there for a while, so basically there is not much difference [between Hong Kong and Shenzhen]. In the past, we felt that they are superior to us, but now I feel we are all equal. I felt before that Hong Kong people's manners were better, but I found it is not true after living there.

Jonathan: You mean social manners – this was not the case when you got to the bottom of it? Can you explain?

Eric: Some details – like, I am a smoker; in the past, if I smoked in Hong Kong, I was a bit afraid. Because I am not sure if that place is a no-smoking area or not, and I would throw my cigarette butts in the bin. But after living there [Hong Kong], I found locals, when they finish smoking, they throw the ends on the ground. It is the same.[180]

He went on to describe an incident with the staff that guards the entrance to his Hong Kong apartment, then described reactions to his daughter's misbehaviour on the public bus. Earlier, I had already asked him about his interaction with the other parents at his daughter's kindergarten, and he described them as being clearly divided into two groups: "local Hong Kong parents" and "those like us." But as a "local" of Shenzhen, his Cantonese is indistinguishable from the Hong Kong parents, he says, and his experience is liminal, so he hears both conversations, finding he passes for the affective definition of what a Hong Kong person should be.

These are the types of insights border practitioners offer to our understanding of borders as genres of feelings with real physical implications (Chapter 1). Border practitioners operate as hidden experts, able to experience urban encounters undetected and move ideas with their bodies across borders. However, such flexibility comes with costs, the alienating emotional labour Eric describes as taking place both at home and in public. By mobilising home, stretching, twisting and folding political space and connecting it through emotions and intimacy, border practitioners can teach us how to resist by seeing two worlds at once. Love, Eric wanted to remind me, has always been an act in the context of politics, whether between a child and parent or between two lovers. It is to the ways in which love can interact with the material, economic and symbolic genealogical spaces that I now turn.

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[180] Ibid.

7.2 Love

> …[T]he chief executive to be elected by universal suffrage must be a person who *loves* the country and Hong Kong.
> (*The Practice of the "One Country, Two Systems" Policy in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region*, Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China 2014, emphasis added)

The State Council's use of the term "love" for the country and Hong Kong as the defining qualification of their city's leader was not lost on the youthful placard makers occupying the streets of Hong Kong in late 2014. Love, in the phantasmagoria of the romantic comedy pulsing from Hollywood, is constructed as a deeply personal non-political act. In the symbolic space of the genealogical society, love is an act of autological rebellion, an act that implies throwing off the chains of the old and starting something new (Povinelli 2006). This case again radiates from a LoWu café, with Angelica present as interpreter.[181] It traces the contour lines of the courtship between Diane and Frank, who at the same time the previous Saturday were waiting in a cross-border taxi backed up at the control point, running late for their wedding reception in Hong Kong.

While Diane arrived for our interview ready to talk, Frank was more reserved. Their story is one of a chance topological encounter, leading to a struggle and compromise worthy of a romantic screenplay. However, for our purposes, it shows how ground remains relevant when we wish to imagine ourselves as groundless. It was January 2012, and Diane was fed up with her job at an advertising agency in Shanghai. "There were rumours," she said, that the world was going to end in 2012, so she took time off from her job and made up her mind to experience the world. Hong Kong was her first stop; she was hunting for a host on a travel friend's website. Frank's details came up; they chatted, then spoke on the phone, but never actually met in person on that trip. Their relationship "moved forward naturally" by phone and text, and they met up for the first time in person in Wuhan in March 2012. By September, Diane had made up her mind to move to Shenzhen to be closer to Frank. There are some things in the middle they did not want to share with us, but Diane summarised by saying, "He is younger than me; he wasn't very serious." Frank is three years younger than Diane, who at 28 was feeling pressure from her family to get married.

In the second half of 2012, there were signs they were going to break up. Diane explained that she was disappointed with her job; things were down, but they "held each other up." She took a trip to visit him and "feel" Hong Kong as a city, and she really liked it – it was so unfamiliar she felt like a "disabled person who needed to be looked after." That September she bought a return plane ticket to Shenzhen and set herself a goal of

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[181] This was a multilingual conversation, with all three of us regularly switching language midsentence and with Diane and Frank finishing each other's sentences or talking over each other. I have chosen to present direct quotes as if they were spoken only in English and have made some edits for clarity.

finding a job in a week, staying in the same hostel where Angelica and I spent our first month in Shenzhen. If she found a job, she would move[182] – and so, with a job in hand, she returned to Shanghai. As if predicting my next question, she tagged an English sentence onto the end of a Mandarin statement from Frank: "My dad and mum also support me, yeah, because I am not a very young lady."

Frank's parents, on the other hand, struggled with their relationship, and throughout that year there were frequent clashes with his mother, centred around an incident when Frank brought his learning-impaired little sister with him unannounced to Shenzhen. Diane made her dissatisfaction with the unexpected visit known, and this made it back to Frank's mother. Lacking a mutual language, with Frank's family not speaking Mandarin, and complicated by his mother's feelings about gender roles, things got complicated. It was at this time in 2013, around a year after Diane had moved to Shenzhen, that ground – personal urban space, a non-topological home – became an actor in their relationship. After much discussion and some conflict, in September 2013 Diane made up her mind to stay in Shenzhen and with Frank. Her parents came down to discuss buying an apartment with them. The plan was laid out to buy one within a year; it was only after this that Frank's parents came around and started to accept Diane.

The ideal plan, Diane explained, was to buy an apartment in Hong Kong, but that had to be postponed. You can literally "buy three apartments in Shenzhen for one in Hong Kong," she said.[183] Like George in Chapter 3, only Diane's name is on the housing deed. Frank only holds a Hong Kong ID, so adding his name was too complicated – reversing the gendered phenomenon, which usually does not include the woman's name on the deed of a new couple's home (see Hong Fincher 2014). This apartment, within walking distance of the control point, is materially and symbolically an actor in negotiations between them, as an intimate couple, and the family regime that helps finance it. The family regimes treat the apartment as a material signifier of their commitment to each other and as a particular location – an anchor in Euclidian space for their topological home.

It is an anchor that brings Frank home each evening from his job as an office administrator in Hong Kong – a job that brings him around HKD 13,000 a month after tax. Diane earns 8,000 RMB (c. 10,000 HKD in 2014) a month in Shenzhen, although she has far more work experience. Diane complained that Frank is cheap because he insists on moving two cans of infant milk powder across the border on his way home from work to cover some of his transport costs. Enjoying the jibe, Frank explained that he had recently turned down a promotion and salary raise in order to keep his name on the waiting list for a government flat in Hong Kong. He had been in the queue for around three years and believed he only had one more to go – another waiting list to add to the waiting period that began, after they officially registered their marriage in July, before Diane will be able

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[182] I have heard multiple successful versions of this story, so much so that it has become a popular trope in everyday conversation.

[183] This is overly simplistic, as I am not sure which neighbourhoods they are comparing. Some practitioners repeated this sentiment, while others challenged that some neighbourhoods in Hong Kong were cheaper than particular neighbourhoods in Shenzhen.

to move to Hong Kong under the one-way permit scheme (see Chapter 4). Until only a few months earlier, when Diane convinced her company to help her get a Hong Kong multiple-entry business visa, she was limited to two visits to Hong Kong before she would have to send her two-way pass back to her hometown outside Shanghai to be renewed.

Diane and Frank's intimate event did not produce a new subject out of the "husk of the old" (Povinelli 2006), but allowed for the surfacing of contour lines of the various genealogical spaces that emanate from their foundational event, their love (see chapter 4). The contortions necessary to pull apart their experience and isolate it from their surroundings remind us that love is never free from context. It makes a mockery of drawing out the interaction of regimes of state, enterprise and family as "flat." Trying to draw topographical maps connecting the different power relations that affect their every conversation and working day only uncovers more dependencies. Doing so might resemble the transcript of our conversation that day, trying to represent four people, with similar histories, speaking two languages at once. It can only be understood effectively, and remain still long enough to be analysed, if we are willing to view it from multiple positions at once.

7.3 Political families

> The central government will continue to support the HKSAR government in forming a closer working relationship […] The central government encourages Hong Kong to carry out broader and deeper exchanges and cooperation with the mainland, and make concerted efforts with the mainland to build the common *home* of the Chinese nation. (*The Practice of the "One Country, Two Systems" Policy in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region*, Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China 2014, emphasis added)

There is just one more dimension to add: the occupation of streets in Hong Kong, which came up at multiple points in our conversation. Neither Diane nor Frank admitted to physically attending the protests or supporting the students, and I did not push them to tell me. Diane had been following the story closely in the mainland media and was worried that it is "violent, hurting feelings" and reducing tolerance between groups. Frank was more reserved and didn't vocalise strong commitments either way. Our journey through my interview grid had followed its usual twists, turns and folds, so I asked what I always phrase as my final question, one they had a considerable economic and emotional investment in: "What do you think of the future of Hong Kong and Shenzhen? Do you think they will get closer together, or will they move further apart?" Frank responded curtly, "Closer together," but Diane was not so convinced. I then asked them to elaborate, and they passed the question back to me; I suggested – which I still believe – that the Hong

Kong occupations brought some groups together while bringing Hong Kong further apart from China. They both responded:

Diane: I don't think Hong Kong people are united because of it. But some social conflicts are revealed. Some people support it; others are against the Occupy Central movement. I was surprised that they are quite violent. In the past, all protests were sort of peaceful. So some problems in the society were exposed.

Frank: From my observation, more than half of the supporters are young people. Middle-class people, some of them are against it because it affects their lives. I do not think the movement is going to last long. Only some people support it. Others are against it. When the movement comes to an end, the relationship between Shenzhen, the mainland and Hong Kong will not have changed.

Jonathan: Do your parents support them?

Frank: No, no.

Jonathan: That is true, there is a big split between the generations.

Diane: Our fathers' generations would not agree, but we are different.

Frank: That is, most of the people; if there is no money, no economic pressure on him, he will support democracy, support that kind of thinking. But if they have a family, they have some baggage. If a family has kids, a son or a daughter, we will feel that peace is in their favour.[184]

Family, I have repeated at multiple points throughout this dissertation, is inseparable from regimes of state and enterprise (Ong 1999). The challenge instead has been how to theorise and write about this assemblage – how to account in our counter-topographies for moments like these, in which Diane and Frank brought us temporarily and tentatively into their topological home. They first pushed the question back to me, the educated "foreign" expert, whose life's work and savings are not, like theirs, connected to the negotiations occurring between the protesters and the government as we spoke. Their "common home" is riddled with complications and limitations placed on it by the state. While the State Council and mainland media repeat desires for constructing a "common home for the Chinese nation" that includes Hong Kong, homes like the two in this chapter become more common.[185]

These homes are being asked to be tolerant: Eric should accept harsh words directed at him when his young daughter misbehaves on the bus because of the language she speaks. Frank should put his career ambitions aside in the hope that he receives an affordable place to live with his wife close to his parents. This tolerance conceals an implicit set of power relations (Brown 2006). By addressing homes, and the family regimes that inhabit

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[184] Interview conducted in English and Mandarin (rendered only in English), LoWu, Shenzhen, November 2014.

[185] This is the phrase used by the state council in; *The Practice of the "One Country, Two Systems" Policy in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region*, Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, 2014.

them, as topological, we can bring into the conversation these other complex political-economic regimes: the state which determines through the one-way permit scheme and Hong Kong public housing waiting list where and when they can live together as a couple in Hong Kong; the enterprise which values Diane's and Frank's skills differently, depending on where they are in relation to the border, and does not pay them enough to live where they dream of living.

The couple's new apartment itself is a product of complex topological relations across the border Frank walks across on his way to work each morning. Over the past three decades, the PRC has privatised its previously socialist urban housing stock. The first experiments of such privatisation took place in Frank and Diane's current neighbourhood in Shenzhen. This system, introduced across the PRC in 1998, means that Frank and Diane do not own their house, but rather own the remainder of a 70-year lease entered into by the property developer, who negotiated with the local government for the plot below it (Anglin *et al.* 2014). It's likely the funding and skills for the transaction were imported a few kilometres away from across the border, possibly from a former refugee or his child who fled across the border a few decades earlier.

Topology allows us to start to draw these connections into our counter-topographies. It does not alienate the physical terrain, but reminds us that the economic and political life's work of the city is, like the home, able to fold, twist and change shape as it passes through the border and across time. Viewing family through the lens of the topological home, inhabited by differently subjective and mobile bodies, we are able to bind the grounded space of the family home with the political debates taking place over the real-estate prices and quality of life in cities without ground. This was one dimension of the debate taking place that November on the streets of Hong Kong over promises of democracy made in 2007 by the State Council, which it had then reneged on in the June 2014 white paper. In the preceding years, the balance of power had clearly shifted from Hong Kong to the mainland, as it adopted Hong Kong's system of property ownership and low-cost manufacturing.

With the commodification of housing, the PRC state lost significant control over social reproduction: it could no longer use housing allocation to reward particular forms of sexuality and intimacy and prohibit others. However, it also gained new forms of social control: the mortgage and the "asset," ideas the students on the streets in Hong Kong were deeply familiar with. These new "objects of desire," symbols of the good life, bind family, state and enterprise regimes firmly together (Berlant 2010). Opponents of the occupations, across media and age borders, called for stability and the protection of their hard-won assets as justification for patience. They argued, like Frank, that "peace would be in their favour"; they asked those on the streets to be tolerant and to suspend current demands for future possibilities, just as those in this chapter were asked to do. Tolerance is a "courtesy that a dominant or privileged group has the power to extend to, or withhold from others", and urban "[e]ncounters never take place in a space free from history, material conditions, and power" (Valentine 2008a). Occupying streets, I

argue in the following chapter, is a specific geopolitical act – one that wound its way into thousands of homes, causing friction between parents and children, lovers, workmates and passersby on the street.

The protests produced countless hours of emotional work. For some, it was liberating and rewarding; for others, it was alienating, even destroying long-held emotional bonds. Conversations with these two cross-border families left me seeking an understanding of what bound all these minor theoretical (Katz 1996), "kitchen sink" (Halberstam 2011) understandings of the border and the opportunities and violence it created – including the way these two lovers queered conceptions of the good life, with Diane's quest to find herself before the end of the world and Frank's decision not to get promoted in order to maintain the possibility of public housing. With their guidance, I eventually found answers in the history of the very ground that they as a couple, and the students occupied.

8 Practising tolerance

Figure 23. "Welcome to the Hong Kong Commune," Admiralty, Hong Kong (December 2014).

> The "two systems" means that, within the "one country" the main body of the country practices socialism, while Hong Kong and some other regions practice capitalism. The "one country" is the premise and basis of the "two systems," and the "two systems" is subordinate to and derived from "one country." But the "two systems" under the "one country" are not on a par with each other. The fact that the mainland, the main body of the country, embraces socialism will not change. *With that as the premise, and taking into account the history of Hong Kong and some other regions, capitalism is allowed to stay on a long-term basis.* (*The Practice of the "One Country, Two Systems" Policy in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region*, Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, 2014, emphasis added)

On Monday 29 September 2014, Hong Kong began its first working day under popular occupation. Jessica, from Shenzhen and working in Hong Kong in an office above the largest street occupation, did not participate in the protests. That morning, though, she was unable to disembark at her usual bus stop, and was forced to walk the last few hundred metres to her office. She felt excited by the experience of being able to walk on what was usually a busy motorway. People still went to work that morning, though nearby schools were closed for the first few days of the first week. In many cases, workers arrived at their offices a little late, either after getting little sleep after a night on the streets or getting a bit more exercise and fresh air than usual as the public bus companies adapted to the changed conditions. Regardless, they formed a new understanding and vision of public space.

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Encounters make new spaces. In these new spaces, as Doreen Massey proposes, "[w]e develop ways of incorporating spatiality into our ways of being in the world, modes of coping with the challenges that enormous reality of space throws up" (2005:8). In the city without ground, spaces of encounter represent the multiplicity of opportunities for things and bodies to come together (Valentine 2008a; Wilson 2016). Like the topological home, these new spaces are dependent on difference; it is the bringing together of the labour of Shenzhen and the Pearl River Delta and the familial capital of Hong Kong and the Chinese diaspora that has occupied the economic life of both cities over the last 30 years (see Chapter 5). As this dissertation has shown, the regimes of family, state and enterprise are inseparable and embodied within each border practitioner. To be a successful border practitioner, one must become an expert in tolerating uncomfortable encounters.

Tolerance is a particular feeling rule that the state, enterprise and family seeks to develop in their members in order to permit the inherent inequality needed for the survival of each regime. In Wendy Brown's (2006) description, tolerance is "a consortium of para-legal and para-statist practices" associated with "modern constitutional liberalism," "practices that are associated with the liberal state and liberal legalism but are not precisely codified by them" (4). Tolerance is exemplary of Foucault's vision of governmentality: "that which organises 'the conduct of conduct'" (4). It exists "at a variety of sites and through the rationalities not limited to those formally countenanced as political" (4). The practice of tolerance permits individuals and regimes to labour through the unique privileges, possibilities, feelings and memories graduated sovereignty imparts on each of them. This final empirical chapter uses the "throwntogetherness" (Massey 2005) created by the occupation of streets in Hong Kong from September to December 2014. It traces the relationship between logics of tolerance and entailment of possibility though the body, between the emotive space of the topological home and the grounded space secured behind the apartment door.

The occupation of road space is a particular geopolitical act, an act of ground in a city that many imagine as groundless.[186] In the context of Hong Kong, the motorway is not the space of everyday individual mobility, but the space of commerce and the elite wealthy enough to afford Hong Kong's high automotive taxes. The majority navigate the city through sky bridges, tunnels, buses and the MTR subway system. Not only did the occupations produce physical friction for the city's drivers and passengers, but they were also highly contested, causing friction between political groups, generations, colleagues and friends. However, as discussions of the events were censored and propagandised across the border, they became particularly complicated for border practitioners who had to interact daily with two different interpretations of residual body power.

In the words of the State Council (quoted above), "taking into account the history of Hong Kong and some other regions, capitalism is allowed to stay on a long-term basis."

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[186] The original student protest had received permission, but continued after this permission expired. Based on inherited UK law, Hong Kong's protest laws were remarkably robust. While protesters must notify police in advance, the police have to *actively object* to a request to protest, and provide reasons that can be – and often are – successfully challenged in court.

The occupation was "illegal," as those occupying the streets had not asked for permission. Those camped out on the street were unsure how long they would be permitted to stay or what the consequences would be for their community, their families and the city. Events were cancelled; rumours grew and dispersed continuously. Those on and off the streets experienced a plethora of emotions; they had done something words could not express. They had used urban space to reassert their residual body power. No longer was the opposition confined to radio stations, social media or newspapers, or officially sanctioned protests. It was simply physical.

The protests were also an intergenerational encounter. A group of academics, politicians and clergy, middle-aged and beyond, had been planning and rehearsing for a limited temporary occupation of Hong Kong's Central District to push forward their demands for "civil nomination" of the candidates for a promised popular election of the city's chief executive since early 2013. However, it was the students, led by Joshua Wong, a plain-speaking high school student two weeks from his eighteenth birthday, that had instigated the occupation after a series of clashes with police and a classroom boycott that had been taking place in a park across the street from the Legislative Council Building in the week before the street occupations. In setting up tents on the expressway and labelling them with street numbers, these young protesters were making a particular point about the inheritance of living space as a form of power relation. It is this dimension of the protests – the politics of entailed feelings and living spaces – that this chapter addresses.

8.1 Spaces of encounter

Figure 24. View of Admiralty protest site during weekday lunchtime from a restaurant table during an interview (October 2014).

> Produced through these embedded practices, from quotidian negotiations to global strategizing, these implicit engagements of space feed back into and sustain wider understandings of the world. (Massey 2005:8)

> …[E]ncounters register as events that are in some way worthy of note; as events that enact a shift in sensory perception. (Wilson 2016:8)

Waking after a night of fitful sleep on asphalt on an expressway, out in the open, surrounded by thousands of co-occupiers is an alternative way to encounter a city. In some sections of the occupation, protestors erected tents, gave them street names and numbers, and established elaborate procedures to determine occupancy (see Ng 2015:204; see also Fig. 22). Labelling and defining the space of our own life's work is a productive friction between one's own autological understanding of the world and the individual's location within the genealogical society. As Isabella and Ken (Chapter 1) and other practitioners across this dissertation have pointed out, conducting life's work, developing affective citizenship and reproducing the family in confined spaces is emotionally laborious. It produces particular tolerances that are both emotionally alienating and rewarding. Encounters and tolerances are a necessary part of life's work. Eric (Chapter 7) tolerates his wife's desires as part of their relationship; it is worth it for the emotional rewards she brings to him.

Other encounters, like Eric's experiences on the bus with his daughter in the previous chapter, show us the boundaries of contexts; genres of feeling rules, like how to behave on a bus, are imparted on individuals by state, family and enterprise regimes. When asked what they noted as different between Hong Kong and Shenzhen, practitioners invariably included behaviour on public transport, usually the disorderly nature of queueing in Shenzhen, as one sign they had crossed the border. Feeling rules determine how subjects act in both their "surface" expressions and behaviours, accumulating into deeply held interpretations of the world (Hochschild 1983). Context collapse occurs when two holders of genres of feeling rules interact. It is a productive friction of mobility, both across class and the terrain of the city without ground.

Tolerance for collapsing contexts is a feeling rule which atomises discourse reminding those not included in discussions how the powers practising governmentality believe they – the tolerant – should conduct themselves (Brown 2006). For border practitioners, discursive tolerance or "political correctness," is the emotional labour of *respecting* the "other". For those in Hong Kong, the "socialist system," that in the words of the State Council only tolerates their presence on a limited basis but does not accept it. This political tolerance is not only part of public conversations, but also shapes private and intimate spaces, including interviews with academic researchers. I conducted a significant portion of my interviews while the streets were occupied from late September to December 2014 (see Appendix 3),[187] including my interview with Jessica, who spoke to me on a weekday during her lunch break in a restaurant with a panoramic view of the Admiralty occupation

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[187] I chose not to interview anyone inside the protest areas.

site (Fig. 24). As we ordered drinks, she asked if I wanted to come with her later and have a look. I joked that it was like a kind of impromptu public fair.

Jessica lives with her boyfriend, who came to Hong Kong as a university student, in a "rural" area of Hong Kong close to the border. They both consider themselves politically "neutral." Jessica came to Shenzhen with her family in 1988 as an infant, completing primary and high school there. She moved to Hong Kong after spending time in Beijing and Guangzhou. Her boyfriend, whom she has known since high school, came to Hong Kong as a university student from Shenzhen and never left. With a "traveller" personality, always looking for new experiences, she applied for jobs in Hong Kong and is here on a working visa independent of her boyfriend. She spends many weekends back in Shenzhen, staying with her parents and playing sports with a mutual friend. She, like many I interviewed, was part of a well-connected cohort of families who arrived early in Shenzhen's development. They had become well connected because they had developed relationships while attending the top Shenzhen high schools, becoming true "Shenzheners."

We discussed her experiences over contemporary Japanese fast food and a view of the occupied streets. Her attitude to Hong Kong had not changed much. However, the attitude of Hong Kongers towards had:

> I was eighteen years old [when I first] came here. Perhaps their attitude more easy or more friendly; now after all these year[s] they see that the Chinese develop very, very fast and a lot of visitors more and more each year, and then they feel a little bit pressured or anxious. Especially when our mainland visitors spend a lot of money... At first, they just buy commodities or this [type of] items, and then they buy luxury [good] and now they buy houses – OK, apartments – here, spending so much money so the attitude of the Hong Kong people really changed dramatically. Ah...[188]

Jessica was explaining a common theory held by border practitioners: Hong Kong's tolerance for people like her had changed as the power relations between the two contexts had evolved.[189] The transition of control over Hong Kong from London to Beijing was negotiated in the 1980s, around the time Jessica was born. From the Hong Kong side there was an expectation that the border would protect a developed, "modern," "Western" Hong Kong from a "backwards" developing China desperate for the city's connections, capital and skills. At that time, residents of industrialising and developing Shenzhen, plagued with crime and disorder, were expected to be tolerant of Hong Kongers coming to buy their land, sleep with their women and exploit their low wages (a context I explored in detail in Chapter 5). Over the course of Jessica's lifetime, the situation has changed; it is now people like her, members of the "second-generation rich" as Eric as described himself, that are coming and testing the tolerance of people in Hong Kong.

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[188] Interview conducted in English (vernacular speech maintained), Admiralty, Hong Kong, October 2014.
[189] This theory is also held by some academics I spoke with (see Lui 2015).

The most material sign of this has been the "Individual Visit Scheme." In 2014 there were around 30 million visits under the scheme, which allows Mainland Chinese, such as Angelica, double or multiple individual visit visas to Hong Kong for seven days.[190] Started in July 2003 as part of a program to reboot Hong Kong's economy following the SARS crisis, it initially covered only residents with Hukou in major cities and key parts of Guangdong (Lui 2015:406). However, it has since been expanded, most recently in 2007, to all cities in Guangdong Province.[191] In 2009, Shenzhen Hukou holders began to be issued "One-Year Multiple" entry permits, making up half of visits in 2014. By early 2015, in the wake of the street occupations, the program was scaled back.[192] The most publicly discussed complaint against the scheme was that it enabled "uncivilised" behaviour: spitting and public defecation, particularly by small children, which is very common in Mainland China.[193] I asked interviewees if they had experienced direct discrimination in Hong Kong; some had, but most offered secondhand stories or referred to news media reports. When pressed, they usually qualified that having grown up in Shenzhen or surrounding areas or having completed higher education, they would regularly "pass" as local people or often if they spoke with the correct accent, as American or British Chinese living in the city.

These practitioners "passed" under the affective imaginary of what a Hong Kong person is, which associates Hong Kong identity with modernity. Practitioners explained that the tour groups, often made up of suntanned retirees with matching baseball caps and led by a flag-holding guide with a loudspeaker, were most despised. These large groups, often speaking in unrecognisable dialects, occupied Hong Kong urban space in a very visible way. While usually orderly if you observed closely, their presence "felt" chaotic. These rough, dark-skinned, sun-marked elderly bodies – with whom I regularly shared an immigration channel, as the control points would often open a special channel for foreigners and group visa holders – must have been experiencing a sense of awe. Family members of these travellers would tell me that for them, Hong Kong was a faraway place, a once-in-a-lifetime experience of encountering a once-forbidden, even "alien" context. However, in their embodiment of "rural," "manual labour" and "village habits," they showed the border's failure as a barrier between inside and outside.

For many people in Hong Kong, the negotiations and the border were meant to keep people like these elderly tourists – those who had not escaped earlier, like Mr Wu (Chapter 6) – on the other side, while allowing people like Jessica – those considered modern, educated or with family in Hong Kong – inside. This speaks to the fear captured by the opposition politician's question to the Hong Kong secretary for security about the

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[190] The duration of stay is set by Hong Kong. http://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/article/1765840/job-opportunities-open-hongkongers-new-visa-restrictions-look-set (accessed August 2016).
[191] In defining the program by cities, it automatically excludes those with rural Hukou.
[192] http://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/article/1765840/job-opportunities-open-hongkongers-new-visa-restrictions-look-set (accessed August 2016).
[193] No one spoke up when a mother held her young daughter over the drain in the meat section of my local Wal-Mart in Shenzhen to relieve herself.

"orderly arrival" of one-way permit holders that I explored in Chapter 4. It also calls to mind the racially tinged words of a Hong Kong woman I interviewed, who described in detail how she could tell the difference between a mainlander and a Hong Konger by how they walked and by specific details of their clothing, particularly the size and brand of their handbag.

In this example, contexts have collapsed and friction is produced between differently aged, and therefore differently experienced, bodies. Jessica described how sometimes older Hong Kongers, when they found out she was from Shenzhen, would "ask... do Shenzhen have TV in your home or what do you eat?… If they don't go to Shenzhen very recently, they say that [it's] very rural." These encounters are thick with frictions, exacerbated by mobility both social and physical. These frictions are particularly visible in the intergenerational encounter: how Mr Yu paused briefly to address Henry's "generation" or "how do we call them" (Chapter 5), or Mr Lin's reaction to his daughter's Japanese anime collection (Chapter 6).

The occupation of streets in such a densely populated city produced a particular mode of encounter with the "other." I remember, at the end of the first week of the occupations, walking late at night, around 11 pm, along the full length of the occupied surface of Nathan Road in Kowloon. I observed tents from different political parties strung out along the road, unmarked individuals between them holding an impromptu debate with grandmas in their pyjamas taking their dogs for a late-night walk. Earlier in the day, I had observed tourists taking selfies with the barricades. That night I also observed heated conversations, including one where a man had to be physically restrained. Reaching the northern end of the occupation, I boarded a 24-hour express bus that followed a version of the road to Hsinan, arriving an hour or so later at my apartment in Shenzhen on the other side of the border.

I was not the only one leaving the protests late at night and making my way back across the border to snuggle with loved ones. As Mrs Xu and her son described in Chapters 5 and 6, the border has had a long interest in the transportation of documents and ideas. It is selectively permeable in what it tolerates travelling across it, but as Angelica and I woke up the next day in Shenzhen, we did so as holders of different contextual understandings of the events on the streets of Hong Kong the night before. When we spoke, we produced a political encounter in the context of the topological home (Kallio 2016; Chapter 7).

Three weeks into the protests, I spoke over lunch in a café in Kowloon with Andrew, a Hong Kong-born office administrator in his mid-thirties who worked in Hong Kong and commuted to Shenzhen each evening to be with his mainland-born wife and eight-month-old son. Andrew's parents moved to Hong Kong from Guangdong Province before he was born, and he had met his wife during weekend trips to "party" and "generally have fun" in Shenzhen. He now rents a house in Shenzhen while his wife and son wait for their one-way permits. He is unsure if they will eventually move to Hong Kong, as it would be hard for his wife to find work and they would struggle to afford a suitable apartment. Until he moved to Shenzhen, he lived in a government flat with his parents

in the New Territories; his commute was just as long as the one he takes today from Kowloon to LoWu. As we discussed how since 2010, Shenzhen is no longer the cheap party destination it once was, he redirected the conversation:

> And actually I live in Shenzhen [for some time] now, but for something I still think that it's strange. For example somehow when I watch the news on the TV. They are talking about the Hong Kong news there and then maybe just [when the news] is not proper in China it will certainly disappear.[194]

Disappear, he says, to "maybe a drama, maybe a cartoon and nothing about the news… For example, nowadays Hong Kong – the boycott and the, how do you say, umbrella revolution [street occupations] – you can never read in China any news about that." We commiserated about how Facebook and Twitter are inoperable in Mainland China. I asked what his wife used to speak with him; WeChat, he said, but that if "you want to post something like the umbrella revolution, the photos or something, and reasons about 1989… You cannot show it through WeChat." We discussed how my WeChat posts about my project had also been censored days earlier (see Chapter 2), and he continued:

Andrew: Sometimes, for example about the umbrella revolution, umm, we will have conflict with my wife or the friends in China. They think that we can put other ways, or it's none of our business… They are curious why. "Why you Hong Kong people ask for that?" They will never try it.

Jonathan: So do they argue with you? Do you start the argument, or do they start the argument?

Andrew: Um… when I call my wife or call my grandpa, or post some photos and send to them, and then they will say, "Wow, why you do that, why you don't us your spare time to watch a movie or take care of your baby?" and "It's totally none of our business even if you stand and go to join this activity; this [situation] won't change."[195]

I asked him what he thought his family's position regarding the current political situation was. "Accept it… They accept, defeatist," he responded.

"What about your Hong Kong friends?" I asked.

"Umm, my friends don't accept it, even though they – not theirs, no changes at the end, but we want to say something."

I asked if he had been to the protest. "Of course," he replied.

"And your friends?" I asked.

"I think most of my friends have gone to the protest, and we can see that like, um, you know, like lots of newspapers in Hong Kong, or some business committee are [speaking] against this [protest]… and they post something, they post something like to… the newspaper and the Facebook, and you can read behind [their words] some fears

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[194] Interview conducted in English (vernacular speech maintained), Kowloon, Hong Kong, October 2014.
[195] Ibid.

in China. For example, umm, you can see that the citizens quite against the police... You can read it in China. But you can never read the other side of things, how the policemen fight the citizens."[196]

Andrew's grandfather and wife, reading media reports of violence across the border, are asking him to be tolerant. But participating in the protest makes him feel connected and empowered. We commiserated over the complexities of explaining the protests to our loved ones. We must modify how we express ourselves for the sake of the family regime. Andrew must pay attention to the feeling rules he has been taught. The state poetically reminds him of the tolerance they expect from him through its unsubtle editing of television programs and the censoring of social media. The issue also came up in my discussion with Jessica, as she also found herself as a link across contexts despite her neutrality:

> Every time we meet, uh... they're interested in that [the protest], or [ask me] through WeChat. Actually, they do not really care about what [is] happening or what the result is. They just want to know that any effects, any effects... and let's say very big conflict or, umm... the action of the government to… kill people or... uh, put someone in jail, or, umm. Most of my friends in Shenzhen or in China, they don't think that [they] will win the protest from the students' side. (*She chuckles*.) We are kind of brainwashed to think that the government can dominate. (*She chuckles*.)[197]

Managing the emotional labour of context collapse is about building our own sets of feeling genres, location-based filters or cues through which to see the world and interact with others. A dialectical understanding is often produced that eases the laborious work of seeing one world two different ways. To live safely and productively, border practitioners often produce private low theories – theories that hold multiple views at once, that acknowledge fractures running through understandings of life's work and permit a kind of "queer failure" (Halberstam 2011). Acceptance is a form of tolerance. As a "para-statist" practice (Brown 2006:4), tolerance's aim is to hide hierarchical structures by converting them into feeling rules (Hochschild 1983). As they navigate through these contexts within smartphone apps and on streets, there is constant risk that the state, family or enterprise will fail to be tolerant, to enforce its position of power directly. However, tolerance as a mode of governmentality is co-constructed; it requires both parties to control their feelings and honour their aspects of the bargain.

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[196] Ibid.
[197] Interview conducted in English (vernacular speech maintained), Admiralty, Hong Kong, October 2014.

8.2 Failures of tolerance

> Mr Leung said that if "you look at the meaning of the words 'broadly representative,'[198] it's not numeric representation.
>
> You have to take care of all the sectors in Hong Kong as much as you can," he said, "and if it's entirely a numbers game and numeric representation, then obviously you would be talking to half of the people in Hong Kong who earn less than $1,800 [approx. 13,000 HKD at the time] a month."
> "Then you would end up with that kind of politics and policies," he continued.
> (Hong Kong Chief Executive C.Y. Leung, quoted in the *New York Times*, October 2014)[199]

In the city without ground, what do "universal suffrage," "broadly representative" and "one person, one vote" mean? The protesters and opposition parties encamped on the city's streets argued that a vote by universal suffrage was irrelevant if the candidates were "pre-screened" by the majority of members of an electoral college, with the majority of its members appointed by Beijing.[200] 19 days into the street occupations, the sitting Chief Executive C.Y. Leung briefed foreign reporters at his official residence, previously the home of the city's British governors. He had moved operations there because access to his regular office, adjacent to the legislative council building, was blocked by protesters. In a report of the briefing from the *New York Times* (quoted above), he acknowledged that many of the protesters were "angry over the lack of social mobility and affordable housing in the city." However, he argued that containing populist pressures was an important reason for resisting the protesters' demands for fully open elections.

The chief executive, who administratively replaced the authority of the British governor, argued that the way to remedy social grievances was to expand the supply of housing and spur economic growth. He stressed the importance of maintaining the confidence of Hong Kong's corporate elite, saying that was one of the goals of the city's Basic Law, written a quarter-century ago before Britain handed sovereignty over Hong Kong back to China.[201] At that moment, thousands of people were occupying public roads at three major intersections across the city. In some instances, they were building elaborate defensive structures thanks to the support of local construction workers, who erect the city's ubiquitous bamboo scaffolding (Fig. 23). Officials were calling for *patience* and *tolerance*; the citizens were calling for *representation* and *redistribution*, like they were experiencing on the streets.

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[198] The phrase used by the State Council in 2007 to describe elections scheduled to be conducted in 2017.
[199] http://mobile.nytimes.com/2014/10/21/world/asia/leung-chun-ying-hong-kong-china-protests.html (accessed August 2016).
[200] They did not dispute the process of voting for the nominated candidates.
[201] http://mobile.nytimes.com/2014/10/21/world/asia/leung-chun-ying-hong-kong-china-protests.html (accessed August 2016)

Since 2007, Hong Kong's political groups had been patiently waiting for promised electoral reform of both the election of the chief executive and the legislative council. The legislative council and the election committee had half its members appointed through "small circle" elections, which granted corporations and other interest groups the right to vote for representatives; those representatives then voted on spending and regulations (Ng 2015).[202] In its non-appealable decision on 31 August 2014, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress issued its guidelines for the 2017 elections, which in 2007 the State Council had promised would be "broadly representative." The guidelines permitted a popular vote, but required potential candidates to receive a majority of votes from a nominating committee, with the majority of the committee members to be appointed by the government. Many felt their patience had not been rewarded.

Patience is a political friction, both productive and alienating, between those with and without power. Stella and Li Yun (Chapter 4), waiting for immigration paperwork, are participating in a "political-economy of waiting" (Pijpers 2011), much like those earning less than 1,800 USD a month and waiting for affordable housing, like Frank (Chapter 7). They felt the chief executive was passing over them to please the tycoons. In asking the protesters to be patient, C.Y. Leung was simultaneously reminding them of his power and the "cruel optimism" (Berlant 2010) of their own demands. The protesters' dreams were valid, officials said, but they should "pocket" the partial reforms Leung proposed, accepting "concepts of the later, in exchange for the cruelty of the now" (Berlant 2010:222).

In the words of the city's second-ranking official, Carrie Lam, leading the consultation process, the political apparatus's aim that year was to convince the public and legislature to "*dai zhu xian*" (袋住先), usually translated as "pocket it first."[203] They hoped the public and legislature would take the offer put forward by Beijing as a once-in-a-generation opportunity to achieve "universal suffrage," once more leaving the details to the next generation of political leaders. This did not happen; as the proposal affected electoral matters, under the Basic Law it needed a two-thirds majority in the legislative council, which the government did not have.[204] The protests represented a failure of tolerance and patience. With no agreement, the electoral reform bill failed to pass the council, and the status quo remains.

It is possible to think that such failure was partly intentional. The fact that the protests were allowed to gradually dissipate over three months could be heard during the chief executive's meeting with foreign journalists. "So far Beijing has left it to the Hong Kong government to deal with the situation, so I think we should try our very best – and this is myself, the government and the people of Hong Kong – should try our very best to stay

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[202] Not all of the members of these "functional constituencies" are pro-government; a small number oppose the government on specific issues.

[203] http://hkstories.jmsc.hku.hk/2014/11/27/secret-codes-for-umbrella-movement/ (accessed August 2016).

[204] The opposition cannot propose legislation; it can only vote on it.

that way,"[205] he said. Giving the protestors space to voice their concerns, and gradually allowing the necessities of life's work to wear them down, is an act of tolerance on behalf of the state. It allows the state to prove its liberal credentials while ultimately maintaining the status quo.

Tolerance is both an act of state power and an individually developed feeling rule. To understand how such rules can develop, become complicated by political-economic borders and be practised in the topological home, I turn to a conversation on a Saturday afternoon in a Shenzhen café, about 500 metres from the LoWu control point, the weekend before C.Y. Leung made the remarks quoted above. It was three weeks into the protests. Speaking to me was Jack, a commercial lawyer who had grown up in Shenzhen, but had been educated in Guangzhou, Hong Kong and the United Kingdom; he now worked in Hong Kong. He had brought his wife Katie, an educational administrator in Shenzhen, with him. They shared a comfortable apartment nearby in Shenzhen during the weekends, and during the week Jack stayed in an apartment in Hong Kong; he said that his working hours made it impossible to return to his two preschool-aged children during the week.

This living arrangement had taken its emotional toll on Jack; it had become intolerable, so they had spent the previous weekend moving Jack's things to a larger apartment in Hong Kong. This was the first step in bringing their daughters to Hong Kong to start school and spend more time with their father, though after the move Katie would instead need to commute daily back to Shenzhen to work. Jack, who was nearing seven years in Hong Kong, had first arrived there as a student and sponsored his wife through the IANG visa program, making Katie, who has a Hong Kong ID as his spouse,[206] eligible to give birth in a Hong Kong public hospital – which he said was much cheaper than giving birth in Shenzhen. His daughters, therefore, have Hong Kong ID cards and should be educated in Hong Kong. They are adamant that they are not "those kind of crazy parents [who] want their children to get into the best" school. However, Katie said that in their community in Shenzhen, their daughters and their move to Hong Kong is "normal" and respected in the eyes of others. They struggle to understand these "crazy" parents; why would they inflict such pressure on themselves and their children? Jack and Katie both arrived in Shenzhen when they were around three years old without a word of Cantonese; they went to schools that were "not the top" and turned out fine, they explained.

While we were discussing developing and maintaining friendships across the border, I asked if any of his lawyer colleagues ever came to see him in Shenzhen. He responded, "Sometimes, not that often… umm, you know Hong Kong people sometimes feel that mainland is different, umm." Katie burst into laughter and said, "It's dangerous."

Jack stayed calm and continued, "It's a very dangerous place, the food is poisonous, yeah, you know… yeah, some Hong Kong people never go to Kowloon; don't [even]

[205] http://mobile.nytimes.com/2014/10/21/world/asia/leung-chun-ying-hong-kong-china-protests. html (accessed August 2016).
[206] Because Jack applied in the United Kingdom for his Hong Kong student visa, he was able to sponsor his wife without using the one-way permit system.

mention the New Territories." While we were laughing and making jokes at the expense of particular groups and their feeling rules (overbearing parents and elitist residents of Hong Kong Island), we were also setting the tone of the conversation, the reciprocity of our encounter. When it came time for me to ask how all this had changed for Jack over the last seven years, his tone became serious and deliberate:

Jack: Well, regarding the incident recently [street occupations], I think the mentality of Hong Kong people obviously is changing now. A lot of people, they have their plan B... they have their plan B. If things go worse, they will migrate to other places, United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, they won't stay… For those who cannot move, cannot immigrate, they – I think lots of them at this point, they will [deal] with the current situation now, they can see no solution at all. Yeah, and what I'm doing, because I live in Hong Kong, also live in Mainland, I try to solve the problem. It's a huge problem collectively.

Jonathan: Which problem?

Jack: You know the gap between mainlander and Hong Kongese is larger nowadays; they are accusing each other. For example, with the Occupying Central things, the media coverage in mainland only cover the downside, the negative side. They don't tell people the whole story of what is happening now, so a lot of people in mainland, they have negative feelings.[207]

Negative feelings signal failures of tolerance. They are not universal, as Jack observed, but run along lines of wealth, skill and family connection. Those with economic resources develop "plan B's" premised on using the structures of the global mobility regime (skilled and capital migration), and those without such capital or skills work on their feelings. Jack's observations have precedent and are reminiscent of descriptions of local responses in the lead up to the handover in 1997 (see Lui 2015; Salaff, Wong and Greve 2010). Jack was also frustrated; intolerance framed many of his daily encounters. As a well-educated lawyer versed in PRC, Hong Kong and international law, he is constantly battling people who are not "like" him, proclaiming, "I have the full information, I understand everything, I'm law." His tone is only partially condescending. He is reiterating the emotional labour of acting reflexively as a border practitioner, the burden of a reflexive division of a self in relation to multiple allegiances. Jack is privileged to be able to share much of this emotional burden with his wife, but within my archive, this was not the norm. Each border practitioner practiced the labour of political self-regulation, of tolerance, differently.

Hundreds of micro-decisions are needed to keep critical social bonds strong and regimes together. These micro-decisions were occurring in our interview as we reviewed the competing narratives; Katie proposed, "Most people think they make a mess of society?" However, Jack believed the protests represented a "necessary sacrifice". "Of

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[207] Interview conducted in English (vernacular speech maintained), LoWu, Shenzhen, October 2014

course you affect, for example, the restaurant, the shop, their business will be affected definitely, but it's for the long-term interest." Katie became more confident as Jack set the tone of our meeting, explaining that he had always been one to question authority as he struggled to fit into the mainland education system. He admitted he was not very good at being tolerant:

> That's one reason I chose Hong Kong, as my, as a place to live in. I can't stand. One thing I cannot stand, it's people telling untrue things… people doing things in a way and telling you a different story. It's difficult. I don't want to live in a society full of lies, it's too difficult. Yeah, you know what is happening, the leaders say one thing; you know is lies, basically. Well, you know, I think all over the world politicians sometimes tell you lies or above in order to get votes whatever but in China, it's too serious and everyone taking granted for that, they used to that. I don't like this kind of situation.[208]

Their descriptions of conversations with lawyers, elderly parents and ordinary workers in Hong Kong reiterate that political perspectives originate in memories and experiences both within and beyond the home. I told them that I had interviewed some older people and "a lot of the time they remember the bad times, and they don't want that to happen again."

Jack: Yes, I could [empathise]. I… they went through Cultural Revolution, 1989, maybe… 4th of June, Tiananmen. They think the [stability is] the most important things: "You students you are too young, you create chaos." So I guess some I can understand, but when you have the education background like me, you will ask for more.

Katie: They have better life in their economic life, but they can't understand, umm, other way[s], like policy or [an]other way than… [It was during] the '70s or '60s they, like, into China the things are like, ah… we have the only one person who says all the things, Xi Jinping, like, it's like…[209]

Katie and Jack went on expressing their displeasure at the politics around them. Jack, who had studied the Basic Law and State Council white paper in detail, complained multiple times that "when I need to discuss that kind of topic," I was suggesting constitutional law he would first need to have, "thirty minutes," to introduce the background to his interlocutor, "otherwise there is no platform, we can't discuss… How can we discuss something with no knowledge or no information? So it's difficult." Without recognition, encounters are difficult; they require emotionally laborious tolerance. Together that afternoon we laid out one counter-topography of Povinelli's genealogical discursive spaces, drawing contour lines connecting how material events (famine, political violence

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[208] Interview conducted in English (vernacular speech maintained), LoWu, Shenzhen, October 2014.
[209] Ibid.

and peaceful street occupation), can live on as symbolic and economic topographical lines in counter-topographies of relations between parents and children.

We were navigating Jack's topological home across four sites: his office, where he spends most long days isolated with other well-off lawyers; the apartment he shares with Katie and his daughters; his apartment in Hong Kong; and his parents' apartment only metres away from his Shenzhen home, where his two daughters were being cared for while we spoke. In the city without ground, each moment of encounter is produced out of countless strands of memory and power. People like Jack work diligently to produce Hong Kong's desired imaginary of groundlessness. As a commercial lawyer preparing complex transnational business contracts, he is paradoxically dependent on the very complexity he despises for the economic survival of himself and his family. That day, their low theory was that one generation prioritises the material over the symbolic; it manages for them the emotional labour of family life spanning multiple borders and allows for life's work amidst such failures of tolerance.

8.3 Entailment

> Tolerance as such is not the problem. Rather, the call for tolerance, the invocation of tolerance, and the attempt to instantiate tolerance are all signs of identity production and identity management in the context of orders of stratification or marginalization in which the production, the management, and the context themselves are disavowed. In short, they are signs of a buried order of politics. (Brown 2006:14)

Entailment, or "free tail," is a legal concept in Euro-American legal literature that dates back to the twelfth century (Shachar 2009:38). Technically, entail is a legal means of restricting future succession of property, a state-enforced set of relations of entitlements and duties, to the genetic descendants of a designated person (38). Entail acted as a tool in the context of emerging legal systems to preserve the land – and, indirectly, the social ways – of dynastical families across the generations, something that was not always well received by the succeeding generations (38). Entail represents the legal technique for the binding of bodies to the terrain in burgeoning state regimes, which Foucault analyses in his work on governmentality (2008). We are still living with the implications of this, and it helps to explain why the state is so interested in whom we love – their race, gender and education. Entail gives substance to the topological threads that bind power relations in the city without ground, threads that we see hotly debated between – and on behalf of – the subjective bodies, like those I have introduced in this dissertation, whose intimacy spans two socioeconomic systems.

Outside of strict legal definitions, the logic of entailment is one of embodied unsaleable privilege dictating that some bodies, usually defined by "race," but now increasingly by

"citizenships," are more disserving than others. Shachar argues that this logic lives on in the way state citizenship, for most of the world's population, defines an individual's possibility based purely on a "lottery of birth" (2009). Techniques for subverting this lottery abound; Mr Wu, the successful refugee, provides us with one example, as does Evelin, who married a man willing to fund her education in defiance of his siblings. However, regardless of their attempts at transformation through clandestinely crossing the border or meeting a man at a party, who their parents were still matters. Their parents live on in the wealth (or lack of it) and feeling rules (language skills and education) they have entailed to their children during childhood. In this way, the topography of the genealogical society is drawn around them.

Now that housing in both Shenzhen and Hong Kong has been thoroughly commoditised except for limited public housing stocks, it can now be entailed through the market. It has been freed to move across the border, something multiple practitioners observe; as Jessica noted, when mainlanders were just buying necessities, there was little objection, but now they are buying apartments. When Ken, quoted in Chapter 1, referred to the students who were boycotting class as we spoke as having "negative emotions… because they live in so small space, so how you – how you suppose people have positive emotions? When they live in, like, a jail?", he was trying to empathise with those unlike him, as his wealthy parents, far away in Northern China, were able to contribute to the down payment of his centrally located Hong Kong apartment. He sought to empathise with people like Frank (Chapter 7), Andrew (above) or Li Yun (Chapter 4).

Ken's solution talking with me that day was tolerance, taught by universities that were "temple[s] for the student to learn how to judge the society," not places where they were encouraged to have "different opinions." Within the very definition of entailment – of wealth and privilege being passed on through the body – is an opportunity to follow the bonds between land and body back through time. I have already begun to trace this in Chapters 5 and 6, in my history of Shenzhen and its borders to the north and south as thresholds. These were the borders that permitted Mr Lin and Mr Wu, in Shenzhen and Hong Kong respectively, to overcome the status entailed to them by the communist regime based on the life's work of their fathers. The new communist state in 1949, they reminded me, did not dissolve or replace logics of entail, but rather inverted it. Winners and losers of such redistributions remain acutely aware of the significance of their ancestors.

The topological strands of entail are strong, building links through time and supporting physical mobility – in Mrs Xu's case, from Indonesia through Fujian to Hong Kong and then Shenzhen, based on an emotional strategic flexibility she has entailed to her son, but in which he does not want to take part (Chapter 6). In the context of Mainland China, Shenzhen (and the other Special Economic Zones) represent special cases – zones of experimentation where the clans that owned land were given a degree of private ownership that allowed them to develop their villages or family plots into "handshake buildings" and lease or make business arrangements with capitalists, often familial relations in Hong Kong, to develop their agricultural land. I met few of these original villagers; many now

live, I was told, in the United Kingdom, Australia or other countries, fortunate recipients of a particular moment of entailment.

In the early years, each village had its own approach to developing its land. These often live on in the cityscape – some official, others more ad hoc. Most pronounced is the sign atop a 50-storey office building proclaiming it "Huanggang Village." However, when it came time to roll out this approach across the PRC, a different approach was used, carried out by a familiar body: Chief Executive C.Y. Leung. Like I noted in Chapter 1, in the 1980s he was a British-educated real-estate executive. He claims to have introduced the current system of "land use rights," modelled on Hong Kong, into Mainland China "[s]o that you could have the state owning the land, and private individuals and enterprises owning 'land-use rights.'"[210]

Though almost never mentioned in daily life outside of legal and real-estate specialists, property "ownership" in both Hong Kong and Mainland China is a legal phantasy. In both cities without ground, it is the state that distributes and remains the owner of the urban terrain.[211] In Hong Kong, the system is well established: it feeds the pockets of wealthy families able to meet the high up-front costs and risks it applies to development, and in 2014, it provided 18.5 per cent of government revenue,[212] making Hong Kong's high real-estate prices in part a form of indirect taxation. One of the key forces behind the push for negotiations between Beijing and London in the 1980s was private leaseholders' difficulties in getting bank finance beyond the expiry date of the New Territories master lease in 1899, to which their leases were subservient (Lui 2015).

Across the border, after several experiments in urban areas,[213] "Land Use Rights" as promoted by C.Y. Leung were introduced across the country: 70 years for residential construction and 50 years for commercial developments. In the PRC, land is now held by local governments who sell the rights to use it to developers, who in turn build and sell apartments to residents and investors. In 2007, a new property law was introduced to try and reassure people of the temporal future of their "assets." These "revisions clarified that the contracts will be extended but had not clarified the terms and conditions leaving significant uncertainty. For non-residential property, neither issue was clarified" (Anglin *et al.* 2014:89).

More significant to our understanding of cross-border family politics, family regimes and encounters is the 1998 rollout across the PRC of a modified version of the ownership model tested in Shenzhen. In July 1998, the State Council, the same body that issued the white paper on Hong Kong in 2014, announced that welfare housing distribution, which

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[210] http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-17594452 (accessed December 2016); see also Anglin *et.al.* (2014:87).
[211] Rural land in the PRC is governed by a separate set of laws.
[212] 18.5 per cent of government revenue in the financial year 2013–14. http://www.legco.gov.hk/research-publications/english/1516fs04-major-sources-of-government-revenue-20160610-e.pdf (accessed December 2016).
[213] Rural land reforms started earlier and had a different approach, though arguably they made the urban reforms possible. Rural landholders cannot trade or sell their land use rights unless their land is converted to urban land.

saw individuals and families allocated housing based on rank and social status rather than merit and need, "would be abandoned at the end of 1998 and completely replaced by monetary distribution" (Yang and Chen 2014:20). To achieve this, work units and state-owned enterprises encouraged residents of the housing they lived in to purchase their dwellings at vastly reduced rates, "allowing them to purchase the property at its direct construction cost or at a 'standard price' determined through the buyer's income and years of employment" (23). Within a year and a half, more than 60 per cent of urban housing stock had been sold to individuals, and by 2002, 80 per cent had been sold (Wang 2001). In my analysis, this nationwide adoption of the Shenzhen model signified an attempt by the Chinese state to entail a new "class" structure by setting a new framework of entitlement, one that altered the way life's work is approached and carried out for the country's urban population.

It is hard to comprehend the scale and repercussions of this entailment of wealth, which occurred less than two years after Hong Kong's peaceful handover. While there were always provisions for social- and government-supported housing in the policy, such as the assistance given to local Shenzhen Hukou holders noted in Chapter 1, these have had mixed results. Furthermore, property prices have boomed to become a major political actor, complicating intergenerational encounters and the formation of new family branches. Those outside of the official workforce in 1998 have been asked to enter a commodity housing market in a context that has not seen wages keep track with exploding housing prices, as "from 2002 to 2010, the housing prices in 35 major Chinese cities increased by 12.68 percent annually" (Yang and Chen 2014:25).

The transition to commodity housing is just one reason behind the PRC's phenomenal GDP growth in the last two decades. However, it has had an outsized effect on social reproduction. Jessica and many others noted to me that they now believed it cheaper and more secure to buy an apartment in Australia or the United States than in Shenzhen or other major Chinese cities. Living space, particularly in Shenzhen and other first-tier Mainland Chinese cities, had joined Hong Kong in the global commodity economy, making the next generation, embodied by Frank and Diane, dependent on their parents or entailed to others through outsized mortgages. Limits on access to domestic space do not make life's work impossible – each practitioner in this chapter had access to a comfortable home(s) – but it made permanent private housing a phantasmagorical "object of desire" in the Shenzhen Dream. This dream has become cruelly optimistic, in Berlant's terms – the thing we desire that may do us harm (2011).

Real estate has become a form of friction that holds regimes of family, state and enterprise together. The family's home(s) has become a commodified – but also entailed – material and symbolic space. Physically located but also topological, through financial instruments it is linked to distant markets, enterprises and state regimes. In Hong Kong and Shenzhen, however, this space also remains the origin point, the seemingly banal element of life's work: determining where one can go to school, and in turn determining one's friendships, one's affective citizenship. These aspects of life's work have an outsized

role in determining one's future possibilities. The family home also plays a critical role in one's ascriptive citizenship through applications for Hukou transfer and visa applications to travel overseas, where foreign governments frequently ask for property ownership as evidence of one's intention to return.

However, all these elements are unstable and dependent on the entailed subject's tolerance, patience and acceptance. As the State Council reminded Hong Kong residents before they took to the streets in 2014, the border between Hong Kong and the mainland does not separate socialism and capitalism or guarantee residual power. Rather, it "permits capitalism to remain," like a tenant, on a "long-term basis." The topological city is controlled by twisting, turning, looping relations of ownership and control, greased by families and traditions – "growth coalitions," as Smart and Lin (2004) call them in their analysis of the debates about extending the opening hours of control points. They argue that this process, like the negotiations around the Basic Law in the 1980s, paid special attention to the opinions of the representatives of the city's wealthy family-owned conglomerates and its possible effect on the value of their assets.

The occupations and grounded political resistance in 2014 were not the first in Hong Kong's history. Such acts of ground in the city without it have broken out at regular intervals across time to counter the power of growth coalitions. Each has arguably led to strategic concessions from whoever is in charge: from the development of public housing and social welfare policies in response to protests in 1967 (see Cheung 2009), to the strengthening of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy after protests over the violence of June 1989, to the shelving of proposals for a "sedition law" in response to marchers in 2003 (see Lui 2015); from the villagers resisting the 1989 British takeover of the New Territories, to the protesters in their tent "villages" on the roads of commerce in 2014. Those who laboured for the "high flyers" of global trade of each era have periodically made themselves known through acts of ground. In occupying road space, erecting tents and giving them addresses, the protesters were not addressing a new predicament, but staking their generation's discursive claim to life's work in the city without ground.

9 Conclusion

Figure 25. Marriage corner, Futian Park, Shenzhen (July 2014).

Looking for marriage on behalf of my daughter

Female; born in December [19]70. 160cm, 45kg, unmarried, economics master's degree, assistant professor, registered staff, plays instruments, teaches Pi Pa,[214] house owner. Parents are retired scholars.

Looking for a boyfriend.

Similar age, above 168cm, unmarried (or divorced without children), bachelor's degree with a stable job. Good personality and honest, good health.

Looking for marriage on behalf of my son

Male; born in 1984 in Hubei province. Family is from Hunan. 170 cm, graduated from a university of science and technology, computer science department. Bachelor's degree, works at a listed company, responsible for IT project and ranks as level 9 engineer. Currently works as a project manager with income over 300,000 RMB a year. Owns a house (90 square ,metres) in Longgang district, currently undergoing interior decorating.

Sincerely look for: a soft, pure and healthy lady with good personality, similar academic background, stable job and income, simple family relationship, simple relationship history. Contact Mother.

(Translation of selected advertisements from the Futian marriage corner, October 2014)

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[214] Pi Pa is a type of traditional Chinese instrument.

Encounters make new spaces (Massey 2005). In this dissertation, these are made between colonial powers and local inhabitants in Chapter 1; between researchers and research subjects in Chapter 2; between immigration control officers and travellers in Chapter 3; between lovers meeting for the first time in Chapter 4; between workers and managers in Chapter 5; between protesters and police in Chapter 8; and between parents and children in every chapter. It is in these new spaces that we can observe the reproduction of borders, of relations across difference. Each encounter is a moment of both possibility and limitation. It is the continuous and haphazard nature of these encounters that I have set out from the beginning of this dissertation to try and tie down temporarily for analysis. I propose that by accounting for the emotional work in these acts of reproduction, we can see, if only momentarily, how the subjective and the structural come together; we can brainstorm in-context strategies for turning alienating border frictions into productive ones.

The field of this dissertation has been the terrain covered by the road between Kowloon and what is now Shenzhen, and how it intersects with the practice of cross-border family politics. Over the dissertation's course, I have sought to trace an embodied genealogy of this terrain over the last three decades, from open fields patrolled by vicious dogs in Chapter 6; through chaotic streets filled with fortune seekers in the opening days of the Special Economic Zone in Chapter 5; to an apartment whose primary occupant is a two-year-old in Chapter 7; to the occupied streets of Admiralty on Hong Kong Island in Chapter 8. Each case has explored the complexities of cross-border family politics, the effect of border regimes as they pass beyond the apartment door.

To understand and describe these complexities, I have called on a collection of critical feminist geographic conceptual tools: the feminist problem and intersectionality introduced in Chapter 2, the topographical discursive spaces of the genealogical society introduced in Chapters 3 and 4, and the emotional labour which is present in all encounters. I have used these tools to draw counter-topographies of topological homes across this dissertation. Each of these conceptual tools seeks to add embodied "kitchen-sink" perspectives to a wider Marxist analysis of social reproduction.

In Chapter 1, I explained how this dissertation would pay particular attention to the complexity of life's work for the children studying in Isabella's classroom. In this conclusion, I turn to another site to draw together my argument: a site tucked away in the corner of Futian Central Park at the foot of Lianhua Mountain, famous for its views of Shenzhen's new Municipal Government Building – shaped like a traditional Hakka hat – and the mountains of the Hong Kong New Territories. At the apex of the mountain is one of the only statues of Deng Xiaoping, who, wary of the personality cults of his predecessors, specifically mandated he not be memorialised. In bright bronze, his arm is outstretched, finger pointing towards Hong Kong, whose hills are visible on the horizon.

At street level, discreetly hidden by trees, is a marriage corner. In the marriage corner, old and young, parents and children, rich and poor come together to search for people

with whom to create new branches of their family trees (Fig. 25). [215] In most cases, aging parents post brief, often handwritten notices either with or without their children's knowledge. These short texts succinctly capture the advertiser's (or their parents') own life's work and the type of life's work they hope to find embodied in their (or their children's) life partner. The advertisements are brief, benefitting from a well-developed genre of expressions – an evolving symbolic topography of the material and economic dimension of the genealogical society (Povinelli 2006). However, within them there are also moments of autology, personal dreams and desires. Maybe homeownership does not matter if one is kind and has a good sense of humour.

These brief notices show the interrelatedness of the regimes that Aihwa Ong identified in her work on flexible citizenship and the Asian diaspora: family, state and enterprise (1999). The park is quietly state-sanctioned; there is an official notice at one entrance and a park ranger close by. However, the relations that each ad proposes – a new *foundational event* (Chapter 4) – are topological; they twist, fold and squeeze through attempts by the state to control them. Each flyer is a proposal for a *topological home* (Chapter 7). Differences will define each home; encounters between gender, age and income are implied in each proposal. It is in the encounters between these differentiated bodies that productive friction occurs – friction, in Anna Tsing's formulation, between universals of life and particulars of society (2005). Specifically, these are the productive frictions between carnality (the judicial and political use of flesh) and corporality (the practical mattering forth of bodies) (Povinelli 2006:6).

Living with these frictions requires emotional work: the learning and using of feeling rules, the semi-conscious heuristics we develop to deal with encounters across difference (Hochschild 1983). Not all emotional work is alienating; most emotional work is deeply rewarding and necessary. A parent smiles at their child despite being drained and angry after a busy day. The young child, yet to understand the complexities of feeling rules, smiles back and fills the parent with joy. As Hochschild proposes, "We do not think twice about the use of feeling in the theatre, or in psychotherapy, or in forms of group life that we admire. It is when we come to speak of *exploitation* of the bottom by the top in any society that we become morally concerned" (1983:12, emphasis in original).

The moral concern of this dissertation is the alienation created by the "global mobility regime" (Salter 2006), which seeks to facilitate the movement of goods and capital and logics of accumulation while limiting and controlling the movement of labouring bodies. This regime relies heavily on particular genres of feeling rules for its development and maintenance – feeling rules that are developed and passed on through the generations. In this dissertation, I have examined the emotional labour in spaces of encounter that take place on the road between the workshop of Shenzhen and the capital-hosting "world city" of Hong Kong. I have traced the terrain's recent transformation from escape route for starving refugees to the assembly point of the iPhone, observing how this transformation

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[215] See http://www.szdaily.com/content/2014-11/13/content_10669630.htm for English overview (accessed December 2016).

has become embedded in the family regimes of the border practitioners I spoke with. I did not find universal solutions. Instead, *we* observed how space is produced and used through families to mitigate uncertainties produced by globalisation.

In this dissertation, I have woven together my embodied experience, practitioners' private tales and historical public documents. These individuals and their families have been at the frontline of the global mobility regime for the last three decades. I argue that the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border itself, as well as a significant portion of our global economy, is practised and reproduced through these practitioners' embodied encounters. Without them, we would not have access to the PRC's labour, capital and material resources, which have underwritten the global economy for the past few decades. As experts in tolerating inequality and difference, they have possessed dreams of autological becoming that have proved only partly phantasmagorical. Like Mr Lin in Chapter 6, some of those I spoke with arrived in Shenzhen or Hong Kong as unemployed "fortune seekers" and made modest fortunes. While these tales of survival excited me, it was how these deeply personal "impressionist tales" (Van Maanen 2011) were handed on to the next generation through the intergenerational encounter that inspires this academic study.

However, most of the practitioners I interviewed for this dissertation arrived in Shenzhen entailed with all the elements, especially education, political status and wealth, which made their successes seem inevitable and justified. However, in justifying their success to me, we began to question the very notion of "success." That question, *What does success mean?*, asks us to question the meaning of our "life's work," our role in reproducing "society." Drawing a definition of success requires us to engage with and acknowledge one of many phantasmagorical projections of an unknowable future – a future, as those who had lived their lives in proximity to this border constantly reminded me, which was subject to consistent oscillations of ideology and policy. Life's work and our discussion of it, I was repeatedly told, is temporal. After all, if we dig deep enough, even that most desirable of familial assets – the home – was built on borrowed land, as I describe in Chapter 8.

Such multivalence requires a theoretical perspective that accounts for border practitioners' ability to experience multiple worlds as once. To do so across this dissertation, I have relied on three key feminist theoretical perspectives that I loosely classify as adjective theories. Cindi Katz offers "minor theory," theory that stays in relation to major theory in order to scratch diligently at it (1996). Eve Sedgwick's "weak theory" invites us to use theories as shelters to protect us from strong, often alienating major theory (2006). Finally, J. Halberstam, building on the above two scholars, offers "low theory," which "seeks not to explain but to involve." Low theories entwine semiotic spaces with embodied experience, empowering our academic work not to define one perspective, but to "see two worlds at once" (2011:372). With an attention to these scholars' work, I developed three questions to structure my analysis:

1. How is the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border practised and reproduced in the lives of its practitioners?
2. What does this mean for our understanding of the global phenomenon of inequality that borders address?
3. What is the role of space in the performance of cross-border family politics?

To answer these questions, I have conceptualised Hong Kong and Shenzhen as *cities without ground*, to try and capture the way the border can be drawn in both topographical and topological space. This brief conclusion offers a chance to summarise the practices of *life's work in the city without ground* and point to where my conversations with border practitioners can assist scholars more broadly.

In the sections below, I address each question, drawing from the practitioners I have conversed with above. The purpose of this dissertation, my interviews and participant observation was never to draw out "causality," "correlation" or "truth." Rather, as I proposed in Chapter 2, this dissertation should be judged on its theoretical: sampling, saturation and adequacy. Therefore, I hope my findings are adequate relative to the subjects I have approached; my evidence is detailed enough relative to the topic at hand and comprehensive enough to mix with other researchers' interpretations of similar situations (Crang and Cook 2007:114–15). Academic research – I deeply believe, inspired by Donna Haraway – does not put us in charge of the world, but permits unqualified people to strike up non-innocent conversations by means of prosthetic devices and make room for the irony at the heart of all knowledge production (1988:594).

9.1 Dreams on the road to Kowloon

> *How is the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border practised and reproduced in the lives of its practitioners?*

Shenzhen might not have what other Chinese cities have, but on the other hand, it might have what other cities don't. When the city was established, Shenzhen did not have an "egalitarian practice of everybody eating from the same pot," but it did have a "profit sharing system" in companies. It did not have "iron rice bowls," but it did have the words "get the boot." Shenzhen was a "gold mine" for Chinese people in the 1980s and a springboard for the young to start their careers in the 1990s. At one time, "Shenzhener" was an admired title for all Chinese. "Go to Shenzhen" was considered a practical solution for Chinese to fulfil their personal dreams and self-worth in a certain period of time. (Yisi 2012:149)

It is striking that these moments of optimism, which mark a possibility that the habits of a history might not be reproduced, release an overwhelmingly negative force: one predicts such effects in traumatic scenes, but it is not usual to think about an optimistic event as having the same potential consequences. The conventional fantasy that a revolutionary lifting of being might happen in the new object or scene of promise would predict otherwise than that a person or a group might prefer, after all, to surf from episode to episode while leaning toward a cluster of vaguely phrased prospects. (Berlant 2010:101)

Henry, whose family history I explored in detail in Chapter 5, travels a version of the road between Kowloon and Hsinan described in the original lease of the New Territories. He told me that unlike his mother or uncle, travelling on bumpy private buses a decade and a half ago, his journey is almost completely underground in air-conditioned subway cars. The journey from the family's home in Shatin to his uncle's penthouse in Linhai still takes around the same amount of time as it did two decades ago. However, the duration does not bother him, he explained; he and all the other passengers have their iPhones – he used his own to gesture this to me as we spoke – to keep them occupied. If he so wished, he could take a connecting train and bus to where that phone was assembled.[216] He also told me that he does not wish to see himself as "Chinese" like his mother, that his story will be different to hers. For Henry, the physical crossing of the border is nearly frictionless: he usually talks to no one, and if he does, he speaks all the necessary languages. In contrast, for Evelin, whom I described in Chapter 3, and other women of her age, the border is thick with tension between their bodies, agents of the border regime and fellow passengers who instinctively deem them suspicious.

The feelings and face you present as you approach the border are personal; they depend not only on who you are and what you are carrying, but also why you are crossing and what is waiting for you on the other side. To answer this dissertation's first question, I must break it into two interrelated parts: first, how the border is practised, and secondly, how it is reproduced. This border is practised in multiple ways, at the control point each border practitioner would explain to me when I asked them to recount their journey across it, multiple signals and feelings that indicated they had crossed the border. The border was felt not only within the control point, but each time someone questioned a border practitioners' identity and asked them to justify their presence and their life's work. Across my conversations in the field, the border itself, with its biometric stalls, health inspectors and customs officers, turned out not to be the crucial event that I had hoped it would be. For most, especially those with the correct body and documentation, the border was simply "boring."

I struggled for some time with this idea that border security could be "boring," but after my first dozen crossings, I became bored with it myself. I learned, as Evelin and others reminisced to me in our interviews, that the border just crosses the path to the other side:

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[216] iPhone assembly has since moved to other locations in the PRC.

"You know I went to Hong Kong to get a Nobel Prize [winner's] signature before, in a very small French bookstore. At that time, I think Hong Kong is very culture and very, I don't know, very special, you know. You can meet a Nobel Prize winner… Now I, I don't know if it because [of] me or Hong Kong. I only care about the [shopping] discount" (see Chapter 3). Familiarity breeds contempt, and contempt is a hard feeling to communicate; Eric, who had grown up with the border, expressed his problems in communicating his experiences with his wife, who had only visited as a tourist or heard about it through her friends who had spouses pulling them to the other side (see Chapter 7).

When the border is experienced over time as opposed to the single visit, the traveller can become aware of how the border is reproduced and repackaged for the non-expert audience: the "tourist." For the elderly mainland tourists, whom I described as occupying Hong Kong space in the most visible way in Chapter 8, crossing the border is to participate in a phantasmagoria, an act of political and economic consumption. Some Hong Kong people, including Jessica and many other border practitioners, would tell me that they feared their city had (or would) become nothing more than a shopping mall. Those with a historical or reflexive awareness would note that this was the precise reason for the city's existence; they were just bit players, labourers in the grand production of the illusion of Hong Kong, the phantasmagorical *city without ground* (see Chapter 1).

However, ground matters; it is what sustains us, and through protest, famine or disease, it can remind us of its presence. Borders, therefore, are never made; they are only reproduced through encounters. For political-economic boundaries like the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border, these encounters can occur at negotiating tables, producing documents which are then translated into encounters between soldiers on the ground. Once the fireworks and speeches are over, both in 1899 and in 1997, the messy, embodied, emotional work of border practitioners must take over in constantly renegotiating what the border means. In this dissertation, I describe how the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border is reproduced and maintained through an embodied corporal interplay between autological impulses and the entailed possibilities ascribed to the body; between a practitioner's self-reflexive understanding of their "life's work" and possibilities ascribed by history and inheritance to one's body. As I argue across this dissertation, this is the inherent tension of citizenship.

Life's work is both a rhetorical expression and object of analysis that weaves together at least three types of genealogical space in this dissertation: symbolic space (the invitation to your wedding), material space (your unborn child growing inside of you) and economic space (the network of relations that provides the food and shelter that sustains you) (Povinelli 2006). These genealogical spaces, I argue, are bound together through autological (occurring within the self) emotional work produced by the friction of these encounters. Viewing what border practitioners would consider border events – applying for an ID card online, or the inspection of their bags by a customs officer – as moments of "transgovernmental friction" (Zhang *et al.* 2015) allows us to investigate border practices as multiple, rather than singular experiences (see Chapter 3).

Border events arise from encounters between multiple regimes which are all learning from each other. Border security regimes have their own symbolic economy of boundary objects enforced by agents of the state (Häkli 2015), built on understandings of the body inherited from genealogical understandings of society propagated by colonial scholars. These imported grids use sex difference and sexual reproduction as the defining logic for describing society and assigning possibility (Povinelli 2002). These logics of entailing possibility through the body become legitimised proxies for discrimination based on race or other bodily phenotypes (Shachar 2009). The "mobility regime" of entailed inequality, governing both social and physical mobility, is a global phenomenon that borders address, repair and maintain rather than create. The system I observe is highly dependent on cultural logics: of dreams, of "cruel optimisms" (Berlant 2011; Chapter 6) and entailed emotional tolerances for the genealogical order of things (Brown 2006; Chapter 8). Tolerance produces frictions that hold this system of inequality together while also producing valuable heat for participants. Borders and mobility are not universally evil; rather, they produce a multiplicity of forms of violence and sovereignty. In the context of this graduated sovereignty, each practitioner makes his or her own subjective, topological way through the counter-topography of violence and possibility entailed to them.

Regimes of family, state and enterprise are forced together in one site: the home. Cindi Katz notes that while capital remains highly mobile, children and their material necessities are not (2001). Children produce a particular type of agency that forces other members of the family to pay special attention to space. For the family, the home becomes the most critical space(s) on the topographical map, the physical space in which the new family branches proposed by the signs in the marriage park will be formed. Housing has always been political; it is the grounded space of reproduction, the necessary field for the development of the next generation. In this dissertation, however, to view "home" as a single site is complicated. As I explained in Chapter 2, I could not situate myself in the home, because for border practitioners the home is not a Euclidian place, but a topological space (Kallio 2016). For Eric's two-year-old daughter in Chapter 7, home is *both* in Shenzhen and in Hong Kong.

The home is a critical site of encounter across difference, most notably age and gender. The vast majority of parents I spoke with lived in multi-generational homes with grandparents or paid carers who were as critical to each child's daily life as their parents. When we speak of family, dreams and social reproduction in Hong Kong and Shenzhen, we must always look beyond the foundational event – the reproductive couple – and see the home as the product of multiple lives' work, spanning multiple definitions and dreams of success. The home is where we develop our genres of feeling rules towards others and our tolerances for inequality, which define the limits of our autology.

Paying attention to the intergenerational encounter within the topological home – or on city streets, as occurred during the 2014 street occupations – forces us to address the symbolic, material and economic ground in the city that seeks to appear groundless.

While the leasing of ground and the commodification of housing has a long history in Hong Kong, the purchase of a home – a new, separate ground – was a prospect that was impossible from the 1950s to the 1990s in Mainland China. Urban housing was assigned by the state and based on your (and your proposed family's) suitability and worth in its eyes. By controlling housing through its agents, the state had a critical tool for determining intimate possibility. The transition from "welfare" to "commodity" housing produced a generational border and reinstated a new dimension to the intergenerational encounter and the formation of new family branches (Yang and Chen 2014).

The commodification of housing mapped a new terrain of inheritance over Mainland China's urban population. Like the villagers farming the land at the activation of the British lease in 1899, they were encouraged to register the titles for their property and to hold permission to use it for a defined period. As I discussed in Chapter 8, those who took best advantage of this transition became the new landed class, able to entail their wealth onto subsequent generations. The economic boom created by this and other policies in the 1990s seems unforeseen by the generation who renegotiated Hong Kong's border with the mainland (Lui 2015). Through adapting Hong Kong's policies, mainland cities have turned the housing market from a material into a symbolic "enchanted" tool of governmentality (Bennett 2001). The interests of property-owning families have become commingled with those of the state, creating a shared genre of tolerances for inequality.

On either side of the Shenzhen River, the purchase of a home is both symbolically and materially an act of optimism and commitment to the state regime – optimism for the new couple being formed and for the longevity of the border itself. As Diane and Frank explained in Chapter 7, their apartment was a critical actor in the history and future of their relationship. As I peppered them and other practitioners with questions about their identity, how they presented themselves to others and defined their position versus the state, our conversations kept circling back to why I was interested in how they described their home. However, such deflections hid a critical fissure: those without property responded differently. Those without property suggested that I "follow the money," often with visible anger directed at those from the other side of the border.[217] Following the money is one approach, but it does not address the role of their feeling of anger expressed towards me. Life's work, both before and after the transition to commodity housing, was restrained through the home, first through welfare housing and now through subsidies and market regulation.[218] Viewing how such inequality is tolerated offers an insight into the wider global phenomenon of inequality that borders address.

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[217] The feeling of anger can be directed at limitations and inequities in both Hong Kong and Shenzhen property markets.
[218] In Chapter 6, I address the Mao-era class system.

9.2 Feeling the friction of borders

How can the experiences of border practitioners and the Hong Kong–Shenzhen boundary develop our understanding of the global phenomenon of inequality that borders address?

> Coping with the costs of emotional labour calls for great inventiveness... These struggles, like the costs that make them necessary, remain largely invisible because the kind of labour that gives rise to them – emotional labour – is seldom recognized by those who tell us what labour is. (Hochschild 1983:197)

> …[A]pologists for intimacy argue that the point is not whether intimate sovereignty is true of false description of actual liberal life. Those who claim intimate freedom as the singular achievement of the West, insist that the shift from social status to intimate contract, from social determination to individual freedom, is a true description of an emergent norm. It is a method of constituting two kinds of truth about the subject and her social world, one reduced to mere fact and the other raised to a normative end, and it creates two kinds of worlds, starkly separated and morally opposed. (Povinelli 2006:208)

In the opening chapter, I situated myself in the sensorium of Isabella's after-school study centre classroom, overlooking the Lok Ma Chau control point and the Shenzhen River. She explained to me how she profited and lost from a combination of frictions: transgovernmental friction that separated the mobility rights of children from their parents; friction between enterprise regimes and the housing market that made living in Hong Kong impossible as a single person on an ordinary wage. Finally, she pointed out that friction between the traveller-traders, seeking to take advantage of the border, and local residents, who sought to use the same terrain to maintain social bonds, left her without "place." Each friction produced a different type of emotional work; each encounter required a different emotional response, often contradictory. She explained to me how she possessed the ability to live with two worlds at once, though there was a cost. Like Hochschild's flight attendants, Isabella communicated its cost to me privately; our encounter used different feeling rules to those she used with her students and their parents. These different presentations of self are emotional labour, and it is through emotional labour that border practitioners *feel the friction of borders*: both political-economic borders between Hong Kong and Shenzhen, and more embodied borders such as those between parent and child or lovers and in-laws.

Skilled border practitioners like Isabella have already factored these costs into their relationships. It is we, as scholars and policymakers, who have not, and if we have, it has been lost in structural analysis. I hope this dissertation can draw attention to what border practitioners can teach us. Their conceptualisations of the global phenomenon of inequality that borders address were not based on distant events, but on a specific

phenomenon they had direct emotional and economic investment in. To answer my second question, I must again break it into two parts. First, borders are entailed (socially reproduced) genres of feeling rules with real physical implications. Isabella sustains and feeds herself because her students' parents are willing to expend capital to have their children inherit the genre of feeling rules they believe she possesses. Secondly, border practitioners, like Hochschild's flight attendants, create private mental spaces through which they address the contradictions in their life's work; when Ken (Chapter 1) crosses the border after a weekend with his daughter, he feels sad, but then his mind "switches to work."

Hochschild identified three possible stances that flight attendants (and other emotional workers) could take towards their emotional work. I repeat them here, adapted to my material, with the same proviso as Hochschild: these are observations of a human multiplicity, not definitive categories (1983:187). The first is complete engagement, in which the single state (or a nativist Hong Kong) set of feeling rules occupy the border practitioner; they refuse to acknowledge the existence of multiple mental worlds. In my archive, this makes cross-border life unsustainable. I encountered this denial of borders often among interlocutors with little border-crossing experience. It also existed in the initial moments of interviews, as practitioners assessed what I expected them to say and with which feeling rules I should be addressed. The second stance is complete estrangement, in which the practitioner disengages from the duality she inhabits. She "is less likely to suffer burnout; but she may blame herself for making the very distinction and denigrate herself," like some I spoke with did, as "just an actor" (187). Such insincerity can be seen when the border becomes a strong signifier, somewhere she rushes towards the moment the workday ends.

In the final stance, workers distinguish themselves from the act. They become more than their entailed identity, though usually they do not express it so directly, like Jack in Chapter 8. Raised in Shenzhen, educated in the United Kingdom and Hong Kong, Jack claims to "see everything," to know both sides of the border well enough to be able to manipulate the gap in knowledge in pursuit of his autology. It is the individual reflexive journey of reaching this final stance that inspired many to come and speak with me, or to continue to speak with me after we had established our shared relationship with the border. While I believe this to be the most sustainable approach, as it gives the practitioner back a sense of control, it leads us into the trap Povinelli finds in the trope of the "foundational event" of intimacy and arrival (2006). Jack's escape from the politics of the mainland he despises was made possible by his parents' wealth and the quality of his early education.

The same friction that bothered him in our interview, the anger he feels towards a world of lies he feels surround him, are the same frictions that make his life's work possible. Tolerance of entailment, of the transfer of possibility through the body, is the friction that holds the global mobility regime together, with its stronger borders for people and weaker borders for capital and goods. This contradiction, Povinelli notes, creates two morally opposed worlds – in Jack's case, one for his parents and one for himself and Katie. In our

conversation, as in many others, the two worlds remained tolerant and interdependent of each other. It was his parents who were taking care of Jack's children so we could speak. Jack, like all border practitioners, is feeling his way through the friction of borders, developing feeling rules of *tolerance* through which to address the moral incompatibility of reconciling the two morally opposed worldviews Povinelli identifies: one view held by advocates for intimacy and phantasmagoria, the other held by apologists for genealogy, the defenders of entailment (2006:208).

Tolerance is both a feeling rule and a "para-state," "para-legal" discursive practice aimed at permitting inequality (Brown 2006). Tolerance for inequality is required for the logics of entailment to be sustainable. Entailment argues that certain bodies be permitted to be socially mobile at different rates to others. Entailment is implicit in notions of graduated sovereignty that apply different possibilities to different bodies strategically within a population (Ong 2006). If the opportunity created by state and inter-state ascriptive citizenship are passed on, like the legal doctrine of entailed property, through a hereditary, heterosexual process, the state is driven to become an "apologist for intimacy," telling those it subjugates that intimacy and love, rather than redistribution, offer a way out of the often-racialised "grid" of entailment they find themselves trapped in (Povinelli 2002; Chapter 4).

We cannot upend and remove the underlying logic of entailment; to do so would invoke tremendous physical and emotional violence, as the arrival of the communist government did to Mr Lin and Mr Wu in Chapter 6. To upend entailment again would only entrench another new system of entailment; we are unfortunately destined to live with this mode of reproduction. However, I argue that scholars and policymakers working on mitigating the material impacts of entailment should pay more attention to the success and failure of the intergenerational transfer of feeling rules within the family, in schools and in public discourse. Whatever the material benefits may be for the population of a policy proposal, neglecting to analyse a policy proposal for possible instances of alienating emotional labour dooms them to fail – or, at the minimum, to face resistance.

Mitigating this alienation is the work of governmentality, the tactics of the most complex methods of power which target the population directly (Foucault 2008). Graduated sovereignty offers the state one solution through multiplying and de-territorialising power, placing it at the body rather than the work unit, city or region. It allows some to profit from their intimacy and their autology, enabling a world of individual dreams – dreams that Mr Lin formed listening to the radio, huddled under his blanket (Chapter 6); dreams that set him off on the road to Hong Kong. It is the same liberating of autology (see Chapter 5) that Deng Xiaoping and Yuan Geng sought to inspire in the founding of Shenzhen, which convinced Mr Lin to stay after his final attempt to flee.

I argue that the friction of encounters and the transmutation of feeling will not be improved by reverting to the binary logics that led us here. Rather, actions at the everyday and the public-policy levels need to record an awareness of the emotional friction actions will create. Drawing counter-topographies lets us see existing frictions and allows us to

brainstorm the new frictions created by each intervention in systems for assigning possibility (Katz 2001). In drawing these counter-topographies, it is critical to pay attention to the topological home, the space produced by family politics. The topological home is a space built on differences that connects locations (Kallio 2016); it is a space that contorts, squeezes and folds so that it can pass through the border. It makes use of the very logics of the Hong Kong–Shenzhen border itself to sustain and subvert it.

Despite all its contortions, the home remains a space built and regulated based on understandings inherited from genealogical society (particularly gender and age). As I have recorded in Chapter 6, historical attempts to dissolve entailment have failed to produce equality. It is the friction of encounters in the topological home that makes the labour of life's work rewarding. Taking away border frictions may limit possibility as much as retaining them would. However, we still must pause and dwell on the family encounter in making policy decisions. We must *bring the family back in* – not as a grid through which to structure inheritance of possibility, but as a laboratory for practising encounters.

9.3 Accounting for the future

What is the role of space in the performance of cross-border family politics?

> Produced through and embedded in practices, from quotidian negotiation to global strategizing, these implicit engagements of space feed back into and sustain wider understandings of the world. The trajectories of others can be immobilized while we proceed with our own; the real challenge of the contemporaneity of others can be deflected by their relegation to a past… (Massey 2005:8)

Encounters across difference create a multiplicity of new spaces. Cross-border families use these new spaces as a tool for repairing and maintaining their regime. They act strategically and skilfully against limitations placed on their expansion by other regimes such as the state. Moving members of the family across borders to study, work or give birth is a regime strategy to hedge against an unknowable future. It is not a new concept; rather, it is one deeply entwined with the history of colonialism and the global mobility regime. Middle-class British families sent their sons (and it was almost always sons) to lead the colony of Hong Kong, and Chinese families sent their sons through Hong Kong to work in the "new world" and return with riches (Sinn 2013).

If movement and encounter make new political spaces which can disrupt entailment, how are parents, lovers and workers meant to account, and make plans, for entailing possibilities to their children? The occupation of road space in September 2014 is one example of a new political space that was made possible by both failures and successes of strategies of patience and tolerance (see Chapter 8). The petering out of the occupation

showed how tolerance, like all emotional tasks, is available and used by all parties at the encounter. In interview encounters, I tried to draw out practitioners' opinions of the future of the border by asking how long they believed it would last. I received a variety of responses, from defiance ("We will not let it happen") to encouragement ("It must go away"; "We are part of the same family… however, that family is not represented by the Communist Party"). I do not propose that border practitioners have one definitive perspective; rather, I was asking an unanswerable question that required them to imagine an unknowable future using an inconsistent and unstable past.

It was Eric who embodied most directly the role of *time* as mediator in our understanding of borders (Chapter 7). Like many other parents I interviewed, Eric said that he had contradictory feelings about the future and the past. One genre of feelings proposed action, a plan to study so they could have another child and move to Hong Kong; another proposed uncertainty and a belief that the border might disappear in 20 years, in which case the emotional and physical labour of sending his daughter to study in Hong Kong would be in vain. In a similar way, when I asked Evelin about this in the context of her unborn son, she did not have a direct answer, but she was thinking globally: her son would maybe go to high school, or at least university, in the United States (Chapter 3). She was not imagining these plans out of respect for the American way of life,[219] but as a desire to hedge her family regime against future uncertainties – reproducing the very role her family saw her as taking on by giving birth to her son in Hong Kong.

Evelin, like Gillian and many others, were discussing, and dreaming of, making their families more *topological* – stretching their homes across nearby borders or vast oceans. In endeavouring to labour physically and emotionally for their dreams, they were in good company. Writing about Hong Kong's early years, Elizabeth Sinn tells us of British Hong Kong's role as mediator in the circulations of labour to the Americas and Australia. Hong Kong, she argues, offered these labourers a degree of protection. In Povinelli's formulation passengers could leave their genealogical networks behind, becoming autological subjects in Hong Kong before departure and reducing the very real risk of becoming enslaved on their journey (Povinelli 2006; Sinn 2013).

In attempts to ensure their survival, family, state and enterprise regimes seek out spaces. These spaces could be physical, like American universities or Hong Kong Island in the eighteenth century; they could be imaginary shared translocal ethnicities, or they could be political philosophies (e.g. "Time is money, efficiency is life" as discussed in Chapter 5). Like the English lords developing legal structures of entail, the families I interviewed hoped to use the state law regimes around them to *entail* possibilities onto their descendants. For families able to access the border, whether they were within walking distance of Hong Kong like Mr Wu's family (Chapter 6) or wealthy enough to have a "plan B" and able to send members to the United Kingdom and then Hong Kong like

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[219] She explained to me that she didn't think she could "get used to the Western lifestyle," describing her trouble with food on a recent trip to Europe.

Jack's family (Chapter 8), space acts as a tool for using the regime's resources to *mitigate* and overcome local uncertainties.

We cannot escape genealogy, but we can develop spatial strategies and feeling rules to mitigate its effects. When I asked about the future, practitioners would try and reassure both themselves and me that the future would be all right. Such feelings of optimism may be cruel, but they are also necessary to live an emotionally stable and fulfilling life. Looking back at the past, to our ancestors, we were never fully constrained or free. It is from feeling that we learn our self-relevance vis-à-vis the world. Thinking about the future asks us to place something – a goal or a dream – between our feelings and our (or others') interpretation of them. On this point, we are all slaves to our bodies and the phantasmagorias we have inherited.

In Haraway's terms, we just dwell here making the most of our tools, our "visualising strategies" or "prosthetic devices" (1988). We do not seek to produce definitive accounts, but to "understand the interrelation of multiple versions of reality" (Crang and Cook 2007:149). Ken, Evelin and others problematised my attempts to make them represent the world as limited and definable. When I asked Ken, "Do you think she [your daughter] will think she is from China or Hong Kong?", he said he was "not sure." He challenged me, "I don't think people will thinking so much deep about this questions [*sic*]," and I reflexively responded, "Only people like me." He replied nonchalantly, "It's your research," and we changed the topic.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Interview grid

[Opening] This is a conversation about; official identity, Hong Kong, Shenzhen and how these two places relate to your wellbeing. I would like to record it, and I have a list of points I would like you to cover. You don't have to answer everything and you can add anything that I miss.

A: Family Situation & History
- How did you first meet? [Your love story…]
- How did your relationship develop?
- When did you start living together? Describe the process?

B: Crossing the Border
- When you cross from Shenzhen to Hong Kong, what do you notice is different? Is there a moment of transformation?
- Walk me through a typical border crossing. How do you feel at each stage?
- Where do you feel more comfortable and why?
- Are there any rituals that you perform before you leave the house if you know you are going to cross the border? Or rituals at the border?
- How did you come to get your current identity documents? Walk me through the process, step by step, explaining what each step meant to you.
- How do you narrate or tell the story of your identity, and how is it perceived by others?
- Do you ever imagine what is going on in the minds of the immigration officials?
- If you were to lose your identity card, how would you feel? What would be your first action?

C: Negotiating Identity Within the Household
- How is official identity discussed within your household/family? Do you ever quarrel about your official identity with your partner?
- What would you say the identity of your house is as a place? How did you choose to decorate your house?
- How have your views changed since you moved in together?
- What are the positive and negative consequences for your household wellbeing caused by your official identity?
- How do you use your official identity to access services in Hong Kong vs. Shenzhen?
- How do you describe your household to others?

D: Generational Change
- What do your parents/children think? [About your relationship, cross-border travel, etc…]
- Compare changes in your emotional identity with changes in your official identity.
- How do you narrate your partner's/parents'/children's identity vs. your own?
- Tell me the history of your family's relationship with the border?
- How do you think your identity will change in the future? [How long do you think the border will remain?]

[Additional question from October 2014: Where do you get your "news" from? Which papers/apps? Do you use a VPN (Virtual Private Network) to access blocked sites, and why/why not?]

Ask me any questions?

Appendix 2 – Research agreement

UNIVERSITY of OULU
OULUN YLIOPISTO
奥卢大学

Department of Geography
地理学院

Moments of Inspection: Movement, Identity & Dwelling at the Hong Kong-Shenzhen Boundary

审查时刻; 香港，深圳边界活动，身份认证及寓所

Research Agreement
小组调研同意书

Contents 内容

1. Academic Context 学术内容
2. Aim and Key questions 调研目的和主要问题
3. Method 采访方式
4. What information will be collected?需要的信息
5. How information will be stored 信息的保存方式
6. Privacy & Confidentiality 隐私及保密
7. Future use of material 调研结束后材料的使用
8. Dispute resolution 解决纠纷
9. Signature Page 签字页

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Supervisors 导师:

Professor Anssi Paasi 教授 – anssi.paasi@oulu.fi
Dr Lauren Martin 博士– lauren.martin@oulu.fi

1. Academic Context[221]

This project is to collect material to be used towards the completion of Jonathan Burrow's Doctoral Degree (PhD) in Human Geography at the *University of Oulu.* The majority of the project funding, including the researcher's salary is provided by the *Borders, Mobilities and Identities Research Group*, within the Department of Geography at the University of Oulu.

The *Borders, Mobilities and Identities Research Group* is funded by the Academy of Finland (the Finnish Government Academic Research Funding Body). The project is overseen by two academic supervisors; Professor Anssi Paasi and Dr Lauren Martin. It has been approved by the University of Oulu, Office of Graduate Studies Committee.

2. Aim and Key Questions 目标和主要问题

The aim is to investigate how groups relate emotionally to state assigned identity at two locations, the *space of cohabitation* or apartment and the *mobile body*. Of special interest is how intimate groups interpret and negotiate differences in state assigned identity.

Key research questions the project is seeking to answer;

- How do individuals respond emotionally and through actions to their interactions with actors and objects linked to the enforcement of state-assigned identity?

- How are differences in state-assigned identities and access to state services interpreted and negotiated within cohabitating groups?

- How is generational change interpreted by cohabitating groups in relation to state assigned identity, and economic and political development in Shenzhen and Hong Kong?

3. Method 采访方式

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[221] Copy handed to participants included Chinese language translation alongside each English statement.

This project uses an ethnographic methodology; involving, formal recorded interviews, participant observation and collected materials.

Location: The preference is to interview you in your home, if this is not possible for any reason I can arrange an alternative venue.

Language: You are free to participate using any of the three languages; English, Mandarin or Cantonese. Where possible and practical I will have an interpreter with me to make sure I understand you correctly as my Chinese language skills are limited. I may also record our conversations so I can study them latter in detail.

Interviews:

I would like to conduct interviews with you about the stories of your household (I particularly like love stories), your life now and your thoughts about travelling across the border.

With your permission I (or a translator/transcribers) will record and transcribe these interviews into English.

Observations & Diaries：

I want to collect; notes and observations about the events and places where your identity documents are checked. These are the times when someone asks to see your; identity card or passport. For example at the immigration checkpoint or opening a bank account. I want to know what you are feeling at that moment, did they make you happy, sad, or angry?

I am really interested in how you manage your different residency statuses when you are at home, and moving between Shenzhen and Hong Kong. If I am able to spend time observing family activities that would be great, this is not a significant or essential part of my project, the main aim is to understand how your experience is different to mine.

Object Map

I if you have collected multiple types of information with you I would like to produce a 'border crossing map'. We will lay different objects out on a table and discuss them, making a story or map about how they fit together for you. You get to keep all the

pieces, but I would like to video you making and talking about the map. This is an opportunity for me to check that I have understood and interpreted what you have said to me correctly.

Finally if you participate in multiple parts of the project I would like you to fill in a quick questionnaire about how you thought the project went. This is your chance to tell me what you did and didn't like about participating. If you don't want to share this directly with me you can send it to my Supervisor, and she will give me your comments anonymously.

You are free to leave the project at any stage.

4. What information will be collected? 需要收集的信息

Field notes: When I am with you I will be taking field notes. This means I'll always have a pen and paper with me, taking notes on what I see, hear, smell and feel. I type these up at the end of the day then I categorize or code each piece of information to see how different participants and groups address the same issue.

Photos: With your permission I will take digital photographs when I'm working with you. I will categorizes these photo's to help me when I am writing. If you want a copy of all the photo's I take with you I can send them to you electronically. I might want to use a photo of you later on in publications, but I will ask your permission first if the photo identifies you.

Video & Audio: With your permission I would like to video record the Induction and Object mapping sessions and audio record other conversations we have. This is so I (or a translator/transcriber) can transcribe (type out) exactly what was said to make sure I have understood everything correctly. I may also want to use some of the video or audio later on, again I will seek you permission if the, material identifies you.

Transcripts: I will transcribe as much of the audio and video I record as possible into text and then translate this text into English. This may be done by a translator/transcriber who will not know your identity and keep your information confidential.

Collected items: I will collect categorize/code what you share with me as part of the diary exercise. If you give me any non-electronic items, I will take a photo of them and give the item back to you.

Question? Is there any type of information you do not want me to collect? _____...

Question? If there are members of your group under 18 years old, are the adult members comfortable with me collecting information from them? If so are there any particular procedures you would like me to follow?_____...

5. How information will be stored 收集的信息怎样保存

I will keep two copies of your information; an *archive* copy in the original format I collected it, photo's video, field notes etc. This copy will be stored on SD memory cards, in a locked office at the University of Oulu in Finland. The second copy will be a *working* copy that I will keep with me on an encrypted portable hard drive so that I can make notes, categorize, review them etc. as I travel around.

If you want a copy of the information I collected with and from you, I will give it to you as long as it doesn't infringe on someone else's right to be anonymous. If you change your mind and realize you really shouldn't have sent or said something please contact me so I can permanently delete it for you and exclude it from my analysis.

If you change your mind and really don't want me to record or write anything about you anymore, let me know and I will remove you from the project, this happens in all ethnographic projects so don't be afraid!

6 Privacy & Confidentiality 隐私和保密

You are anonymous in the context of this project, this means when I take notes I do not use your real name, but a system of codes. When I write about you to other people I will give you a pseudonym (fake name) and do my best to make it so people won't be able to work out who you are. Images are harder to make anonymous, but I will always ask you before publishing an image that identifies you.

Unfortunately ethnographers **do not** have "client privilege" like Lawyers. So there is a small chance, which I will do everything practical to avoid, that someone you don't

want to will get hold of your information. **If you don't want me to record or take notes on something please tell me, and I will not.** This is accepted practice in ethnographic research so I will not be offended and will not affect the success of this project.

In many cases there will also be an interpreter present during our meetings. They will act professionally and respect your privacy. I may also use the services of a translator to assist me in transcribing our conversations; translators will receive material in an anonymous format.

7. Future use of materials 调研结束后材料的使用

The information I collect with be the primary sources used to write my doctoral dissertation. It will also be used to write academic journal articles.

To write my dissertation and these articles I take your information (anonymously), break it down and compare it with other people's information and how it relates to what other academics have written. Then I come up with an argument and express it in academic text (maybe with a diagram or picture).

I may also use your material to write non-academic text, such as magazine articles, webpages, videos etc. I will always ask before using material that identifies you. Please keep in touch so that I can seek you permission and also send you a copy of what I produce.

8. Dispute resolution 解决纠纷

This project will cover a number of months and your circumstances may change, and cause you to reconsider your involvement in the project. The purpose of this document is to make you aware of the full extent of the research project and make you aware that you have the full right to with draw as individuals or a group from this project at any stage. If this happens I will delete your information and remove you from my analysis.

If you feel that you would like to complain about my behaviour or have someone mediate to help resolve an issue with this project you can contact my supervisors by email; Lauren Martin lauren.martin@oulu.fi or AnssiPaasiAnssi.Paasi@oulu.fi

I have also prepared a short list of family and individual support services in Hong Kong and Shenzhen for you to keep. If I do not feel comfortable with something you are telling me, I may ask you to contact one of these services rather than discuss that issue with me.

Thank you, and I look forward to working with you,

Sincerely 博士生

Jonathan Burrow
PhD Researcher
Department of Geography 地理学院
University of Oulu 奥卢大学

[Followed by signature form]

Appendix 3 – Archive of cases

I describe the collection of interviews, notes and the photos I took – the objects and documents I collected – as my archive. This is a framing common amongst the feminist and queer scholars I draw on in framing my methodology (see Chapter 2). Calling it an archive allows me to remind the reader that, like state, family and enterprise archives, its contents are cumulative and situational. In each interview, I called upon the external political and physical context and previous interviews in my questions and responses. I have endeavoured to account for this in my writing style, but as an added support to the reader, below I have produced short summaries of the border practitioners I spoke with. I have also included contemporaneous events in Hong Kong and Shenzhen that impacted on my conversations.

March – Week 10 2014 – Research plan approved.
   Week 12 – I met this middle-aged man from Mainland China in his Shenzhen office. He had met his Hong Kong-born wife at a business meeting. When we spoke, his wife and two children had recently moved to Hong Kong to start school. However, he has attempted to find work in Hong Kong multiple times unsuccessfully. When we speak, he is working and living in Shenzhen during the week, only returning to Shenzhen on weekends to be with his children.

April – Week 17 – I interviewed this couple separately over two days. The husband was from Western Europe, and his wife was from Jiangxi province. They had met at an upmarket hotel in Dongguan, where she was working at the reception while he was a recently arrived manufacturing apprentice. They have a seven-year-old Hong Kong-born son who has just started school in Hong Kong. We discuss the challenge of having their relationship recognised by the Hong Kong Immigration Department.

May – Week 22 – This young couple, in their late twenties, met at university near Shanghai. Though originally from Hong Kong, he grew up near Shanghai because his Hong Kong parents were running a factory. He was shy, and they did not fully form their relationship until he discovered she was applying to study abroad in the United States. They "talked a lot," but it was too late – she had already made her plans. However, after completing a master's degree in Hong Kong, he followed her as a student to the United States. They moved to Shenzhen to be close to the border so that he could work in Hong Kong and she in Shenzhen while they waited for her one-way permit, which would allow them to be together in Hong Kong.
   – We spent a morning on this experienced businessman's upper-level Shenzhen balcony overlooking the hills of Hong Kong. He arrived in Shenzhen as a schoolteacher in the early '90s. Shortly after arriving, he moved into trading goods produced in Shenzhen,

with a focus on South East Asian markets. We discussed the changes in Shenzhen and Hong Kong society through the lens of his primary-school-aged son.

– This young woman, who grew up in Shenzhen, initially moved to Hong Kong to do her master's degree. Afterwards, she found work in Hong Kong. The week before we spoke she had quit her job; with that in mind, we discussed the differences between work opportunities in Hong Kong and Shenzhen.

June – Week 23 – 4 June (Wednesday) – *Annual Tiananmen Vigil draws large crowd to Victoria Park and sparks a counter-vigil by "localists" in Tsim Sha Tsui (see Chapter 6).*

Week 24 – 10 June (Tuesday) – *State Council publishes the white paper "The practice of the 'One Country, Two Systems' Policy in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region," asserting that the population had no "residual power."*

– This young designer from northern China came to do a master's degree in Hong Kong and stayed. We discussed how he uses his remarkable English language skills to pass as British Chinese in Hong Kong.

– This young man was brought up in Shenzhen and educated in northern China. He moved to Hong Kong to do his master's degree. Now, three years later, he works as a bank teller in Sheng Shui, Hong Kong while living with his parents in Shenzhen. He is waiting out seven years in an unsatisfying job so that he can gain Hong Kong permanent residency. He was the first to clearly say, "What's the point of having a Hong Kong ID if I cannot buy a house and therefore find a girlfriend?"

– This was a mother and son; the mother arrived in Shenzhen in the '90s and earned and then lost a fortune. We discussed the history and future of the cross-border Shuike trade. Her son, about to graduate from high school, explained how he regularly travels to Hong Kong to play "role-playing" games.

Week 25 – This middle-aged Hong Kong public sector employee started coming to Shenzhen around a decade ago for "fun." I spoke with him over a meal, with his girlfriend and her sister present. He met his girlfriend, from central China, in Shenzhen seven years ago; he now shares a flat with her in Shenzhen, where she works in retail. However, he still maintains a flat on Hong Kong Island to sleep in during the week.

Week 26 – This specialist auditor from Hong Kong in his late twenties still shares a room with his little brother in his parents' flat. He spends his weekdays on assignment in different Mainland Chinese cities, but returns each weekend to Hong Kong. I interviewed him with his girlfriend, who also lives with her parents in Hong Kong.

1 July (Tuesday) – *The annual public holiday to mark the 1997 transfer of sovereignty is marked by a large protest march through Hong Kong Island.*

I was unable to cross the border for most of July, as my passport was with the Shenzhen Public Security Bureau while they processed my visa application.

August – Week 32 – *First announcement seeking interviews posted on SinaWeibo.*

– Shenzhen office worker from northern China, married to a Hong Kong man who lives with his parents in Hong Kong during the week. He returns on the weekends to be with their infant daughter, who lives with her mother and grandparents in Shenzhen.

Week 34 – Evelin – Introduced in Chapter 3, Evelin is a Hong Kong master's student from Shenzhen in the late stages of her pregnancy. We discussed the border's impact on her and on others in her situation. She met her husband, from a wealthy trading family, at a party held by a mutual acquaintance; after she got married, her husband supported her to fulfil her dream of completing a master's degree, despite his family's initial opposition.

– I interviewed this student on the last day of her one-year master's program in Hong Kong. Having done all her previous education in Shenzhen, her family, boyfriend and friends all live there. Alone in Hong Kong, she is trying to work out if it is worth staying or if it is time to make her life back in Shenzhen.

– This boyfriend and girlfriend live apart during the week. She lives in Hong Kong, and he stays in Shenzhen living with a group of friends who moved to Shenzhen from another part of China. We discussed their relationship, how they maintain it in light of the border, and their future in Shenzhen and Hong Kong.

Stella – Introduced in Chapter 4, Stella was originally from central China; she chose to come to Hong Kong when plans to study in the United States and France feel through. Unable to find a job in Hong Kong after her studies, she works during the week in Shenzhen while still maintaining a room in Hong Kong to keep her relationship with her Hong Kong boyfriend alive.

Week 35 – 31 August (Sunday) – *"Decision of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress" issued, defining the parameters for selecting the chief executive in 2017.*

Week 37 – 9 September (Tuesday) – *Scholarism, comprised of High School students led by Joshua Wong, stage a demonstration outside government headquarters to oppose the Standing Committee's decision on electoral reform.*

– This owner-operator of a small clothing factory in Shenzhen sells his product online within China. Having completing her studies, his girlfriend now lives in Hong Kong. He tries to visit her as much as possible, but he is always busy. We talked a lot about the challenges of living separated from our loved ones and the future of cross-border trade.

– After growing up in Guangzhou, she came to Hong Kong for a master's degree program. She stayed on after her degree to work in Hong Kong. We discussed how her

family has had multiple members across the generations migrating to and from Hong Kong.

Week 38 – Henry, introduced in Chapter 5, whom I first met at the 4 June commemorations in Victoria Park. We sat down for our interview and discussed his life's work. Henry provided key insights into how family politics are transferred across the generations, as well as insights on the job markets in Shenzhen and Hong Kong.

19 September (Friday) – *iPhone 6 released in Hong Kong.*

Week 39 – 22 September (Monday) – *The Hong Kong Federation of Students, representing university students, announces a weeklong citywide class boycott and stages a mass protest at the Chinese University of Hong Kong.*

23 September (Tuesday) – *Hong Kong Federation of Students, representing university students, join Scholarism in protest outside Hong Kong government headquarters.*

– This mother works in Hong Kong selling insurance to mainland customers; her husband works as an architect in Hong Kong. She feels she has made the best life she can for her family because of the border. Her child lives with her parents in Shenzhen, so they have two homes. She prefers Shenzhen because her child has space to play freely. We discussed the challenges of raising cross-border children.

Ken – Introduced in Chapter 1, Ken was born and educated in northern China before moving to the United Kingdom to study engineering. While there, he met his wife, originally from Guangzhou. After she had moved back to work in Guangzhou, he chose to complete his master's degree in Hong Kong to be closer to her. She then moved to Hong Kong to work and be with him; a little later, they had a daughter, who now lives with his in-laws in Shenzhen, and they both go and visit her on weekends. Recently, with Ken's parents' help, they purchased a new flat in Hong Kong. They hope to either convince one grandparent to look after their daughter or hire a domestic helper so their daughter can live with them and attend kindergarten in Hong Kong.

26 September (Friday) – *Joshua Wong and his supporters storm Civic Square, a formerly public area recently fenced off outside the government headquarters. Many are arrested.*

26 September (Friday) – *iPhone 6 released in Mainland China.*

– I interviewed this couple as they played with their son in a Shenzhen park. The husband, having studied abroad, found a job after graduation in Hong Kong. He lives there during the week. His wife, originally from northern China, trained as a doctor but did not want to go through the hassle of getting accredited in Hong Kong. However,

she was able to find a good position at a hospital in Shenzhen. Her parents live with her and take care of their son during the week.

– After recently moving to Hong Kong from Mainland China to work, this young woman was struggling to feel comfortable in Hong Kong. To feel better, she frequently takes the train to LoWu to go shopping, eat hometown food and most importantly catch the latest mainland films, which she cannot see in cinemas in Hong Kong. She reminds me that "culture" is what we are familiar with, and that nostalgia is a powerful antidote to loneliness.

28 September (Sunday) – *Protestors are confronted by riot police; the first shots of tear gas are fired around 6 pm. Streets are occupied in Admiralty, Mong Kok and Causeway Bay.*

Week 40 – 30 September (Monday) – *City wakes up to occupied streets. Schools, banks and some businesses near the affected areas are closed. I visit the occupation sites for the first time.*

– Born and raised in Hong Kong to parents who fled mainland China, this young university graduate working for an IT start-up regularly visits Shenzhen to talk to clients and drum up sales. He interspersed his descriptions of these trips with stories of being a young man seeking adventure in Shenzhen. He is optimistic about the future; his working-class family is intertwined with the border through his siblings' cross-border relationships.

1 October (Wednesday) – *National Day public holiday fireworks are cancelled. Large crowds attend protest sites.*

2 October (Thursday) – *Local public holiday in Hong Kong for Chung Yueng Festival sees large turnout at protest sites. Pro-Beijing "Blue Ribbon Campaign" launched to oppose the protest. The Chief Executive responds to students' ultimatum and promises face-to-face talks between the students and his deputy.*

Mr and Mrs Lin – Introduced in Chapter 6, Mr and Mrs Lin met in Shenzhen shortly after its founding. They shared with me, their two daughters and their son-in-law their experiences of trying to travel clandestinely to Hong Kong before 1979.

Week 42 – Jessica, introduced in Chapter 8, arrived in Shenzhen as a toddler and now lives across the Shenzhen Bay from her parents in northwestern Hong Kong, working in Admiralty on Hong Kong Island. We discussed life as residents of Hong Kong in the context of the possibilities for global mobility.

Jack and Katie – Introduced in Chapter 8, Jack and Katie both arrived in Shenzhen as toddlers and met in high school before Jack left to study in England. After he had completed his legal training in Hong Kong, he found work as a commercial lawyer. We discussed the complexities of managing cross-border intergenerational encounters.

Week 43 – 20 October (Monday) – *C.Y. Leung briefs foreign reporters and claims that a freely elected chief executive would give too much power to those earning under $1,800 USD a month (see Chapter 8).*

Andrew – Introduced in Chapter 8, Andrew grew up in Hong Kong, completed his studies there and now works in Kowloon, commuting each day to the apartment he shares with his wife and eight-month-old son in Shenzhen. They met on one of his many trips to "party" with his friends in Shenzhen.

21 October 21 (Tuesday) – *Student leaders and senior government officials hold televised talks.*

Diane and Frank – Introduced in Chapter 7, I was inspired by their love story, which captured the contradictions of their generation. Having met online, they had struggled through many challenges but in the process had come to understand each other's worlds and approach life with strategic optimism.

Mr Yu, Mrs Yu and Mrs Xu – Introduced in Chapter 5, Mr Yu and Mrs Xu, brother- and sister-in-law, shared with me a unique perspective on Shenzhen's reform and opening-up period. Their life's work has spanned Indonesia, Hong Kong, Shenzhen and now India. Through them, I came to grasp the importance of emotion in constructing our global economy.

November – Week 45 – *After discussions with interviewees, I changed the image used to promote the project and used the WeChat network I had developed over the previous year to seek interview referrals.*

Isabella – Introduced in Chapter 1, Isabella runs a small study centre with her business partner in a Shenzhen building overlooking Hong Kong. She provided valuable insight into the lives of cross-boundary students and the experiences of recent graduates in the Hong Kong labour and housing markets.

– I met this recent university graduate, born and raised in Shenzhen, to discuss his life now that his girlfriend, whom he met at university, has moved to live in Hong Kong. We talked about the contrasting working styles and the "problem" of discussing the future as a couple when they were committed to living in two different cities.

– This sociable character in his fifties only started coming to Shenzhen to meet customers. He now makes Shenzhen his home. He told stories about how he met his ex-partner on a "QQ" online chat group for Hong Kong men looking for love in Shenzhen in the '90s. He lives close enough to the border to capture Hong Kong's television signal.

Week 46 – A member of Shenzhen's "first-generation rich," her husband came to Hong Kong in the '90s and started a successful business. They own houses in both Hong Kong and Shenzhen. We discussed her feelings about sending her only daughter to study abroad

in Europe. We also traced the experience and paperwork needed for Mainland Chinese to travel to Hong Kong from 1992 to today.

– This gregarious woman arrived in Shenzhen after graduation because her uncle said, "Just come." We discussed her year as a member of a cross-border start-up and how she travelled once a week to participate in staff meetings in Hong Kong, but felt ostracised as the only mainland salaried member of the team.

Gillian – Introduced in Chapter 4, Gillian came to work in Shenzhen after graduation from a top mainland university. We discussed her experiences arriving in Shenzhen and meeting her boyfriend in Hong Kong, and how meeting him has changed her outlook on life.

Li Yun – Introduced in Chapter 4, Li Yun, in her early twenties, moved to Hong Kong after her mother married her Hong Kong stepfather. Struggling to feel comfortable living with her extended family and keen to rekindle her relationship with her boyfriend, she moved to Shenzhen and took a job in a store inside the checkpoint, allowing her to earn a Hong Kong salary while living comfortably in Shenzhen.

– The day we met in Shenzhen, this young entrepreneur was on his way to sit his driving test in Hong Kong. It was less complicated getting it in Hong Kong than Shenzhen. After getting his bachelor's degree in Beijing, his parents, members of an "original" Shenzhen family, encouraged him to study for a master's degree in Hong Kong and work towards getting permanent residence. Now that he has completed his studies, he has moved back home and is trying to start his own business.

– This interviewee, concerned about his relationship with the immigration department, requested that I not include any specific details of his case.

Mr Wu – Introduced in Chapter 6, Mr Wu arrived clandestinely in Hong Kong months before the "touch base" policy ended. Only able to find work as a manual labourer, he took the opportunity to return to Mainland China and work as a trader before settling down in Hong Kong and taking up his trade as a cook.

George – Introduced in Chapter 3, George first came to Shenzhen in the '90s on assignment as a logistics manager before moving to work for a Shenzhen-based company. Seven years ago his son was born, and he bought an apartment within one hundred metres of the control point. Today, his office is back in Hong Kong; he takes his son across the border, drops him off at the school bus and heads for work.

Week 47 – Having moved to Hong Kong as a 12-year-old because her mother wanted a better life for her children, this recent university graduate is a couple of months into working as a salesperson for a Hong Kong company in Shenzhen. When I asked her about her identity, she said, "Nobody asks where you are from anymore."

Eric – Introduced in Chapter 7, Eric is a young Shenzhen "second-generation rich" with multiple entrepreneurial projects on the go. He also has a Hong Kong-born daughter, whom he escorts each Sunday night to an apartment he rents so she can go to a top

kindergarten in Hong Kong. We discussed the way we are required to make decisions about a future we cannot predict.

Week 48 – Refusing coffee because she had recently become pregnant, this Shenzhen-raised women in her late twenties told me the story of meeting her Hong Kong husband through work and how they discussed, throughout their years together, where to live and where to have their children. She teaches me valuable lessons about gender and optimism.

26 November (Wednesday) – *Bailiffs and police clear the protest site in Mong Kok. They had given protesters 24 hours' warning. Protesters return in the following days to conduct "gouwu" protests, where they moved through pedestrians and shops deliberately slowly to disrupt traffic and commerce.*

– Working in the Futian free-trade zone and visiting family in Hong Kong since he was in his late teens, this frequent cross-border shopper recalled that the first time he crossed the border, he was so emotional he was inspired to write a poem. It no longer has the same emotional effect, but it is still his go-to weekend destination.

December – Week 49 – In her early thirties, this Shenzhen-raised woman, who recently married a Hong Kong man, was full of optimism for the future. We discussed the experience of meeting her husband and his parents, and their dream of opening a restaurant together.

– This well-travelled woman and I discussed Hong Kong and Shenzhen in the context of "global connections" and the possibilities international mobility offers to her generation of young people. We discussed how Hong Kong has been constructed as the go-to weekend destination for well-off Shenzhen Hukou holders and how it has become a shopping mall for them.

– For my final interview, I spoke with a young woman from northern China. A former Hong Kong master's student, like many others she was unable to find work in Hong Kong and had taken an offer to work in Shenzhen. She was promised that there would soon be a place for her at the company's Hong Kong office. However, days before we met, she had left that company and was preparing to move back and find work in Hong Kong. She missed the volunteering and community activities in Hong Kong. Shenzhen was a lonely place, she said, where people were "only interested in money."

Week 50 – 11 December (Thursday) – *Bailiffs and police clear Admiralty protest site. The clearance is authorised based on civil litigation from local businesses.*

13 December (Saturday) – Angelica and I depart Shenzhen permanently.

Week 51 – 15 December (Monday) – *The last street occupation in Causeway Bay is cleared with little resistance.*