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Cover photograph © Jeroen de Kloet. Booklet design © Alejandra Casal
China is Creative! is the concluding event organised by the ERC-funded Research Group. ChinaCreative of the University of Amsterdam. Over the last five years, ChinaCreative has attempted to understand claims of creativity in different cultural practices, probing how emerging creativities in China are part of tactics of governmentality in China, and how these practices disable or enable possibilities of criticality. With a comparative, multi-disciplinary, multi-method and multi-sited research design, our team has analysed different creative fields and practices in China: contemporary art, calligraphy, independent documentary cinema, Hunan Satellite Television, creative labour, gay dating apps, “fake” (shanzhai) art, and makerspaces.

We have explored these creativities not only in our writings, but also engaged with a wider community of scholars and creative practitioners to think with us what it means to be creative in China today, by organizing an eclectic array of workshops, events and conferences. We have gathered to share and reflect on the platformization of Chinese society, on cinema and storytelling in the digital age, on boredom and shanzhai production; we have concocted an Academy of Failure, organised a workshop on uselessness, and held a seminar on vernacular creativity in China. We have conceptualized creativity as ubiquitous, fake, real, digital, as a vernacular practice, and as both productive and useless. Now, it is time to reflect on what, exactly, we have done, and what is still to be done. This final symposium brings our findings together, but more importantly, combines it with different voices in the creative field, to create conversations on creative practices in China, reading these as promiscuous and inherently entangled with regional and global practices.

This conference wants to interrogate what the notion of creativity is – and does – in the context of a profoundly globalised China, and the ways in which this reconfigures and potentially reinvigorates both trans-Asian and global understandings and practices of creativity.

This three-day journey across places and creative practices seeks to build on what we have done, and further our rethinking of creativity, indeed, as promiscuous, convivial, collaborative, vernacular, fuzzy, and at times confining, as a practice that involves mimicry and copying, as a recalibration of past creative practices – and more, hopefully. As there is always more. And hopefully, this symposium will evaluate and
accentuate our counterbalancing act against the pervasive discourse of uniqueness, talent and newness, and the demands this discourse imposes upon the self and society as a whole.

With the results of this conference, we aim to publish a book that in content and form expresses what we are trying to do: it will be partly an academic volume, partly an art catalogue, partly real, partly fictional; what is copied and what not will remain obscure. The book attests to our premise that of course China has been, is, and will be creative; it moves towards exploring how we can tweak, disrupt and fool around with the notion of creativity itself.

To maximize the potential to do all of the above, these three days we will talk together through four different presenting formats, allowing us to share our own work and thoughts and having them reflected back to us:

The edge // Chinese creativities on the cutting edge
The crossing// Where activists and artists meet
The encounter // Between thinker and creator
Transformations // From creative to other practices

We hope that you enjoy, learn, think, and re-think. A very warm welcome to Amsterdam!
ORGANISING COMMITTEE

Jeroen de Kloet, Department of Media Studies, Faculty of Humanities, University of Amsterdam.
Contact: B.J.deKloet@uva.nl  Telephone number: 0031(0)612860529

Laura Vermeeren, Department of Media Studies, Faculty of Humanities, University of Amsterdam.
Contact: L.Vermeeren@uva.nl  Telephone number: 0031(0)622057315

Gordon So, Department of Media Studies, Faculty of Humanities, University of Amsterdam.
Contact: gso7@uwo.ca  Telephone number: 0031(0)612288867

PRACTICAL INFORMATION

TRANSPORTATION

FROM THE AIRPORT TO HOTEL RESIDENCE LE COIN
Address hotel: Nieuwe Doelenstraat 5, 1012 CP Amsterdam

By public transport (This is the quickest option)

◊ Go to the train station located under the arrival hall at Schiphol Airport. Here, you can buy an OV-chip card from the yellow machines or the counter NS service point at Schiphol. Please buy an anonymous chip-card, the price is €7.50. Before you can travel you need to load credit onto the card. You can do this at a counter or device at the Schiphol station. Be aware that not every device accepts credit cards. You will need this card to go to the venues during the conference, so make sure you have topped the card up sufficiently, you will need around €20. Please, keep your receipts! Find more information on OV-chip cards here: https://www.ov-chipkaart.nl/everything-about-travelling/different-types-of-passenger/tourists.htm
Take the train to 'Amsterdam Zuid' railway station. Take metro line NO.52 (blue line, in direction 'Noord') and get out at 'Rokin' station. Take exit ‘Spui’. You pass by the Allard Pierson Museum and walk toward Hotel De l’Europe. Hotel Residence Le Coin is just opposite from their entrance.

**By taxi (Please note that public transport is often quicker to the city center)**

Outside the arrival hall at Schiphol airport. Please only use taxi’s from the official taxi stand, and keep your receipt! Please note that you will still need an OV-Chip card for going to the different conference venues – buying an OV chip card at the airport is the most convenient option.

### CONFERENCE VENUES

**29 August**: In the morning, we convene at the Belle van Zuylen Room in the University Library. After lunch, we move to the Bushuis/Oostindisch huis, room E0.14C.

**30 August**: Cinema of the Dam’d.

**31 August**: Cinema of the Dam’d.

**Addresses:**

- **Belle van Zuylen Room in University Library**  
  Singel 421-427, 1012 WP Amsterdam

- **Bushuis/Oostindisch huis**  
  Kloveniersburgwal 48, 1012 CX Amsterdam

- **Cinema of the Dam’d**  
  Overtoom 301, 1054 HW Amsterdam

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**BELLE VAN ZUYLEN ROOM IN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY**

Singel 421-427 1012 WP Amsterdam

It is a 19-minute walk (1.5 km) from Amsterdam Central Station to the University Library. You can also take Metro 52, from Central Station, and get off at Rokin (2 minutes, 1 stop) and then walk 4 minutes to the University Library. From your hotel, it is a mere 5-minute walk.
BUSHUIS/OOSTINDISCH HUIS
Kloveniersburgwal 48 1012 CX Amsterdam

It is a 12-minute walk (1.0km) from Amsterdam Central Station to the Bushuis. You can also take Metro 51, 53 or 54 from Central Station, and get off at Nieuwmarkt (2 minutes, 1 stop) and then walk 4 minutes to the Bushuis. From your hotel, it is a mere 5-minute walk.

CINEMA OF THE DAM’D
Overtoom 301, 1054 HW Amsterdam

**From Amsterdam Central Station**, take tram 17 direction Osdorp Wijkgraafplein (16 minutes, 8 stops) and get off at Amsterdam, J.P. Heijestraat. From there, it is a 1-minute walk.

**From your hotel**, walk straight over the Vijzelstraat to tram station the Vijzelgracht (around 10 minutes). There, take tram 1 direction Osdorp De Aker (8 minutes, 4 stops) and get off at Amsterdam, J.P. Heijestraat. From there, it is a 1-minute walk.

TAXIS

To get around Amsterdam by taxi, you can phone for a taxi or go to a taxi rank (an area marked off on a street where taxis wait for their fares). Taxis often wait near larger hotels in the city. There are also several iOS and Android apps for ordering taxis in Amsterdam, such as TaxiCentrale Amsterdam (T: +31 (0) 20 7777777). Amsterdam is, however, not a very taxi-friendly city. Biking, public transport or walking usually are better options.

CYCLING

Amsterdam is a bicycle-friendly city. Central Station, Leidseplein and Dam Square are major rental hubs. Rates average around EUR 10 per day. Bikes are sturdy and locks are included. Equipment for children and other add-ons are also available. Most
companies offer guided tours as well as recommended route maps for trips in and outside of Amsterdam. We recommend MacBike and Green Budget Bikes.
FOOD, DRINKS AND A BOATRIDE

Tea and coffee will be served during breaks. On all conference days, lunch will be provided to all speakers. On 29 August from 13:15 to 14:15, lunch will be served in the restaurant area of the Bushuis. On 30 and 31 August, we will provide a lunch box at the Cinema of the Dam’d that you can, if the weather is kind to us, take outside to the park, or eat inside.

The conference dinners will take place on Thursday at 19:00 at Oriental City, and on Saturday around 19:00 at Hotel de Goudfazant. Before dinner on Saturday evening, we will take you on a boat tour through the canals of Amsterdam, mooring at the restaurant. We will leave the conference venue at 16:45 together.

**Oriental City:** Oudezijds Voorburgwal 177-179, 1012 EV Amsterdam

**Hotel de Goudfazant:** Aambeeldstraat 10 H, 1021 KB Amsterdam

Oriental City is only a few minutes walking from the hotel and the conference venue. We will walk there together, or alternatively, we advise you to use Google Maps to navigate your way to the restaurant.
TIMETABLE

DAY 1  THURSDAY AUGUST 29 – (10:00 – 12:15 BELLE VAN ZUYLEN ROOM, SINGEL 421-427 12:15 – 16:45 BUSHUIS E0.14C)

9:30 – 10:00  Coffee and tea
10:00 – 10:15  Opening address by Jeroen de Kloet
10:15 – 12:15  Team ChinaCreative: Jeroen de Kloet, Rowan Parry, Zoénie Deng, Lin Jian, Laura Vermeeren, Wang Shuaishuai, Arjen Nauta, Siyu Chen
12:15 – 13:45  Lunch at new location: E0.14C at Bushuis
13:45 – 15:15  The Edge
   Chair: Lin Jian
   ◊ Gerda Wielander. Consensual creativity—a visual ethnography of Chinese public walls
   ◊ Derek Hird. Male beauty blogging in China: a masculinities perspective
   ◊ David Craig. Distinguishing wang hong as a creative, cultural, and social industry
15:15 – 15:45  Break
15:45 – 16:45  Encounter I
   Chair: Jeroen de Kloet
   ◊ Song Hwee Lim. Liquid Creativity: The Work of Art in the Age of Chinese Character(istic)s in encounter with Meiya Lin
19:00 – 21:00  Dinner at Oriental City
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<tr>
<td>09:30 – 10:00</td>
<td>Coffee and tea</td>
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<td>10:00 – 11:30</td>
<td><strong>Transformations</strong></td>
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<td>Chair: Rowan Parry</td>
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<td>◇ Svetlana Kharchenko. <em>Creativity on your mug: bringing contemporary art to the masses in contemporary China</em></td>
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<td>◇ Fresco Sam-Sin. <em>Transformative authorship: burlesque macaroni</em></td>
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<td>◇ Jori Snels. <em>Creative Agency in Chinese Digital Art: An Analysis of Works by Lin Ke and Lu Yang</em></td>
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<td>11:30 – 11:45</td>
<td>Coffee break</td>
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<td>11:45 – 12:45</td>
<td><strong>Encounter II</strong></td>
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<td>Chair: Jeroen de Kloet</td>
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<td>◇ Esther Peeren. <em>Rural and Urban Creativity in Xiaolu Guo’s Once Upon a Time in the East in encounter with Hu Wei</em></td>
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<td>12:45 – 13:45</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
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<td>**The Crossing</td>
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<td>◇ Chen Yun</td>
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<td>◇ Kevin May</td>
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<td>◇ Elaine Ho</td>
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<td>15:15 – 15:45</td>
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<td>15:45 – 16:45</td>
<td><strong>Encounter III</strong></td>
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<td>Chair: Laura Vermeeren</td>
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Florian Schneider. *Creative reinventions of the ‘harmonious society’* in encounter with Loi Che Rakhorst

**16:45 – 17:00** Break

**17:00 – 19:00** *Film Screening*
Chair: Yiu Fai Chow
- *Mirror from Heterotopia – 12 Hong Kong creative workers in Beijing and Shanghai* by Lo Yin Shan

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### DAY 3  SATURDAY AUGUST 31 – CINEMA OF THE DAM’D OVERTOOM 301, AMSTERDAM

**11:00 – 12:30** *The crossing II Creative Commoning*
Chair: Yiu Fai Chow
- Simpson Tse
- Hu Wei
- Huang Jingyuan
- Zoenie Deng

**12:30 – 13:30** Lunch

**13:30 – 16:30** *Film Screenings*
Chair: Jeroen de Kloet
- *Eviction* by Wang Yiwei and presentation of *The Book of Failure* by Elaine Ho
- *After Us, the Deluge* by Song Yi
- *Songs of Consensus* by Huang Jingyuan

**16:30 –** Boat tour and dinner
SPEAKERS

JEROEN DE KLOET – CREATE OR FAIL: CREATIVITY AND ITS PROMISCUITIES

ABSTRACT

Today, we are all expected to be creative. Young people, based in Beijing or Jakarta, Hong Kong of Manilla, aspire to become part of a creative class, that gathers in hipster café’s, works on Apple computers and drinks café latte with soy milk. But what does the imperative to be creative mean, and are their ways to resist this imperative, can we strategically fail to be creative? How to be uncreative? Or, how to unhook creative practice from the urgency to be original and do something new? How to copy cheerfully? Drawing on examples from Mainland China, I will engage with the Asian proliferation of the creativity dispositif (McRobbie, 2016; Reckwitz, 2017), probing first into the fuzzy concept of creativity itself, and subsequently exploring different modes of creativity. Adopting a trans-Asian lens, my interests are primarily in the question on how we can tweak, subvert and resist the demand to be creative – in our life, in our work, in our practices – and move towards a more convivial, more shared, and above all a more promiscuous understanding of creativity.

BIO

Jeroen de Kloet is Professor of Globalisation Studies and Director of the Amsterdam Centre for Globalisation Studies (ACGS) at the University of Amsterdam. He is also affiliated to the Communication University of China. He is the principal investigator of a project funded by the European Grant Council (ERC), titled “From Made in China to Created in China. A Comparative Study of Creative Practice and Production in Contemporary China.”

See also http://jeroendekloet.nl and http://chinacreative.humanities.uva.nl

ROWAN PARRY – DISSEMINATIONS OF CHINESE CINEMA

ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the dissemination of Chinese cinema through a selected set of film festivals in Europe. The film festival outside of China can be viewed as a point in time and space at which certain images and narratives are legitimized and presented as truths, and are given an audience and press coverage. The paper will discuss what
kinds of discourses, or truths, about and from China are presented at film festivals? Who is given a voice, under what pretexts/conditions, and who in particular is addressed? To what extent do these discourses return back to China?

In order to address these issues, I will be analysing the content and discourses surrounding three modes of presentation in which Chinese cinema tends to be presented at film festivals. First and most commonly the films shown are directly related to the more general (non-China specific) agenda, position, or flavour of the film festivals in which they are shown. They are screened as part of a selection of hundreds of films from across the world irrespective of any specific Chinese circumstances, for example as creative documentaries at the IDFA, or avant-garde cinema at IFFR. This does not mean that these overarching festival principles create a ‘neutral’ image of China, but raises the question of what kind of China fits with the film festival’s overarching position. Second is the special selection or entire event devoted to independent Chinese films, usually framed in relation to Chinese political oppression, lack of creative freedom, and societal problems. Here, a specific position and agenda towards Chinese cinema and China is formulated and films and side events are programmed accordingly. Finally, I will scrutinize instances in which the Confucius Institute sponsors program sections or specific screening events to showcase Chinese popular cinema, as is done for example the Leiden International Film Festival, and the discourses surrounding these showcases.

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BIO

Rowan Parry is a former researcher on the ChinaCreative project at the University of Amsterdam. His research focused on how truth is spoken to power through independent Chinese cinema. At present Rowan works as an IT consultant to the banking and insurance industry.

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ABSTRACT

In this presentation, I present the second case study on socially engaged art in urbanising China and situate it in my whole dissertation succinctly. My main argument is that these practices manifest different forms of reconfigurative criticality that are not oppositional, and this is articulated in four chapters. In the second case study, I look into the documentary theatre Home (2016) and investigate its socially engaged
pedagogy. Started in September 2015, the third year theatre studies students, under the instruction of their teacher Li Yinan, began to read books on critical theories, and situations and political economy of villages in China, in order to lay a theoretical and contextual foundation of their investigation. In late October, the students started to interview and document the young migrant workers' experiences of living and working in their “homes” in Beijing and in their hometowns, and their changing ideas and experiences of “home” in the span of six months. I analyse the uneasy reconfigurable criticalities in the preparation, the production and dramaturgy, and the staging and responses and response-ability of the audiences. I argue that the fieldwork of the socially engaged theatre pedagogy uneasily yet critically reconfigured students’ social consciousness in their encounters with the migrant workers—the subaltern who sometimes refused to speak; during the production process and dramaturgy, the students, along with their teacher and the director of the play Li Yinnan, and dramaturg Kai Tuchmann, reconfigured the way of staging, which was a critical and unsettling change from representation to re-presentation; the affects of the performance were reconfigurative since the audiences were moved to act in response to the performance, and to become responsible for being witnesses to what happened on and off stage the uneasy response-ability and responsible of witnessing the performance; the only interviewee in the audience and her interviewer, the student Li Liyuan’s connection and friendship reconfigured the presupposed/pre-imposed concept of class issue, and it showed the possibility of cross-class connection.

BIO

Zoénie DENG Liwen is a PhD candidate in Amsterdam School of Cultural Analysis, University of Amsterdam. Working as a researcher for the ERC funded project ChinaCreative, her PhD dissertation is provisionally entitled “The Non-oppositional Criticalities of Socially Engaged Art in Contemporary Urbanising China”. She intends to investigate the critical, affective, aesthetic, and political aspects of these practices, and to explore the tensions and interplays between art and activism in the context of China’s rapid urban development. She worked as a project coordinator in Shanghai Biennale in 2012. Apart from writing photo-poems, she also writes for art media such as Leap and Artforum China.
This study investigates creative labour conditions and the formation of creative subjectivities in China. Based on my empirical fieldwork in China (mostly Beijing and Shanghai) and archival research (e.g. policy documents and industrial reports), this study combines a political economy of cultural production in contemporary China with four empirical case studies focusing on creative workers in state-owned cultural enterprises, independent filmmakers, international creative workers and the newly emerged digital creative class on social media. By investigating the subjectivation of creative workers in relation to the complex and diversified labour conditions of cultural production in contemporary China, this study engages with questions concerning governance, precarity and subjectivity of creative labour. While unveiling how politico-economic inequalities are concealed by the production of creative aspirations in the Chinese cultural industries, I also attempt to affirm the experiences and agency of individuals working in a wide range of cultural sectors, including television, film, design, journalism and social media. These creative subjects, I argue, are far from docile bodies that are simply manipulated by (state) capitalist ideologies. China’s specific cultural economy produces space for individual agency as well as precariousness, leaving open the possibility for cultural workers to become what I term ‘schizoid creators’ – a concept borrowed and developed from Deleuze and Guattari’s schizoanalysis of contemporary capitalism (1983). Such schizoid creators are working both for and against the system. The vibrant network of cultural production in China both pushes and limits individuals’ aspirations to creativity and self-realisation. Expected by the state and market to always ‘be creative’ in particular ways, cultural workers also find possibilities to resist this imperative, developing a schizoid subjectivity that serves the governing system but challenges it at the same time.

Jian Lin is a PhD researcher at the Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis, University of Amsterdam and the Institute for Culture and Society, Western Sydney University (joint-award). His research interests include creative labour studies, cultural industries and critical cultural studies. His PhD project is part of the ERC (European Research Council) consolidator project ‘From Made in China to Created in China — A Comparative Study of Creative Practice and Production in Contemporary China (ChinaCreative)’.
LAURA VERMEEREN – CONTEMPORARY PRACTICES OF (UN)CREATIVE CALLIGRAPHY.

ABSTRACT

In this presentation, I demonstrate how calligraphic practices are increasingly prevalent due to current governmental directives that promote "creativity" as a powerful discourse contributing to economic and urban development. While calligraphy and creativity are often pitted against each other, as the nature of calligraphy is sustained through a culture of copying, this presentation shows calligraphy as a creative practice; dispersed through an increasing demand for nostalgic calligraphic content, private calligraphy education and the development of vernacular practices of calligraphy that are sprouting up in the grassroots, changing its nature and intention from within. In this context, this presentation unfolds how calligraphy is imagined, negotiated and performed in different visual cultural fields in China: calligraphy education, water calligraphy in public parks, modern calligraphic art, digital calligraphy APPs and WeChat groups and calligraphic font design.

BIO

Laura Vermeeren is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Amsterdam. Her research is concerned with how Chinese calligraphy as a living daily practice is entangled with technologies of the self, government and society in contemporary China. Previously she completed a Bachelor and Master in Chinese studies at Leiden University. She published Chinese Calligraphy in the Digital Realm: Aesthetic Perfection and Remediation of the Authentic (2017, Concentric), and “We are not like the calligraphers of ancient times” – A study of young calligraphy practitioners in contemporary China (forthcoming with Professor de Kloet)

WANG SHUAISHUAI – LIVING WITH CENSORSHIP: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY AND CULTURAL POLITICS OF CHINESE GAY DATING APPS

ABSTRACT

This study focuses on three Chinese gay dating apps: Blued, Aloha, and ZANK. Unlike their Western counterparts such as Grindr and Jack’d whose functionalities are concentrated on location-based browsing, Blued, Aloha and ZANK frequently integrate new features into their basic dating structures. Examples of which include live streaming, gaming, shopping, and overseas surrogacy consultation. Drawing on
internet ethnographic data and interview data with their founders and users, this paper addresses two major questions in relation to these functionalities. First, how are app-based digital pink economies developed in and shaped by China’s internet censorship? Second, how are gay men’s sexual and emotional needs censored, mediated and engendered by dating apps? As China continues to problematize homosexuality in terms of obscenity and pornography in its regulatory documents, the booming of gay dating apps against this context provides an entry point for rethinking the role of censorship in China’s gay lives. Using censorship as an analytical tool, this study first shows that Chinese gay dating apps can maneuver censorship in their favor to carry out economic activities. In this process, gay dating apps and the government become interdependent in the aspects of businesses, HIV/AIDS prevention, and internet security. Second, censorship has been woven into the everyday use of gay dating apps. As censorship increasingly disciplines gay dating app users’ dating and live streaming activities, it has also inspired creative ways to satisfy their same-sex sexual/emotional needs and to enable new homosexual subject making (i.e. internet celebrity and other gay social media influencers) in a regulatory environment. Together, this study shifts Chinese gay cultural politics from identity formation, community organization, and media (mis)representation to the political economy, everyday sexual/emotional needs and personal/bodily performance afforded by gay digital platforms, and therefore sheds light on the productive aspect of censorship besides its restrictions.

BIO

Shuaishuai Wang is a PhD candidate in Media Studies at the University of Amsterdam. His research interests include data and algorithm studies, app studies, and gender and sexuality studies. His previous works have appeared in Information, Communication & Society and Media, Culture & Society.

GERDA WIELANDER – CONSENSUAL CREATIVITY: A VISUAL ETHNOGRAPHY OF CHINESE PUBLIC WALLS

ABSTRACT

At the heart of this paper stands the public wall as medium for artistic expression. Drawing on detailed observations undertaken during three research visits over the space of one year (April 2018 to April 2019), this paper documents and analyses materials collected in three major cities (Beijing, Shanghai, and Shenzhen). The talk will introduce different examples ranging from finely curated urban culture walls and eye-catching state sponsored art around construction sites, to graffiti in areas set for
demolition, and silenced walls telling stories of censorship and defiance. Through these case studies, a colorful picture emerges of the dynamic interplay between the worlds of art, business, propaganda, and resistance.

In this paper, the public wall is understood as a space of consensus in the Gramscian sense; to be precise, the wall is understood as a space on which the consensus is publicly enacted. Coining and using the term “consensual creativity” to describe the process by which art finds itself displayed on public walls, the author argues that the consensus is reflected in a number of forms, including the often voluntary production of art on display, a shared aesthetic, and a common linguistic and visual code that resonates in the wider population. The paper argues that even visible attempts at counter-discourse or erasure of discourse are part of this consensually creative process. But the paper also documents how the space for consensual creativity has been shrinking over the period of the author’s fieldwork through the replacement of walls with different forms of enclosure or their removal altogether, visually reflecting in the urban landscape the tightening and increasing disappearance of a consensual space for dialogue and the move towards coercion in the Chinese socio-political landscape over the past year.

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**BIO**

Gerda Wielander is professor of Chinese studies and Associate Head of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at the University of Westminster. Her work focuses on the link between the spiritual and the political in contemporary China. She has published widely on contemporary Chinese Christianity, and her recent book (together with Derek Hird) on Chinese Discourses on Happiness (Hong Kong University Press, 2018) has garnered international media attention. She is currently working on several projects, including the use of spiritual language in Chinese political discourse, urban “culture walls”, and is planning a monograph on China’s “happy society”.

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**DEREK HIRD – MALE BEAUTY BLOGGING IN CHINA: A MASCULINITIES PERSPECTIVE**

**ABSTRACT**

Beauty blogging in China is thriving on video-sharing, microblogging, and innovative livestreaming platforms. Simultaneously, cosmetics-wearing East Asian male pop stars are contributing to surging interest in male grooming practices. This paper explores the creative ways in which male beauty blogging promotes male cosmetics and male beauty culture.
Shifting assemblages of global and situated forms and practices have enabled and constrained new modes of becoming in China’s reform era. Postsocialist modes of governance aim to create entrepreneurial subjects through “socialism at a distance” (Ong & Zhang 2008); yet, at the same time, strong state control and the market shape and constrain subjectivities. The retreat of the state from the micro-management of individual lives has created space for the expression of new forms of desiring subjects (Rofel 2007). But the pluralisation of gender identities—conspicuous in TV talent shows promoted by Hunan Television among others—has met with pushback from conservatives anxious about a crisis of masculinity among Chinese men. Livestreaming and other media platforms are under constant threat of government censorship of “feminised” male behaviour and images.

This paper is interested in how male beauty bloggers navigate the contradictions inherent in an exhilaratingly innovative yet increasingly censorious environment. It employs narrative and semiotic analysis to explore male beauty blogging, vlogging, and livestreaming; the actors, networks and social practices that support male beauty blogging; and the ways in which male beauty blogging invokes and adapts local, regional, and global cultural histories of male beauty. Through the conceptual lens of governmentality, it looks at how various dimensions of postsocialist governance enable and circumscribe the content and availability of male beauty blogging and the spaces and places (public and private) in which male beauty blogging is produced and consumed. It also investigates how China’s education system influences the development of male beauty blogging and male beauty culture.

Ultimately, the paper is concerned with what Chinese male beauty blogging represents and signifies for China and the world. It asks: in the context of widespread condemnation of male “femininity”, can male beauty blogging itself be read as a “critical aesthetics”? The paper’s conclusion considers the extent to which male beauty blogging challenges discursive narratives of aggressive masculinity (e.g. as seen in the Wolf Warrior (战狼) films) and masculinist subjectivities and practices in everyday life.

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**BIO**

Derek Hird is Senior Lecturer in Chinese Studies at Lancaster University and Deputy Director of Lancaster University Confucius Institute. His research interests include transnational Chinese middle-class masculinities, Chinese male beauty cultures, and happiness and health in Chinese populations. He is co-editor of the *Transnational Asian Masculinities* book series for Hong Kong University Press. Recent publications include “Smile Yourself Happy: Zheng nengliang and the Discursive Construction of Happy Subjects” in his co-edited *Chinese Discourses on Happiness* (HKUP 2018),
DAVID CRAIG – DISTINGUISHING WANG HONG AS A CREATIVE, CULTURAL, AND SOCIAL INDUSTRY

ABSTRACT

Much debate in the West has ensued over “cultural industries” versus “creative industries” frameworks for addressing longstanding arts-media divides (Caves 2000, Howkins 2001 Garnham 2005, Cunningham 2002, Hesmondhalgh, 2008). These debates have been dealt with in China in a kind of vernacular détente that references both “cultural and creative industries”, whether in policy initiatives, academic institutions, or even journal titles (Gu and O’Connor 2006; Ye, 2008; Fung 2016). Nonetheless, some policies promote continuing determination to advance cultural heritage and maintain mass media as critical propaganda infrastructure. Others advocate for Chinese Internet+ and digital economy development facilitating the marketization of cultural production and protection of tech players (BATs) as national champions.

The rise of China’s wang hong thrust these debates further into relief. Wang hong refers to a new class of online cultural producers - social media entrepreneurs harnessing the affordances of platforms to aggregate and engage online communities for commercial and cultural value. Wang hong also refers to a new industry operating with distinction from legacy Chinese media industries and in competition with a global (non-Chinese) industry fueled by U.S.-based platforms, which Cunningham and Craig (2019) refer to as social media entertainment. This industry advances China’s digital economic ambitions while further heightening cultural anxieties, as evidenced by the raft of prohibitions levied against commercial livestreamers, or zhubo (Craig, Cunningham, and Lv 2019).

The rise of both industries has perpetuated many of the same arguments by and dissension between these frameworks. Critical and cultural industries scholars warn of platform imperialism (Jin 2013) and precarious labor (Vonderau, 2016; Qiu, 2018) while questioning creator-centric scholars for their celebratory stance in advocacy of creator innovation, agency, and entrepreneurialism. Yet, these debates miss vital distinctions between media industries, driven by either IP or distribution control, and “social industries”. This term was first used by Sandvig (2015) to align with critical claims by culture industries scholars around the co-optation of culture, and now, the social. We argue that the concept also provides a vital heuristic to separate these
industries and advance a new set of more generative arguments. A social industries framework aligns with recent SMS and platforms studies that articulate the radically-different nature of network effects and iterative features and affordances of social media platforms. Beyond the production and circulation of content and cultural products, this framework better accounts for the distinctive creator practices of community management and innovation around social media entrepreneurship.

BIO

David Craig is a Clinical Associate Professor at USC Annenberg where teaches graduate courses in media industries, management, and practice. Stuart Cunningham is Distinguished Professor of Media and Communication, Queensland University of Technology and author of over a dozen books on creative industries, media policy, and media economics. As research partners, Craig and Cunningham have spent the past five years mapping the rise of social media entertainment (global) and wang hong (China). They co-authored Social Media Entertainment (NYU Press, 2019) and over a dozen journal articles and chapters on this topic.

SONG HWEE LIM – LIQUID CREATIVITY: THE WORK OF ART IN THE AGE OF CHINESE CHARACTER(ISTIC)

ABSTRACT

As Hong Kong demonstrators stepped up their protest, in June 2019, against a government-proposed bill that would allow extraditions to the People’s Republic of China, they followed the advice of an unlikely figure from the past. “Be water, my friend,” a Taoism-inspired saying made famous by the kung fu star Bruce Lee in a television interview in the 1970s, has come to symbolize both the versatile spirit and the guerrilla-style strategy of this protest movement as crowds of demonstrators ebb and flow in the streets rather than occupy specific sites. Coupled with the savvy use of communications technology that would circumvent surveillance by the authorities, this seemingly leaderless movement manifests a liquid creativity that extends from organizing and mobilizing tactics to publicity and protest materials proliferating in both the virtual and the real worlds.

This paper argues that, by drawing its source from traditional thoughts and practices, this movement’s spirit of liquidity materializes, like its metaphor, the relationship between tradition and modernity as continuity rather than rupture, yet at the same time epitomizes the fluidity that so defines the conditions of modernity. Examining two sets of artistic responses to the behaviour of some policemen during the protests,
this paper illuminates how traditional Chinese characters and folk religious practices have been appropriated in innovative and queer ways to question established values rooted in metaphors of stasis such as the “Spirit of Lion Rock” of the 1970s and 1980s, thus marking a generational shift from solidity to liquidity in the imagination of Hong Kong. In an age in which Hong Kong has become a Special Administrative Region of a China whose ideological formulations are often propagated as embodying “Chinese characteristics,” this paper puts the “Chinese characters” (both as script and as virtue) back in the Chinese characteristics to demonstrate how and why the liquid creativity of this Hong Kong movement may serve as a future model for protest movements across the world.

BIO

Song Hwee LIM is Professor of Cultural Studies at The Chinese University of Hong Kong. He is the author of Tsai Ming-liang and a Cinema of Slowness (2014; Chinese version 2016) and Celluloid Comrades: Representations of Male Homosexuality in Contemporary Chinese Cinemas (2006; Chinese version 2020). He is the founding editor of the Journal of Chinese Cinemas. He is also the co-editor of Remapping World Cinema: Identity, Culture and Politics in Film (2006) and The Chinese Cinema Book (2011; second edition, 2020). His latest book on Taiwan cinema and soft power will be published by Oxford University Press in 2021.

SVETLANA KHARCHENKOVA – CREATIVITY ON YOUR MUG: BRINGING CONTEMPORARY ART TO THE MASSES IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA

ABSTRACT

The contemporary art market has emerged in China. This market is highly globalized, and boasts high auction results, luxurious events, and globetrotter participants. Rather than focusing on unique artworks around which the elite art world is organized, this paper draws attention to art merchandize (yishu yanshengpin): mugs, paper files, notebooks, iPhone covers and other commodities decorated with images of such unique artworks from Chinese living artists and sold, among other places, in museum shops. This paper presents making and selling of art merchandize as a creative practice, since it is not as common or taken for granted for living artists in Europe and the US. Methodologically, this paper relies on interviews and observations in the Beijing art world conducted during the period 2012-2018. These data are supplemented by interviews with artists in the Chinese media, such as www.99ys.com. I show that artists and intermediaries adopt a casual attitude towards art merchandise, as they do not see these commodities as making their artworks less
unique, and find little problematic with copying their artworks and putting them on mundane objects. There is also little concern with reiteration of the same signature styles by star artists, such as Yue Minjun’s bald heads and Zhou Chunya’s green dogs. Rather, artists and intermediaries perceive art merchandize as a creative tool to promote art, as it makes the originals more valuable (Benjamin 1935; Berger 1972). They also view art merchandize as a way to create a healthy art market through democratization of art and getting more people interested in contemporary art by starting with cheap art commodities. In addition to exploring the notion of creativity, this paper contributes to our understanding of the interrelationship between creation of markets and consumption of art and design in contemporary China.

BIO

Svetlana Kharchenkova is assistant professor in sociology of modern China at Leiden University, the Netherlands. Her research bridges contemporary China studies and economic and cultural sociology. In particular, she studies Chinese creative industries and cultural markets in a global perspective. She defended her PhD dissertation White Cubes in China: A Sociological Study of China’s Emerging Market for Contemporary Art at the University of Amsterdam. Her research of the development of the Chinese contemporary art market has been published, among others, in the China Quarterly, Socio-Economic Review and Poetics: Journal of Empirical Research on Culture, the Media and the Arts.

FRESCO SAM-SIN – DECREATIVIZING TRANSCULTURAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN MANCHU AND MANDARIN

ABSTRACT

Over the course of millennia, through the mouths and pens of transcultural language users and communities, Manchu and Mandarin did not only encounter each other, they also shaped and transformed each other. As a result, the two unrelated languages started to resemble each other. Throughout this history, creativity and spontaneity have been important agents of transformation. This paper explores some examples in which the creative language of the transcultural speaker and writer falls prey to prescriptive grammars, linguists and historians. We aim to analyse how and why researchers are obscuring transcultural creativity in the case of Manchu and Mandarin.
JORIS SNELS — AGENCY IN CHINESE DIGITAL ART: AN ANALYSIS OF WORKS BY LIN KE AND LU YANG

ABSTRACT

In China, digital technology plays a central role in the everyday life of most Chinese citizens. Human identities and practices have become integrated with the digital technologies that objects like smartphones provide. Although interaction with digital technologies has become ubiquitous, the digital objects often remain mute. However, Chinese digital artists have been exploring and developing creative practices in which digital objects do have agency. These practices establish new forms of creativity based on an ontologically more equal relationship between humans and digital technology. They reconceptualize ‘the digital’ as an object, person, or space that is both virtual and physical at the same time. The artists create work that traverses the apparent boundary between the virtual and physical reality.

In this article, I will analyze the work of two of China’s most notable digital artists: Lin Ke (b. 1984) and Lu Yang (b. 1984). Lin Ke’s videos and prints are typically screen captures that show the process or result of the artist experimenting with the interface of his computer. In his practice he allows the computer to act as his assistant, rather than a tool. Lu Yang engages with topics like science, religion, and death in her animated videos. The works often revolve around the artists’ virtual avatar, whose digital, post-human identity is determined both by the physical Lu Yang and her virtual counterpart. What Lin and Lu have in common, is that they experiment in similar ways with creating new modes of engaging with the digital.

In the work of both Lin and Lu, digital technology becomes a cultural technique (Siegert 2015) which continually re-constructs what it means to be digital through the interaction between artist and technology. The artists’ personal engagement with digital technology allows the continuous creation of new concepts of the digital that suit the technology with which the artists work, as well as their views on the relation between digital technologies and humans. This article analyzes the works by Lin and Lu using object-oriented ontology (Harman 2011; Morton 2013) and post-humanism.
(Hayles 1999; Braidotti 2013) as a theoretical framework and as analytical tools. This will provide a better understanding of the new relations with and concepts of the digital, which are extensively explored in Chinese digital art, but also characterize both the present and imagined future of Chinese society.

BIO

Jori Snels is a PhD candidate at the Media Studies department of the University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands. She is working on a research project titled Gazing Ahead: China’s Imagined Futures in Digital Art. She graduated in 2018 from the research master (MPhil) Art Studies at the University of Amsterdam, for which she wrote a thesis about the conceptualization of the digital in Chinese digital art. She has published ‘The politics of aesthetics, space and community’ (2018) on Cao Fei’s digital artwork Same Old, Brand New in peer-reviewed journal Art and the Public Sphere, as well as ‘Collaborations between dissidence and obedience’ (2017), on collaborative alternative art practices in the GDR, in Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis.

ESTHER PEEREN – RURAL AND URBAN CREATIVITIES IN XIAOULU GUO’S ONCE UPON A TIME IN THE EAST

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses how Xiaolu Guo’s memoir Once Upon a Time in the East, which describes her upbringing in a small Chinese fishing village, her time at the Beijing Film Academy and her move to Great Britain (where she became a novelist and filmmaker) locates different forms of creativity in the rural and the urban, both in China and in Great Britain. A close reading of the memoir will outline what meanings, feelings/desires and social and political effects are associated with these different forms of (artistic) creativity and how these are tied to specific imaginations of the rural and the urban.

BIO

Esther Peeren is professor of Cultural Analysis at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Amsterdam (UvA). Esther Peeren’s research focuses on the relationship between the cultural imagination (literature, film, TV and art) and social issues relating to identity formation, marginalisation and agency. From 2018 to 2023, Peeren leads the research project ‘Imaging the Rural in a Globalizing World’, focusing on the underexposed influence of globalisation on rural areas and cultural imaginations of the rural in literature, film and television play in determining whether specific aspects
of contemporary rural life do or do not become visible, which influences the way in which the rural can be mobilised politically. The project compares cultural imaginations in the UK, the US, the Netherlands, China and South Africa.

KEVIN MAY– CREATIVE CHINESE STAKEHOLDERS AND INVESTMENT.

ABSTRACT

Currently, China is the third largest investor in the world, immediately after the US and Japan: its overseas investment flow reached US$125 billion in 2017. Notably in the past decade over 50% of the investment flew to Asia. In fact, China has already formed and developed close economic ties with most countries in the region, and has become their key investor, as well as trade partner, aid provider and financier. It is forecasted that the ties will increase and strengthen further as a result of the Belt and Road Initiative, approximately 70% of which targets countries in Asia. Chinese investment has contributed to the fast economic growth of Asia to a significant degree. Its investors have reportedly helped local development but concerns have however also been raised about the risks associated with the investment, especially in host countries with weak governance and fragile economic situations.

In my presentation, I will speak about both the opportunities and the risks and how creative Chinese stakeholders have been going about them.

BIO

Kevin May is a programme and research manager of Oxfam Hong Kong, based in Beijing. His grant making currently focuses on organizations and partnerships that promote the positive influence of China on the poor people of other developing countries in Asia and Africa, especially smallholder farmers, rural women and indigenous people. Prior to that, he worked at an environmental NGO where he supported the development of policies and programmes that promote company transparency, corporate reporting on environmental factors and corporate social responsibility. He received both his master’s degree in law and bachelor’s degree in social work from the University of Hong Kong.
The People’s Republic of China began the 21st century with a new-and-improved public relations approach that relied heavily on staged spectacles like the Olympics, the World Exposition, or large-scale national anniversary celebrations. These events were designed to reconfigure organisations, ideas, and the relations between people. This presentation explores how various actors creatively re-imagined the past during China's staged events, specifically how they evoked pre-modern philosophy and culture to fill a crucial contemporary political buzzword with meaning: the Hu administration's idea of a ‘harmonious society’ (hexie shehui).

The presentation first discusses what role pre-modern ideas have played in contemporary China, and how they have been used by different groups of actors to promote either cosmopolitan or nativist visions of Chinese modernity. Next, it provides an empirical analysis of how the designers of the Beijing Olympics opening ceremony and the 2009 PRC anniversary parade translated the concept of 'harmony' into domestic and foreign context. This analysis is followed by a closer look at how actors involved in constructing the China Pavilion at the 2010 Shanghai Expo used classic Chinese sources to intervene in harmony discourses and creatively reinvent what a ‘harmonious society’ should stand for. Finally, the presentation shows how the China Pavilion’s core exhibitions imagined harmony in hypermodern, urban terms, and it concludes with thoughts about the malleability of Chinese political discourse in the information age.

BIO

Florian Schneider, PhD, Sheffield University, is Senior University Lecturer in the Politics of Modern China at Leiden University. He is managing editor of the academic journal Asiascape: Digital Asia, director of the Leiden Asia Centre, and author of China’s Digital Nationalism (Oxford University Press 2018) and Visual Political Communication in Popular Chinese Television Series (Brill 2013, recipient of the 2014 EastAsiaNet book prize). In 2017, he was awarded the Leiden University teaching prize for his innovative work on gamified learning. His research interests include questions of governance, political communication, and digital media in China, as well as international relations in the East-Asian region.
ARTISTS AND ACTIVISTS

MEIYA LIN

In the process of deconstruction and reconstruction, Meiya Lin's work considers the tension between contradictory qualities: chaos versus order, the controlling versus the controlled. She aims to let these abstract concepts emerge as concrete objects, in an impossible time and space, which shows the relationship among those multiple objects and counterpart which lies at a distance from them. While she exploits the universal visual language of the video clip, it is a commentary on the iconography of images in our society. Lin usually works with digital media: videos, interactive video installations, and video games.

HU WEI

Hu Wei is an artist and currently works and lives in Beijing, China. He graduated from Central Academy of Fine Arts (CAFA) and obtained an MA at Dutch Art Institute (DAI). His videos, installations, performances and writing establish an artistic relationship between reality (non-artistic gesture) and “art tales”. Combining individual and social observations, he is interested in exploring the power shifts between labour and capital, exploring the mediation between technology and the human condition, in which emerging and urgent political, economic, ethical issues are embedded. Besides Hu’s artistic practice, he also runs Institute for Provocation, an independent art space in Beijing.

CHEN YUN

Chen Yun is a cultural producer born and raised in Shanghai. She worked on West Heavens (westheavens.net), a sino-Indian exchange project in arts and intellectuals since 2010. She has curated more than 100 talks, performances, workshops and social events, and organized/curated the publication of more than 30 books. She was a member of the curatorial team of 11th Shanghai Biennale (2016-17) and curated 51
Persona, a public program series that revealed the transformational potential of 51 persons/groups in Shanghai. 51 Personae grew out of her work initiating the Dinghaiqiao Mutual Aid Society (2015-18), a self-organized venue for studies, communication, reflection, and social services, in a working class/migrant neighborhood of Shanghai.

SONG YI

Song Yi, curator, writer and film maker.
He was a founder of the Migrant Workers Video Collective, artistic director of art space “Institute For Provocation”, founder of “Bloom” curating collective for contemporary and urban planning. He was senior editor of LEAP magazine (2013-2017), former Head of Exhibition at Long March Space (2008-2012), coordinated “Ho Chi Minh trail” project.

ELAINE HO

Elaine W. Ho works between the realms of time-based art, experimental publishing, and language. She is the founder of artist-run project space HomeShop in Beijing (2008–13) and continues to ask questions about the sociopolitics of syntax, more recently via ongoing collaborations with Display Distribute, • • PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT, and Widow Radio Ching. Her work has been presented on a boat named Eleonore, docked along the Danube River (Linz, 2016), at Hamburger Bahnhof Museum für Gegenwart (2017), Seoul Mediacity Biennale (2017), the Power Station of Art (2016), Guangdong Times Museum (2015), Spring Workshop (2015), Tate Modern (2014), and on various street corners, among other places.

LOI CHE RAKHORST

Loi Che was born in Hong Kong. After finishing her studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1975, she lived in the Netherlands from 1979. She worked from 1980 to 1990 as translator and has been in charge of the Chinese radio programme of the Netherlands Programme Service. From 2004 onward, she continued her work in the fine arts and studied for a short period at the Amsterdam Academy of fine art. Loi
Che has practised Chinese calligraphy since childhood and is a member of the Artists Association of Visual Art GSA in the Netherlands.

**LO YIN SHAN**

Lo Yin Shan is a freelance text & image worker born in colonial Hong Kong and once lived in Beijing from 2008 to 2017.

**SIMPSON TSE**

Simo Tse is a designer whose research and practice focuses upon the notion of care and creating different scenarios for affective work. Interested in the cultural and societal implications of design, he consciously chooses to utilise the graphic design profession as an activation point into different socially relevant domains. His work varies from visual identity, publication, exhibition design to organising public events. Since 2014, he has been part of thonik, an Amsterdam based design studio, and is currently pursuing a master’s programme at the Sandberg Instituut.

**HUANG JINGYUAN**

Huang received a BFA from Concordia University (Montreal) in 2005 and a MFA from the School of the Art Institute of Chicago in 2008.

Since returning to China in 2010, her work has focused on the contradictions and disconnections within Chinese society, and between China and the world. Two major series were produced during this period: the "Confucius City Project" and "I Am Your Agency." Since 2014, concerned over the diminution of a civil society under the current administration, Huang has worked with the idea of socialist realism, attempting to subvert the key mechanics of this historically complex genre. Notable projects from this period of work include "Civility Trilogy," "Invitation of Models," and "Mao's Love Letter." Since 2017, her exhibitions and residencies have focused on exploring the conflicted inner strength of people in the provincial setting, for example “Right to Write” project in Shanghai Biennale, the making of film "Solutions" (2018).
SONG YI—AFTER US, THE DELUGE

In order to counteract the problems generated by Beijing’s unrelenting urbanization, the central government devised a series of aggressive policies seeking to forcefully disperse clusters of migrant workers in the city. When these measures proved ineffective, the Beijing Bureau of Education opted for a less confrontational approach in 2014 that administratively prevented the children of migrant workers from enrolling in local public schools. Many of the workers were brought to submission when the future of their children was held hostage. Against the backdrop of this rampant violation, an even greater injustice is the systematic and persistent exploitation of rural economies by the megacities. As much as the workers are excluded from the city, their only chance of survival is to dwell obstinately within it.

What emerges can only be described as an interplay between haunting and exorcism. The workers are tossed to and fro as they try everything in their power to maintain their beleaguered families, curbing the direct blows of power by simply making ends meet on a daily basis. The temporal nature of both the oppressor and the oppressed intimates the advent of a coming struggle of which we know nothing, yet.

LO YIN SHAN—MIRRORS FROM HETEROTOPIA: 12 HONG KONG CREATIVE WORKERS IN BEIJING AND SHANGHAI

“To go, or not to go?” In the past decade, Chow Yiu Fai has witnessed a northbound movement of many fellow cultural practitioners, and maybe, it’s the time to ask this question again. In this documentation of an academic research project during 2014-2015, Chow interviews twelve Beijing/Shanghai-based Hongkongers—from the well-known novelist Chan Koon Chung who wrote the “China Trilogy” to a post-90s film student from Peking University. A self-reflective journey on (re-)searching cultural identity of the otherness, multi-opportunities and limitation of creative experiences in the brave new world, also, basic ethics and mission of professionalism in cultural industry.
WANG YIWEI  - EVICTION

This film is inspired by the fieldtrip of the Academy of Failure. This academy took place in May 2018 as part of the ChinaCreative project, and was hosted by the Institute for Provocation. The fieldtrip was to revisit the sites of mapping and data activism during the so called “low-end population eviction campaign” in winter 2017. Under the policy of population downsizing and industry upgrading, migrant workers were deemed as labourers of low-end industry, therefore they were no longer needed. Xinjian village was the trigger and starting point of the whole campaign: in late November 2017, a fire broke out in Jufuyuan Apartment in this village, which killed 19 people and injured 8, most of whom migrant workers. A few days after the fire, workshop and apartments were demolished and most migrant workers were forced out in short time. In the media it was said that hundreds of thousands of migrant workers were displaced in cold winter during this 40-day campaign. By May 2018, Xinjian has turned in a severely surveilled ghost village.

HUANG JINGYUAN  – SONGS OF CONSENSUS

“Songs of Consensus” is a 16-minute long video punctuated by three “popular” songs (“popular” depends on where you live and when you were born and what you believe in). Loosely developed from fragments of a recording of a young scholar speaking about Chinese left-wing art discourse of the last century, the video samples a range of people from different backgrounds and their views on the debate about the relationship between “art” and “life”. This process of sampling and collaging aims to bring out my reading of each individual’s inner logic in conjunction with the conditions in which they live. Together I hope to suggest a world that exists both as a part and result of two competing but interlocked official attitudes towards art.