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Title	Examining parody work and subculture in post-2000s Hong Kong	
Author(s)	Pang, Wai-sheung, Angela	
Citation	Pang, W. A (2016). Examining parody work and subculture in post-2000s Hong Kong. (Thesis). University of Hong Kong, Pokfulam, Hong Kong SAR.	
Issued Date	2016	
URL	URL http://hdl.handle.net/10722/246719	
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The Department of Sociology

The University of Hong Kong

2015 - 2016 Master in Media, Culture & Creative Cities

SOCI 8030 Capstone Project

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Capstone Project Topic:

Examining Parody Work and Subculture in Post-2000s Hong Kong

Submission Date: 31 July, 2016



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HKI Bran

Abstract

Parody work has a long history in Hong Kong, and has been expanding in recent years receiving both local and global attention for various reasons. Different forms of parody works can be found across the eras, such as movie, comic, radio program, and television program. Parody work apparently serves as an entertainment bringing happiness and laughter to the audiences, whereas mostly its objective is to reflect and satirize the social and political condition in an implicit way. Parody work is used to be produced and distributed by mass media formats, such as movies, TV, songs etc.; yet the power to play, speak, and publish is now open to the public. This project aims to explore the mushrooming of parody culture in post-2000s Hong Kong by looking into various aspects, namely social, political, and technological, of Hong Kong society. This project starts by outlining the concepts of subculture and parody culture, and discussing their functions and relation. It then examines the parody culture in today's Hong Kong by interviewing artists on their experiences and thoughts, and how these relate to the idea of subculture. This research also reveals the significance of new media for the blossoming of parody culture. It not only manifests today's technological advancement, but also establishes an imagined community as well as a certain kind of collective identity. Toward the end, the argument of whether parody culture equals to subculture is to be questioned. Development of parody culture in Hong Kong remains at an open stage given that Hong Kong has been experiencing challenges and changes in all aspects, such as political, social, and cultural in an unpredictable pace. This project contributes to the understanding of culture mainly from the production perspective, while leaves the possible impact made on au (reception) perspective for further discussion and analysis.

Acknowledgment

I would like to express my greatest gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Travis Kong for his continuous guidance and advice throughout the Capstone Project. Besides, thanks for the sharing of Mr. Douglas Young, the supervisor of my Community Partner G.O.D. His sharing on Hong Kong *mo liu tau* culture is where I begin my capstone project.

Thanks for all the interviewees in this project. My research will not be that insightful and in-depth without their generous sharing. Once again, thanks for their passion and endeavor in creating numerous great works to record what are happening in such a critical era of Hong Kong.

Thanks all the professors and teachers in the MCCC Program. Their teaching and sharing have inspired me on my life and philosophy. Thanks all my beloved classmates/ groupmates Dorothy Nieh, Eddie Ng, Mon Leung and Vien Tsang. They make my second journey in HKU a very memorable, touching, and amazing one. I will never forget all the happy moments that we had inside and outside of the classroom. I have to express my greatest appreciation to my beloved soulmates and friends Raymond Wong, Marco Lau, Picco Yeung, and Edna Wong, who have been giving me so much patience, love, and support throughout these two years.

Last but not the least, thanks for the endless support and love from my family, especially my parent Peter Pang and Connie Chong, my aunt Linda Chong, and my adorable grandma "Queen Diana Ching Wai-hing". I am blessed to have been brought up in this lovely family.



Examining Parody Work and Subculture in Post-2000s Hong Kong

1.0 Introduction

Parody has always been popular around the globe, and is one of the important sectors in mass media and entertainment industry, such as *Saturday Night Live*¹ in United States (1975 - present), Charlie Chaplin satirising Adolf Hitler in *The Great Dictator* (1940), the popup art exhibition Dismaland² in United Kingdom (2015), to name but a few. Parody gives comic effect by imitating, re-creating, or making fun on the original object, yet what more important is to decode the hidden message of the work, and comprehend under what social and political backdrop that the work is created.

Inspired by my Community Partner Goods of Desire (in short "G.O.D."), I began my capstone by remembering parody culture in Hong Kong. Parody can also be found in the commercial market, in which G.O.D. was a successful example of how to play around parody, Hong Kong local culture, and commercialization. G.O.D.'s lifestyle shopping center "Delay No Mall" illustrated how the profanity of Cantonese foul language could be twisted into something cool and stylish, and carried another level of meaning. In the very first sense, "Delay No Mall" attracted eyeballs because of its profanity in Cantonese pronunciation; at the same time, it was a call for action slogan in English meaning. "Hong Kong has been irresolute on many issues. This slogan is for Hong Kong people. Superficially it is very Westernized, yet different meanings are embedded", said Douglas Young, the brand founder of G.O.D. in an interview (HKEJ Monthly, 2015) It was more than fun, but multilayers of meanings were embedded. Young

related this name to the understanding of Hong Kong culture and identity, which have always

¹ Saturday Night Live is an American late-night live television sketch comedy and variety show which premiered on NI since 1975

² Dismaland was a project done by a British street artist Banksy parodying the dark side of the theme park Disneyland. "Dismaland is saturated with the notion of things not meant to be, everything is subversive and ironic... it ends up destart my perception of the town.", said the Canadian artist Maskull Lasserre participating in this Dismaland Project. See: http://time.com/4006579/dismaland-banksy/

floating in an ambiguous status – non-Westernized and non-Chinese. Whereas it is the mixing and fluidity make sense of the unique essence of Hong Kong identity. G.O.D. and parody work in Hong Kong share a certain kind of similarity – localness. Both works are playful-coated with levels of implications and metaphors hiding inside, in which only local Hongkongers with similar thought, background, memories, experiences, or maybe language, can share the laughter and taste the real meanings behind. Both works put heavy concern on Hong Kong society and culture. It is also a way to address the social issues of Hong Kong, praise the uniqueness of Hong Kong identity, and awaken the collective memory of old Hong Kong. In reviewing the case of G.O.D., to certain extent, it is feasible to integrate parody into business. Whereas in today's Hong Kong where politics has been a highly sensitive agenda, it might be too risky putting politics and parody together.

1.1 Background

Parody culture has occupied a significant role in Hong Kong popular culture for decades, for example *Her Fatal Ways* (1990, movie), *From Beijing with Love* (1994, movie), *Ten Fire Fighting Youngsters* (1990, song), and *Headliner* (1989 – current, television program). The complicated historical, social, and political background of Hong Kong has always been the backdrop of parody work – ambiguity on identity issue, uncertainty on handover, threat of Hong Kong's future, suspicion on the agreement term "remain unchanged for 50 years" on Sino-British Joint Declaration etc. All these agendas remain unsolved in the heart of Hong Kong people even after the official return to China. However, the ambiguous p agenda of Hong Kong and China can rarely be discussed jokingly in mainstream media. W changing landscape of Hong Kong society, parody culture has undergone transformation since

Hong Kong has been facing different kinds of economic and political difficulties after the return to China. Economically, 1997 Asian Financial Crisis caused a deflationary period in Hong Kong and across Asia, the outbreak of SARS disease in 2003 further worsened the economy and overall atmosphere of Hong Kong society, and later the global economic downturn in 2008 continued the recession. Politically, Hong Kong government carried out series of social and political reforms in managing and reshaping Hong Kong people, such as the Article 23 of the Hong Kong Basic Law in 2003 which was believed to threaten the freedom of press, religion, and association; and the Moral and National Education in 2010 which claimed to strength the national education of Hong Kong students but its compulsory praising of communist and nationalist ideology of China's government remained controversial. More recent example was Umbrella Movement in 2014 – the biggest scale of civil protest in Hong Kong history, which began from the decision of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress regarding the proposed reforms to the Hong Kong electoral system. All these unfavorable conditions, the unpopularity of Hong Kong government, and dissatisfaction of Hong Kong people have been clouding the society since 2000. On the other hand, the open platform Internet has emerged for mass public in Hong Kong. According to the Census and Statistics Department, it was observed that there has been a rapid growth of information technology in community since 2000. The number of households with PCs at home increased by 90% from 2000 to 2014; and the number of households with their PCs at home connected to the Internet increased even at a faster pace, which had an increase of 150% during the same period. (Cens Statistics Department, 2015). The increasing penetration of computer, smartphone, and Internet inc the accessibility of computer use and the connectivity of people. Internet has been replacing the or

message delivery of mass media, and has become an indispensable platform to gather people for the exchange of ideas. Hong Kong is probably the "densest digitally connected city" in the world³. Unfavorable social and political condition, despair of Hong Kong people, and the growing popularity of Internet make it interesting to investigate how these elements influence and interact with each other, and propel the change of parody culture over the past two decades.

1.2 Research Objectives

This paper aims to examine the function of parody and its relation to subculture by investigating the boom of parody work in post 2000s Hong Kong. It will explore how various aspects, namely historical, cultural, social and political, interplay and contribute to the flourishing. This research also explores how new media facilitates the boom, and brings to the discussion of internet community and identity. Lastly, this paper will rethink whether parody work equals to subculture. Hong Kong, as well as Hong Kong people, are now in the midst of transition on different areas – social, cultural, and political. By understanding the mushrooming of parody culture in post 2000s Hong Kong, this research documents how artists (and ordinary Hong Kong people) use different forms of satirical works to tell and record the social happenings in this changing era. This paper focuses on the producer perspective, and leaves the angle of audience reception for future research.

2.0 Literature Review

Parody shares something similar with subculture on various aspects. Both parody and subculture created by imitating, extracting, or making fun on the elements from the so-called parent or main culture. Through the appropriation of elements, they become new form of cultural product carrying

³ 蕭少滔。2016。世代之戰。香港:天窗出版社

metaphors and latent ideologies that the author or group want to express. There are always multi-layers of implications awaiting to be explored. In order to have a comprehensive understanding on the implicit meanings of those cultural forms, it is necessary to take the historical, cultural, social, and political context into account, and understand how parody and subculture are created under the interplay of these factors. Besides, both parody and subculture have certain kind of "resistance" to the dominant culture. Though their forms of resistance tend to be at symbolic and ideological level, their impacts remain influential and perpetual to the audiences and members. But does it mean that parody belongs to subculture? There might not have an absolute answer in today's fast-changing world.

2.1 Defining Subculture

Study on subculture first began to investigate the adolescents in Second World War society, when this group of adolescent working class was gaining economic and cultural dependence from their family units, and positioning as individuals in the society. Subculture is what Robert Merton described as "intermediate theory' between grand narratives and 'grounded' everyday life." (Blackman, 2005; Merton 1957) "Subculture is concerned with agency and action belonging to a subset or social group that is distinct from but related to the dominant culture" (Blackman, 2005) Study on subculture is to understand how and why the subset is formed, and its relationship with the dominant culture, and by what means the subset can achieve their objectives. Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) was to study the rebellion of certain group of youngsters in post-war Britain. The major arguments of CCCS bega the meaning of culture, and then the derivatives dominant culture and subordinate culture. In *Res. Through Rituals*, culture refers to that level at which social groups develop distinct patterns of life.

meanings, values, and beliefs, and ideas embodied. All these aspects form as "maps of meaning" which "shapes the subculture and makes things intelligible to its member." (Hall and Jefferson, 1976) It is through a set of institutional rules to limit and constrain how the groups live and position their social existence. Cultures are ranked differently in the society. Using Marx's idea, "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chose by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered given and transmitted from the past." (Hall and Jefferson, 1976; Marx, 1951) Different classes and people are ranked unequally in terms of their capital and power, and the oppositional relation as domination and subordination are constructed. Marx argued that the dominate class not only has the means of material production, but also has the control over the means of mental production, such as values and ideologies. (Hall and Jefferson, 1976; Marx, 1970) Those assumptions of oppositions are naturalized to be the rituals of everyday life, and are converted into myth and signs directing different classes to follow their pre-set trajectories. In Subculture: The Meaning of Style, Hebdige (1979) used Barthes' analysis on myth and sign to understand how groups (specifically youth sub-groups) used different forms of style to challenge the so-called dominant, mainstream, and parent culture by the appropriation of elements. And combining Gramsci's study on hegemony, Hebdige attempted to explain how those sub-groups "consented to" and negotiated their subordination, and therefore how hegemony could be sustained in the society. In this research, it is found that CCCS' subcultural theory shares similarities with parody in terms of its objective and function, wherea ambiguous to draw an equal sign between two.

2.2 Defining Parody Work

Parody is an age-old cultural phenomenon across the world. Its origin can be traced back to ancient Greece⁴, and has existed in various forms serving different purposes. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, parody refers to,

a literary composition modelled on and imitating another work, especially a composition in which the characteristic style and themes of a particular author or genre are satirized by being applied to inappropriate or unlikely subjects, or are otherwise exaggerated for comic effect.

Scholars have been studying the notion of parody. For example, Gerard Genette studies the terms "hypotext" and "hypertext", and distinguishes parody from various related cultural forms by pointing out the feature of textual transformation which it performs in a "playful rather than a satirical manner" (Dentith, 2000) Margaret A. Rose views parody as metafiction, which means that "in parodying one text, the parody text holds up a mirror to its own fictional practices" (Dentith, 2000) The original text is apparently destroyed, yet new meanings will be created in the parodic process. Simon Dentith has a rather inclusive definition of parody, which refers to "any cultural practice which provides a polemical allusive imitation of another cultural practice" (Gong & Yong, 2010) Parody, in Dentith's definition, is not a tightly defined and singular term, instead it is a "continuum of parodic cultural work" (Dentith, 2000). Parody should be read by revisiting its specific situation, and in which form it is represented in order to portray a more comprehensive understanding and application on different issues.

3.0 Methodology

In-depth interview was the basic methodology adopted in this research. Qualitative interview is

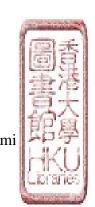
⁴ The word "parody" is derived from the post-classical Latin parodia (4th century; in classical Latin as a Greek word)

flexible approach "to elicit rich, detailed materials that can be used in qualitative analysis. Its object is to find out what kinds of things are happening rather than to determine the frequency of predetermined kinds of things" (Fielding & Thomas, 2001; Lofland, 1971) In order to comprehend the parody culture in post-2000s Hong Kong, interview is especially applicable to find out the untold stories from the producers' perspective. I began the search of interviewees on the Internet by entering keywords such as "Hong Kong", "parody", "mocking", "satirizing" etc. and tracing the search results to know people doing parody in Hong Kong, then I approached them through social media. I interviewed eight artists who have published parody work online, and all of them have quite a lot of followers in social media platforms. Interviews were conducted during December 2015 and March 2016, seven of them were conducted by face-to-face interview, and one was conducted by phone interview. Each interview lasts for approximate one hour. Interviewees are specializing in different forms of creations, including song, illustration, comics, animation, video, and cartoon character. It can not only obtain a wider picture of parody culture by looking into different forms of works, but also reflect the prosperity and diversity of today's parody culture. Interview questions were focused on when and why they started doing parody work and their purposes of doing it, how they evaluated the impact of their works to the individuals, and the social, cultural, and political aspects of Hong Kong, and lastly, how they viewed the function of parody work and its relation to subculture.

4.0 Research Findings

4.1 Boom of Parody in Post-2000s Hong Kong

Post 2000s Hong Kong has been undergoing enormous changes on social, cultural, economi



political aspects, in which the handover of Hong Kong to China is probably one of the important leading factors to drive all these changes. In accordance with the "one country, two systems" principle, it is said that Hong Kong's previous system and way of living (during the colonial era) will remain unchanged for 50 years. However, observing the government policy and stance on different social and political issues in the past two decades, Hong Kong people are losing their confidence on this principle⁵. It is endangering the rights and freedoms of Hong Kong people, and the impartial rule of law and an independent judiciary which have always been treasured as the core value of Hong Kong. Press freedom is in risk as well. The surge of red capital from China is engulfing the media corporations, which invisibly manipulates the delivery of information and influences Hong Kong society in a gradual and long-lasting way. According to the Hong Kong Journalists Association, "press freedom has been deteriorated since the handover. Though today's media industry is not under state control, the limiting freedom mainly results from self-censorship, and government's tighter grip on the flow of information" (HKJA, 2006) Mass media is self-castrated for their responsibility in monitoring the government and reflecting the social injustice, and gives up their endowed freedom of speech. This self-censorship atmosphere is diffusing in the air of Hong Kong, different industries are circumventing those so-called sensitive social and political topics to show their loyalty, in order to get the entrance ticket to China market. It is sad but true, Chris Patten, the last governor and commander-in-chief of Hong Kong, had already foretold the current situation of Hong Kong in 1996, "my anxiety is not that this community's autonomy would be usurped by Beijing, b it could be given away bit by bit by some people in Hong Kong." (Legco, 1996) All these const

⁵ 鍾庭耀. (2003 年 8 月 29 日). 從民調檢視香港民眾對一國兩制之認同. *香港大學民意研究計劃*. 取自: https://www.hkupop.hku.hk/chinese/columns/columns27short.html

⁶ http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr96-97/english/lc_sitg/hansard/han0210.htm

factors set the backdrop of the boom of parody in post 2000s. In such a difficult era, Hong Kong people are striving for a breathing space to voice out their thought to the world, but they can only rely on themselves but not the mass media.

4.1.1 Objectives of Doing Parody Work

Different interviewees began their parody creation at different time and for different reasons. Some started as career, some treated it as personal interest, some started by noticing the absurdity in everyday life, and some were inspired by the Umbrella Movement. It has often been said that Hong Kong people are politically apathetic, yet Umbrella Movement is a watershed of the political ecosystem of Hong Kong⁷. This biggest scale of civil protest in Hong Kong history, apparently, did not end with concrete solution on the universal suffrage agenda; yet it would be too arbitrary to announce the failure of the Movement. Different levels of changes have been taken place in Hong Kong, and there was a group of artists began their road to create parody because of this protest.

Parody Work as Remedy

The distressing atmosphere had been diffusing around Hong Kong during Umbrella Movement. Hong Kong society was seriously torn off into parties, and conflicts and arguments had also been taken place between friends and in family. This 79-day protest was an endurance war burning out the spirit and energy of the protesters. Protesters who had been staying in the Occupy Zones day and night were feeling hopeless on the standstill situation towards the later stage of the Movement, and Matthew and Do

⁷ 後雨傘運動:告別政治冷感的年代. (2014年11月29日). *明報*. 取自:

http://news.mingpao.com/pns/%E5%BE%8C%E9%9B%A8%E5%82%98%E9%81%8B%E5%8B%95%EF%BC%9A'1%8A%E5%88%A5%E6%94%BF%E6%B2%BB%E5%86%B7%E6%84%9F%E7%9A%84%E5%B9%B4%E4%BBE4%BD%9C%E8%80%85%EF%B9%95%E9%84%AD%E7%85%92%E3%80%81%E8%A2%81%E7%91%8B%E7%9/web_tc/article/20141129/s00012/1417197542046

part of them. Matthew (Interviewee 1) is a graphic designer, and has published series of cartoon characters imitating the politicians and narrating the happenings during the Movement. Don (Interviewee 2) has a fulltime job in media agency, and had composed songs about everyday life as interest before. Shared the same desperate feeling as many Hongkongers, Don composed a parodying song to talk about his conflicting view with his friends on the Movement (See Appendix 1). Matthew said, "Towards the end of the Movement, it was somehow like a dilemma - no forward and no backward. People don't want to leave, but they don't know what should do if stay". Observed the hardship that Hongkongers were facing, Matthew and Don hoped to bring them positive energy, especially the protesters, through their funny works, and hoped to create resonance with the protesters. "Laughter escapes social control and the order of the power bloc, while also creating a common sense with the ones that can share the same laughter" (Mascha, 2011) It requires people to share a common understanding on the objects being laughed at, and it can bring a sense of togetherness and resonance to all despairing Hongkongers. Don said, "A 3-minute song can make people laugh for 3 minutes, and there were few thousands of views. I think I am doing an excellent work already". It might just be a temporary relaxation, but it did cheer up Hongkongers in their trough. However, parody work is indeed a paradox – playful-coated outside, bitter inside. "Those Internet works that related to social and political incidents are like flip coin - more laughing it looks, more pessimistic it is inside", said Don. Using Don's song as example, his song first made people laugh because of the foul language lyrics, but what it wanted to tell was the conflicts commonly ap between friends during the Movement. "Some people told me that they started crying after listen few times", Don explained that as they finally realized how ridiculous and ignorant Hong Kong

were when facing such a big social movement. Parody work is not that funny when you realize the real meanings behind the sugar-coated, it might be telling a tragedy indeed.

Parody Work for Social Responsibility

Interviewees valued what they have been doing as a kind of social responsibility, and they were just using their skills and talents contributing to the society. They might not stand in the frontline pulling the fence, but they continued the battlefield in online world by instilling inspiration and bringing in discussion. Jackie (Interviewee 3) is a DJ playing Electronic Dance Music, and has composed music together with editing videos to make parodying videos. Jackie explained his creation objective, "You don't need to agree with me, but I hope people to think by themselves. You can dislike what I said, but you have to give the reason. There are so many 'Hong Kong Pig', so I want to make them think and give discussion space." The Cantonese slang "Hong Kong Pig" is to describe the politically apathetic mindset of Hong Kong people, who only concerns earning for living and disinterests the social issues. Jackie further argued that, "This is the common problem of Hong Kong people. They won't care those political and social issues until they become the victims of those problems." Jackie hoped to open up discussions for Hong Kong people, and aroused their interest by repackaging those serious topics into something exaggeratedly satirical and funny. It follows with the American scholar Robert Hariman's idea on the function of political parody, "Rational-critical discussion depended on a process of aesthetic replication through which discourses could be marked as discourses and then accesses and, perhaps more important, ac and otherwise inflected in the retelling." (Hariman, 2008). Parody work is a playful-coated st which repackages those monotonous and incomprehensible political topics into something interest

order to attract people's attention and encourage them to think or rethink from different angles.

However, using Umbrella Movement as an example, it has often been said, after such a long-lasting and big scale of civil protest, everything resumed normal, Hong Kong people continued their so-called "normal living", and seemingly nothing has been successfully achieved. Indeed, changes have been made on the ideological level of Hong Kong people. Instead of seeing the end of Umbrella Movement as a real end, it is a beginning of Hong Kong people and Hong Kong to reconsider their role in protecting their home Hong Kong. "Parody creates and sustains public consciousness first and foremost by exposing the limitations of dominant discourses: it counters idealization, mythic enchantment, and other forms of hegemony" (Hariman, 2008) Matthew viewed Umbrella Movement as a preparation stage to foster the consciousness and sensitivity of Hong Kong people on the political and social issues. Matthew said,

Umbrella Movement is a beginning. A beginning on how people see the Hong Kong society. This gradual and long lasting influence is even more important than gaining success in the first fight for universal suffrage. If people are not concerning the society, the fight for true universal suffrage is meaningless too. It is difficult to say that whether we will have the true universal suffrage ten years later, but if we can keep people caring about Hong Kong and others, it has been a very good society already.

Chris (Interviewee 4) has published series of animation imitating and retelling those hot topics in Hong Kong. Chris shared a similar thought with Matthew that, "everything is a process. Without the first reading and paying attention to those parody works, people won't be able to absorb and integrat into their own mindset. Then, no further step we could do". Through subverting and inverting the f

incidents, or discussions into something comical, parody can be read as a form of resistance:

Political humour is considered to be subversive and leading to political change: by offering a different perspective on political issues, it not only leads the audience to question the effectiveness of political decision and practices, but also serves as a means of resistance to, or even rebellion against, political oppression and social injustice (Tsakona & Popa, 2011)

The genre "parody" is subversive in nature, in which it plays around the dominant figures and presents in a joking way.

However, similar with the subversive feature in "subculture", "political satire is a 'peaceful protest', and not aims at bringing radical change in the system." (Brandes, 1977; Mascha, 2011; Pi-Sunyer, 1977) This form of resistance to the dominant system is indeed an "ongoing process of change at the micro-political level." (Mascha, 2011) This process is a gradual yet influential fight for Hong Kong people on the ideological level, which aims to arouse their consciousness on the endangering future of Hong Kong.

Parody Work as Power Resistance

Michel Foucault's famous quote in The History of Sexuality (1976) "When there is power, there is resistance" best describes how artists use parody work to be a form of power resistance. Example can be seen from the birth of Baidu 10 Mythical Creatures in China. In 2008, China's government has imposed a policy prohibiting the use of foul language on the Internet. As what the popular Chinese Internet slang said "Where there is a policy, there is a countermeasure" (pinyin: shàng yǒu zhèng cè, xià yǒu d China's netizens soon created a collection of mythical creatures which played with homophone to a foul language. This immediate response manifests how the netizens trickily play with the regulation

eschew the censorship. Inspired by the Mythical Creatures in China, Andy (Interviewee 5) created a collection of Golden Creature Card in 2011 for Hong Kong context, when the proposed ordinance Copyright (Amendment) Bill 2014 (also named as Internet Article 23) aroused fierce debate in the society. It was believed that this amendment would make the derivative work bear criminal responsibility, and threaten the freedom of creation in the Internet. Andy said that his Golden Creature Card collection was around the value of Golden Forum – free and open; and what he wanted to reflect was the government's control over Internet, and how people were trying to fight against it. Nevertheless, the Card was soon spread out across the Internet. People created more versions of cards, and some netizens created HKGolden Monsters Card Maker allowing people to design their own Creature Card by uploading photo and keying in text. "Though I began first, I can create an atmosphere for people joining and playing together. That's the most valuable freedom in Internet", said Andy. It also explained the popularity of the Card in both online and offline worlds in just a short period of time.

finally achieve. The artists that I interviewed had two different stands in evaluating the values of their works. Some interviewees pessimistically thought that their works were not changing anything, and believed that people who did not understand would never understand. "I didn't expect that my work can change others, but what I hope is to make a connection and impact that people can relieve their unhappiness, powerlessness, and can have fun and relax", said Don. "Modern laughter becomes a consolation within a system of social constriction" (Hariman, 2008) Instead of "dreaming big" preferred expecting less to simply deliver temporary moment of happiness to Hong Kong people

It has often been questioned what the next is after all the laughter and joke, and any goals that parody can

the difficult time. Contrarily, some interviewees did have a hope that their works might make something different to the society. Though their works might not bring immediate change to the society, they were gradually influencing and awaking some Hong Kong people for the continuous fight on real democracy.

4.1.2 Threat to Parody Culture in Hong Kong

Everything can be read as politics. Political subject is becoming extremely sensitive in today's Hong Kong, and also it menaces the creativity and courage of artists who are doing parody work. Jackie encountered difficulty on his career because of his active engagement in doing politics-related parody. He said that some PR firms and advertisers rejected employing him by saying that he was too "political". He shared another experience of taking part in a television program, "In that gourmet program, few anchors and I went different restaurants for food tasting. We had originally visited 15-16 restaurants, but then after the shooting, 1/3 of the restaurants refused me appearing on the program." Corporates tend to be apolitical and neutral on all social and political discussion. They become more cautious on the selection of spokesperson and their speech on social media, in order to cut apart from any potentially politically sensitive person, object, or incident. It is because there is a major saying in China's social media that pro-democracy of Hong Kong means challenging the sovereignty of China, and is equalized to the abandon of China market. It further reinforces the necessity of commercial brands and artists to remain silence on the conflicting argument between Hong Kong and China⁸. What they are targeting is definitely the bigger China market, but they do not want to offend local market at the same time to avoid a

wave of criticism.

⁸ 被內地網民圍攻道歉 美港台星都試過. (2016 年 7 月 6 日). *香港 01*. 取自:

http://www.hk01.com/%E7%86%B1%E8%A9%B1/31912/-01%E8%B3%87%E6%96%99%E5%AE%A4-%E8%A2%55%85%A7%E5%9C%B0%E7%B6%B2%E6%B0%91%E5%9C%8D%E6%94%BB%E9%81%93%E6%AD%89-%E7%E6%B8%AF%E5%8F%B0%E6%98%9F%E9%83%BD%E8%A9%A6%E9%81%8E

Entertainment business, especially movie, is significantly affected in the past two decades. Stated at the beginning of this research, uncertain political atmosphere of Hong Kong, and the fear of Hong Kong people on the handover were once hit genre in 90s popular culture. For example, the blockbuster Her Fatal Ways (1990) and its sequels used a comic way to implicitly portray the fear of Hong Kong people on the Chinese government, and the cultural conflict between Hong Kong people and mainlanders. However, those political topics, even portraying from a comic angle, are rarely found in today's Hong Kong movie. All began from CEPA⁹ in 2003 which started a new chapter of co-production between Hong Kong and China. In order to enter the profitable China market, the movie companies will first fulfil the censorship criteria of China, and then satisfy the taste of mainland market. Hong Kong market is at the lowest priority. Influenced by the education of APA¹⁰, Thomas (Interviewee 7) thought that it was the social responsibility of movie practitioner to reflect and record the happenings of the society. Thomas said, "Movie has the function of recording history. In the past, there were still movies summing up events of the year. But today's mainstream movie won't talk about the Umbrella Movement at all." Thomas lamentably said that, "Hong Kong people are easy to forget. They might forget the Movement, and the Mongkok demonstration few years later, but maybe people will still remember the song" Thomas and his team created a derivative music video based on a famous Canto-pop song from Andy Lau. This song aimed to satirically echo with the Chief Executive CY Leung's speech of encouraging people to go shopping in Mongkok after the clearance of Occupy Zone (See Appendix 2).

This self-controlled practice has been eroding the newspaper industry as well. Newspaper publicati

⁹ "CEPA", in abbreviation of "Mainland and Hong Kong Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement"

^{10 &}quot;APA", in abbreviation of "Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts"

used to have one to two fulltime political cartoonists, however the industry has undergone changes since the returning to China. Frankie (Interviewee 8) is a political cartoonist. He named his column as "boiling frog", which is a metaphor to Hong Kong people for their unwillingness to understand and react to the falsely stable situation. Frankie had been working for few publications earlier, and has observed how the industry has been undergoing changes in the past two decades. "Those publications would let the political cartoonists naturally leave, and then they won't find replacement. Therefore, after decades of change, there are only three to four fulltime cartoonists in the industry", said Frankie. In terms of content, Frankie said that only Apple Daily, SCMP, and Ming Pao still have real political comics. For the rest of the media, they prefer drawing lifestyle comics, or talking about the political issues in a very mild perspective; or cartoonist could draw something about mainland China but not Hong Kong. Frankie explained, "We are distanced from mainland China, which makes no impact on the political situation of Hong Kong, and thus readers only treat it as entertainment." Observing the compressing creativity atmosphere in the political comic industry, Frankie pessimistically said that, "No space nowadays. It is not about whether you want to talk about politics, but they don't allow you discussing this." Facing the challenges of limiting freedom of speech and the dropping popularity and readership in print media, Frankie has moved to online platform few years ago. However, Frankie felt lamented that this moving from newspaper to online was indeed losing the spirit of political comics¹¹. Those constricting mainstream channels set the ground of the flourishing of parody in the online world where public can speak for themselves.

¹¹ Frankie explained that political comics belongs to editorial. He was used to attend the daily editorial meeting and adthe news section A1-3 for his drawing. The function of political comics is to simplify the news, make it funny, or arouse interest of the readers who do not want to read the lengthy paragraph, and stimulate their interest to read the news again posting sequence of A1-3 and political comics are organized in sequence giving a sense of echo. And therefore, Frankie thought that the shifting of political comics from newspaper to online is losing its originality.

4.2 Parody and New Media

The relation between the flourishing of parody work and new media is indivisible. Social, cultural, and political aspects of Hong Kong have been in a muddle in the past few years. All these factors are interconnected, and they have been stirring up an atmosphere of resentment clouding Hong Kong. Ridiculous and ironic incidents keep on popping up every day, yet mainstream media are self-diminishing their ability to reflect the truth. The emergence of this free and interactive new media provides a platform for Hong Kong people to express their thought, and converges an even stronger community across the border. New media is reallocating the power to speak to mass public, and is questioning the understanding of mainstream and subculture.

4.2.1 Internet Community and Identity

Say No to Commercial

"Creativity freedom" and "bread" are seemingly incompatible when politics becomes a highly cautious subject to be made fun, discussed, and shared. When Don's song became more popular, his friends suggested him signing up Google Partner for his YouTube account to gain advertising income, but he didn't. "I have been receiving invitations from corporates to attend events, conduct interviews, compose songs for TV commercials etc., but I rejected them all. I want to avoid being too 'commercial'", said Don. Both interviewees, Don and Matthew, believed that going commercialized will endanger the freedom of creation, and thus they preferred treating their works as interest rather than commodity.

commercial elements", said Don. In today's politically sensitive circumstance, it is difficult to strike a balance between creativity and commercial interest on the political subject. Yet, both interviewees manifest that money cannot take away the persistence of artists in grasping the freedom to create, and online world can still be the last resort of real freedom of speech at this moment.

However, interestingly, there is also exceptional case such as *TVMost*. The cultural critics Kitty Ho Suet-ying described *TVMost* as the "least terrified" organization in Hong Kong, and it is even using politics as its capital, which takes a satirical angle as the major axis for public discussion¹². The international relation scholar Simon Shen Xu-hui analysed the popularity of *TVMost* that, "when mainstream media are forced to conform due to political or commercial consideration; and on the other hand, the online media use a gentle and entertaining approach to talk about politics, there is still a grey area that the commercial sectors and mass audiences are willing to support" *TVMost* breaks through the economic constriction, focuses on local Hong Kong market, and emphasizes localness and Hong Kong identity. All these beliefs are highly praised, especially in an era when Hong Kong market is being neglected. *TVMost* manifests that it is somehow feasible to have success on both creativity and business, whereas this is still not the major tone that mass media will do.

Internet Community

Other than the threat on freedom in creation, interpersonal connectivity in social media is another reason of Don to stay away from the business sector. Don treasured the connectivity between people in the

 $^{^{12}}$ 何雪瑩. (2016 年 1 月 12 日). 毛記分獎典禮 - 打一場漂亮的媒體政治文化游擊戰. *端傳媒*. 取自: https://theinitium.com/article/20160112-opinion-kittyho-tvmost/

¹³ 沈旭暉 (2016年1月14日).《100毛》的建構主義啟示. *信報*. 取自: http://www1.hkej.com/dailynews/international/article/1222136/%E3%80%8A100%E6%AF%9B%E3%80%8B%E7%9%E5%BB%BA%E6%A7%8B%E4%B8%BB%E7%BE%A9%E5%95%9F%E7%A4%BA

of social media. He believed that people watched his work simply because they appreciated him, and it was not his objective to make money from his followers. Don emphasized the value of the Internet community, "At the end of the day, the community quality formed by the community or Key Opinion Leader is much more valuable than how much money you can earn from the community". The characteristic of Internet community follows Benedict Anderson's (1983) notion of imagined community, in which today's interpersonal relationship transcends the geographical limitation, and "new forms of social relationship, new forms of participation, new forms of citizenship, all seem possible in electronic space." (Silverstone, 1999)

Participatory Culture in Internet Community

Participatory culture is an essential characteristic of the Internet community, and is important to make parody go prevailing around the globe. "Participatory culture is emerging as the culture absorbs and responds to the explosion of new media technologies that make it possible for average consumers to archive, annotate, appropriate, and recirculate media content in powerful new ways." (Jenkins, 2009) Replacing the unidirectional receipt of information, new media technologies facilitate the multi-directional flow of ideas transcending the limitation of time and space. Individuals can actively participate in the production, re-production, and circulation process, and make diversities possible. "New participatory culture offers many opportunities for youths to engage in civic debates, participate in community life, and even become political leaders, even if sometimes only through the 'second offered by massively multiplayer games or online fan communities." (Jenkins, 2009) Example seen from Umbrella Movement, in which the younger generation fully utilized the efficiency of I

and communication technology to call for support and deliver latest information. Parody keeps the young people stay connected with the on-going political and social issues of Hong Kong using a comical way. Crossover, jamming, and derivative work are also common in social media, just like the cooperative work of Chris and Don. The song was first composed by Don to express his miserable feeling of holding oppositional view with his friends on the Umbrella Movement. This song soon received enormous responses, "like", and "forward" in social media, and people left comments saving that the song told exactly how they felt. This song soon came to the attention of Chris. "I messaged Don saying that I wanted to make a video for his song, and he agreed quickly." said Chris. Don treated his work as an interest for sharing, and welcome people to freely play with his song. "The product I made should belong to me, but I don't mind people using it as long as they don't distort my original meaning", said Don. Approximately, 5,890 versions of reproduction and recreation can be found in YouTube. This is the spirit of doing parody work which allows other companions to freely create. It is the amusement and interactivity that make people continue their input to the parody culture in the online world. More importantly, it manifests that, by this cultural carrier parody, the voice of Hong Kong people can be heard. "Humor is often used as a means of criticism and social control, based on and projecting the norms and values of a specific community and heightening social boundaries between in-group and out-group members." (Archakis & Tsakona, 2005; Bergson, 1990/1997; Billig, 2005; Kuipers, 2008; Tsakona & Popa, 2011) By the use of new media, this membership building extends at the fastest speed, and the most influential impact across the globe.

4.3 Parody Work = Subculture?

This research begins by addressing the similarities between parody and subculture, and using the subcultural theory, particularly relating to subversion, domination, and hegemony, to analyze parody from the producer perspective. Parody goes similar with subculture in which, both of them "create" or "re-create" something new from its mainstream/ parent culture. Through the appropriation of elements, new meaning will be embodied, which functions as a resistance to the dominant side. In CCCS' study on subculture, class difference is emphasized highlighting the ideological manipulation of the dominant group over the subordinate. Yet, from what the interviewees said, instead of positioning them as the subordinate, it will be more appropriate to introduce their creation and attitude as a choice of lifestyle, or generation difference. When interviewing artists on their view on parody and subculture, they revisited the definition of subculture, and argued whether parody belonged to subculture. Towards the end, is parody equals to subculture? Probably, there is no answer for this. Parody might not belong to mainstream, but it is nor subculture neither.

Blurring Boundary of Mainstream and Subculture

To argue whether parody belongs to subculture, interviewees gave very inspiring insight on the relation between their works and subculture. Both Chris and Jackie commented that the distinction between mainstream and subculture was very ambiguous in today's fast-changing world. First, culture and channel are becoming more dynamic in choices, and there is no authoritative culture or organization representing the so-called mainstream in the information explosive era.

"I don't know whether my work belongs to subculture, but just I'm not mainstream. [...] Thing been changing so fast, especially in online world. *TVB* was used to be the mainstream, but how

people are still watching it? Is 100Most or TVB is the mainstream? No one knows", said Chris.

"Does it mean that those broadcasting in *TVB* or *CRHK* belong to mainstream music? Or contrarily, they are non-mainstream music? Just like the MV that I made has more hit rate than yours. Should it be defined by figure? Or by the media channel it is delivered? Who can make the judgement? And who

Mainstream refers to prevailing trend of culture, idea, society etc.¹⁴, it should represent the voice of majority, and also influence their thought in a mutual way. Following the argument of Chris and Jackie, doubtlessly, TVB was used to be the mainstream media of majority of Hong Kong people. Frankie thought that the current classification of mainstream and subculture is a generation issue, "older generation is not familiar with the Internet culture, and so they define ours as subculture. But as time goes by, their so-called 'mainstream' will fade out too". To review today's condition where entertainment choice is getting diverse, the significance and influence of "mainstream" like TVB are fading out. People are seeking for "segmentalized" information channels which are closer to their preference and needs, and different channels might have diverse stands on social and political agendas. Different groups of people may have their own selected "mainstreams" instead of few dominating mainstreams. The emergence of channels has been blurring, or even subverting, the distinction between mainstream and subculture; in which a YouTube video may have more viewership than those in the official broadcasting channel. As what Jackie argued, who can define mainstream and subculture, by which way the classification made, and then who sets the rules of the classification.

New Media: Making of Temporary Mainstream

can define it?" said Jackie.

¹⁴ See definition of "mainstream" in Oxford English Dictionary

Thanks for the technological advancement which provides an open space for free participation, and makes the birth of "temporary" mainstream possible. In today's open Internet platform, the right to publish is no longer dominated by few authoritative parties, while it is accessible for everyone to freely participate anytime and anywhere. Besides, the form of presentation can be very diverse, it can be an arbitrary drawing, or it can be a professional video, which are all subject to the authors' preference. This is also the essence of the Internet world where everyone uses their talents building up the multi-cultural community.

"Everyone can do creation, there is no such thing mainstream or subculture. Everyone has the chance to become mainstream in just one night. As what Andy Warhol said, 'In the future, everyone will be world-famous for 15 minutes'. Of course, the time may last short – as mainstream of tonight or tomorrow", said Chris.

It once again poses to the question: what is mainstream, and what is subculture? When the readership of those "subculture" works in YouTube can exceed those in mainstream media, is the term "mainstream" of mainstream media, such as television station, still valid to reflect something prevailing culture? Andy Warhol's famous 15-minute quote foretells the magic of Internet, it can praise the ordinary to the sky in one night; yet its fame and popularity may only last temporary, as new spotlights keep popping up, and people are busy in chasing the "what's next". To be popular or mainstream is no longer something distanced, it is also possible for the ordinary to achieve by the extensive force of new media. The idea of mainstream is changing in today's context, it is not limited by the form it is presented, the chann delivered, or the duration it appeared; and the controlling power is not on the hand of few dom power but the ordinary. And more importantly, its influence, in terms of extensity and speed, is the limited by the ordinary and speed, is the limited by the ordinary.

ever. "We are moving away from a world in which some produce and many consume media toward one in which everyone has a more active stake in the culture that is produced." (Jenkins, 2009) No matter where the boundary between mainstream and subculture is; parody, supplementing the use of Internet, opens up ideas from different parties, and welcome people to select, think, and share information, which they find most suitable to take. Probably, in today's fast-changing and dynamic world, to be mainstream or subculture is not an important argument at all, but what more important are the objectives and the end results that they can benefit to the society.

5.0 Conclusion

Parody is more than a form of entertainment, it mirrors and records the specific moments and feelings on the happenings in a satirical way, and implicitly carries the metaphor and message of the creator. "Politics can be represented in a humorous manner and humour can have a serious intent." (Tsakona & Popa, 2011). Parody functions to awaken the consciousness of the people, and somehow counter against the dominance symbolically. The functions of parody is significantly manifested in tangled era like today's Hong Kong.

Boom of parody culture in post 2000s Hong Kong is a compound of the interplay of political, social, and

cultural factors. Firstly, in a macroscopic view, there is increasing uncertainty on the future of Hong Kong, which makes the losing confidence of Hong Kong people. Secondly, the rushing of red capital poses threat to the freedom of speech on different commercial sectors across Hong Kong, in which mass and entertainment industry are significantly observed. Some of the mass media gives up their profe conduct of monitoring government and reflecting the truth for the sake of commercial considerat

the entertainment industry, as stated in the earlier session, political agenda had once been a popular topic of the movies; yet this topic would be regarded as too sensitive even discussing in a satirical and funny context. And therefore, even the comedy movie does not dare to associate with political agenda. In the past two decades, after the handover of Hong Kong to China, there is limiting space and channel to serve the purpose of speaking for the people, and reflecting the reality. Thirdly, the essence of freedom in the Internet fills the discrepancy of the society. Everyone can express and exchange their views in this free platform where nowhere and nobody in today's Hong Kong society can fulfill this function. Internet provides a vital platform for the ordinary to execute their social responsibility and to reflect the social incidents by doing parody.

Parody is a reflection of how people see their society. Parody has always been in Hong Kong, yet following the fast-changing social, political, and cultural atmosphere in recent years, the nature of parody has been undergoing changes as well. Andy thought that, as a creator, it was less relaxing to do parody work today. Hong Kong is now in a very sensitive stage. The society is tearing apart, and everything can be read as politics, as Hong Kong people become aware of the immediate relation between social and political issue and their living. Andy addressed the difficulty in doing parody nowadays, "Topic becomes serious in recent discussion. You are forced to choose either pro government or vice versa, but never do something in the middle which will easily be criticized. Your political stand is very important today."

Andy explained that, the difference in political stand is not simply about personal preference, thought to be a battle of rightful and evil, and both parties are demonizing each other. This ten

sensitive atmosphere is also diffusing around artists, in which their works are expected to carry a fin

so-called correct stand in order to fulfill the social responsibility. And thus, Andy thought that to discuss politics or not is also in dilemma.

Parody shares similarities with subculture such as the characteristics of subversion and rebellion to the dominating power. However, this research doubts whether parody equals to subculture by challenging some basic definitions of mainstream and subculture. New media opens up the opportunity for the ordinary going "mainstream" in terms of popularity, and at the same time, shakes the status and influence of mainstream media. Mainstream media may now only refer to the physical publishing channel, but it is no longer a guaranteed influential body for the mass public. Contrarily, those so-called subculture, such as YouTube and Internet, can far outperform in terms of function, popularity and impact. Therefore, to be mainstream or subculture is difficult to draw an absolute conclusion; and it is becoming less important to make the distinction.



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%E9%81%93%E6%AD%89-%E7%BE%8E%E6%B8%AF%E5%8F%B0%E6%98%9F%E9%83%

E8%A9%A6%E9%81%8E

Appendix (1) Translation of Don's Parodying Song Sitting in the bar, listening to you complain.

You ask, what the fuck are these students doing?

Blocking us doing fucking business.

Can't even catch the dick bus.

Just fucking arrest them all

I ask if you have ever been there in person.

You say you watch TVB all day and night.

You say look at those students messing up Hong Kong.

Fuck, look at those poor suffering police.

Just fucking arrest them all.

In my heart I think, 'My friend, you're so fucking stupid

but I am afraid if I tell you, you would get angry.

But really, your bullshit pollutes the earth.'

My friend your crap makes me feel bad.

But if I say it, I won't be able to take it back.

Can eating shit save you?

But how much shit do you have to eat before you wake up?

You saying going back and forth is very normal.

That's saying peace and violence are fighting a war.

If you don't have belief please get out of the way.



You're in the way of the day flower blooms.

My friend your crap makes me feel bad.

But if I say it I won't be able to take it back.

Can eating shit change your mind?

But how much shit do you have to eat before you wake up?

With your thinking, how can Hong Kong will be saved?

I look at you, I am afraid no matter how much shit you eat.

It will never be enough.

Never enough.



Appendix (2) Translation of Thomas' Parodying Song Gauwu Everyday

689, I don't care. Dining and Gauwu (shopping) are none of your business.

Daimanki is full house. It is just the same in Itacho.

Trapping in Admiralty is boring (fuck you)

Going Mongkok to repel the anger (fuck you)

Hanging around on the street with dogs accompanying (fuck you)

Shopping mall has always be with me

Gauwu every day, I reject your monitoring

Going Mongkok to spend, I buy a bowl

Towing the luggage every day acts like the mainland tourists

The patrol dog is on the road, but it only has the surface

Gauwu every day, I reject going to the police station

I haven't entered the jewelry shop yet, they close the door and take out their goods

Eating the chicken pot alone, I am not used to it

Seeing Lee Si-yin, I vomit twice before eating



Appendix (3) Background of the Interviewees

(Interviewee 1) Matthew, illustrator of Mr. and Ms. Hong Kong people

Matthew is a designer in a creative house, and has started drawing interesting cartoon figures since October 2014 as interest due to the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong. Inspired by the British cartoon figures Mr Men and Little Miss, Matthew uses the funny cartoons to satire the politicians and social and political issues.

(Interviewee 2) Don, online song composer

Don works in a media agency as strategic planner, and has started composing songs since 2012 talking about lifestyle, friendship, and relationship. Not until 2014, Don composes parody songs about political and social incidents in Hong Kong. Don's most popular song *huà nǐ gàng jiū pà nǐ niǎo* has the viewership of 220K, which talks about the contradictory views between him and his friends on the Umbrella Movement.

(Interviewee 3) (Jackie) Frankie, DJ of Electronic Dance Music

Frankie is a DJ of Electronic Dance Music. He is famous for his sophisticated editing technique and creativity in rearranging people's speech, and then to create completely different meaning. Frankie's most famous work was the remix video of Mrs. Leung's speech (Mr. CK Leung's wife). This video ranked 2nd as the Most Popular Video in 2014 selected by YouTube HK reaching a viewership of 1.95M

(Interviewee 4) Chris, DDED

Chris runs a commercial creative house, and has started making parody animations since 2014 which satirized the hegemony of local television station TVB. Chris' most famous work is the animation



made for the song *huà nǐ gàng jiū pà nǐ niǎo* which has 575K viewership. Chris keeps uploading his works (both commercial and parody works) to his YouTube channel under the name of this company. Chris' works cover a wide range of social and political topics in Hong Kong, such as the football match between Hong Kong team and China team, Umbrella Movement, soap opera/ TV program of TVB etc.

(Interviewee 5) Andy, Ah To, illustrator

Andy is an illustrator. His first famous work began from the online platform Golden Forum in 2011. Inspired by Baidu 10 Mythical Creatures in mainland China, Andy took the game card of Japan manga Pokemon as blueprint, and published a series of Golden Creature Card to play around the Cantonese foul language.

(Interviewee 6) Frankie, DJ of Electronic Dance Music

Frankie is a DJ of Electronic Dance Music. He is famous for his sophisticated editing technique and creativity in rearranging people's speech, and then to create completely different meaning. Frankie's most famous work was the remix video of Mrs. Leung's speech (Mr. CK Leung's wife). This video ranked 2nd as the Most Popular Video in 2014 selected by YouTube HK reaching a viewership of 1.95M

(Interviewee 7) Thomas, director of Mocking Jer

reaching a viewership of 839K

Thomas is the director of Mocking Jer which is an online creation organization producing parody videos since 2014. The name of Mocking Jer is inspired by the Mockingjay of the movie *The Hunger Games* which symbolizes the freedom of people. The most popular video of Mocking Jer is *Gau Wu Ev*

(Interviewee 8) Peter, illustrator

Peter is an Internet illustrator. Peter had published illustrations about lifestyle and social issue before, and begins to cover serious political discussion since Umbrella Movement. Peter keeps on drawing political comics around



Appendix (3) Interview Questions

(1) Interviewees: Creator of parody work

[Creation of Parody Work]

- When did you start doing parody work? What trigger you to start? How do you get the inspirations?
- Where do you publish your work? Why choosing this/these channel(s)?
- More creative works start emerging since Umbrella Movement, what are the reasons for it as you think?

[Impact of Parody Work]

- What is the mission of your work as you think?
- Your works have received enormous attention in both online and offline worlds, what are the reasons as you think?
- How do you see the implication of your works in the individual and the societal level?
- What is your expectation on your work? (a) On reader; (b) On Hong Kong society
- "Parody work, as part of subculture, functions as a resistance and a form of protest to fight against the unfairness and ridiculousness in the society" What do you think about this statement?

