

## The Pursuit of Space: The Art and Artists of Hong Kong

In 2007, Lam Tung-pang, a young artist born in Hong Kong, exhibited some of his work in Beijing under the support of Osage Gallery. He took the opportunity to become involved in the Beijing art scene and established a studio there for a few months.<sup>1</sup> He found this occasion helpful in getting to know the concerns and approaches of his mainland counterparts. On the other hand, it also prompted him to reflect upon his profession as an artist based in Hong Kong. In a memoir of this period, Lam Tung-pang noted that mainland Chinese artists found it unbelievable that there were full-time artists in such a commercially vibrant city such as Hong Kong. In the minds of most mainland Chinese, Hong Kong residents are all engaged in the pursuit of wealth, which to some extent is true. Students, for example, are not encouraged to develop a career in the field of fine arts because most residents see little hope for promotion or money-making opportunities in the creative industries. It is ironic that students are, nonetheless, encouraged to participate in arts administration, because most people perceive that art agents will have more opportunities to gain wealth than do the artists.<sup>2</sup> “Are you *really* from Hong Kong?” was a question Lam Tung-pang frequently encountered, but he did not feel surprised by it. In fact, he, too, agreed that it was rather difficult for artists to work in his native city, particularly considering the frustrations derived from a failing arts policy during the past decade that will be the focus of this text.<sup>3</sup>

In *Shaking China*, Lam Tung-pang presents three separate blocks of neon lights showing, respectively, the English phrases “Made in China,” “Made in Hong Kong,” and “Made in UK.” Lam Tung-pang himself describes this installation as a playful juxtaposition that aims to reflect on the shift in economic power that he has observed over the last decade. This artwork was produced for China Now, a large festival of Chinese culture launched in London in 2008, and, with it, the artist hoped to signify his artistic connection to these three locations, each of which has served as a base for his art making. *Shaking China* demonstrates as well the varying sizes of the artist’s studios in Hong Kong, Beijing, and London. The pitifully small size of “Made in Hong Kong” and “Made in UK” versus “Made in China” underscores the limited land resources and soaring rents that artists encounter when finding the right places to establish studios, as the artist has described elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> The diminished scale of “Made in Hong Kong” suggests many uncertainties.<sup>5</sup>

“MADE IN HONG KONG” and “MADE IN UK” components of *Shaking China*, neon light installation. The “IN” on the floor belongs to “MADE IN CHINA,” work now dismantled. Courtesy of the artist.

MADE IN  
HONG KONG

MADE IN UK



In 1997, ten years before Lam Tung-pang worked in Beijing, most citizens of Hong Kong experienced the termination of the 150-year-long colonial era, when the government of Britain handed the sovereignty of Hong Kong over to the People's Republic of China. The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region was thereby established and largely was kept separated from the mainland in political and social terms. As of 2011, the citizens of Hong Kong are, nonetheless, still having difficulties in getting used to the new Hong Kong-Chinese identity. Various kinds of connections with the Chinese culture and communities of the mainland exist, but psychologically those connections seem remote to most Hong Kong people.

In response, the government of Hong Kong has made great efforts during the past decade to preserve heritage sites and promote cultural events, aiming to cultivate a sense of active participation in the course of Chinese historical and cultural developments in both China and Hong Kong. Attention was also paid to the local artists. A number of critics have written extensively on the arts and cultural policies of Hong Kong, but only a few writings are concerned with events taking place after 1997. Here, I review some of those events and explore the reasons Hong Kong artists have difficulties in keeping viable a career. I would suggest that artists share a strong desire to engage the public with their work, but the fact that they lack any central organization or leadership has rendered them vulnerable to the challenges posed by the inflating rents in Hong Kong, and by the lack of public recognition or esteem for their profession as creative workers. The examples of the Cattle Depot and the Fo Tan studios will illustrate how these difficulties for artists came about.

### **The Cattle Depot**

Land supply has always been limited in Hong Kong. With a population of a little more than seven million living on a territory of 1,100 square kilometres, the city can hardly support generous housing or office spaces. For those artists whose work needs spacious areas for its making and storage, the factory spaces in the industrial districts left vacant when manufacturing in Hong Kong began to decline and moved to mainland China towards the end of the 1990s have provided a seemingly ideal option. However, the high rents are not affordable to all. Unlike established artists, amateurs and fresh graduates from arts schools usually must resort to leasing studios in groups in order to share costs.

The last decade, therefore, saw a growth in the number of art studios in the industrial areas. A large cluster is found among the factory buildings in Fo Tan in the New Territories district, some smaller ones in Kowloon Bay and Kwan Tong in Kowloon, and in Chai Wan on the Hong Kong Island. The studios are private establishments, and there is no central organization; nor is there any authoritative body in Hong Kong to connect artists with each other. Nonetheless, bonding among the artists has become more solid than ever, and many have begun to feel like comrades in both fighting high rents and the pursuit of art.<sup>6</sup>



The entrance of the Cattle Depot. The workers are taking down the exhibition panels and the large doll called Fatina. They were part of the Hong Kong Heritage Tourism Expo (2010–11) of the Development Bureau. Photo: Celine Y. Lai.

But the Artist Village at To Kwa Wan is an establishment entirely different from those in the industrial districts. The Village is located in a quiet quarter in downtown Kowloon, installed in a compound of buildings known as the Cattle Depot that was originally used as the livestock quarantine point. Constructed in 1908, the site has an area of 15,000 square metres, made up of rows of one and two-story buildings enclosed by red-bricked walls. In 1994, the Antiquities and Monuments Office (AMO) had the site declared as a Grade III historical monument (the lowest on the three-grade assessment scheme), thus forbidding any destruction or alteration to the original architecture.<sup>7</sup>

Former Government Supplies Department. The site measures nearly 85,000 square feet with a nine-story building at the back, two-story buildings on the side, and a large open quarter in front. Currently the site is locked up. Photo: Celine Y. Lai.



Being spacious and historically significant, the Cattle Depot seemingly provides an ideal space for local artists. The tenants consist of the most active and devoted local art groups, including 1a Space and Artist Commune. They moved into the Cattle Depot in 1999, when their leases

at the former Government Stationery Depot on Oil Street in North Point were terminated.<sup>8</sup> The removal from Oil Street was initially involuntary; the artists' studios there had already grown into an active corner for art events between 1998 and 1999. Despite several appeals made at the legislative level that caught the public's attention, the Hong Kong government insisted on its planned redevelopment of Oil Street. The artists were offered an alternative site in Kowloon—the Cattle Depot. The proposal was soon after accepted as the new site appeared to be a promising location.<sup>9</sup> Currently, artists rent their respective studios at the rate of three Hong Kong dollars per square foot, which is a relatively low price to pay in the district of Kowloon.

Top: A notice posted outside the Porter's Office, Cattle Depot. The Development Bureau addresses the site as Ex-Ma Tau Kok Animal Quarantine Depot and restricts entry hours to between 8 a.m. and 10 p.m. Nowhere on the site can one find the designation "artist's village." Photo: Celine Y. Lai.

Bottom: Cattle Depot. Artist tenants are not allowed to make use of the open grounds outside their rented areas. Photo: Celine Y. Lai.

Nevertheless, the Cattle Depot has not become the vibrant artist village that was expected. As of the summer of 2011, twenty units were available for lease, but five of them remained vacant. The Government Property Agency (GPA), which is in charge of the management of the Cattle Depot, showed little or no intention to accept new leasing applications. The studios now occupy only one-third of the site, while the other two-thirds remain in need of substantial repair; those areas, according to the official report delivered in 2009, have remained deserted.<sup>10</sup>

Nowadays, inside the Cattle Depot, the artists have ongoing disputes with the managing company, the Home Affairs Bureau (HAB) as well as its commissioner, the GPA. The artists are disgruntled with the stipulation that they are allowed entry only between 10 a.m. and 8 p.m. Moreover, their activities are strictly confined to the rented areas; display of finished or half-finished work along the pathways is prohibited. In private discussion forums on the Internet, one incident is widely cited: An artist who placed several pots of plants outside the studio received several warning letters stating that he had violated the lease terms. The most unbearable of all restrictions is that the site is strictly closed to the public. Visitors are admitted only by appointment with the tenants and have to be formally registered at the gate upon arrival.<sup>11</sup> For any events that are to make use of the open space within the compound (including the hallways), the artists have to apply for a temporary license that authorizes public entertainment. All efforts to appeal for removing such restrictions have ended in vain.

The managing body of the Cattle Depot understands very little about the nature of the art profession and the concerns of artists. Its rules have limited the full use of open space inside the compound; in social terms, they have also created a discouraging atmosphere for the exchange of ideas and opinions among the artists. In addition, there is a large gap between the artists and the public. The artists have been complaining that their work has been hidden behind the tall red-bricked walls, separated from the neighbourhood.<sup>12</sup> In all, the Cattle Depot neither makes a welcoming place for anyone who might want to come to enjoy art nor represents a respected work place for those engaged in the art profession.

As the management company, HAB has no plans to renovate the deserted sections inside the compound and there is no plan to promote the "artist



village” locally or overseas. Ten years have lapsed since the first batch of artist tenants moved onto the site, yet the overall aims of the artist village remain notoriously ambiguous.

Back in 2009, questions were raised in the Legislative Council regarding the role of the Cattle Depot in arts development in Hong Kong because that same year the building was reassessed and then upgraded to the second rank on the list of declared historical monuments. HAB responded that there were plans to incorporate the Cattle Depot into what the government called the Revitalization Project of the Great Kowloon City District. Such a project aimed to rejuvenate the aging residential and commercial quarters in the Kowloon City, and HAB proposed that it would promote the cultural industries in the area in doing so. The Arts Development Council (ADC) was charged to research other artists’ villages around the world and submit a long-term development proposal for the Cattle Depot. The Council did so in mid-2009, suggesting that the government should consider the option of turning the Cattle Depot into a centre for either contemporary or Hong Kong art.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, the Kowloon City Council appointed the School of Architecture of Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) to research the redevelopment plans for the aging Kowloon City district and the former airport area of Kai Tak, in which the Cattle Depot is located. The report proposes that the Kowloon City district contains many historical monuments and that the area could be turned into a cultural hub, with the artist village at Cattle Depot made into one of the featured sites.<sup>14</sup> While the government acknowledged the receipt of both reports, no further news has yet been heard.<sup>15</sup> On March 31, 2011, nearly two years later, the Council members of Kowloon City District again demanded an action plan from the government concerning the Cattle Depot.<sup>16</sup> But the case remains pending.



Indeed, while the site has been occupied by local artists since 2001, the Cattle Depot Artist Village remains an unofficial name adopted only in news reports and magazines. In governmental records, the site retains its former name—The

Ching Chin-wai and others, *The Pass of the Cattle Depot*, 2010, mixed media. Photo: The Cattle Depot Community Concern Group. The words in black and the ox head were painted on rows of funeral bank notes.

Ma Tau Kok Animal Quarantine Depot—as inscribed on the metal plaque at the entrance. The government has yet to commit to the establishment of an artist village. It does not value the cultural potential of the site and does not recognize the significance of promoting arts or supporting local artists. The establishment of the Cattle Depot was an immediate solution that emerged more than ten years ago in response to the outcry against the redevelopment plans in the Oil street, that is how it has remained.

### **The Fotanian Studio Opening**

In recent years, “Fo Tan” became a popular term connected to another arts community in Hong Kong. Fo Tan, which literally means “Fire and

Charcoal,' is also an industrial district, in this case one that was established in the New Territories in north Hong Kong. The district is developing into an area of overcrowded twenty-story-tall factory buildings, constructed along busy streets and lanes full of trucks and minivans. When the manufacturing sector began to retreat from Fo Tan towards the end of the 1990s, the local artists sought the opportunity to rent the vacant factory units at relatively low cost, and they did so without any official interference.<sup>17</sup>



Factory buildings on Sui Wo Road, Fo Tan. The artist studios and galleries are distributed on different levels in different blocks. Photo: Lam Tung-pang.

But the community of artists at Fo Tan features something different from other artist villages. Whereas most artists in Hong Kong have demonstrated little ability to organize themselves, those who work at Fo Tan have been developing close social bonding as well as collaborative projects. The main reasons are that most of the artists at Fo Tan are teachers and students of the Department of Fine Arts of CUHK, which is located in the vicinity, and have been active in participating in exhibitions run by the local museums and commercial art galleries. As such, the Fo Tan artists receive considerable exposure and have become well-known in local art circles and even with the public.

There is now a Web page entitled *The Fotanian*.<sup>18</sup> It is run by a group of volunteer artists who work at Fo Tan, and they provide updates about the work and exhibitions of their fellow artist friends. They added the suffix “people” to the word *Fo*, or fire, and thereby turned it into its Cantonese





synonym, *fó*, which in the Chinese language means partners, comrades, or companions who work together to achieve the same goal. The Fotanians thus ascribe a shared identity to those who work in the district.

Pamphlet promoting the Fotanian Studios Opening, 2011.

The Fotanians include not only the artists, but also the owners of private art galleries and those who run the small craft shops. There is even a growing group of composers and pop music players. According to records updated in January 2011, the art studios, shops, and galleries are now scattered over ten factory buildings.

The Fotanian Studio Opening is a public event that takes place every year during two weekends before the Chinese New Year. Castaly Leung, who is a graduate of the CUHK, organized her fellow artist friends to launch an opening of their studios in 2001. According to Leung, her working-class neighbours, who had had little or no knowledge about the sphere of fine arts, were nonetheless curious about the young newcomers and their profession. To Leung and many Fotanian artists, it was essential to have a place where they could introduce art to people who did not have the habit of going to museums and even fewer opportunities to visit the private galleries. They hoped their studios could become an arena where the artist could speak to the visitor, discuss their work, and receive responses.<sup>19</sup>

Although Leung herself may not have come to realize the nature of event, what became known as the Opening was a rebellious act against the control of museum curatorship, and even more so against all the commercial elements connected to the art market. These young artists needed a neutral space to

inspire the public awareness for the local art work and its significance. They needed independence, and their studios, in this location, provided an option.

To Leung's surprise, the Opening was better received than she anticipated. As this event reached its tenth anniversary in 2011, Leung withdrew from the frontline of the organization.<sup>20</sup> A group of recent university graduates who specialized in fine arts and other relevant disciplines volunteered to take her place. They were able to obtain financial support from the the Hong Kong Art Development Council, which is a government office for managing art funding; the Sino Group, which is a giant in real estate; and various other commercial sponsors.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, in recent years, the organizers of the Opening were able to supply a colour-printed catalogue that introduced the participating studios individually. Advertisements were put up at railroad stations; docent services in Cantonese, Mandarin, and English could be arranged by appointment; and artists and critics were invited to speak at seminars on local arts and cultural policies. The Opening became a central art event in Hong Kong. It even received lengthy reports in the media that gained it wide public popularity.

In many ways, the art environment at Fo Tan presented far more determination and passion than that found in the Cattle Depot. Nevertheless, in the long run it is now impossible to accept these former factory units as an alternative work area for artists, and even less so to rely on the voluntary opening of the artists' studios to satisfy public curiosity about the arts of Hong Kong. Fo Tan provides temporary space for the artists to work in, but the industrial setting is far from being a suitable venue for exhibitions.

In particular, a wide variety of industrial production centres next to the studios are still operating and produce unbearable amounts of noise, smell, and waste. During the 2011 Opening, an exchange student from Korea who was studying the cultural policies of Hong Kong remarked that she had found the visit extremely wearisome. She had to spend considerable time walking from one studio to another and was forced to take great caution when using the industrial elevators and walking along the dim corridors and staircases. Moreover, visitors looked in vain to find a comfortable place to rest or a bookstore to satisfy further pursuits.

Ironically, some Fo Tan artists also began to feel disturbed by the annual Opening. Castaly Leung, for example, told reporters that she had been distressed by many visitors who tended to show little respect to the artists present and would joke among themselves about the artwork when wandering around her studio and pay little attention to the works on display. Moreover, she observed that there was an increasing presence of commercial elements at the Opening because of the organization's new involvement with representatives of real estate firms who, to a certain extent, intended to promote the artwork as objects of investment rather than as articles of communication between the artists and the visitors. In

addition, there was an increasing number of commercial art galleries setting up shop in the factory buildings, and the artists began to feel defeated by commercial encroachment into a space they thought they had control of. Other artists were also tiring of the criticisms that their work was not commercial enough to be shown in a commercial gallery. In all, Leung admitted that she began to dislike the Opening, as increasingly most visitors mistakenly took the event as a kind of carnival or entertainment in which the artists appeared to play the part of the clowns.



Street banners announcing Open Studio, 2007. Photo: Lam Tung-pang.

The past ten years of relentless effort exercised by the artists at Fo Tan testified to the fact that the general public of Hong Kong did indeed demonstrate intense interest in the local arts and culture.<sup>22</sup> The past few years also witnessed some subtle changes in Hong Kong's downtown areas. The real estate developers and the commercial galleries have collaborated to display work of arts in the luxurious shopping arcades, and the Leisure and Cultural Services Department, which is in charge of the local museums and art galleries, also commissioned the display of sculpture and installation work in public recreation areas. Although the impact of such display on the public is difficult to assess, it is made clear that there are artists in Hong Kong and their work do not necessarily belong to museums or commercial galleries.

Nonetheless, neither HAB nor the Hong Kong Arts Development Council has yet offered any proposal to assist the campaigns by local artists in reaching the



Visitors in the studio of Castaly Leung and others during the Opening in 2007. Photo: Lam Tung-pang.

public. Despite the initial success attained by the Fo Tan artists, it is beyond their capacity to implement a series of programmes that would satisfy interest of the local residents or provide year-round activities. After all, the Opening has been operated on a private, voluntary basis in which the artists have not been able to involve other cultural sectors such as film-making groups, Cantonese opera houses, or bookstores—cultural elements indigeneous to Hong Kong. For how long the Opening at Fo Tan studios can sustain the interest of the general public in Hong Kong remains an open question.

### **Striving for space**

In 2009, as soon as Mr. Donald Tseng, the Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, announced in his policy address to redevelop the old factory buildings over the whole of Hong Kong, the real estate market in the industrial districts became more vigorous than ever. Tsang introduced the term “revitalization” to define a new approach to urban redevelopment, emphasizing the potential to alter the industrial use of empty factory units to meet other social purposes. As a great deal of renovation and buying and selling would follow, speculators began to consider factory units a new investment category. One property agency estimated that the number of transactions for purchasing factory units had risen by twenty-five percent between 2009 and 2011. An increase in rents followed shortly.<sup>23</sup> While the birth of an artist’s district centred around the Cattle Depot or Fo Tan is yet to mature, the challenges posed by high rents are evident. For most artists in Hong Kong, the pursuit for space is ongoing and is getting more difficult than ever.

This paper does not suggest solutions to the difficulties of local artists in Hong Kong; It is meant only to highlight the central problems. Currently, artists are working to lobby social support by promoting arts and culture, but they are not working in concert. In the examples of the Cattle Depot and Fo Tan, we do not even find unity among artists who work in these two different districts. As it will not be too long before Hong Kong artists are met with another wave of frustration, it is important for them to consider whether it is more productive to continue working in isolated groups. Although working collectively may not produce satisfactory results, still, as of the present, it is seemingly the alternative way to go.

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#### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> The exhibition, *Inside Looking Out*, was held at the Osage Gallery (Beijing) from September 22 to October 22, 2007. There were also the works by Pak Sheungchuen, Chow Chun-fei, Ma Chihang, Kwan Sheungchi and Lee Kit; see Lam Tung-pang, "Conclusion: Some Sharing of Personal Experience," *Inside Looking Out* (Hong Kong: Osage Gallery, 2007).
- <sup>2</sup> This phenomenon is reflected in the size of enrollment for the university programs in Hong Kong. The students registered in the divisions of Sciences and Business significantly outnumber those in Fine Arts or other disciplines of Humanities. From 2007 onwards, when the West Kowloon Cultural District Project was under planning at the top management level of the government, new undergraduate and graduate programs in cultural management began to appear in four of the eight local universities. In contrast, the number of pupils enrolled in the program of Fine Arts at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, where Lam Tung-pang and most other young artists were trained, remains more or less the same.
- <sup>3</sup> Lam Tung-pang, "Hong Kong–China–Hong Kong: China as a Mirror on Hong Kong," in *Hong Kong Visual Arts Yearbook 2008*, ed. Harold Mok and Chan Yuk-keung (Hong Kong: Department of Fine Arts, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2009), 105–13.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 107–08.
- <sup>5</sup> Personal correspondence with the artist. For more details of Lam's work in Beijing and London, see *Lam Tung-pang, Studio: Hong Kong–London* (Hong Kong: Niu Ji She, 2007).
- <sup>6</sup> Wei Wei, "Reflecting Together: Ten Years at Fo Tan," *Wen Wei Po*, January 7, 2011, accessed March 1, 2011, Wise News Archive, [http://libwisearch.wisers.net/wortal/tool.do?wp\\_dispatch=confirm-view&federated=true&doc-ids=news:14k1^201101070050141\(S:101582634\)&menu-id=&on-what=selected&from-list&display-style=all&tooldisplay=true&currentsubdb=wisearch](http://libwisearch.wisers.net/wortal/tool.do?wp_dispatch=confirm-view&federated=true&doc-ids=news:14k1^201101070050141(S:101582634)&menu-id=&on-what=selected&from-list&display-style=all&tooldisplay=true&currentsubdb=wisearch).

- <sup>7</sup> Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Antiquities and Monuments Office, Assessment of Historical Buildings, Grade II, no. 230, accessed March 1, 2011, <http://www.lcsd.gov.hk/ce/Museum/Monument/form/AAB-SM-chi.pdf>.
- <sup>8</sup> As the site at Oil Street is located in the neighbourhood of five-star hotels on the harbour shore, the government retained it in its land reserve for auction. It was sold for about US 0.8 billion in August 2011; see Paggie Leung, "North Point Site Sells For HK 6.27 Below Estimates," *South China Morning Post*, August 17, 2011, Wise News Archive, accessed November 23, 2011, [http://libwisearch.wisers.net/ws5/tool.do?wp\\_dispatch=confirm-view&doc-ids=news:15jk^201108260270022\(S:101639455\)&menu-id=&on-what=selected&from-list&display-style=all&tooldisplay=true](http://libwisearch.wisers.net/ws5/tool.do?wp_dispatch=confirm-view&doc-ids=news:15jk^201108260270022(S:101639455)&menu-id=&on-what=selected&from-list&display-style=all&tooldisplay=true). Since the artists moved out in 1999, the whole compound has been left vacant and locked up for more than ten years. Oil Street is a perfect example in showing that the economic interests of the government of Hong Kong are always the priority. The Cattle Depot is a different site because it has been declared a historical monument, legally prohibiting any destruction or rebuilding. Nonetheless, whether the government would eventually turn the site into one for profit-making business remains an open question.
- <sup>9</sup> For details about the establishment of the Cattle Depot Artist Village, see Chan Pui-ho, "From Oil Street to Cattle Depot: The evolution of artist's village in Hong Kong," in *Hong Kong Visual Arts Yearbook 2000*, ed. Harold Mok and Chan Yuk-keung (Hong Kong: Department of Fine Arts, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2002), 78–84. For a different and positive view of the Cattle Depot, see Anthea Fan, "There is this Cattle Depot Artist Village in Hong Kong," in *Hong Kong Visual Arts Yearbook 2003*, ed. Harold Mok and Chan Yuk-keung (Hong Kong: Department of Fine Arts, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2004), 94–100.
- <sup>10</sup> Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Legislative Council, Cattle Depot Artist Village (LCQ15), April 22, 2009, accessed May 5, 2011, [http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/200904/22/P200904220152\\_print.htm](http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/200904/22/P200904220152_print.htm).
- <sup>11</sup> Anonymous, "Artists in residence: hoping for less limitation, more space," *Ming Pao Daily News*, May 3, 2009, accessed on March 1, 2011, Wise News Archive. [http://libwisearch.wisers.net/wortal/tool.do?wp\\_dispatch=confirm-view&federated=true&doc-ids=news:2511^200905030040095\(S:101582725\)&menu-id=&on-what=selected&from-list&display-style=all&tooldisplay=true&currentsubdb=wisearch](http://libwisearch.wisers.net/wortal/tool.do?wp_dispatch=confirm-view&federated=true&doc-ids=news:2511^200905030040095(S:101582725)&menu-id=&on-what=selected&from-list&display-style=all&tooldisplay=true&currentsubdb=wisearch).
- <sup>12</sup> Elaine Yau, "Artists Protest at Cattle Depot Clampdowns," *South China Morning Post*, October 9, 2010, accessed on March 1, 2011, Wise News Archive; see also Adrian Wan, "Disgruntled Artists Plan Ghostly Campaign in Forbidden Zone," *South China Morning Post*, October 19, 2010, accessed March 1, 2011, Wise News Archive.
- <sup>13</sup> Arts Development Council, Research on Future Development of Artist Village in Cattle Depot, July 2009, accessed November 22, 2011, <http://www.heritage.gov.hk/en/doc/conserven/HKACResearchReportExecutiveSummary.pdf>.
- <sup>14</sup> Centre for Architectural Heritage Research, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Historical Cum Social Study on Kowloon City District in Connection with Kai Tak Area, December 2009, accessed November 22, 2011, <http://www.heritage.gov.hk/en/doc/conserven/CUHKResearchReportExecutiveSummary.pdf>.
- <sup>15</sup> Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, The Commissioner for Heritage, Panel on Development. Issues raised at the meeting between Legislative Council Members and Kowloon City District Council Members on July 2, 2009. Proposal to Revitalise Ma Tau Kok Cattle Depot Artist Village into a Cultural Development And Tourist Spot, response letter submitted to the Works Branch, Development Bureau, October 30, 2009, document no. CB(1)230/09-10(01), accessed on May 5, 2011, <http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr09-10/english/panels/dev/papers/devcb1-230-1-e.pdf>.
- <sup>16</sup> Kowloon City District Council, Formulation of Long-term Plan for Revitalising the Cattle Depot Artist Village, March 31, 2011, accessed November 22, 2011, [http://www.districtcouncils.gov.hk/klc\\_d/pdf/ldmfc/2011/KCLDFMC11\\_15cp.pdf](http://www.districtcouncils.gov.hk/klc_d/pdf/ldmfc/2011/KCLDFMC11_15cp.pdf).
- <sup>17</sup> According to an interview with Stephanie Bailey, Lam Tung-pang believed that the establishment of the many studios at Fo Tan was a joint effort made by students who had a strong will to create an independent sector where they could continue to produce art work and convince non-artists of the significance of arts and culture; see Stephanie Bailey, "Four discussions with Hong Kong artists: Leung Chi Wo, Lam Tung Pang, Morgan Wong, and Lee Kit," *Yishu* 10, no. 3 (May/June 2011), 76–79. Undoubtedly, Lam Tung-pang and his artist friends have been working towards the goal of emphasizing the contribution of the work by artists in Hong Kong. The establishment of the shared studios in the industrial areas marked a departure from what previous generations of artists did, in which a circle of artists tended to centre themselves around individual masters. The change in the physical environment of the artists' studios provided the impetus for the building of a communal sensibility among the artists in Hong Kong, particularly those who were born after the 1970s. For further discussion, see Celine Lai, "Reading the work by five artists in Hong Kong: a new page in the local art history," forthcoming.
- <sup>18</sup> [www.fotanian.com](http://www.fotanian.com).
- <sup>19</sup> Conversation with the artist in her studio, *October* 10, 2009.
- <sup>20</sup> Lana Lam, "Fo Tan Art Event a Victim of its Own Success," *South China Morning Post*, January 9, 2011, accessed on March 1, 2011, Wise News Archive, [http://libwisearch.wisers.net/ws5/tool.do?wp\\_dispatch=confirm-view&doc-ids=news:2627^201101090270002\(S:101583007\)&menu-id=&on-what=selected&from-list&display-style=all&tooldisplay=true](http://libwisearch.wisers.net/ws5/tool.do?wp_dispatch=confirm-view&doc-ids=news:2627^201101090270002(S:101583007)&menu-id=&on-what=selected&from-list&display-style=all&tooldisplay=true).
- <sup>21</sup> For the organization of the Fotanian Studio Opening in recent years, see press release on the Fotanian web page, <http://www.fotanian.com/pressRelease.php>.
- <sup>22</sup> Recently, the Hong Kong Tourism Board included the Fotanian Studio Opening in the official tourist pamphlet, *Art Village: A Travel Among Cultural Points*, introducing it as one of the most featured art events of the city; accessed January 9, 2011, <http://www.discoverhongkong.com/tc/things-to-do/images/artvillage.pdf>.
- <sup>23</sup> Na Kang-chung, "Factory Scheme Prices Us Out, Artists Say," *South China Morning Post*, April 26, 2011, accessed May 17, 2011, Wise News Archive, [http://libwisearch.wisers.net/ws5/tool.do?wp\\_dispatch=confirm-view&doc-ids=news:25c1^201104260270016\(S:101583106\)&menu-id=&on-what=selected&from-list&display-style=all&tooldisplay=true](http://libwisearch.wisers.net/ws5/tool.do?wp_dispatch=confirm-view&doc-ids=news:25c1^201104260270016(S:101583106)&menu-id=&on-what=selected&from-list&display-style=all&tooldisplay=true).