

HONG KONG *MOBILE*

Making a Global Population

Edited by
Helen F. Siu and Agnes S. Ku

Supported by The 2022 Foundation and
the Hong Kong Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences

香港大學出版社



HONG KONG UNIVERSITY PRESS

Hong Kong University Press

14/F Hing Wai Centre
7 Tin Wan Praya Road
Aberdeen
Hong Kong

© Hong Kong University Press 2008

ISBN 978-962-209-918-0

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Secure On-line Ordering
<http://www.hkupress.org>

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Printed and bound by Lammar Offset Printing Ltd., Hong Kong, China

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Introduction

Based on a shared interest in the past and present positioning of Hong Kong's population, an interdisciplinary team of anthropologists, economists, historians, sociologists, educators, media and legal scholars embarked on this project in June 2004. The 2022 Foundation supported the study. The Foundation has previously commissioned a series of studies on Hong Kong, which are focused primarily on the hardware of the territory's development and related issues of competitiveness — economic resources, infrastructural change, and environmental relationships with the Pearl River delta. Building on these works, this study proposes to explore important software — the making of Hong Kong's human landscape. We shall focus on the diasporic historical experiences of those who have come and gone, and the intimate decisions and structural factors for those who have chosen to stay. Accumulated institutional resources which have interwoven with the aspirations and lives of these "Hong Kongers" will also be explored.

The government has recently taken the lead in seeking strategic ways to combine investments in hardware and human software.¹ From a policy angle, one might ask how the softer attributes have contributed to the character of Hong Kong's human resources. As basic researchers, we are less interested in what policies would directly induce behavior intended to make Hong Kong competitive. Instead, we want to understand how Hong Kong as a changing physical and institutional "space" has allowed different groups of people to maximize their potential when pursuing diverse agenda in life. In the process, how have they engaged with "Hong Kong" and contributed to the advancement of the region as a whole? Have historical advantages become vulnerabilities today? Can these experiences be significant factors in building their future?

The team's interim report, published in October 2005, highlights human resource topics that address policy and business communities more directly.² Its arguments have attracted diverse responses. Victor Fung and David Eldon, global business leaders, have referred to its findings. The government has responded critically to some details and paid close attention to others.³ Members of the team were invited to present the issues in public forums.⁴ Debates aside, it is generally recognized that Hong Kong is a city

precariously poised at the crossroads of a globally connected world and an aggressively marketizing China. The emergence of the Pearl River Delta as a world factory in China's post-reform era might appear threatening to Hong Kong's future, but challenges come with opportunities. Victor Fung, chairman of the Greater Pearl River Delta Business Council, stresses that competitiveness relies on Hong Kong's people and on allowing diverse talents from the mainland and abroad to flow freely through the territory.⁵

International financial corporations are particularly concerned with the supply of quality workers for their business operations in the new era. Many have felt the dire need in Hong Kong at professional levels, although they are not blind to the structural difficulties for those at the lower end of the labor hierarchy and are mindful of the political implications in immigration and labor schemes. The problems Hong Kong faces are multidimensional, and the demands on its resources can, at times, be contentious. "We have a very broad need, and we need broad solutions," says David Eldon, former Asia Pacific chairman of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, and former chairman of the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce. Proactive, holistic, and non-ad hoc actions are necessary, he warns, and any delay will dampen Hong Kong's future ambitions.⁶

Local media have echoed this sense of urgency to nurture and attract talent. In a lead article in the *South China Morning Post*, "Dressed to Skill," editor Chris Yeung brings together government, business, and academic voices to highlight the need to rethink policy assumptions and parameters.⁷ In August 2006, an editorial team of the *South China Morning Post* published a "white paper" containing a synthesis of views expressed in forums in which business and community leaders had participated. In emphasizing the urgency for reform in Hong Kong and highlighting a source of competitiveness as being a desirable place to live and work, the document captures the spirit of our people-focused agenda.⁸ Despite alarming indices on Hong Kong's work force and its perceived quality decline, business leaders believe that the talk of the territory's marginalization is premature. Crucial questions are how to involve its people and their "can-do" spirit proactively and in deeply institutional and cultural ways, and how to support those who have the potential and the will to take bold steps forward.⁹

This volume of essays complements the interim report and addresses the above business concerns by appreciating the broad structural processes that have contributed to the making of Hong Kong's human landscape. Who are our subjects? In our efforts to situate Hong Kong's historically fluid and multi-ethnic populations — local-born residents, expatriates, immigrants, emigrants and returnees, guest workers, visitors, and citizens-in-the-making, we hope to redefine the subjects of research, the issues posed

and some policy parameters. We ask what underlies our conceptual category of “Hong Konger” as a target population. Can “Hong Kong” experiences be confined to a physically bounded and administratively defined place? How can “Hong Kong studies” as a field of research be extended and reconstituted to serve broader policy needs?

We stress the complex and fluid processes that make up the categories and the necessary recognition of porous borders in physical and conceptual terms. It helps us appreciate Hong Kong’s flexible positioning, that is, how its various “populations” have cultivated layers of China experiences to face the world, and how they have captured layers of global resources to engage with China. If our human subjects are moving targets whose characteristics are in constant flux, it follows that hard and static categories that distinguish Hong Kong and its legally defined residents from “outsiders” may blind us from the subjects’ historical experiences, shifting identities, and social needs. These categories also prevent us from asking pertinent analytical questions, from collecting precise data to formulating strategic policies. Instead, we may wish to consider Hong Kong’s nodal significance in the crossroads of empires, trading and diasporic communities, world industrial assembly lines, and now global consumption, media, and finance markets. The field of inquiry will expand and contract with the footprints of capital, commodities, and most important, those inside and outside the territory who claim to be part of the global, regional, or local flow.

An interesting policy implication follows: to analytically capture the social fluidities, should our understanding of Hong Kong’s human resource be refocused, from issues of immigration and emigration that assume hard administrative/legal divisions, to those of circulation? Because interdisciplinary research on Hong Kong is often lacking, the team would like to use the project to develop a critical mass of scholars who question existing conceptual paradigms. Together, they hope to set a new agenda, linking the humanities to social sciences, juxtaposing soft data with hard issues, and making basic research relevant to policy thinking.

Circulation as a Conceptual Parameter

The chapters in the volume are organized into three groups to highlight the concept of circulation. To us, the circulation idea does not juxtapose interests within the Hong Kong territory against a fixed, imaginary “outside.” Instead, it highlights processes by which cross-border fluidities and institutional integrity have been mutually constitutive. Multiple layers of experience, be they micro decisions of family formation, or the pursuit of global careers

and political agenda, have been constructed in contexts extending far beyond the physical or administrative boundary of Hong Kong. They are crystallized by ordering frames of trading empires, colonial encounters, industrial economies, and regional political systems. In spatial terms, they are borderless and non-hierarchical. In social and cultural terms, they are organically and creatively “hybrid.”

The first group of chapters (Sinn, Ching, Ma) uses lessons of history to argue that Hong Kong has thrived as an autonomous space of flow. The process has allowed the territory to capture multi-ethnic talents from trading communities around the globe and in China, and enhance its footprints and horizons. One might have entertained clearly defined legal statuses among the populations in the territory, with entitlements and exclusions based on administrative criteria, but in physical, social, and cultural terms, historically and now, hard lines could not have been drawn easily.

A historical process approach is important where rapid structural changes are in fact a constant in the context of global volatility. It requires that we understand how Hong Kong, over the years, has been a site of significance for different people, with livelihoods and values attached. These layers of history make up the institutional resources of a population who continue to be entrepreneurial in their livelihoods, contingent in cultural constitution, and vocal in aspirations of citizenship. At different junctures of Hong Kong’s engagement and separation with the world and with China, the social kaleidoscope churns with intensity and richness. A unique “multi-ethnic city culture on the move” has emerged with a human landscape that defies rigid categorization. Sensitivities to these historical processes allow us to get to the social complexities beneath ideology or rhetoric.¹⁰

If policy thinking is involved, a question to ask is how to uncover hidden cultural capital and vulnerability in this layered historical process. The answer may help us decide what collective memories to preserve, how to nurture political attachment, and most important, how to make Hong Kong attractive to a diverse range of visitors in the future. Hong Kong’s rich historical experiences and global networks are cumulative, based on the continuous circulation of its population, be they sojourners, residents, or those briefly passing through. Appreciating such a process today allows us to treat Hong Kong’s boundaries as multi-faceted and flexible, both in time and space, not to pose population policy in dichotomous terms between local-born and outsider, and to take the nurturing of human resources beyond the limited importation of foreign talents.

The postwar decades, however, generated a different experience. The composition of “Hong Kongers” in fact remains rather fluid. As shown by the second group of chapters (Wong and Wong, Siu, Chan, Salaff) there have been continuous waves of legal and illegal immigrants from China

and of emigration overseas. The waves in the immediate postwar years provided key conditions for Hong Kong's development. They brought a large, young labor force and a diverse pool of talents. Educational and vocational investments by the government and private charities elevated this work force. The process turned immigrant experiences into mainstream society and core identities. However, the low fertility rate and restricted immigration policies in the following decades created a deep impact on the demographic structure and labor market. Compared to major world cities and those in China today, Hong Kong's population is ageing, and its talents are becoming less diverse. Emigration of middle-class families in anticipation of the 1997 political transition deepened the shortage. Although cross-border marriages between Hong Kong and the mainland accelerated since the 1980s, the presence of dependent spouses and children who constituted "the new immigrants" has not matched the expectations of a post-manufacturing economy undergoing tumultuous changes. Returnee families have agonized over their share of truncated lives and career trajectories.

If Hong Kong is a place with real but porous borders that hardened and softened at various times in relation to a fluid regional context, we may wish to rethink our tools in defining the Hong Konger. Instead of assuming a static, one-off change in legal/administrative status of individuals in the immigration process whereby an outsider is transformed into a legal resident with rights and entitlements attached, policy questions may need to be sensitive to the circulation of individuals and families whose life cycle needs necessitate border crossing at various stages of their education, family formation, and careers.

A related concept that needs rethinking is "the family." Education, work, and mobility are highly gendered and intimately related to family dynamics. Foreign domestic helpers, over the affluent decades since the 1980s, have become integral to local family processes and the upbringing of children, especially among middle-class households whose values have become societal mainstream. These helpers have allowed Hong Kong women to pursue their professions, although foreign domestic employment often reinforces racial, gender, and class prejudices. Family processes are shaped also by emigration. Anxiety surrounding the change of sovereignty created split families among not only new immigrants but also educated middle classes who emigrated abroad. The language of instruction in schools is a politically loaded issue for patriots, but it is also emotionally charged for parents concerned with their children's future. Among family enterprises, cultural capital is no longer linked to ethnic networks, but strategic global investment, including the cosmopolitan education of the successor generation. "Family," and increasingly, split families, continue to be relevant in Hong Kong's modern social fabric. It is timely to critically rethink our

analytic assumptions of its changing meanings and substance, and how the increasingly cross-border dynamics in its formation and dissolution have an impact on our immigration and social policies.¹¹

The third group of chapters (Faure, Levin, Luk, Wong and Sun, Ku, and Chan) shows the intersection between circulation and institution, flow and growth, and the socially differentiated terrain that has resulted. They highlight institutional processes that have been built up over time to facilitate Hong Kong as a vibrant space of flow. These processes absorb, educate, retune, and support both the immigrants and a stable, locally born generation. Every society has its share of poverty and misfortune, but the integrity of these institutions has allowed Hong Kong to be competitive in the region, not only in attracting investments and businesses, but also in circulating and nurturing its needed entrepreneurial and professional talents. The question we ask is whether, at this juncture when China is liberalizing its economy and global forces are increasingly volatile, Hong Kong's institutional environment is adequate to reshape a human landscape for a new round of flexible positioning.

Hong Kong's past advantages might very well be its vulnerabilities at the present moment. In the face of post-1997 social strife, public debates have centered on the predicament of Hong Kong's middle class and its loss of self-confidence. The social mobility, entrepreneurial opportunities, and professional openness of this population — all related to the theme of circulation — are the major concerns today. In the postwar decades, a home-grown generation — beneficiaries of the growth in educational investment and an emerging service economy — has experienced unprecedented social mobility within a narrow range of competition. The professional practices and values of this generation have taken center stage in Hong Kong's cultural and institutional environments. As shown in the previous group of chapters in this volume, there has been a continuous circulation of immigrants from China and emigration overseas, not to mention the movement of hundreds of thousands of Southeast Asian domestic workers who have profoundly changed the dynamics of families, work, and gender in Hong Kong. Nonetheless, the belief that a home-grown generation of Hong Kongers has made it on its own has long been the conviction of the public.

Scholars of Hong Kong society and culture have also consistently presented a powerful narrative of the success of families “under the Lion Rock,” whose hard work and resilience were believed to have been the backbone of Hong Kong's postwar affluence. Closed off from China and functionally engaged with the industrial world through assembly-line production in the postwar decades, a generation of migrant families worked extremely hard and produced enough vocationally trained children to fuel

a postindustrial service economy. With distinctly localized concerns and cultural tastes, thriving on the refined craft of speculative real estate and entrepreneurial gain, and tuned to a relatively disciplined and “clean” public service, this generation made a confident transition to white collar and professional jobs. The window of opportunity for these Hong Kongers was possible when China was remote and the world demanded only superficial and technical engagement. The environment (political, institutional, cultural, and economic) has drastically changed since China’s economic liberalization in the 1980s. This has made the established formula for social advancement uncertain. In a recent work, sociologists Lui Tai Lok and Wong Chi Tsang poignantly present the harsh realities faced by this sinking middle class.¹²

Moreover, from our demographic profiles, the generation of those in their 30s is thin in number. Many now need to face the challenges of a much larger regional economy. The structural changes in the territory’s post-1997 economy and the rapid northward movement of logistics and support industries for the manufacturing boom in China have profoundly threatened the livelihoods of an entire white-collar generation. The crucial questions are: when the regional economies are set in motion by China’s post-socialist reforms, will Hong Kongers who remain locally entrenched be irrelevant?¹³ If Hong Kong’s middle class is shrinking and sinking, how must the government replenish and re-orient this crucial layer of the human landscape so that they will provide the vital professional support, civic practices, and stability for a more globally competitive future? In view of the fact that a large percentage of those who marched on July 1, 2003 were from an educated middle class generation, there is an urgent task to understand their predicaments.¹⁴

The issue of a new orientation and identity is a focus of this group of chapters. The uncertain positioning of Hong Kong today illuminates the volatile nature of urban public space, a feature shared by many cities that are significant nodes in the global economy. Apart from the glitter of international finance and the intense flow of commodities and information, a diverse cultural life — from localized family and religious rituals, community festivals, museums, and cultural heritage, to cosmopolitan performing arts, film and media images — adds color and vibrancy to the postindustrial cityscape. Increasingly, city governments worldwide have embarked on a policy of urban entrepreneurialism that involves an intense marketing of local culture in a global space.¹⁵

This cultural capital also gives meaning to a new sense of belonging and citizenship. In this process, we highlight an interesting contradiction about cities and citizenship. The boundaries of world cities today are by nature porous. Moreover, to be globally connected, national governments need to invest heavily in the infrastructure of their cities and are

understandably eager to maintain a degree of control. It is important to appreciate such a contradiction for Hong Kong in light of post-1997 politics.¹⁶ When identities attached to a place are deterritorialized, how does one mark target populations and assess their rights, commitments, and responsibilities?

To understand the making (and unmaking) of Hong Kong's human landscape, this volume of essays argues, we rethink our conceptual and administrative parameters; consider circulation and not immigration; imagine a border that hardens and softens at different historical junctures through which various populations flow; treat populations as families with life cycle needs at different points in time; appreciate the unique institutional resources that they have accumulated to serve a wider region; activate interstitial urban spaces that extend beyond physical barriers and administrative impositions. In human resource terms, maximum circulation of a diverse range of talents and their ideas through the territory may be crucial for a trade and finance services economy that is bound to be increasingly global and unsettling.

As indicated in the three-part organization of the volume, circulation of populations and institutional coherence are not diametrically opposed. They are mutually constitutive and should be conceptualized as a paired process. While the earlier chapters highlight movement across borders, the chapters that follow delineate the accumulated institutional resources that have absorbed various waves of immigrants. These resources have allowed them to settle in the territory, to pursue their life chances and to enjoy social mobility. With the integrity of Hong Kong's institutions vigorously upheld, those who enter and exit the territory during different phases of their education, lives, and careers may continue to enjoy a level playing field and be able to contribute value to Hong Kong society. They will also connect the territory to regional and global environments.

To strategically plan this intensified circulation beyond Hong Kong's borders, we must have a deeper understanding of the positioning of Hong Kong's population in global and regional environments (not only in terms of physical proximity and infrastructure, but in layers of culture, historical identities, and commitments of the populations attached to it, past and present). If we focus only on their physically and administratively bounded selves within the Special Administrative Region, we might have missed a large percentage of what Hong Kong is about. The concept of circulation may help us better differentiate the changing human landscape and social ethos, anticipate the fluid structural circumstances in which major stakeholders find themselves, and appreciate their diverse ways of acquiring and depositing social capital.

Conclusion: Whither Hong Kong and the Hong Konger?

In its key report, *Bringing the Vision to Life* (February 2000), the Commission on Strategic Development identified the importance of population quality to Hong Kong's positioning as a major city in China and an Asian World City. The Commission presented its vision of making Hong Kong a vibrant, civil, and cosmopolitan place. It aimed to ensure that Hong Kong's institutions continue to provide a stable, transparent, and encompassing environment, in which fair competition is appreciated and the rule of law respected. Business and political leaders are well aware that the basic requirements for such positioning are high quality human resources that allow for a global reach and long-term competitiveness.

Our point of departure is a shared understanding of the importance of Hong Kong's population. We highlight that Hong Kong's chief resource has always been its people. We identify the resources of Hong Kong's people by critically examining their positioning in past and present local, regional, and global contexts. In this time of rapid change, it is necessary to understand how the people might place themselves within an evolving institutional framework. Their lives, aspirations, cultural capital, and strategic maneuvers constitute the bulk of Hong Kong's institutional practices. This exploration allows us to understand how Hong Kong's people are prepared for present and future challenges.

We start from a widespread appreciation that Hong Kong has been competitive for many historical reasons. Generalized concepts such as "capitalism" and "colonialism" do not adequately describe Hong Kong's experience. From the moment Hong Kong was established as a British outpost, it was not a typical "colonial" encounter. With multi-ethnic entrepreneurs sinking roots alongside colonial administrators, the territory began as an urban commercial experience, a node for the circulation of resources and interests among trading empires and industrializing powers. Making use of institutions unavailable on the mainland and elsewhere since the nineteenth century, diverse people have entered and exited Hong Kong during various phases of their lives and careers and deposited layers of value that have connected Hong Kong to regional and global environments. Each layer of historical experience has shaped this city of

migrants. Hong Kong's infrastructure for livelihood and business has sustained and recycled this multi-ethnic cultural capital. It has been illuminated by its legal institutions, business associations, language and education, religion and rituals, family structures, and consumption. Constant infusions of talent from China and other parts of the world have added value and diversity to local society.

Our study highlights the real but fluid borders Hong Kong shares with China and the world beyond. Most of its residents emigrated from the mainland. Their lives have been intimately linked to family members living in rural communities and socialist economies. Furthermore, although a colony, from the 1960s to the 1990s, the Hong Kong government had an unusual degree of autonomy. It relied on an efficient and an increasingly localized civil service to legitimize its position. As a globally connected city throughout this period, Hong Kong has inherent volatile qualities. Policy makers have achieved social cohesion not by exclusiveness and territorial control, but by strategic engagement and participation. A vibrant city culture on the move, brash and luxurious, has become a dominant ordering framework and trend setter. Flexible positioning, based largely on the historical layers of social networks and cultural capital, has been the character of Hong Kong's human resource landscape.

However, the severe economic downturn and deepening social strife in Hong Kong after 1997 raise key questions about whether the economic, political, social, and cultural ordering frameworks have fundamentally changed. All around are multiple views of Hong Kong's positioning, especially with regard to its tenuous relationship with China under the "One Country, Two Systems" formula. Have profit-driven market forces, combined with political priorities, overwhelmed efforts to preserve historical memory or maintain environmental quality? Have Shanghai, Shenzhen, and other cities in China and Asia eclipsed Hong Kong's ability to attract foreign investment and professional attention? Although the overwhelming presence of China is keenly felt, has a locally oriented generation understood and appreciated strategic ways to march north?¹ Looking ahead, in this China century, would an intense focus on the mainland with its nationalistic discourse marginalize the territory's cosmopolitan and multi-ethnic connections? Although this is not a theme specifically discussed by our volume, the question relates a great deal to Hong Kong's efforts to attract global talents in the future.

Although business and finance services have regained momentum since the 1997 crisis, confidence in Hong Kong's future remains jittery among the public. Various groups feel disenfranchised and displaced. Facing pressure from a liberalizing China and a volatile global economy, an already localized population seems to have dug its heels in and turned defensive. Some are

worried that the continuous inflow through family reunion of dependent women and children strains societal resources and tolerance. The lack of consensus about these many processes has generated doubt about the territory's ability to accommodate competitive talent in times of drastic structural changes.

Understanding the changing nature of the border and demographic patterns allows us to map more precisely the ways of life in a place with which millions have identified and to which they attach a future. If Hong Kong can capture the pulsating rhythms of transformations in China and the world today, it may turn present challenges into unprecedented opportunities. Our studies have tried to address the following questions: How must we take into account historical and cultural experiences in appreciating the making of Hong Kong's populations? Can historical lessons help us better understand the positioning of Hong Kong residents in relation to China and the world? Today, where does Hong Kong's stock of human resources stand in comparison to other world cities and in view of new regional opportunities? If there is a serious mismatch between Hong Kong's work force and its service-oriented economy, what combination of policies has led Hong Kong into such an impasse? How can Hong Kong remain open to attract diverse professional and entrepreneurial talents while reinforcing its institutional integrity and cultural capital? How might we critically rethink existing assumptions, policy parameters, and mindsets to re-negotiate a new social contract and road map for the populations of this historic world city charting an uncertain future? These are some of the key issues foremost in our minds when we try to understand the nature of Hong Kong's human landscape. Hopefully, the analytical categories of "Hong Kong," "Hong Konger," and the boundaries of "Hong Kong studies" can be redefined and colleagues in the government and business communities will help translate the new parameters into meaningful practices.

Notes

Introduction

- 1 The government held a summit conference on Hong Kong's positioning on September 11, 2006 and invited thirty-three business, opinion leaders, and officials from China. A major theme was how Hong Kong can maximize its advantages in coordination with China's recent development plans. It is clear from Beijing officials that developing Hong Kong as a world financial center remains high on China's list of priorities. See the announcement on Hong Kong government's website, August 11, 2006; see also commentaries in major newspapers in August and September 2006.
- 2 Helen Siu, Richard Wong, and David Faure, *Rethinking Hong Kong's Human Resources and Competitiveness: A Pre-Policy Study* (Interim Report) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, October 2005).
- 3 See a speech by Victor Fung at the Hong Kong economic summit, "Ruhe peixun rencai, gonggu Xianggang jingzhengli," (How to nurture talents to reinforce Hong Kong's competitiveness) *Hong Kong Economic Journal Monthly*, January 2006. Earlier in May 2005, the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce (HKGCC) hosted nearly 100 chief executive officers and human resource professionals in a day-long, closed-door session on the topic. The principal investors were invited to present their initial findings. David Eldon, in a press release of the HKGCC, "Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce foresees major human resources challenges ahead," July 2005, echoed some of the issues presented. The press release received wide coverage in the Chinese and English press on July 14 and 15, 2005; see also media coverage on Fanny Law's objections to some of the details (2005). In an article published by *South China Morning Post (SCMP)* (September 20, 2005), "Welcome! We need all the talent we can get," Eldon again observed that "the quality of Hong Kong's human capital is lagging behind that of other global business and financial centres," and stressed the importance for government and businesses to join forces in aggressively nurturing and renewing Hong Kong's labor pool. On the import of talents and on new immigrants, media coverage includes "Wei yimin chengshi dazao weilai," (Build a future for the city of immigrants) *Wenhui Bao* (January 12, 2006, in response to a public lecture made by Helen Siu on the study). See also "Yimin shi Xianggang shenhua de yaoshi," (Emigration is key to the Hong Kong miracle), and "Haineiwai xuezhe rixin xiance," (Local and overseas scholars eagerly offered expertise), *Yazhou Zhoukan* (Asia Weekly), February 26, 2006.

- 4 On January 3, 2006, Helen Siu presented the study at the Hong Kong Central Library in a public lecture series on business history, organized by the History Department of The Chinese University of Hong Kong. On January 6, 2006, the Hong Kong Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences organized a day-long conference at The University of Hong Kong. Team members presented their findings to academics, business, and political leaders. On May 26, 2006, Helen Siu gave a keynote speech on the topic, in a public seminar jointly organized by the Faculty of Business, The University of Hong Kong, and the *South China Morning Post*. Richard Wong was one of the panelists to discuss the issues presented.
- 5 See the second annual fiscal report (2006) of the Greater Pearl River Delta Business Council, as reported by *The China Daily* (Hong Kong edition) on September 30, 2006 “How to keep Hong Kong as a top financial hub” (Wisers # 200609308450067). In earlier occasions, Victor Fung has discussed various means to attract talents to Hong Kong through investment in quality education. See “Zhu Gang pinpai tuo neidi shichang,” in *Mingpao Daily*, September 12, 2006, A12 (Wisers # 200609120040200); see Victor Fung’s comments on nurturing educated talents to reinforce Hong Kong’s competitiveness, in a forum in relation to a Hong Kong Economic Summit in 2006 with business and media leaders, reported in *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, December 5, 2005 (in Wisers # 200612053910056). See earlier views expressed by Fung as reported in *Hong Kong Economic Daily* on August 22, 2005, A04 (Wisers # 200508220300148). See Eldon (SCMP, September 20, 2005) on the importance of the Pearl River Delta–Hong Kong link, and of globalizing the experience of Hong Kong’s young through a much more open education system.
- 6 David Eldon, “The Talent We Need,” *Bulletin*, Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce, April 6, 2006. See also Leslie Kwoh, “Talent gap hits business,” *The Standard*, May 2, 2006, for an interpretation of Eldon’s essay.
- 7 SCMP, March 24, 2006.
- 8 *South China Morning Post White Paper: Enhancing Hong Kong’s Competitiveness*, August 2006. See recent public opinions on five-day work weeks, shorter work hours, worsening environmental conditions, and their implications for work productivity and health. See comments in a business leader forum on corporate social responsibility as reported by Patsy Moy who quoted David Eldon extensively. The report in SCMP (August 21, 2006) was entitled, “If you finish work, go home: a message bosses must spread.” SCMP conducted a survey and published another white paper for the government, centering on the environment. Donald Tsang’s Policy Address in October 2006 highlights the issue. The debates rage on. See Christine Loh’s newsletter, “The Air Hong Kong Breathe: Tsang at His Best” (October 13, 2006), and a report presented to Donald Tsang by Civic Exchange, published on September 11, 2006, entitled “An Air Management Plan.” Earlier in the summer, Loh published an article in the *South China Morning Post* “No half measures, please” (July 20, 2006, Wisers # 200607200270040) highlighting the seriousness of air pollution and how it has hurt Hong Kong’s ability to attract global talents.

- 9 David Eldon, "Is Marginalization Really an Issue for Hong Kong?" *Bulletin*, Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce, July 2006; Dennis Eng, "Has Our Can-do Spirit Gone?" *South China Morning Post White Paper: Enhancing Hong Kong's Competitiveness*, August 2006.
- 10 For such treatment of Hong Kong experiences, see a collection of essays written around the 1997 turnover of sovereignty, Gary Hamilton ed., *Cosmopolitan Capitalist: Hong Kong in the Chinese Diaspora* (University of Washington Press, 1999). See also Elizabeth Sinn, *Power and Charity: The Early History of Tung Wah Hospital, Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1989).
- 11 It is interesting to note that Donald Tsang's policy address in October 2006 devoted a great deal to the upholding of family values.
- 12 See Lui Tai Lok and Wong Chi Tsang, *Xianggang zhongchan jieji chujing guancha (Observations on the Predicaments of Hong Kong's Middle Class)* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 2003). There are different ways to define Hong Kong's middle class. In an unpublished study of identity and social cohesion for the Central Policy Unit in 2002 and subsequent discussions with government officials, Siu-lun Wong and Helen Siu highlighted the cultural resources and emotions of the "sinking" middle class as urgent concerns for the government. Using objective and subjective criteria, the number in this class could range between 30 and 60 percent of Hong Kong's population. See also recent debates on the "M" society (*Mingpao Daily*, April and May 2007). Downward mobility may be a worldwide phenomenon, see also Miura Atsushi, *Karyu Shakai* on Japan's sinking middle class (2005).
- 13 See the works of Lui Ta-lok, Thomas Wong, Chan Kun Chung, in particular, on the predicaments of Hong Kong's middle class today and their unpredictable future. On the urban culture that grew with the maturing of this generation, see Chan Kun Chung, *Wuo zheyidai Xianggang ren (My Generation of Hong Kongers)* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2006 Second Edition). For a perceptive "musing" for this generation lost in a confusing, post-modern city space, see Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Youyicheng kuangshangqu (Festival Walk Rhapsodies)* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2006), and *Xunhui Xianggang wenhua (In Search of Hong Kong Culture)* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- 14 On July 1, 2003, in the wake of the SARS crisis, over half a million people took to the streets in protest against a hastily drawn up bill by the government on security legislation, based on Article 23 of the Basic Law. A survey of 1,000 protestors showed that over 60 percent of the marchers had post-secondary degrees (*Mingpao Daily* "Qiyi youxingzhe liucheng dazhuan xueli 七一遊行者六成大專學歷 (60 percent of July 1 marchers hold post-secondary degree)," (July 7, 2003, *Wisers* # 200307070040018). See also SCMP "July 1 marchers were well-educated, says survey," (July 7, 2003; *Wisers* # 200307070270042). For a concise rendition of the issues and emotions underlying the July 1 march, see SCMP July 10, 2003, report by Jimmy Cheung and Klaudia Lee, from *Wisers* # 200307100270037. See also *The Standard* "50,000 protest in Central," (July 10, 2003; *Wisers* # 200307104480020). For a personal chronicle of the Article 23 events, see Ng Oi Yee, *23 tiao lifa rezhi* (Hong Kong: Yi chubanshe, 2004).

- 15 See Ku and Tsui in this volume. On how cities promote “culture” as business, see Sharon Zukin, *The Cultures of Cities* (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1995); see also Dennis R. Judd and Susan S. Fainstein eds., *The Tourist City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).
- 16 See a special issue of *Public Culture* 19, no. 3 (Spring 1997), edited by Ackbar Abbas and Wu Hung, on Hong Kong on the eve of 1997 and some of the artistic emotions.

Part I

- 1 For theoretical literature on the construction of “place” with embedded meanings and power relations, please see Ahkil Gupta and James Ferguson, “Beyond ‘Culture’: Space, Identity and the Politics of Difference,” in Gupta and Ferguson eds., *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997), 33–51; Neil Brenner, “Global, Fragmented, Hierarchical: Henri Lefebvre’s Geographies of Globalization,” *Public Culture* 10, no. 1 (1997): 137–69.
- 2 The concept originally came from Manuel Castell. For recent theoretical works concerned with the reconfiguration of urban space in the modern and post-modern era, see David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989); Saskia Sassen, “Spatialities and Temporalities of the Global: Elements for a Theorization,” *Public Culture: Globalization 2 Millennial Quartet 2000* (Arjun Appadurai guest editor); Ulf Hannerz, “The Cultural Role of World Cities,” in Ulf Hannerz, *Transnational Connections* (London, New York: Routledge, 1996), 127–39; James Holston and Arjun Appadurai, “Introduction: Cities and Citizenship,” in James Holston ed., *Cities and Citizenship* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1999), 1–18.
- 3 For the early history of Hong Kong and the military sites in Tuen Mun and Tung Chung, see various works by Siu Kwok Kin.
- 4 For supplementary reading on the topic of export paintings, see *Souvenir from Canton — Chinese Export Paintings from the Victoria and Albert Museum* (chief editors, Ming Wilson, Liu Zhiwei)(Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 2003); see also *Views from the West: Collection of Pith Paper Watercolours Donated by Mr. Ifan Williams to the City of Guangzhou* (chief editors May Bo Ching and Cheng Cunjie)(Beijing: Zhonghua Publishing House, 2001); the rich collection of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank on China Trade paintings also illuminates the cultural styles of this trans-cultural mercantile culture centering on Guangdong, Hong Kong, and London. See the exquisite collection of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century China Trade paintings, porcelain, silver, and other craft items in the Peabody Museum of Salem, Massachusetts.
- 5 For cosmopolitan cultural styles circulating in Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Hong Kong during the Republican era, see the works of Leo Ou-fan Lee, in particular, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), on film and media production. See also a personal reading of Hong Kong by Lee. Leo Ou-fan Lee, *City between Worlds: My Hong Kong* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008).

Chapter 1

- 1 The “space of flow” is a phrase borrowed from Manuel Castells, *The Age of Information. Economy, Society and Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1997) 3 volumes, Volume 2. *The Power of Identity*, 1. Castells uses this term to describe a new type of social space created by information technology. Although its connotation is totally different from mine, I am nevertheless borrowing the phrase because it is so potent in evoking an imagery of intense and constant movement.
- 2 E. J. Eitel, *Europe in China*, 273; Henry Anthon Jr., Vice-consul to Peter Parker, Charge d’Affaires for the United States, Canton, 25 March 1852, in *The United States and China Series I. The Treaty System and the Taiping Rebellion, 1841–1860* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources) 21 volumes, Volume 17, *The Coolie Trade and Chinese Emigration*, 151–52.
- 3 Bonham to Newcastle, dispatch no. 44, 13 June 1853, in *Hong Kong Blue Book* (1852):130–39, 136–37.
- 4 For an overview of Hong Kong and Chinese emigration, see Elizabeth Sinn, “Emigration from Hong Kong before 1941: General Trends” in Ronald Skeldon, ed., *Emigration from Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1995), 11–34, and “Emigration from Hong Kong before 1941: Organization and Impact”, *ibid.*, 35–50.
- 5 The classic work on Chinese emigration in the English language is Persia Crawford Campbell, *Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire* (New York: Negro University, 1969, 1st published 1923) which presents a very biased view and unjustifiably generalizes the experience of emigrants to the British colonies to those bound for the Gold Rush countries. Such prejudice is repeated in Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States 1850–1870* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984) in his eagerness to show the suffering of Chinese emigrants. A similar approach is taken by Robert J. Schwendinger’s *Ocean of Bitter Dreams: Maritime Relations between China and the United States, 1850–1915* (Tucson, Ariz.: Westernlore Press, 1988). For Chinese emigration to Cuba and Peru, see Robert Lee Irick, *Ch’ing Policy towards the Coolie Trade, 1847–1878* (Taipei: Chinese Materials Center, 1980). Chinese works almost without exception label all emigration as “pig” traffic, emphasizing the abuses and injustice. See “Preface” in Chen Hansheng, et al, eds., *Huagong chuguo shiliao huibian* (Collection of Documents Related to Chinese Labour Emigration) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980–85) 6 volumes, Volume 1, 1–20 for a typical description.
- 6 For the organization of the passenger shipping business, see Elizabeth Sinn, “The Gold Rush Passenger Trade and the History of Hong Kong 1849–1867”, in Adrian Jarvis, Richard Harding and Alston Kennerley, eds., *British Ships in China Seas: 1700 to the Present Day* (Liverpool: Society for Nautical Research and National Museums Liverpool, 2004), 129–53.
- 7 The early emigrants to Cuba and Peru went under contracts that did not provide for a return passage after the contract expired, and many could not afford a return passage and were forced to stay behind to work for another term. The conditions at every stage were so horrendous that large numbers of them either

- died on board ship on their outbound journey or while working. This was what made potential migrants so afraid to go to these places, and also why coercion was required to recruit labour to work there.
- 8 *Friend of China*, 14 July 1852; the story of the *Sultana* is reported in the *Friend of China* 7, 14 July; 7, 11, 14 August; 4, 8, 11, 29 September; 20 October; 20, 27 November; 8 December 1852; 12 January 1853.
 - 9 Tam Choy, who had first made his fortune as a contractor, was one of Hong Kong's most powerful Chinese at the time. See Carl Smith, "The Emergence of a Chinese Elite in Hong Kong" in Carl T. Smith, *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1985), 114–15.
 - 10 The importance of a mechanism for the collection of debts in California was emphasized in "Remarks of the Chinese Merchants of San Francisco upon Governor Bigler's Message and Some Common Objections with Some Explanations of the Character of the Chinese Companies, and the Laboring Class in California" (San Francisco: printed in the office of the *Oriental*, 1855), 14, though no direct mention of the Hong Kong connection was made.
 - 11 Bonham to Newcastle, 6 January 1854, dispatch no. 4: Great Britain. Colonial Office, Series 129. Original Correspondence: Hong Kong (hereafter, CO 129) / 45, 22–23.
 - 12 Colonial Land and Emigration Office to Frederick Peel, 15 September 1854: CO 129/48, 187–90.
 - 13 In the Chinese Passengers' Act, the orlop deck issue, which the merchants complained about on many occasions, was resolved by its omission. Measurement to determine number of passengers was to be based entirely on deck area, not tonnage, which made things more flexible. In addition, each Chinese passenger was allowed only 12 superficial feet rather than 15 feet, as allowed in the Imperial Act, thus increasing significantly the carrying capacity of any vessel.
 - 14 In the 1850s, the currency used in Hong Kong was the Mexican dollar, and it was equivalent to about 4 shilling 2d in sterling.
 - 15 See the Captain's account of the violence on the *Duke of Portland*, 424–25, in the Parliamentary Paper entitled "Copies of Any Recent Communications to or from the Foreign Office, Colonial Office, Board of Trade, and Other Department of Her Majesty's Government, on the Subject of Mortality on Board the '*Duke of Portland*', or Any Other British Ships, Carrying Emigrants from China", reprinted in *British Parliamentary Papers* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1974), vol. IV, "Chinese Emigration", 415–34; the case is also reported in "Copies of Recent Communications to or from the Foreign Office, Colonial Office, Board of Trade, and Any Other Department of Her Majesty's Government, on the Subject of Mortality on Board British Ships Carrying Emigrants from China or India", in *ibid.*, 459–93. For the letters regarding the remit of the fine, see 484–85.
 - 16 Ordinance no. 11 of 1857: "An Ordinance for Licensing and Regulating Emigration Passage Brokers", *Hong Kong Government Gazette* (hereafter HKGG), November 1857, 3–4.
 - 17 Ordinance no. 6 of 1859, HKGG.

- 18 Ordinance no. 4 of 1870. For a review of the revisions of the Passengers Act, see Proclamation, *HKGG*, 2 November 1872, 484–85.
- 19 For example, Captain Winchester of the *Caribbean*, despite pressure from the charterer, refused to carry more passengers than permitted, realizing that now, with the Act in place, things were different. Jardine, Matheson & Co. to Russell & Co., 27 August 1858 (p. 2, JMA/ Letter Book C 14/8). The Jardine, Matheson & Co. archives are housed at Cambridge University Library.
- 20 For an insightful analysis of the early history of the rule of law in Hong Kong, see Christopher Munn, *Anglo-China: Chinese People and British Rule in Hong Kong 1841–1880* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2001).
- 21 Adam McKeown’s article on Chinese emigration gives an excellent account on how the emigrant’s connections, real and symbolic, with the home village were sustained. See his “Transnational Chinese Families and Chinese Exclusion, 1875–1943”, *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18, no. 2 (Winter 1999): 73–110. Madeline Hsu, in her excellent work, *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home: Transnationalism and Migration between the United States and South China 1820–1943* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000) depicts the many ways Chinese Americans maintained two homes — spiritual, emotional and material.
- 22 See Elizabeth Sinn, “Moving Bones: Hong Kong’s Role as an ‘In-between Place’ in the Chinese Diaspora”, in Sherman Cochran and David Strand, eds., *Cities in Motion* (Berkeley: Institution of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2007), 247–71.
- 23 Jardine, Matheson & Co. to Russell & Co., Hong Kong, 25 August 1858 (p. 525, JMA/ Letter Book C 14/7); Jardine, Matheson & Co. to Russell & Co., Hong Kong, 27 August 1858 (p. 2, JMA/ Letter Book C 14/8); Jardine, Matheson & Co to Russell & Co, Hong Kong, 8 November 1858 (p. 40, JMA/ Letter Book C 14/8).
- 24 For an idea of the Hong Kong–California trade, see Elizabeth Sinn, “Preparing Opium for America: Hong Kong and Cultural Consumption in the Chinese Diaspora”, *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 1:1 (May 2005): 16–42.
- 25 For a case study of the use of remittances, see Sinn, “Moving Bones”.
- 26 Before the Gold Rush, some of the conventional “China goods” such as silk, tea, matting, etc, were being exported from Hong Kong for American consumption, but with the passenger trade, very different products were also shipped specifically for Chinese consumption. For a brief historical account of the California trade, see *Xianggang Hua An shanghui niankan* (Annual Journal of the Wah On Exporters and Importers Association) (Hong Kong, 1951), 27–28. The journal ran from 1951–1978 and is a most valuable source for the study of the trade.
- 27 In a 1915 directory, at least 23 such geographically-defined Chinese trading groups are listed, including: California and Honolulu [including Australia], Singapore, Penang, Calcutta, Cambodia, Peru, Havana, Java, South Africa, Panama, Sandakan, Spain and Manila, Annam, Siam, Haiphong and different ports in China. *Xianggang Zhonghua shangye jiaotong renming zhinan lu* (The Anglo-Chinese Commercial Directory) (Hong Kong, 1915[?]), 1–2. These trading firms were primarily organized along *tongxiang* or family lines. For instance,

- most of the Siam trading firms in Hong Kong were owned and operated by Chaozhou merchants dealing with correspondent firms in Siam which were also owned and operated by Chaozhou merchants, and often by members of the same family. For a brief discussion of Hong Kong's export-import trade, see Economic Information & Agency (Jingji daobao she), *Xianggang shangye zhinan* (Hong Kong Commercial Directory) (Hong Kong, 1960), Section 1, 32–57.
- 28 George Lyall, Minutes of the meetings of the Legislative Council reported in *Friend of China*, 20 October 1858.
 - 29 Elizabeth Sinn, "Xin xi guxiang: A Study of Regional Associations as a Bonding Mechanism in the Chinese Diaspora. The Hong Kong Experience", *Modern Asian Studies*, 31, no. 2 (May 1997): 375–97 and "Cohesion and Fragmentation: A County-Level Perspective on Chinese Transnationalism in the 1940s" in Leo Douw, Cen Huang and Michael R. Godley, eds., *Qiaoxiang Ties: Interdisciplinary Approaches to "Cultural Capitalism" in South China* (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, and International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden and Amsterdam, 1999), 67–86.
 - 30 For the history of the Tung Wah Hospital, see Elizabeth Sinn, *Power and Charity: The Early History of the Tung Wah Hospital, Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1989), reprinted as *Power and Charity: A Chinese Merchant Elite in Colonial Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005 with a new preface).
 - 31 For the development of English newspapers in Hong Kong and elsewhere on the China coast, see Frank H. H. King and Prescott Clarke, *A Research Guide to China-Coast Newspapers 1822–1911* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965); Prescott Clarke, "The Development of the English-Language Press on the China Coast 1827–1881" (M.A. Thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1961). For the impact of foreigners on Chinese newspapers, see Fang Hanqi, ed., *Zhongguo xinwen shiye tongshi* (History of Chinese Journalism) (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 1992), 243–446. Fang was much less generous to the foreign pioneers of the Chinese press in an earlier work, *Zhongguo jindai baokan shi* (A Modern History of the Newspapers and Magazines of China) (Taiyuan, Shanxi: Shanxi sheng Xinhua shudian, 1981). For the development of the Chinese newspapers, see Zhuo Nansheng, *Zhongguo jindai baoye fazhan shi 1815–1874* (The Development of Chinese Newspapers in the Modern Period 1815–1874) (Taibei: Zhengzhong shudian, 1998), 78–101. The book was originally published in Japanese, under the name Toh Lam-seng, *Chugoku kindai shinbun seiritsushi 1815–1874* (The Beginnings of Modern Chinese Newspapers and Their Development in the 19th Century) (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1990).
 - 32 Zhuo, *Zhongguo jindai baoye fazhan shi*, 78–101.
 - 33 *Xia'er guanzhen* (hereafter XG), vol. 2, no. 1 (January 1854), 5b–7b, 5b.
 - 34 XG vol. 2, no. 2 (September 1853), 11b; also see XG vol. 2, no. 8 (August 1854), 8b.
 - 35 XG vol. 2, no. 1 (January 1854), 5b–7b, 6b. The reason given here for the non-emigration of women was a popular though overly convenient one. Cf. McKeown's and Hsu's interpretations (see note 21).

- 36 XG vol. 2, no. 10 (October 1854), 11a ; vol. 3, no. 3 (March 1855).
- 37 This Act was later declared unconstitutional by the US Supreme Court, and the information was published in the *HKGG*, 9 April 1859.
- 38 XG vol. 3, no. 5 (May 1855), 15b–17b. The English translation of the address is printed as “Remarks of the Chinese Merchants of San Francisco” (see note 21).
- 39 XG vol. 3, no. 5 (May 1855), 15b–17a, 17b; a list of the different laws targeted at Chinese was given in vol. 3, no. 8 (August 1855), 16a–18a.
- 40 The history of the establishment of Chinese consuls is discussed in Irick, *Ch’ing Policy toward the Coolie Trade* and Harley Farnsworth MacNair, *The Chinese Abroad, Their Position and Protection: A Study in International Law and Relations* (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1925).
- Zhuang Guotu’s *Zhongguo fengjian zhengfu de Huaqiao zhengce* (The Policy of the Feudalistic Chinese Governments toward Overseas Chinese) (Xiamen: Xiamen University Press, 1989) provides an excellent analysis of the Chinese government’s policy toward Chinese emigrants from the middle of the Ming dynasty to the end of Qing. See also Cao Qian, “*Wan Qing zhengfu dui Meiguo Huaqiao and baohu zhengce ji qi pingjia*” in *Huadong shifan daxue xuebao*, 6 (1985), 79–85; Lin Yuanhui “*Qingdai zai shijie gedi shezhi lingshi wenti chutan*” in *Huaqiao shi lunwen ji*, vol. 3 (Guangzhou: Jinan University, 1983), 60–79. These works, however, are based primarily on official documents and pay no attention to the press or public opinion, or how the emigrants themselves felt.
- 41 XG vol. 1, no. 1 (August 1853), 10b–12a.
- 42 For instance, XG vol. 2, no. 5 (May 1854), 8b–9a noted that the California government was imposing a fine on ships for carrying more passengers than permitted; vol. 4, no. 3 (March 1856), 12b–13b provided the full text of the Chinese Passengers Act.
- 43 XG vol. 2, no. 2 (February 1854), 11b–12a.
- 44 XG, vol. 2, no. 9 (September 1854), 9a; other cases appeared in vol. 3, no. 7 (July 1855), 12b–13a; vol. 2, no. 10 (October 1854), 11a–11b; vol. 3, no. 6 (June 1855), 10b.
- 45 XG vol. 2, no. 3/4 (March/April 1854), 8a; vol. 4, no. 3 (March 1856), 15b.
- 46 On many occasions Chen acted as interpreter for deputations to the Governor, in particular, John Pope Hennessy, Governor from 1877 to 1882, who was very impressed by him (“Statement of Hennessy”, *HKGG* 1881, 421 and 426). Hennessy later referred to him as “a friend of mine” (Minutes of the Meeting of the Legislative Council, 3 June 1881, in *HKGG*, 4 June 1881, 388. Hennessy also added that he believed that Chen was currently receiving a salary of \$1,200 per annum as an officer of the Chinese government in Cuba where he was the consul-general). Chen was also interpreter for the Commission to investigate the working of the Contagious Diseases Ordinance, and was appreciated as “an interpreter of the highest value” and for his “intimate and thorough knowledge of his countrymen and of their modes of thought and feelings” (Great Britain. *British Parliamentary Papers: China* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971), vol. XXV, 523). His reputation as a “young Cantonese linguist” found its way even to Shanghai (*Shanghai Courier*, 15 June 1871, reprinted in *China Mail*, 21 June 1871.)

- 47 There are two missing issues in the collection, 13 May 1871 and 13 January 1872.
- 48 The advertisement ran for three consecutive weeks: *Qiribao* (hereafter *QB*), 15, 22, 29 April 1871.
- 49 *QB*, 2 December 1871.
- 50 *QB*, 2 December 1871.
- 51 *QB*, 2 December 1871.
- 52 *QB*, 8 April and 2 December 1871.
- 53 *QB*, 8 April 1871.
- 54 *QB*, 18 March 1871.
- 55 *QB*, 18 March 1871.
- 56 *QB*, 3 June 1871
- 57 Irick, *Ch'ing Policy toward the Coolie Trade*, 273–89.
- 58 See Elizabeth Sinn, “Beyond *tianxia*: The *Zhongwai Xinwen Qiribao* (Hong Kong 1871–72) and the Construction of a Transnational Chinese Community”, *China Review* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 89–122, which explores the political, social and economic environment in which such media images and contents were produced. A more general analysis of this paper is in Elizabeth Sinn, “Emerging Media: Hong Kong and the Early Evolution of the Chinese Press”, *Modern Asian Studies* 36, no. 2 (June 2002): 421–65.
- 59 See, for instance, *The Oriental* (San Francisco), 18 September; 16 and 23 October, 1875; 20 January; 26 February and 27 May 1876.
- 60 *Xianggang Taishan Tanshi Guangyu tongxianghui huikan* (Publication of the Taishan Tan Surname Guangyu Association of Hong Kong) (Hong Kong, 1965[?]), 8.

Chapter 2

- 1 Tsang Fook was founded in 1916 in Hong Kong by Mr. Tsang Fook, a Qingyuan native. Mr. Tsang came to Hong Kong in the late nineteenth century and worked in the Robinson Piano Company. He then studied abroad the techniques of making pianos and toning, and started his own piano business in Wan Chai, Hong Kong in 1916. See the official web site of Tsang Fook: <http://www.tsangfook.com.hk/tsangfook/company/profile.asp>.
- 2 Deng Songjiao, *Xinyue Ji* (Hong Kong: New Moon Records Company, 1930), 13–14, 16.
- 3 Yung Sai Shing, “Cong yeyu yueshe dao yueyue shengchan: Qian Guangren qi Xinyue Liushengji Changpian Gongsì (1926–1936)” (Commodifying Cantonese Music: Qian Guangren and His New Moon Gramophone Company (1926–1936)), *Dongfang Wenhua* 39, no. 1 (2005): 3–20. By “commodification”, Yung refers to the production and the sale of Cantonese music and opera songs records.
- 4 Andrew F. Jones, “The Gramophone in China”, in Lydia H. Liu ed., *Tokens of Exchange: The Problem of Translation in Global Circulations* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 226.
- 5 With regard to the political background for the rise of national products since the mid-1920s, see Karl Gerth, *China Made: Consumer Culture and the Creation of the Nation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), chap. 4.

- See also the companies and factories listed in the *Xianggang huazi gongchang diaocha lu* (A Survey of the Chinese-invested Factories in Hong Kong), 1934.
- 6 Matthew Turner, *Made in Hong Kong: A History of Export Design in Hong Kong, 1900–1960* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1988), 32.
 - 7 See Deng Songjiao, *Xinyue Ji*, 32.
 - 8 See Deng Songjiao, *Xinyue Ji*, 9.
 - 9 I use the phrase “multi-vocal” here to refer to both the multi-dialect environment and the co-existence of different music and opera activities in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Shanghai.
 - 10 See Hosea Ballou Morse, *In the days of the Taipings, being the recollections of Ting Kienchang, otherwise Meisun, sometime scoutmaster and captain in the ever-victorious army and interpreter-in-chief to General Ward and General Gordon: an historical retrospect* (Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1927), 40–41 .
 - 11 See Lin Huifeng, “Guangbang yu Chaobang: Wanqing lü Hu Yueshang Guankui” (The Guang Clique and Chao Clique: A Glance of the Sojourning Guangdong Merchants in Shanghai), *Zhongshan daxue xuebao* (*Shehui kexue ban*) 44, no. 5 (2004): 95–99. The figures he uses are quoted from the *Guangdong lü Hu Tongxianghui Yuekan*, published in 1934.
 - 12 For an overall view of the growth of regional associations in Shanghai, see Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation: Regional Network and Identities in Shanghai, 1853–1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
 - 13 For the history of Guang-Zhao Gongsuo, consult Song Zuanyou, “Yige chuantong zuzhi zai chengshi jindaihua zhong zuoyong: Shanghai Guang-Zhao Gongsuo chutan”, *Shilin*, no. 4 (1996): 54–66. Regarding the activities and influences of Guangdong merchants in Shanghai, see Zhang Xiaohui, Sun Liping, “Minguo qianqi Yueshang wenhua zai Shanghai de fushe xiaoying”, *Xueshu Yuekan*, no. 12 (2004): 57–62.
 - 14 Lu Huanquan, “Guangdong lü Hu Tongxianghui chuangshe ji”, *Guangdong lü Hu Tongxianghui yuekan*, 1 October 1933, 1–2.
 - 15 See the notice posted by Guang-Zhao Gongsuo in *Guangzhao Zhoubao*, 22 June 1919; see also the diagram of Guang-Zhao Shanzhuang attached to “Shanghai shi gongsuo huiguan shanzhuang lianhehui ji ge gongsuo, huiguan, shanzhuang” (Q118–12–140–21), collection of Shanghai Archives.
 - 16 Lin Yun, “Woguo yuetan shang yiwei jiechu de minzu yinyuejia”, in Guangdong sheng minjian yinyue yanjiushi ed., *Lü Wencheng Guangdong Yinyue qu xuan* (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 1990), 6. See also Guangdong Yanhuang wenhua yanjiuhui ed., *Yueyun Xiangpiao: Lü Wencheng yu Guangdong yinyue lunji* (Macau: Aomen chubanshe, 2004), 57, 263.
 - 17 For a semi-official history of Jingwuhui and the personal history of Chen Gongzhe, see Chen Gongzhe, *Jingwuhui wushi nian* (Shenyang: Chunfeng Wenyi chubanshe, 2001) (first edition published in Hong Kong in 1957). See also “Jingwu tiyuhui shiliao xuan”, *Dang’an yu shixue*, no. 1 (1998): 21. For a condensed history of the three department stores, see Wellington K. K. Chan, “Selling Goods and Promoting a New Commercial Culture: The Four Premier Department Stores on Nanjing Road, 1917–1937”, in Sherman Cochran ed., *Inventing Nanjing Road: Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900–1945* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1999), 19–36.

- 18 “Jingwu tiyuhui shiliaoxuan”, *Dang’an yu shixue*, no. 1 (1998): 18.
- 19 See “Shanghai Guang-Zhao Gongsuo gongzuo gaikuang (1950–1951)” in “Shanghai shi gongsuo huiguan shanzhuang lianhehui ji ge gongsuo, huiguan, shanzhuang” (Q118–12–140–21), collection of Shanghai Archives.
- 20 “Ge xuexiao zhi biyeli”, *Shenbao*, 15 July 1924.
- 21 Guangdong Yanhuang wenhua yanjiuhui ed., *Yueyun Xiangpiao: Lü Wencheng yu Guangdong yinyue lunji*, 50.
- 22 “Zhonghua Yinyuehui zuo yan ‘Aihechao’”, *Shenbao*, 19 March 1924.
- 23 “Xianshi zhiyuan yan Yueju”, *Shenbao*, 15 January 1925.
- 24 “Tan Yuequ ‘Furong hen’”, *Shenbao*, 15 January 1925.
- 25 See the correspondences between Wing On Company and Guang-Zhao Gongsuo, “Gongsi heyings Yong’an Gongsi Yong’an Yueshe ji Guang-Zhao Gongsuo wanglai xinjian”, (Q225–2–7), collection of Shanghai Archives.
- 26 For a vivid description and extensive analysis of the cultural activities that took place in Shanghai, one should consult Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).
- 27 See Song Zuanyou, “Yueju zai jiu Shanghai de yanchu”, *Shilin*, no. 1 (1994): 64–70. The earliest Cantonese opera troupes reportedly came to perform in Shanghai in 1862. See Jiang Bin, “Jiu Shanghai de Guangdong xi”, Guangzhoushi Zhengxie Wenshi Ziliao Yanjiu Weiyuanhui, Yueju Yanjiu Zhongxin eds., *Yueju Chunqiu (Guangzhou Wenshi Ziliao)*, no. 42 (1990): 107–108, first published in *Guangzhou Ribao*, 19 December 1988.
- 28 “Yue kunban jingzheng zhi jingshen”, *Shenbao*, 17 February 1925.
- 29 See Song Zuanyou’s article cited in note 27.
- 30 “Guangwutai yuandan yilai zhi jukuang”, *Shenbao*, 3 March 1923. “Changdi” is the bund district in Guangzhou which has prospered since the first decade of the twentieth century. The location of “Houhai of Hong Kong” is unclear. Although there is a “Houhai Wan” (Deep Bay) in Hong Kong, I believe “Houhai” here means Victoria Harbour as the harbour is located at the “back” of Hong Kong Island, and its prosperity was parallel to that of Changdi back in those years.
- 31 Wo Foshan ren, *Li Xuefang*, 2nd ed. (Shanghai: Dongya shuju, 1920), 17.
- 32 “Yue kenjiao duanping”, *Shenbao*, 16 January 1925.
- 33 “Li Xuefang zhi linqi qiubo”, *Shenbao*, 12 December 1920.
- 34 See Wo Foshan Ren, *Li Xuefang*, 1. For the background of Jian Shiqing, see Zhongguo Kexueyuan Shanghai Jingji Yanjiusuo, Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Jingji Yanjiusuo eds., *Nanyang Xiongdi Yancao Gongsu Shiliao* (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin chubanshe, 1958), 753.
- 35 See Li Jiarong, *Wo Foshanren Zhuan*, manuscript, collection of Guangdong Provincial Library.
- 36 “Mingling Li Xuefang zuori yugui”, *Shenbao*, 10 April 1923.
- 37 “Yue kunban jingzheng zhi jingshen”, *Shenbao*, 17 February 1925.
- 38 From the commentaries on Cantonese opera performances published in *Shenbao* in the 1920s, we see the use of Cantonese in Cantonese opera in those days was only occasional. See, for example, “Ping Yueju ‘Wangu Jiaren’”, *Shenbao*, dated

- 15 February 1924; “Qiansuihe zhi ‘Guaimai Shumu’”, *Shenbao*, dated 3 March 1924; “Qiansuihe yan xin Yueju”, *Shenbao*, 11 April 1924.
- 39 “Guangwutai guanju ji”, *Shenbao*, 25 March 1924.
- 40 “Yueju fushi zhi jinxi guan”, *Shenbao*, 9 March 1925.
- 41 For news about performances by Cantonese opera troupes in the Guang Theatre, see the reports of *Shenbao*, dated 8 February 1923, and also the advertisements concerned. Examples of commentaries on Cantonese opera can be found in *Shenbao*, dated 21 February 1923, 8 March 1923, 10 March 1923, 27 November 1923, 12 February 1924, 14 February 1924, 15 February 1924, and 29 February 1924.
- 42 Wu Wo, “Yueban yu Jingban zhi yitong”, *Xi Zazhi*, no. 6 (January 1923): 12–13.
- 43 *Juchao* (Hong Kong: Youjie bianyi gongsi, 1924), no. 1: 2.
- 44 Wo Foshanren, *Li Xuefang*, 9–10.
- 45 See Song Zuanyou (1994), 69.
- 46 “Lingjie lianhehui shisiban huixi yuanqi” (advertisement), *Shenbao*, 19 March 1926.
- 47 “Guang-Zhao yueshubaoshe yanjiang ji”, *Guang-Zhao zhoubao*, 25 January 1920, 9.
- 48 “Qingnianhui yinyue dahui zhixu”, *Shenbao*, 12 June 1920.
- 49 “Gongjie yinyuebu zhi tonglehui”, *Guang-Zhao zhoubao*, 28 November 1920.
- 50 “Zhonghua Yinyuehui tonglehui ji”, *Shenbao*, 10 April 1923.
- 51 “Jingwu tonglehui jiang yanju”, *Shenbao*, 15 February 1924.
- 52 Xiang Zuhua, “Guoyue guibao, Xingkong canshuo: jinian Lü Wencheng danchen 105 zhounian”, in Guangdong Yanhuang wenhua yanjiuhui ed., *Yueyun Xiangpiao: Lü Wencheng yu Guangdong yinyue lunji*, 185.
- 53 He Huang was born in Kaiping, Guangdong in 1934. He went to Hong Kong after the War of Resistance was over and became an apprentice in a barber shop run by his relative. It was in the barber shop that Mr. He became familiar with Lü Wencheng. See Yu Qiwei, “Guanyu Yueyue de yixie ‘huo shiliao’ — He Huang tan Lü Wencheng ji qita”, *Guangdong Yishu*, no. 3 (2002): 43.
- 54 For a detailed biography of Lü, see Guangdong Yanhuang wenhua yanjiuhui ed., *Yueyun Xiangpiao: Lü Wencheng yu Guangdong yinyue lunji*.
- 55 Lü Wencheng, “Tongxianqin yu erhu zhi zoufa”, *Shenbao*, 18 May 1925.
- 56 For similar experiments attempted by the musicians and music educators in Beijing, see Han Guohuang, “Cong yinyue yanjiu hui dao yinyue yiwenshe (xinlun)”, in Liu Jingzhi ed., *Zhongguo Xin Yinyue Shi Lunji (1920–1945)*, (Hong Kong: The Centre of Asian Studies, The University of Hong Kong, 1988), 245–287.
- 57 Chen Zhengsheng, “Datong Yuehui huodong jishi”, *Jiaoxiang — Xi’an Yinyue Xueyuan Xuebao (Quarterly)*, no. 2 (1999): 12–16. For the effort made by Datong Yuehui to reproduce “instruments of antiquity”, see “Datong Yuehui xinzhiguyueqi”, *Shenbao*, 8 January 1925.
- 58 “Datong Yuehui choubei xiuzheng zhongxi yue”, *Shenbao*, 13 February 1924.
- 59 See, for example, “Gailiang woguo yinyue de yijian”, “Guoyue gailiang tan”, published on *Shenbao*, 7 April 1925 and 15 October 1925.
- 60 See Guangdong Yanhuang wenhua yanjiuhui ed., *Yueyun Xiangpiao: Lü Wencheng yu Guangdong yinyue lunji*, 53.
- 61 Chen Tisheng, *Xin yuefu* (Shanghai: Zhongyang Jingwu, 1923), 4–5.
- 62 Yan Chanbo, “Zhonghua Yinyuehui youyihui xinde”, *Zhongyang*, no. 2 (1 August 1922): 25–26.

- 63 Situ Mengyan (1888–1954) was a Kaiping native but was born in Shanghai. It was said that he received music training while studying at MIT in 1906. After returning to Shanghai, Situ worked in the Jiangnan Arsenal and continued to be an amateur violinist. Like Lü Wencheng and Qian Guangren, Situ was a leading member of Jingwuhui and China Music Society. See Chen Gongzhe, *Jingwuhui wushinian*, 34.
- 64 “Ji Lü Wencheng zhi ‘Yanzilou’ changpian”, *Shenbao*, 16 January 1925.
- 65 Deng Songjiao ed., *Xinyue ji*, section on music, 8–9, 15–16, 28–29, 30.
- 66 For the controversial remarks on Li Jinhui’s music during the Republican period, see Andrew Jones, *Yellow Music: Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), chap. 3, “The Yellow Music of Li Jinhui”.
- 67 See Hu Zefen ed., *Boyin mingqu xuan* (Guangzhou: Xierong yinshuguan, prefaced 1944), 52, 61, 65–66, 109; *Zuixin luyin Yuequ huangshanghuang* (n.p., n.d.), 159, 220, 463.
- 68 The most common *waijiang xiaodiao* adapted into Cantonese operas were *Xianhua diao*, *Song qinglang*, and *Hong xiuxie*. See, for example, the *Bailixi hui qi* published by Wugui Tang in Guangzhou and Hong Kong in the late Qing and early Republic.
- 69 Liang Qichao, “(Tongsu jingshen jiaoyu xin juben) Ban Dingyuang ping xiyu” (originally published in *Xin Xiaoshuo*, August to October 1905, no. 19–21, collected in Liang Qichao, *Yinbingshi heji, jiwaiwen*, Vol. II (compiled by Xia Xiaohong) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2005), 1300–1304.
- 70 See *Shanghai Guang-Zhao Gongsuo jiaoyu jingfei choumu weiyuanhui dunqing Yong’an yueshe yiyuan teji*, November 1950, February 1952.
- 71 Examples are the *Yueyue mingqu ji* published by Shanghai Guoguang Bookstore in 1953, and the *Yueyue mingqu xuan* published by Shanghai Wenyi chubanshe in 1958.
- 72 Guangdong Yanhuang wenhua yanjiuhui ed., *Yueyun Xiangpiao: Lü Wencheng yu Guangdong yinyue lunji*, 264.
- 73 For Lü Wencheng’s influence in Hong Kong in the 1950s, see Huang Zhihua, *Zaoqi Xianggang Yueyu Liuxingqu* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (H.K.) Co., Ltd., 2000), 94–104.
- 74 One may also look at the experience of the Shanghai movie directors who migrated to Hong Kong after 1949 and became more and more “localized” throughout the years after. See Stephen Teo, “The Shanghai Hangover: The Early Years of Mandarin Cinema in Hong Kong”, in *Cinema of Two Cities: Hong Kong–Shanghai* (The 18th Hong Kong International Film Festival) (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1994), 17–24.

Chapter 3

- 1 Commentary on *Xianggang Feng Qing: Ming Pao*, 12 July 1985, 37; *Tai Kung Pao*, 19 July 1985, 18.
- 2 Letters collected by the editor-in-chief, Mr. Yuan Hau Can.
- 3 *Packaging & Design* 41 (1987): 2.

- 4 4As is the Association of Accredited Advertising Agents.
- 5 A mainland version of *City Magazine* has been launched recently.
- 6 *International Advertising*, Jan 2003.

Part II

- 1 For a more thorough treatment of the controversial right of abode debates, see Johannes Chan and B. Rwezaura eds., *Immigration Law in Hong Kong: An Interdisciplinary Study* (Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia: Sweet & Maxwell Press, 2004).

Chapter 4

- 1 E.g. a net increase of 1.35% of the total population in 1962 and a net decrease of 1.27% in 1966.
- 2 For examples, see Kit-chun Lam and Pak-wai Liu, *Immigration and the Economy of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: City University Press, 1998) and Yue-chim Richard Wong, "Hong Kong Growing as Part of China: A Historical Perspective", paper presented at Far Eastern Econometric Society Meeting, Hong Kong, 24–26 July 1997.
- 3 In 2003, the Hong Kong government has studied and published a report on Hong Kong's population challenges and policy options (Report of the Task Force on Population Policy). Among other things, they suggest attracting talents from other countries and Mainland China in particular.
- 4 The dependency ratio is the ratio of the economically dependent part of the population to the productive part; arbitrarily defined as the ratio of the elderly (ages 65 and older) plus the young (under age 15) to the population in the "working ages" (ages 15–64).
- 5 Since the 1950s there have been severe restrictions in China for the rural population to move to cities, but the restrictions have been relaxed in the post-Mao decades. There is still a great gap in government provisions for urban residents and rural migrants.
- 6 A population growth of 320% may have been overstated because of the well-known problem of undercounting floating population in the 1990 census in China. For further discussion of floating population, see, for examples, Dudley L. Poston and Chengrong Charles Duan, "The Floating Population in Beijing, China: New Evidence and Insights from the 1997 Census of Beijing's Floating Population", paper presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, New York City, New York, 25 March 1999; Jianfa Shen and Yefang Huang, "The Working and Living Space of the 'Floating Population' in China", *Asian Pacific Viewpoint* 44, no. 1 (2003): 51–62.
- 7 However, the definitions of the figures vary across countries for secondary and above in Figure 4 and degree-holders in Figure 5.
- 8 In 2003, the Hong Kong government published a projection of manpower "2001-based Manpower Supply Projection by Education Attainment". The projection period is from 2003–2007.

- 9 See Tables 16, 17, Figure 9. We have also calculated the percentage of degree-holders out of working age population (between age 15 to 64), and out of population aged 25 and above. They are projected to be 19.5% and 20.9%, respectively, in 2031.
- 10 In contrast, many notable higher education institutions in the US and the UK are privately funded.
- 11 Note that there are substantial cultural differences between HK and the rest of China, and hence it takes longer for immigrants to assimilate. The cultural difference between New York and the rest of US is rather small.
- 12 The intake of fee-paying PRC students is about 4% of the UGC approved quota this year and 8% in the following year.
- 13 See also Richard Wong on the discussion on Hong Kong's advantage over Shanghai. Yue-chim Richard Wong, "Shanghai: Another Hong Kong?", paper presented at the conference organized by the Royal Institute of International Affairs on Market Reforms in China, Hong Kong and Other Catalysts for Change, London, 26 November 2002.

Chapter 5

- 1 Kit Chun Lam and Pak Wai Liu, *Immigration and the Economy of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 1998), 1.
- 2 See Helen Siu, "Remade in Hong Kong: Weaving into the Chinese Cultural Tapestry," in *Unity and Diversity: Local Identities and Local Cultures*, ed. Tao Tao Liu and David Faure (Hong Kong: The Hong Kong University Press, 1996), 177–197. See also Central Policy Unit, *Hong Kong Identity and Social Cohesion* (Hong Kong: Central Policy Unit, 2002).
- 3 Helen Siu, "Immigrants and Social Ethos: Hong Kong in the 1980s," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1988): 1–14.
- 4 One Country Two Systems Research Institute, *Neidi jumin yiju Xianggang zhengce xianhuan de jiantao ji zhengce jianyi* (Hong Kong: One Country Two Systems Research Institute, 2002), 4; Census and Statistics Department, *Special Topics Report No. 15* (Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, 1997); Census and Statistics Department, *Special Topics Report No. 22* (HKSAR: Census and Statistics Department, 1999).
- 5 Cf. Lam and Liu, chap. 3; One Country Two Systems Research Institute, 73–79.
- 6 See a recent booklet containing the stories of 12 middle-age women (many new arrivals) who live in the notorious "ghetto" of Tin Shui Wai. Their stories, sad as they are, convey their admirable efforts to survive in the challenging environment. See Chan Sik Chi, *The Twelve Middle-Age Ladies of Tin Shui Wai* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions and bbluesky, 2006).
- 7 Lam and Liu, 33.
- 8 *Ibid.*, chap. 4.
- 9 They were termed "recent immigrants," in the 1991 and 1996 censuses.
- 10 One Country Two Systems Research Institute, 23–32.
- 11 Census and Statistics Department, *Special Topics Report No. 8*, 115–126.
- 12 Lam and Liu, 29–33.

- 13 Census and Statistics Department, *2001 Population Census: Thematic Report — Persons from the Mainland Having Resided in Hong Kong for Less Than 7 Years* (HKSAR: Census and Statistics Department, 2002), 40.
- 14 See Helen F. Siu, *Agents and Victims in South China: Accomplices in Rural Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989) on the plight of the Chinese villagers in the Maoist era. For the present tensions and the changing rural-urban divide, see Helen F. Siu, "Grounding Displacement: Uncivil Urban Spaces in South China," *American Ethnologist* 34, no. 2 (May 2007): 329–350.
- 15 As early as the 1980s, when I was conducting fieldwork in the Pearl River delta, it was easy to observe that most families used television antennas to receive signals from Hong Kong rather than Guangzhou. The younger generation began to speak a Hong Kong televisionized Cantonese (mixed with English terms), and young married couples, if they had the means, decorated their home in styles copied from Hong Kong television dramas. The internet in the recent decade has brought the two regions culturally closer in multiple ways.
- 16 The Fujianese new immigrants are concentrated in North Point and Kennedy Town. The popular support of the Fujianese candidate in the Legislative Council, Choi So-yuk, is also indicative of ethnic/regional ties.
- 17 In the summer of 2004, we visited several government departments. We were able to discuss some of the themes of our study with staff members responsible for policy, data collection and analyses; however we were not able to obtain detailed data on the finer regional spread of new arrivals. For non-government organizations, we interviewed staff members from Mission to New Arrivals Ltd., Caritas Mok Cheung Sui Kun Community Centre, International Social Service Hong Kong Branch, The Hong Kong Council of Social Service. They shared with us their varying missions and resources, and more importantly, their frontline experiences with new arrivals. Details of the conversations are as follows. A. Home Affairs Department: 9 July 2004 (Fri) 10:30, Frankie Lui Kin-fun (then Assistant Director of Home Affairs); B. Social Welfare Department: 19 July 2004, 14:30, Cecilia Li (then Chief Social Work Officer (Family and Child Welfare)¹), Cheung Tat-ming (then Senior Social Work Officer (Family) ¹); C. Mission to New Arrivals Ltd: 28 May 2004, 14:00, Rev. Li Kin Wah (deceased, then General Secretary); D. Caritas Mok Cheung Sui Kun Community Centre: 7 June 2004, 10:00, Wong Mei Kuen (then Social Work Officer); E. International Social Service Hong Kong Branch: 2 July 2004, 11:00, Iris Liu (then Director of Programme (Post-migration Service for New Arrivals)), Debby Chui Lan Cheung (then Director of Programme (Service to Prepare Mainlanders for Settlement in Hong Kong/Intercountry Casework)); F. The Hong Kong Council of Social Service: discussion with Chua Hoi Wai, Business Director (Policy Research & Advocacy International & Regional Networking).
- 18 We use Guangdong census data in 1990 because they were collected when the cohort of illegal immigrants returned to their native places to look for spouses and had children.
- 19 As mentioned earlier, an official estimate in 2002 numbered mobile populations in the country as upwards of 120 million. Among the migrants, 42.42 million crossed provincial boundaries. Provinces with the most population outflows

- are Sichuan, Anhui, Hunan, Jiangxi, Henan, and Hubei. Provinces with the most inflows are Guangdong (35.5%), Zhejiang (8.7%), Shanghai (7.4%), Jiangsu (6%), Beijing (5.8%), and Fujian (5.1%). See *Nanfang Dushi Bao* (7 Oct 2002, A11). See also the recent works of George Lin, Alan Smart, and Josephine Smart on cross-border traffic and emerging patterns of urbanization.
- 20 Census and Statistics Department, *Special Topics Report No. 35* (HKSAR: Census and Statistics Department).
 - 21 I have benefited from discussions with Dr. Paul Yip at The University of Hong Kong. See 2006 Population By-Census (Hong Kong SAR Government, February 2007); see also analyses in major newspapers (*Sing Tao Daily*, 23 February 2007; *Ming Pao Daily*, 23 February 2007, and 23 April 2007). See an in-depth study of cross-border marriages in post-1997 Hong Kong: Nicole Dejong Newendorp, *Uneasy Unions: Immigration, Citizenship and Family Life in Post-1997 Hong Kong* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).
 - 22 According to recent population data, the number of expatriates in Hong Kong has dropped drastically in recent years. This is an alarming trend. Although reasons for expatriate populations to diminish are complex, it highlighted the issue of whether Hong Kong is competitive in drawing a diverse pool of global human talents. Singapore's recent changes in immigration policy — the introduction of temporary immigration visas for those coming to the city to look for jobs, are seen as a positive step that Hong Kong should seriously consider (see Eldon speech, *Bulletin*, HKGCC, May 2007; see also speech by Richard Wong at the CEO conference, HKGCC, May 2007). See also Chen Zhiwu, interview with *People's Daily* and *Global Times*, 29 June 2007.
 - 23 See the voluminous literature and policy statements arising from numerous policy conferences held in Hong Kong and Guangzhou since 2004. Spearheaded by Zhang Dejiang, Guangdong's provincial party secretary, the Pan Pearl River Delta provides an ordering frame to include nine provinces and two major cities south of the Yangtze River. See also government and media reporting of the economic summit organized by the Special Administrative Region (SAR) government on 11 September 2006 in which the theme to link Hong Kong's development to the 11th Five Year Plan of China was highlighted.
 - 24 See a sobering series of reports by a Chinese journalist, Fan Rongqiang, comparing Shunde, Zhongshan, Panyu, and Dongguan, in *Xin Jingji* (New Economy) Nos. 6, 10, 11, 12, 2003 (donews/article/5/52528.html). His observations are quite similar to mine gleaned from fieldwork.
 - 25 Integration and circulation can involve significant cultural exchanges. For example, an exhibition at the Guangzhou Museum of Art that I attended in late 2003, entitled "Souvenir from Canton: 18th and 19th century China Export Paintings from the Victoria and Albert Museum," was professionally organized by the Victoria & Albert Museum, the Guangzhou Cultural Bureau, the British Council, and the History Department of Sun Yat-sen University, with Swire Properties and Cathay Pacific as major sponsors. The exquisite art pieces by Chinese and European painters in the last two centuries are about ordinary daily life — boats, porcelain, silk, tea, a hundred occupations, birds, and plants. The exhibit and the well-researched bilingual catalogue captured a deeply global

- commercial culture in south China since the 18th century, focusing on Guangzhou and London, and later an integral part of Hong Kong and Shanghai. It was a moving experience because the exhibition and the underlying mutual respect among the artists and today's organizers cut through so many of the institutional barriers and political rhetoric surrounding the Britain–Hong Kong–China experience. The open-minded crossing of boundaries was evident.
- 26 See Daphne Berdahl, *Where the World Ended: Re-Unification and Identity in German Borderland* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) on theories about borders and their literal and metaphorical significance. See also Sandra Teresa Hyde, *Eating Spring Rice: The Cultural Politics of AIDS in Southwest China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007). She highlights the material and discursive representation of AIDS by government agencies to show how prejudice, stigma, and cultural politics maintains a border and a target population.
- 27 See James Holston ed., *Cities and Citizenship* (Durham NC; London: Duke University Press, 1999).

Chapter 6

- 1 As described by Lord Palmerston, British Foreign Secretary, in 1841: see *Hong Kong 2002* (Government Printer, 2002), 432.
- 2 *Hong Kong Report 1997*, 386.
- 3 Secretary for Security, *Policy Objective Booklet 2000*.
- 4 *Hong Kong Report 2002*, 419.
- 5 Hong Kong Island was first ceded to Britain under the Treaty of Chuenpi, signed on 20 Jan 1841, and pursuant to this Convention, the Union Jack was first hoisted in Hong Kong on 26 Jan 1841. However, neither side accepted this Convention. China regarded the cession a shame and insult, whereas Britain found the island useless. It was in this context that Lord Palmerston made his famous remark that Hong Kong was a “barren rock”. He replaced Captain Elliot by Sir Henry Pottinger, who weathered hostilities with determination and concluded the hostilities by the Treaty of Nanking in August 1842. Interestingly, by this time the British Government was not interested in securing Hong Kong island, and instructed Pottinger to drop the demand for an island, but Pottinger deviated from his instructions and successfully demanded both a treaty and Hong Kong island: *Hong Kong 2002*, supra, n 1, ibid.
- 6 G. B. Endacott, *A History of Hong Kong*, 2nd ed. (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1973), 65.
- 7 G. B. Endacott and A. Hinton, *Fragrant Harbour: A Short History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1962), 33, 95; Endacott, supra, n 6, 23–24. This treaty dealt with many issues that were left to be settled under the Treaty of Nanking, such as tariff of customs duties, inland transit duties, trade regulations, exterritoriality, and the position of other Europeans.
- 8 See “An Overview” at 151–153.
- 9 Endacott, supra, n 6, 65.
- 10 Speech of Sir John Pope Hennessy to the Legislative Council on 3 June 1881, comparing the census returns of 1876 with those of 1881, reproduced in Endacott and Hinton, supra, n 7, 96–97.

- 11 Quoted in Endacott and Hinton, *supra*, n 7, 90.
- 12 See table at 152. Podmore estimated the population at 165,000 at this time: see Podmore, “The Population of Hong Kong”, in K. Hopkins, ed., *Hong Kong: The Industrial Colony* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1971), 21 at 23.
- 13 Endacott and Hinton, *supra*, n 7, 91.
- 14 Ord No 19 of 1915. Part of this section draws upon the excellent article by A. Chen, “The Development of Immigration Law and Policy: The Hong Kong Experience”, *McGill Law Journal* (1988) 33(4), 631 at 636.
- 15 Ord No 6 of 1916.
- 16 See the first schedule to the Ordinance, *ibid*.
- 17 Ord No 25 of 1917, ss 3(1), (2) and 4.
- 18 Ord No 35 of 1923.
- 19 Ord No 8 of 1935.
- 20 *Ibid*, s 7.
- 21 *Ibid*, ss 2 and 8.
- 22 See also S. H. Kwok, “Inherent Contradictions and Inconsistencies in the Immigration Ordinance”, in J. Chan and B. Rwezaura eds. *Immigration Law in Hong Kong: An Interdisciplinary Study* (Hong Kong: Sweet & Maxwell Asia, 2004) (hereafter referred to as Chan and Rwezaura), chap. 7, para 7.14.
- 23 Following the liberation of Hong Kong, the police resumed responsibility for immigration control. The present Immigration Department was established in 1961: see *Hong Kong 1987* (Government Printer, 1988), 222.
- 24 Endacott and Hinton, *supra*, n 7, 94.
- 25 Endacott, *supra*, n 6, 314–315.
- 26 Endacott, *supra*, n 6, 310.
- 27 Section 4(b), Immigrants Control Ordinance 1949.
- 28 *Hong Kong 1987*, *supra*, n 28, 222.
- 29 Ord No 37 of 1949, s 4(1), s 7, s 10, s 15.
- 30 *Ibid*, s 12.
- 31 Endacott, *supra*, n 6, 310; *Hong Kong 1987*, *supra*, n 28, 222; Endacott and Hinton, *supra*, n 7, 95. Tong suggested that the quota system was imposed by the PRC in consultation with the British Government: Chan and Rwezaura, *supra*, n 22, chap. 2, paras 2.04–2.05. This was most unlikely, given the protest made by the Foreign Ministry to the quota system on 8 May 1950 and the figure of exit permits issued in 1978 was as high as 310 per day. There was also no reason why the PRC should at that time agree to such a quota system, especially when the relation between Britain and China at that time was relatively tense as a result of the Korean War. See “One-Way Permit and the Quota System” at 162–163.
- 32 As reported by Chen, *supra*, n 14, 640. Chen argued that the protest reflected the PRC view that Hong Kong was Chinese territory and therefore the Chinese had a right to enter Hong Kong without restriction: *ibid*. See also “From an Open Door Policy to an Exclusion Policy,” at 157–159.
- 33 Endacott, *supra*, n 6, 316–317.
- 34 Endacott and Hinton, *supra*, n 7, 95.
- 35 Ord No 34 of 1958.

- 36 There was an influx, on an unprecedented scale, of migrants from the Mainland who forced their way across the land frontier during April and May 1962. An emergency committee was established at the border, where immigrants were given meals, interrogated, documented and allowed to rest before they were returned to China. The influx reached its peak on 23 May, when 5,620 immigrants were arrested in the frontier area and 5,112 were returned to China. On 26 May, the Chinese authorities reinforced normal control measures and the influx ended as suddenly as it had begun. It was estimated that about 60,000 persons succeeded in entering into the colony during the six weeks' period: see Endacott and Hinton, *supra*, n 7, 95.
- 37 *Reg v Bhagwan* [1972] AC 60 at 74, per Lord Diplock.
- 38 It has been argued that a composite citizenship was inappropriate as it covered an immense variety of peoples of different standards of civilization and civil responsibilities: Lord Altrincham, *Official Report (House of Lords)*, vol. 156, cols 995–996 (21 June 1948). It had even been suggested that there should be one form of citizenship for the United Kingdom and another one for the colonies. The British Government, however, supported the composite citizenship on the grounds that, *inter alia*, it recognized the right of the colonial peoples to be regarded as men and brothers with the people of the United Kingdom: see J. M. Evans, *Immigration Law*, 2nd ed. (Sweet and Maxwell, 1983), 59–60.
- 39 See *East African Asians v United Kingdom* (1973) 3 EHRR 76. The case did not proceed to the European Court and was settled by the United Kingdom offering settlement of all East African Asians in the United Kingdom by a quota system. These East African Asians were, in the meantime, conferred the status of British Overseas Citizens, which did not give them a right of entry to the United Kingdom or her colonies. Most of them were received by the Indian Government pending their settlement in the United Kingdom.
- 40 See s 2 of the Immigration Ordinance 1971. British subject was determined rather arbitrarily. For those who were born in Hong Kong, they were required to declare their nationality at the time of birth. If they claimed to be British, they became Hong Kong Belongers. If they claimed to be Chinese, they could only be Chinese Residents. Resident United Kingdom Belongers referred largely to British expatriates or CUKCs by reason of birth, adoption, naturalization or registration in the UK who had been ordinarily resident in Hong Kong for a continuous period of seven years or more. Their rights were similar to that of Chinese Residents, and were subject to deportation order, albeit on more narrow grounds than that applicable to Chinese Residents.
- 41 See s 20 of the Immigration Ordinance 1971.
- 42 Chen, *supra*, n 14, 646.
- 43 A qualification to be made is that while the status of Hong Kong Belongers is largely determined by objective facts, the acquisition of the status of Chinese Residents is subject to the discretion of the immigration authorities to permit a person to enter into Hong Kong in the first place and the conditions to be imposed if permission to enter is granted. Hence, the status would depend on the legality of the person's entry or stay under the relevant immigration laws and practice at the relevant times. See also S. H. Kwok, in Chan and Rwezaura, *supra*, n 22, chap. 7, para 7.13.

- 44 In introducing the Bill to the Legislative Council, the Acting Attorney General said that “the power to refuse entry was not exercised arbitrarily at the whim of the Immigration Officer on duty; nor according to policies which may seem good to the Director of Immigration himself. The immigration policies of Hong Kong are determined by the Governor in Council and indeed the present ordinance recognizes this by requiring the Director and his staff to comply with all directives which the Governor may issue on this subject”. (1990–91) *LegCo Proc* 783–4 (21 July 1971). The policies determined by the Governor in Council were never publicly debated.
- 45 T. Lui, “Undocumented Migration in Hong Kong”, a paper presented at the 6th Seminar on Adaptation and Integration of Immigrants, organized by the International Committee for Migration (Geneva, 11–15 April 1983), quoted by A. Chen, *supra*, n 14, 649.
- 46 *Hong Kong 1981* (Government Printer, 1982), 145. It appears that the requirement to gain a home or otherwise find proper accommodation was never strictly enforced such that anyone who managed to get to the urban area was permitted to stay.
- 47 (1980–81) *LegCo Proc* 104 (23 Oct 1980).
- 48 Ord No 62 of 1980.
- 49 Although it was clear that the requirement to produce identity card on demand by the police was to curb illegal immigrants, it was subsequently held that this power could be invoked for purposes entirely unconnected with the investigation of illegal immigration or when the police officer had no reasonable belief that the suspect was an illegal immigrant: *R v Fung Chi Wood* [1991] 1 HKLR 754.
- 50 Immigration Ordinance, s 53A. The ground of appeal was extremely limited: see “An Appeal Tribunal against the Exercise of Discretion,” at 184–186.
- 51 (1980–81) *LegCo Proc* 103–105 (23 Oct 1980).
- 52 *Mak Yui Ming v Attorney General* [1981] HKLR 435.
- 53 *Attorney General v Ng Yuen Shiu* [1983] 1 HKC 23.
- 54 See “The Discretionary Regime,” at 179–186. Clarke commented that this reached base policy was rigidly implemented: W. S. Clarke, “Hong Kong Immigration Control: The Law and the Bureaucratic Maze” (1986) 16 HKLJ 342 at 365.
- 55 Endacott and Hinton, *supra*, n 7, 95; Endacott, *supra*, n 6, 310.
- 56 See n 31 above and the attending text at 156.
- 57 Clarke, *supra*, n 54, 360.
- 58 (1979–80) *LegCo Proc* 45 (17 Oct 1979). The number in 1977 was 25,373.
- 59 *Ibid.*
- 60 (1981–82) *LegCo Proc* 309 (6 Jan 1982); (1986–87) *LegCo Proc* 167 (29 Oct 1986), 758 (21 Jan 1987), 828 (18 Feb 1987).
- 61 See T. Tong, “Hong Kong’s Immigration Policy on Persons from Mainland China”, in Chan and Rwezaura, *supra*, n 22, chap. 2, para 2.04.
- 62 See Ho Hei Wah, “One-Way Permit”, in Chan and Rwezaura, *ibid.*, chap. 4, paras 4.06, 4.10–4.11.
- 63 “In 1995, 7,922 immigrants entered Hong Kong from countries other than China to join their spouses, 5,162 to join their parents, and 963 to join their sons and daughters, and all were granted residence visas. These 14,047 entrants were not subject to any quotas or long waits before they could enter Hong Kong for the

purpose of family reunion.” In the same year, 45,986 legal immigrants from the Mainland were admitted, (94.1% were for family reunion), and their waiting period ranged from less than one year to over 25 years: K. C. Lam and P. W. Liu, *Immigration and the Economy of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong, 1998), 145.

64 Chinese nationality is essentially defined in terms of race. The first Chinese Nationality Act, which was forced upon the Tsing Dynasty by the Dutch, was enacted in 1907. For a more detailed discussion, see J. Chan, “Nationality”, in R. Wacks ed., *Human Rights in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1992), 470–508.

65 Immigration (Amendment)(No 2) Ordinance 1987, Ord No 31 of 1987.

66 S. H. Kwok criticized that the definition for de facto Hong Kong citizens was couched in terms of British nationality law even though the provision was meant to cater for the return of Hong Kong to China: see Chan and Rwezaura, supra, n 22, chap. 7, para 7.20. This is a bit unfair, as the British Government would probably have no choice but to relate the concept to British nationality law, given that British nationality law would have to apply to Hong Kong until 30 June 1997.

67 Art 24.

68 Ord No 122 of 1997.

69 *Chan To Foon v Director of Immigration* [2001] 3 HKLRD 109 at 116.

70 Some of these men might well be those who came to Hong Kong shortly before the abolition of reached base policy. Mostly young male with low education level, they found it difficult to marry Hong Kong women. So after they had acquired the status of permanent residents in Hong Kong, they returned to the Mainland to get married. Thus, this pattern became more prevalent after 1985.

71 K. E. Kuah-Pearce, “The Cultural Politics of Mainland Chinese Migration to Hong Kong”, in Chan and Rwezaura, supra, n 22, chap. 12, at para 12.32.

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	1986	1987	1988	1989	Total
Canada	5,615	16,254	24,588	16,400	62,857
USA	7,742	7,411	11,777	12,800	39,730
Australia	4,441	5,208	7,846	10,900	28,395
UK	860	920	1,150	270	3,200
Others	331	205	456	1,630	2,622
	18,989	29,998	45,817	42,000	136,804

Sources: *Ming Pao*, 13 April 1989. (The figure for 1989 covers only the period from January to March and is prior to the suppression of the students’ movement in China.) The number of people who left Hong Kong in 1990 was estimated at 62,000: *Hong Kong 1991* (Government Printer, 1991), 375.

73 For instance, in the Consultant Report of the Basic Law Consultative Committee, the discussion on nationality focused predominantly on dual nationality and there was no discussion about Mainland born children of HKPR: see Basic Law Consultative Committee, *Consultation Report*, vol. 4 (Oct 1988).

74 *Ng Ka Ling v Director of Immigration* [1999] 1 HKLRD 315 at 346. See also the discussion in Chan and Rwezaura, supra, n 22, chap. 3.

- 75 Ord No 124 of 1997. Ho Hei Wah suggested (in Chan and Rwezaura, *ibid*, chap. 4, para 4.02) that the power to determine who has the right of abode in Hong Kong was relinquished in the late seventies when the British Government agreed with the PRC Government to abolish the reached base policy. This is not entirely accurate, as until the Immigration (Amendment) (No 3) Ordinance 1997, a one-way permit is not a necessary requirement to show that one is a Hong Kong Permanent Resident, which is still defined by reference to the British Nationality Act: see also Kwok, in Chan and Rwezaura, *ibid*, chap. 7.
- 76 *Ng Ka Ling v Director of Immigration* [1999] 1 HKLRD 315 at 332.
- 77 *Ibid*, 346, 348.
- 78 This case is also controversial in the constitutional aspect. The Court held that it had jurisdiction to review the constitutionality of a resolution of the NPCSC, and this had attracted vigorous criticisms from the Mainland. For a detailed discussion, see J. Chan, H. L. Fu and Y. Ghai eds., *Hong Kong's Constitutional Debate: Conflict over Interpretation* (Hong Kong University Press, 2000).
- 79 *Chan Kam Nga v Director of Immigration* [1999] 1 HKLRD 304.
- 80 *Tam Nga Yin v Director of Immigration* (2001) 4 HKCFAR 251.
- 81 For the debates, see Chan, Fu and Ghai, *supra*, n 78. See “The Socio-Economic-Political Dimension,” at 186–193.
- 82 *Lau Kong Yung v Director of Immigration* [1999] 3 HKLRD 778, at 805.
- 83 *Ibid*, at 802.
- 84 *Ng Siu Tung v Director of Immigration* [2002] 1 HKLRD 561 at 604–606.
- 85 *Ibid*, at 628–637.
- 86 *Hong Kong 2002* (Government Printer, 2003), 421.
- 87 Gladys Li, “Immigration and the Basic Law: Conjugating the Concept of Hong Kong Permanent Resident”, in Chan and Rwezaura, *supra*, n 22, chap. 3, para 3.28.
- 88 (2001) 4 HKCFAR 211.
- 89 See Chan and Rwezaura, *supra*, n 22, chap. 4.

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	2001	2002	2003	2004 (1 st 4 months)
Received	26,165	23,489	20,844	7,518
Approved	23,089	20,716	18,841	7,078
Refused	1,004	540	606	160
Withdrawn/not further processed	2,253	2,413	1,357	501

- 91 *Lau Kong Yung v Director of Immigration* [1999] 3 HKLRD 778. See below.
- 92 *Chan To Foon v Director of Immigration* [2001] 3 HKLRD 109 at 117.
- 93 *Ibid*, 118.
- 94 See, for example, *R v Director of Immigration, ex parte So Kam Cheung* (1994) 4 HKPLR 587 at 597 where Jones J remarked: “Indeed having regard to the facts in these three cases it is hard to imagine how much stronger the grounds have to be before the discretion is exercised. It is difficult to believe that the public interest will be served by sending the mother and the two children back to China, instead of maintaining the family unit in each case. Considerable family suffering is likely to result from a rigid enforcement of a harsh law.”

- 95 *R v Director of Immigration, ex parte Ho Ming Sai* (1993) 3 HKPLR 157 at 168.
- 96 As S. H. Kwok pointed out in his admirable survey of the historical development of immigration law in Hong Kong, “the wide discretionary power to grant permission to enter and remain conferred by the statutes has been applied according to policy, rather than law”. See Chan and Rwezaura, *supra*, n 22, chap. 7, para 7.16.
- 97 Chan and Rwezaura, *ibid*, chap. 5, para 5.17.
- 98 See, for example, *Padfield v Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food* [1968] AC 997; *Ho Choi Wan v Hong Kong Housing Authority*, HCAL No 174 of 2002.
- 99 Although the Bill of Rights Ordinance does not apply to immigration decisions, it may be worth noting that blanket discretion without any indication of how the discretion is to be exercised has been regarded to fall foul of the requirement of “prescribed by law” under the Bill of Rights: *Chim Shing Chung v Commissioner of Correctional Services* (1995) 5 HKPLR 570.
- 100 See, for example, *Ngo Thi Minh Huong v Director of Immigration*, HCAL 137 of 1999.
- 101 (2001) 4 HKCFAR 211 at 226.
- 102 *Aita Bahadur Limbu v Director of Immigration*, HCAL 133 of 1999.
- 103 (1993) 3 HKPLR 533 at 547.
- 104 (1993) 3 HKPLR 157 at 167 and 168.
- 105 (1993) 3 HKPLR 157 at 168.
- 106 (1999) 2 HKCFAR 300, [1999] 3 HKLRD 778.
- 107 [2001] 2 HKLRD 125.
- 108 Eg, Jones J in *R v Director of Immigration, ex parte Wong King-lung* (1993) 3 HKPLR 253 at 276; Mortimer JA in *Hai Ho-tak v Attorney General* [1994] 2 HKLR 202 at 207; Cheung J in *Chan Mei-ye v Director of Immigration* [2000] HKEC 788.
- 109 [1998] 2 HKC 405 at 419.
- 110 *Ibid*, at 414.
- 111 Chan and Rwezaura, *supra*, n 22, chap. 12, paras 12.35–12.36.
- 112 Chan and Rwezaura, *ibid*, chap. 9, para 9.38, citing *Hokkanen v Finland* (1995) 19 EHRR 139.
- 113 [1999] 3 HKLRD 778 at 819.
- 114 *Ibid*.
- 115 *Yip Chi-lin v Director of Immigration*, Civ App No 144 of 1985 (4 Feb 1986).
- 116 *R v Director of Immigration, ex parte Chan Heung-mui* (1993) 3 HKPLR 533 at 551, per Godfrey J; *R v Director of Immigration, ex parte So Kam-cheung* (1994) 4 HKPLR 587 at 597, per Jones J; see also Chan and Rwezaura, *supra*, n 22, chap. 6, para 6.25.
- 117 Chan and Rwezaura, *ibid*, chap. 5, para 5.16.
- 118 (1993) 3 HKPLR 533 at 551.
- 119 Chan and Rwezaura, *supra*, n 22, chap. 13.
- 120 Chan and Rwezaura, *ibid*, chap. 14.
- 121 Chan and Rwezaura, *ibid*, chap. 11.
- 122 [1999] HKLRD 315.
- 123 Speech by the Acting Chief Secretary for Administration at the House Committee of the Legislative Council, 6 May 1999, reproduced in Chan, Fu and Ghai, *supra*, n 78, 271–273.

- 124 Ibid, at 273. For comparison, the total capital expenditure of the HKSAR Government for 1998–99 is \$55 billion and the recurrent expenditure is \$166.9 billion.
- 125 See, for example, the Government paper to the Legislative Council on the Assessment of Service Implication in relation to the Judgment of the Court of Final Appeal on the Right of Abode Issue, reproduced in Chan, Fu and Ghai, *supra*, n 78, 274–287.
- 126 Joint Statement by Hong Kong Human Rights Commission, Hong Kong Human Rights Monitor, Justice, and Society for Community Organization, 3 May 1999, reproduced in Chan, Fu and Ghai, *supra*, n 78, 296–297.
- 127 See “One-Way Permit and the Quota System” at 162–163.
- 128 See *SCMP*, 27 Aug 2003.
- 129 Chan and Rwezaura, *supra*, n 22, chap. 12, para 12.18.
- 130 Chan and Rwezaura, *ibid*, chap. 13, paras 13.26–13.28.
- 131 Chan and Rwezaura, *ibid*, chap. 12, para 12.18.
- 132 Chan and Rwezaura, *ibid*, chap. 11 para 11.16.
- 133 Lam and Liu, *supra*, n 63, 147.
- 134 *Ibid*, 133–136.
- 135 *Ibid*, 156–159.
- 136 Chan and Rwezaura, *supra*, n 22, chap. 2, paras 2.22–2.30.
- 137 The fertility rate in Hong Kong was at 1.2 children per couple, which is among the world’s lowest: see K. C. Lam and P. W. Liu, *supra*, n 63, Table 5.2 and 133.

Chapter 7

- 1 Business families are defined as immigrants to Canada as “business class immigrants”. To be defined as business class immigrants in the 1990s, they had to bring with them CAN \$250,000 for investing in business.
- 2 Basran and Zong (1999) surveyed Chinese and East Indian immigrants residing in British Columbia who were in professional positions. In terms of individual barriers, their study showed that 79 % of the participants indicated that speaking English as a second language was a factor that had influenced evaluation of their credentials and recognition of their work experience.
- 3 Lam’s (1994, p. 365) slant on bilingualism differs. He argues that those who learn English may integrate better and stay in Canada.
- 4 See the findings of Ley and Kobayashi (2005).
- 5 The Taiwan government has rekindled interest in overseas Taiwanese youths’ returns by sponsoring summer visits.

Part III

- 1 This observation of Faure is particularly relevant in view of recent policy debates on “positive non-intervention.” See *South China Morning Post* “Tsang tosses out hands-off economic policy,” September 12, 2006; *Wisers* # 200609120270037. See also *South China Morning Post* “Has Tsang opened door to ‘positive intervention?’” September 24, 2006; *Wisers* # 200609240270016.

- 2 See David Faure, *Colonialism and the Hong Kong Mentality* (Hong Kong: Centre for Asian Studies, The University of Hong Kong, 2003). See also a series on Hong Kong culture and society, published by the Centre for Asian Studies and Oxford University Press (HK).
- 3 See David Eldon, “Is Marginalization Really An Issue for Hong Kong?” *Bulletin*, Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce (July 2006). In answering a question after his keynote speech in an HSBC Guanxi seminar in London (September 20, 2006), he observed that companies doing business in China had registered in Hong Kong in order to make use of Hong Kong’s more transparent and professionally managed laws and procedures (www.realbusiness.co.uk/audio/hsbcl.mp3, mounted on October 4, 2006). For historical parallels in the use of British commercial law to register companies in Hong Kong in the early twentieth century, see Stephanie Po Yin Chung, *Chinese Business Groups in Hong Kong and Political Change in South China, 1900–25* (New York: St. Martin’s Press; London: Macmillan, 1998). See also David Faure, *China and Capitalism: A History of Business Enterprise in Modern China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006).
- 4 See Long Yingtai, “Wenhua zhengce yu gongmin shehui — Xianggang you shenmo keleng?” in a collection of articles by public intellectuals, *Wenhua qi yi* (Hong Kong: TOM (CUP Magazine) Publishing Ltd., 2004). See also Chan Kun-chong, “Chengjiu yu shiwu,” in *Wenhua qi yi*, 38–56. In 2004, there were vigorous public debates on Hong Kong’s core values.
- 5 See a recent publication by Christine Loh and Civic Exchange on the functional constituencies, Hong Kong: *SCMP*, 2006.
- 6 See Long Yingtai, *op cit.*, and Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Xunhui Xianggang wenhua* (In Search of Hong Kong Culture) (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Chapter 8

- 1 David Faure, *Colonialism and the Hong Kong Mentality* (Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, The University of Hong Kong, 2003).
- 2 Elizabeth Sinn, *Power and Charity: The Early History of the Tung Wah Hospital, Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1989); Carl Smith, *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1985).
- 3 David Faure, *China and Capitalism: A History of Business Enterprise in Modern China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006), 52–53.
- 4 Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957).
- 5 There are no Hong Kong studies on the emergence of the professions as such. Some ideas may be gained from David Faure ed., *A Documentary History of Hong Kong, Society* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1997), 280–283, and David Faure and Pui-tak Lee eds., *A Documentary History of Hong Kong, Economy* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 167–191. For background, see Xiaoqun Xu, *Chinese Professionals and the Republican State, the Rise of Professional Associations in Shanghai, 1912–1937* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

- 6 Ming K. Chan, "Labour and Empire: The Chinese Labour Movement in the Canton Delta, 1895–1927" (Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1975); and Tsai Jung-fang, *Hong Kong in Chinese History: Community and Social Unrest in the British Colony, 1842–1913* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).
- 7 N. J. Miners, *The Government and Politics of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1977), 127–128, and (1991), 141–142 show some of the changes in time.
- 8 Tak-wing Ngo, "Industrial History and the Artifice of Laissez-Faire Colonialism," in Tak-wing Ngo ed., *Hong Kong's History, State and Society under Colonial Rule* (London: Routledge, 1990), 119–140.
- 9 "Minutes with the delegation of the Hong Kong Association on May 3", FO371/182418. Sir Patrick Reilly was a deputy under-secretary in the Foreign Office between 1960 and 1964.
- 10 Faure and Lee, *op. cit.*, 193–252.
- 11 Faure (2003), *op. cit.*, 195–240.
- 12 Luk Hung-kay (Bernard Luk) and Wu Kin-ling, *Educational Development in Post-War Hong Kong: Chronicles in Graphs* (Hong Kong: Huaifeng shuju, 1983), Table 2.10.2. This is almost exactly the same proportion which reported that English was their second language in the 1991 census, that is to say, 1,288,000 people out of a population of 5,169,000. See Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong, *Hong Kong 1991 Population Census Main Tables*, 1992?, n.p., 70–71. The figure suggests that universal compulsory education has not added to the proportion who could speak and write English.
- 13 Liang Weixian and Chen Wenmin, *Chuanbo fa xinlun* (Hong Kong: Shangwu, 1995), 19.
- 14 By 1988, it attracted 93 percent of all viewers. Innovation ceased and audience declined in the 1990s. See Chan Kai-cheung and Choi Po-king, "Communications and the Media," in T. L. Tsim and Bernard H. K. Luk eds., *The Other Hong Kong Report* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1989), 295.
- 15 John Duncan, "Report on the commercial development of the port of Hong Kong," in Hong Kong Government, *Sessional Papers of the Legislative Council*, 1924, cited in Faure and Lee, *op. cit.*, 61–69.

Chapter 9

- 1 Whether or not the professions develop in this way depends crucially on how much autonomy the state grants them. See Gu (2001: 165–72) for a discussion of variations in state-profession relations and their implications for professional autonomy. I am grateful to Eva Hung for bringing this article to my attention.
- 2 See Appendix 1 for additional information on the employment and demographic characteristics of the professional stratum. A main source of supply for the professions has become graduates from UGC-funded undergraduate programmes.
- 3 But see Rossides (1998) for a jaundiced view of the contribution of the professions.
- 4 For example, the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce founded the Hong Kong Coalition of Service Industries (HKCSI) in 1990 with the objective of promoting the continuing development and competitiveness of Hong Kong's

service industries including professional services. A Government Task Force on Services Promotion was established in 1995. In early 2002, the Government launched the Professional Services Development Assistance Scheme (PSDAS) to support projects to enhance the competitiveness of Hong Kong's professional service sector.

- 5 This is not to say that the professions have been ignored. Chan (1991: 65–68), Lethbridge (1978: 20) and Sinn (2003) have brief discussions of professionals in prewar Hong Kong. Professional flight in the late 1980s and early 1990s once attracted academic interest (Kwong 1990, Skeldon 1995). Academics have analyzed participation by professionals in Hong Kong's governance structure and their orientations towards democratization (e.g., Davies 1989, Sing 2004, So 1999). Discussions of Hong Kong's changing class structure refer to the professional stratum as part of an expanding new middle class (e.g., Lui 1997). There are accounts of the development of professional fields (e.g., Sweeting 2004), features of these fields (e.g., Sandor and Wilkinson 1996) and the contribution of business services providers to Hong Kong's economy (e.g., Enright et al 1999).
- 6 The term protectionism has analytically distinct meanings including practices restricting occupational competition, a tolerance of inept practitioners, and the defense of a profession's control over a task domain from encroachment by other occupational groups. Another possible meaning is resistance to outsider scrutiny of performance. My main focus in this chapter is on the first of these meanings.
- 7 An attachment to the Paper for the Legislative Council, House Committee meeting on 28 May 2004 (Report of the Bills Committee on Inland Revenue (Amendment) Bill 2000 LC Paper No. CB(1)1927/03–04), lists 37 statutory bodies established by legislation to register and recognize professional qualifications and status or grant permits or licences for practising in a profession, trade or occupation. This list excludes licencing requirements of bodies such as the Securities and Futures Commission, which specifies nine regulated activities for which SFC licencing is required.
- 8 Appendix 2 reviews estimates of the number of professional bodies in Hong Kong.
- 9 My interviewees included officers and/or staff of the relevant professional associations. I also interviewed academics and other experts knowledgeable about the professions generally or about specific professions. I am most grateful to these interviewees for their cooperation.
- 10 There are alternative paths to student registration. Many will be holders of a recognized local or overseas accountancy degree. Local graduates of approved accountancy programmes come from non-UGC funded as well as UGC-funded programmes. There are also provisions for non-accountancy degree graduates (completion of a Conversion Programme) and sub-degree holders who have to obtain the Hong Kong Association of Accounting Technicians (HKAAT) qualification and complete a Foundation Programme.
- 11 HKICPA has had mutual recognition agreements with a number of overseas accountancy bodies including the ACCA. In conjunction with its recent process of rebranding, the HKICPA decided that any renewal of mutual recognition

- agreements expiring on 30 June 2005, would be subject to assessment of whether qualifying criteria of these overseas bodies match those of the HKICPA Qualification Programme. On 30 June 2005, the existing unilateral recognition of the qualification of these overseas accountancy bodies ceased.
- 12 Only holders of a practising certificate or a corporate practice/firm registered under the Professional Accountants Ordinance can hold appointment or render services as an auditor of a company under the Companies Ordinance.
 - 13 The HKICPA's Code of Ethics for Professional Accountants states that a member is entitled to charge his client an agreed fee for his services, or in the absence of any agreement a fee calculated by reference to the custom of the profession.
 - 14 The rules specified the maximum size of signboards only for individual doctors so that group practices were not covered. It was reported in August 2004 that the Medical Council was proposing limits for the size of signboards for group practices and had sent them to major doctors' groups for comment. The proposal is that "shared" signboards for a group practice with two doctors be limited to 20 square feet, and for three or more doctors to 30 square feet. The Ethics Committee chairman is reported to have said that doctors "find that they are not on a level-playing field with those big medical groups" that had put up big signboards ("It's a Sign of the Times", *South China Morning Post* 2004).
 - 15 The Medical Council statistics on disciplinary cases it handled from 1999 to 2003 shows that of 350 complaints received in 2003, 68 involved advertising/canvassing (Medical Council 2004). Certain restrictions in the code of professional conduct for medical practitioners have recently been challenged by the assistant medical superintendent of the Hong Kong Sanatorium and Hospital who initiated a judicial review. Justice Anselmo Reyes ruled in August 2006 that certain passages in the Medical Council's code on professional conduct violated free speech provisions of the Basic Law and Article 16 of the Hong Kong Bill of Rights Ordinance but he did not overturn the rules ("Advert Ban", *South China Morning Post* 2006).
 - 16 The Attorney-General's 1995 Consultation Paper on Legal Services recommended amending the criteria for admission as a barrister to bring them in line with the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS).
 - 17 Foreign lawyers cannot enter into partnerships with a Hong Kong solicitor to practise Hong Kong law, but firms in association are permitted to share premises, personnel and facilities.
 - 18 Lawyers can be held personally liable for negligence by a fellow partner. It was reported in 2004 that solicitors and accountants had been lobbying the government to allow a change in partnership structures that would limit their liability due to "growing anxiety in the professions that just one 'mega-lawsuit' could wipe out entire practices" ("Lawyer, accountants", *South China Morning Post* 2004).
 - 19 The exceptions currently include Instructions from Patent and Trade Mark Agents; Instructions from the Duty Lawyer Service; provision of advisory service at centres of the Duty Lawyer Service; the Scheme for Pro Bono work; advisory service to the Medical, Dental and Chiropractors' Councils and the Veterinary Surgeons Board and other tribunals or bodies exercising judicial or quasi-judicial

- functions as established by statute and the Licensing Appeals Board Instructions from foreign lawyers.
- 20 In September 1996, in an attempt to fend off the abolition of scale fees for conveyancing, the Law Society proposed that new scale fees should be fixed by the Costs Committee at a level 30 percent below the existing level and including a cap on the fees depending on the classification of the property (Sandor and Wilkinson 1996: viii–lix). When the Legal Services Legislation (Miscellaneous Amendments) was introduced into LegCo that included a provision to render the conveyancing scale fee non-binding, the Law Society initiated an amendment which would in effect have prevented contracting out of the mandatory scale. This proposal was defeated on the casting vote of the President of LegCo.
 - 21 The Law Society has however set up a Working Party on Conditional and Contingency Fees to study the systems in civil disputes resolution in other jurisdictions and to consider their suitability for Hong Kong (The Law Society of Hong Kong 2003: 61).
 - 22 Issues relating to the cost of legal services were considered by the Chief Justice's Working Party on Civil Justice Reform (2003: 376–95). Their Interim Report had four proposals to increase costs transparency, three of which are noted here. The first proposal was that rules should be adopted requiring solicitors and barristers (1) to disclose to their clients full information as to the basis on which they will be charged fees; (2) to provide them with the best available estimates as to the amount of fees they are likely to be charged for litigation; and (3) to update or revise such information and estimates if they change, with reasons given for any such changes. The second proposal was to take steps to ensure that the public is given access to information regarding barristers and solicitors relevant to the choice of legal representation in connection with litigation including information on fees, expertise and experience to be made available by the professional associations concerned or in some other manner. The third proposal was that steps be taken to compile benchmark costs for use in Hong Kong. After considering responses to the Interim Report, the Working Party recommended adoption of the first proposal. The Working Party noted there were "strongly divergent views" regarding the second proposal and recommended that further consultation should be undertaken by the Chief Justice on whether rules permitting the publication by barristers of information about their fees are desirable. With regard to compiling benchmark costs, the Working Party recommended a "less ambitious course," of collating and publishing information on fees and costs derived from such sources as awards made on taxation.
 - 23 Practice promotion is defined as the marketing by whatever method of that solicitor, his practice or his firm or the professional legal services offered by him or it. It includes any exposure, whether or not paid for, in any public medium, the issue of any publication or communication (including orally) in any medium to any client, prospective client or the public generally which has the character of an advertisement or promotional material, any public appearance, and any contact with a prospective client initiated by or on behalf of the solicitor. Sandor and Wilkinson (1996: 69) note the change was influenced

- by developments in England and comment that “It is far more liberal than any previous regime in Hong Kong, although it is not as free as in some other jurisdictions.”
- 24 The 1995 Consultation Paper on Legal Services noted that the legal profession, like many other professions, had traditionally placed restrictions through practice rules or codes of conduct on the freedom of its members to inform the public about the services they offer and the prices they charge. It recommended that the only restriction on advertising and promotion by lawyers should be that it must not be false, misleading or deceptive. Restrictions based on subjective criteria should be removed.
- 25 Also deleted was reference to practice promotion which is inappropriate “to the best interests of the solicitors’ profession.” Law Society of Hong Kong, Circular 314/96, 25 November 1996.
- 26 Practice promotion shall not (a) be likely to mislead or deceive, whether by inclusion or omission; (b) contain any adverse remark or implication concerning any other solicitor or solicitors, in particular in any comparison of services, practice or fees; (c) make any claim or imply that the solicitor is, or that his practice is or includes an expert in any field of practice or generally. It is permissible, however, to refer to his knowledge, qualifications, experience or area(s) of practice provided that such a claim can be justified; (d) identify any client or any item of any client’s business without the prior written consent of the client; (e) be defamatory; (f) refer to the solicitor’s success rate; (g) imply that a solicitor can obtain results by improper means; (h) be intrusive, offensive or otherwise inappropriate having regard, among other things, to the manner, medium or frequency of approach, or surrounding circumstances; (i) be calculated or likely to take advantage of the weak or weakened mental, physical or emotional state of the recipient or intended recipient; (j) take place in or in the immediate vicinity of a court, police station or place of detention in relation to a person who has been or may be charged with, or has been convicted of, any offence; (k) be directed at a person who has made known a desire not to be contacted; (l) be in any manner which may reasonably be regarded as having the effect of bringing the solicitors’ profession into disrepute; (m) be inappropriate having regard to the best interests of the public; (n) breach any other code of advertising practice for the time being in force which applies to solicitors. There are exceptions when such advertising is permitted, e.g. an appropriate nameplate outside the premises at which a firm of solicitors practices, the name and/or logo of a firm of solicitors on clothing worn at a sporting event by members of a team entered by the firm and their bona fide organizers and officials.
- 27 There are however special rules relating to advertisement on the occasion of change of professional chambers, return to practice or opening a new set of chambers.
- 28 HKIA’s accredited/recognized school list includes the Master of Architecture of The University of Hong Kong and The Chinese University of Hong Kong, the National Architectural Accrediting Board (USA), the Commonwealth Association of Architects and The National Board of Architectural Accreditation of the PRC.

- 29 The Hong Kong Institute of Architects, *The Code of Professional Conduct* as revised 18 January 1995 and *Agreement between Client & Architect & Scale of Professional Charges*, revised ed. September 2000.
- 30 The Hong Kong Institute of Architects, *Agreement between Client & Architect & Scale of Professional Charges*, 1998 revised September 2000.
- 31 The stages are: A – inception; B – feasibility studies; C – outline schematic proposals; D – project design; E – contract documents, F – building construction.
- 32 The fees and charges are seen as minima since it is recognized that fee schedules may not be suitable in all circumstances, in which case higher fees and charges may be agreed between the client and architect when the architect is commissioned. There are also minimum hourly rates (which vary depending on status) and minimum charges specified for some other services. If for any reason partial services only are performed, a different scale applies depending on the type of building
- 33 They can apply to become a member of the Institute under the cooperation agreement with The Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors (UK), and reciprocity Agreements with the Australian Property Institute (since 1994), The Singapore Institute of Surveyors and Valuers (since 1997), New Zealand Property Institute (since 2003), and China Institute of Real Estate Appraisers (since 2003). Before members of these bodies can become corporate members of the HKIS they must pass a written paper on “Legal Framework and Cadastral Systems,” a professional interview and have one year of relevant local experience (except that a member of RICS does not have to wait one year).
- 34 The nature of the Work Stages is however defined differently than those for architecture. See *Professional Charges for Building Surveying Services* (1998), Building Surveying Division of HKIS, adopted with permission of a similar publication by RICS, UK.
- 35 In the case of a cadastral survey (boundary determination, boundary re-establishment, boundary setting out, rectification, etc.), the scales vary for a Field Survey Party (comprising one surveyor, three survey chainmen or workmen and the driver) (\$10,120 per day) and a small house survey (\$14,630 for a single house, \$6,820 per house if a block of houses). Office work including the data analysis and processing, computation and plan production are charged at lower daily rates (e.g. \$6,430 per day for office work related to a cadastral survey) *Scale of Professional Charges for Land Surveying Services in Hong Kong* (1996, 3rd ed), prepared jointly by Land Surveying Division of HKIS and the Land Surveying Committee of RICS (Hong Kong Branch).
- 36 Inclusive Scale of Professional Charges for Quantity Surveying Services for Building Workers in Hong Kong (1994, 1st ed), jointly with RICS (Hong Kong Branch).
- 37 Scale of Professional Charges for General Practice Services in Hong Kong (1995). In October 2004, HKIS is in the process of revising scales for GP, LS and QS. Communication from Secretary-General, HKIS, 27 October 2004.
- 38 Under the Ordinance, the qualification for registration is closely linked with the qualification standard for membership of the HKIE but HKIE membership is not a prerequisite for registration. Membership of an engineering body which is

accepted by the Board as being of a standard not less than that of a Member of the HKIE within a discipline may also be acceptable, provided that other conditions are also met including that the applicant is ordinarily resident in Hong Kong and at least one year relevant post-qualification professional experience in Hong Kong.

- 39 Only two persons have qualified through this route since it was added in 1996.
- 40 For example, one of the objects of the HKIE is “to discourage dishonourable conduct and practices arising in the engineering profession.” One object of the HKIA is “to maintain the integrity and status of and discourage dishonourable conduct and practices in the architectural profession” and for the HKICPA to “discourage dishonourable conduct and practices by professional accountants.” One of the aims of the Bar Association is the “prescribing of rules of professional conduct, discipline and etiquette.” The aims of the Law society include to “promote high standards of work and ethical practice in the profession” and to “ensure compliance with the law and rules affecting solicitors.”
- 41 The creation of a Medical Council for regulating medical practitioners followed the British model.
- 42 The phrase “in theory” is used since this self-regulatory power is not absolute. The Government can exert pressure on the professions to upgrade standards of professional competence and performance, to improve transparency and accountability of their regulatory and disciplinary practices and to alter practices that are deemed not to be in the public interest through a process of consultation with various parties including the professional bodies concerned. One example is the remarks by the then Attorney-General Jeremy Mathews, in a speech to accountants on 15 October 1988, threatening government intervention if the profession did not shape up. “Public interest considerations . . . may even demand of you as a profession, changes in attitudes and professional practices. This may result in your Society initiating changes through your own professional committees, or it may require changes of a more formal character which can only be brought about by regulation imposed from without by government” (quoted in Vittachi 1999: 99). The Government itself becomes part of the regulatory system when it establishes its own registration bodies to determine whether a professional is qualified to perform certain types of work or duties such as the AP system under the Buildings Ordinance. The Government can change the way it does business with the professions and in doing so impact on professional practices.
- 43 See Krause (1996: 79–122) for an overview, from a comparative perspective, of the broader context of the relationship between the “amateur state” and the professions in Britain. He identifies some of the key features of the British case as follows: “Dominant regulatory mechanisms of the state invoke the advice-and-consent model, with the relevant state ministries consulting with the ‘affected interests’ — the professions, for example. The ‘qualifying associations’ that register the professionals in each field are in the private sector, performing what are public functions in most other nations, and they also act as lobbies. The state does not control the training slots of professions, except indirectly through funding to some university programs, and does not control professional

- performance at work except, again, indirectly through the impact of funding decisions. Parliamentary commissions [...] recommend changes in professional conditions and behavior" (Krause 1996: 82) ... This institutional framework has been largely replicated in Hong Kong, with the exception of the last point about the role of parliamentary commissions. The Government's appointment of outside consultants to conduct studies and recommend reforms might be considered a functional equivalent.
- 44 The key provision was Article 142 of the Basic Law: "The Government of the HKSAR shall, on the basis of maintaining the previous systems concerning the professions, formulate provisions on its own for assessing the qualifications for practice in the various professions. Persons with professional qualifications or qualifications for professional practice obtained prior to the establishment of the HKSAR may retain their previous qualifications in accordance with the relevant regulations and codes of practice. The Government of the HKSAR shall continue to recognize the professions and the professional organizations recognized prior to the establishment of the Region, and these organizations may, on their own, assess and confer professional qualifications. The Government of the HKSAR may, as required by developments in society and in consultation with the parties concerned, recognize new professions and professional organizations" (Chan and Clark 1991: 198). Dr. Leong Che-hung, who was a member of the Basic Law Consultative Committee, reportedly "proudly hails his successful campaign to have professional autonomy written into the mini-constitution as one of his achievements" ("*Golden Knife*", *South China Morning Post* 2004).
- 45 The following remark about the professional bodies of solicitors and barristers probably applies to other self-regulatory professions as well: "The two professional bodies jealously guard such a power [to set their own requirements for admission to the profession subject to the approval of the Chief Justice] and regard it as an essential element of being a profession. They argue that it is self evident that a profession should have power to decide what should be required of any person seeking entry to it" (Redmond and Roper 2001: 81).
- 46 Current policy is that application for permission to enter (or remain) in Hong Kong for employment may be favourably considered if: (a) there is no security objection and the applicant has no known record of serious crime; (b) the applicant has a good education background, normally a first degree in the relevant field, but in some special circumstances, good technical qualifications, proven professional abilities and/or relevant experience and achievement supported by documentary evidence; (c) the applicant has a confirmed offer of employment, is employed in a job relevant to his/her academic qualifications or working experience that cannot be readily taken up by the local workforce; and (d) the remuneration package including income, accommodation, medical and other benefits is broadly commensurate with the prevailing market level for professionals in Hong Kong. When assessing the application, the criteria considered by Immigration include (a) whether there is a genuine vacancy for an employee in Hong Kong; (b) what skills, knowledge and experience are needed for the job; (c) whether the terms and conditions of employment are

comparable to those in the local market; (d) whether the applicant's qualifications and experience are relevant to the job; and (e) whether the job can be filled locally. The employing companies may be required to satisfy the Immigration Department that they have made genuine efforts to recruit local candidates but without success. The Immigration Department will also consult experts within and outside the government, professional institutions/organizations in the related field, etc., on individual cases where necessary. Each application is considered on its individual merits. (Information provided by the Immigration Department, August 2004).

- 47 A proposal included in a draft of the Medical Registration (Amendment) Bill but later dropped would have empowered the Medical Council to accredit any medical education programme, in Hong Kong or elsewhere, or any examination in medicine, surgery and midwifery set by a licencing body outside Hong Kong if the Council were satisfied with its standard. (The actual phrasing was "that the completion of such programme or the passing of such examination shows the achievement of a standard not lower than that achieved by the passing of the Licensing Examination.") Had this provision been included in the final version of the bill, graduates of recognized non-local medical education programmes would no longer have to sit examinations in order to practise in Hong Kong. The Medical Council wanted this section of the draft bill deleted to "avoid possible political pressure" if it were given too much discretion over recognition of medical institutions outside Hong Kong. (Proceedings of the Legislative Council 28 July 1995: 6430).
- 48 Over 90 percent of the candidates participating in the Licensing Examination which took place in 1996 were from Taiwan or China. Legislative Council, Panel on Health Services, Minutes of Meeting of 21 March 1997. LegCo Paper No. CB(2)1769/96–97.
- 49 His concern was that such remarks by the Administration might be used as an argument to dispute the need for a local externship training and a licentiate examination for non-locally qualified medical practitioners who want to practise in Hong Kong (Legislative Council, Bills Committee on Legal Practitioners (Amendment) Bill 1999. Minutes of the third meeting held on Monday, 28 February 2000. LC Paper No. CB(2)2548/99–00, p. 6). See also the remarks two years earlier by Professor Felice Lieh Mak on the uniqueness of medical care in Hong Kong (Legislative Council, Panel on Health Services, Minutes of Meeting held on Friday, 21 March 1997, 3–4).
- 50 A long-term solution to the decline in intake quality would be to widen the recruitment net for professional training programmes by raising the standards for admission and opening up competition for admission to the best and the brightest graduates from non-local universities (as has occurred in the case of admission into the PCLL programme at The University of Hong Kong).
- 51 They attributed this situation to the culture of the medical profession and the colonial system. As they put it in their Executive Summary, the "leaders of organized medicine in Hong Kong are largely graduates of one medical school and have close professional ties to other commonwealth nations. As a result, their professional education and beliefs tend to be similar, creating close professional loyalties and collective defenses against criticism. This situation

has been further exacerbated by the fact that colonial powers commonly rule through the local elite, who decide on policies and programmes; the general public, lacking influence and substantive input, depend on the good intentions of the elite. This legacy continues in Hong Kong where there is little transparency or public input in assuring quality of health care, and raises a fundamental question: are the interests of patients and the public best served by the current system?" They did not accept the medical profession's argument that the Medical Council, professional indemnity claims or peer review mechanisms provided effective checks and balances. It should be noted that the medical profession objected strongly to the Harvard team's argument that the variable quality of health care could be attributed to a closed, colonial, elitist medical profession.

- 52 Examples include continuing professional education for medical practitioners, developing ways to facilitate continuous quality improvement, clinical protocols, a system of clinical supervision, regular peer review and clinical audit, and risk management.
- 53 A review in the mid-1990s of the opportunities for the Hong Kong professions in China noted how differences in the ways the professions were defined, organized, regulated, and practised in the two places, as well as the nature of national/local government requirements for setting up offices and firms, would pose challenges for Hong Kong professionals and professional firms hoping to enter the China market. See Chan (1996) for a discussion of the situation with specific reference to accountants, architects, bankers, engineers and lawyers. Gu (2001) on the basis of his study of three professional communities in China — accountants, lawyers and journalists — concludes that the "state-profession relationship in China is in transition, and it now occupies a stage between state socialism and state corporatism. On the one hand, the majority of professional organizations are state-owned, and some of them are still government-subsidized. The state still assumes most regulatory duties concerning the profession, and in some cases imposes rigorous control over professional activities. On the other hand, private professional organizations have emerged and their number is growing. The construction of community-based regulatory systems and the transition from the state's administration of professions to systems of collegial self-governance are also underway. Professionalism and commercialism have replaced political commitment as the new principles dominating professional activities. In brief, professional autonomy is developing, although the pace of such development is still slow." He notes the growth of professional autonomy in China was most advanced in accounting (the professional body had taken over many regulatory duties from a government body), least advanced in the mass media sector (a politically sensitive area), with the legal services sector falling somewhere in between.
- 54 See Appendix 4 for details.
- 55 I was informed that about 40 percent of the members of the HKIS work for the Hong Kong Government. By contrast, as of October 2004, only 8 percent of the members of the HKICPA worked in the public sector (HKICPA 2004: 21).
- 56 In September 2004, an accountant who had qualified overseas lodged a complaint with COMPAG alleging that the HKICPA's requirement to pass an Aptitude Test to be admitted as a member of the HKICPA, and to pass the Practising

- Certificate (PC) Examinations before he could be issued with a PC was anti-competitive. COMPAG forwarded his complaint to the Financial Services and the Treasury Bureau (FSTB). FSTB subsequently advised that the rationale for both the Aptitude Test and the PC Examinations was reasonable but did raise a question about the inconsistency in waiving the Aptitude Test requirement for some classes of applicants but not others (Competition Policy Advisory Group: 27).
- 57 See the essays in Loh (2006) that discuss how the functional constituency (FC) representatives in LegCo including those from the professions define their role, not surprisingly, primarily as that of protecting and promoting the particular interests of their respective constituencies. The interests of a professional constituency are not of course homogeneous so that FC representatives for the professions have sometimes come under criticism from within their constituency for promoting the interests of a particular group or interest within their profession.
 - 58 If the focus were on size of membership of these bodies, the rankings would change. A survey conducted by the Hong Kong Transitions Project in February 1996 asked respondents about their membership of various types of bodies. Some 10.2 percent reported being a member of professional organizations. This was higher than the 9.4 percent who reported belonging to a trade union (cited in Lo 1997: 196).
 - 59 It draws its working definition of professional associations from *British Qualifications*, 26th edition as those having the following aims (it explicitly excludes associations whose primary objective is to promote trade): (1) qualify individuals to act in a certain professional capacity; (2) safeguard high standards of professional conduct; (3) give their members an opportunity to keep abreast of a particular discipline or to undertake further study in it; (4) look after the interests of the practitioners in any particular profession.
 - 60 Some of those reported as founded in the 1950s would have predated the Second World War though not necessarily using their prewar name. The Hong Kong Medical Association, for example, was founded in 1920 as the Hong Kong Chinese Medical Association.
 - 61 It lists what this expertise is in some detail.

Chapter 11

- 1 Details see *Global Entrepreneurship Monitor: Hong Kong and Shenzhen 2003*, online at <http://www.baf.cuhk.edu.hk/research/gem/GEM2003-figure.pdf>.
- 2 Details see: Census and Statistics Department, *Special Topics Report No. 36 — Casual Employment and Self-employment* (Hong Kong: HKSAR Government Printer, 2003).
- 3 The GEM Hong Kong project was conducted by a team from The Chinese University of Hong Kong and led by Professor Chua Bee-Leng, Department of Management. Its research includes two main parts, i.e. Adult Population Survey and Expert Interviews. In 2003, GEM telephone interviewed 2,000 adults in Hong Kong and conducted 25 one-hour, face-to-face interviews with government

officials, business people and academics on strengths, weaknesses and recommendations for improving entrepreneurship in Hong Kong. From 2003, the team also jointly worked with a team in Shenzhen, thus providing a comparison between entrepreneurial activity in Hong Kong and Shenzhen. Reports can be seen at <http://www.baf.cuhk.edu.hk/research.gem>.

- 4 The territory-wide Social Indicator Survey has been conducted biennially since 1988. It is a long-term collaborative project undertaken by researchers at The University of Hong Kong, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, and the Hong Kong Polytechnic University. The focus of the survey is on subjective indicators. And its target population comprises adults aged 18 or above who are living in Hong Kong. It is worth noticing that each survey expresses its own concern of the time. Therefore, questions related to entrepreneurship may not be asked at every survey.
- 5 The Census and Statistics Department (C&SD) started a series called the Thematic Household Survey in 1999 in order to meet the demand on statistical data on social issues from various policy institutions. The survey itself is often contracted out to private research firms, but data processing and analysis were done by the C&SD. In the 2000 survey on employment concerns, some 8,100 households were successfully enumerated, constituting a response rate of 73%. In the 2002 survey, 8,000 households responded, representing a 72% response rate. Also, in these households, all persons aged 15 and over were classified economically active, and thus sought for opinions.

Chapter 12

- 1 As Scott points out, "... capitalism itself is moving into a phase in which the cultural forms and meanings of its outputs become critical if not dominating elements of productive strategy, and in which the realm of human culture as a whole is increasingly subject to commodification, i.e. supplied through profit-making institutions in decentralized markets. In other words, an ever-widening range of economic activity is concerned with producing and marketing goods and services that are infused in one way or another with broadly aesthetic or semiotic attributes" (1977: 323).
- 2 The *Metroplan* aims to cater for Hong Kong's role as an international city competing with other Asian cities.
- 3 See www.hplb.gov.hk/wkcd/eng/public_consultation/intro.htm.
- 4 Hong Kong Arts Development Council (2000), par. 29.
- 5 The fact that West Kowloon was also pitched (by the former Hong Kong Tourism Association) as a larger version of Lan Kwai Fong concluded well the ruling elite's thoughts about what Hong Kong needs back then, even during days of comparative prosperity: a beacon that reaps economic rewards and not a cultural identity or an artefact of civil society.
- 6 Before that, the ruling authorities did not intend the reclamation to be the centre of an events capital per se in the first place. Incidentally, the West Kowloon Reclamation was part of the Airport Core Programme, or what was more commonly known as the "Rose Garden" infrastructure projects initiated by the

- colonial authorities to be calm a local population clamouring for British right-of-abode after Beijing's bloody clampdown on Tiananmen Square in 1989.
- 7 The original planning and urban design studies the government undertook for the West Kowloon Reclamation in 1992 included an extensive examination on the impact of the reclamation on "the existing West Kowloon hinterland" — an area of 1,000 hectares which reaches all the way to Cheung Sha Wan, Shek Kip Mei and Tsim Sha Tsui East (Territory Development Department 1992: 3). In setting up the urban design framework for the West Kowloon Reclamation, the study stresses on the impact the newly developed area would have on the existent "hinterlands", with the reclamation existing not solely as a detached satellite town, but more as an urban appendage that provides "structural open spaces", "city gateways" and also enhances "the harbour as a focus and visual influence" (*ibid.*: 21).
 - 8 The government did not even bother to undertake measures to reach out to the public as those in 1999 when it proposed to scrap the municipal councils and install a new administrative framework for arts, cultural and sports facilities. During the consultation exercise in 1999, five public forums were held: one with the arts and cultural sector, one with the sports sector, and three with district board members; the public was notified of these hearings through advertisements in the press, and more than 1,500 invitation letters were sent out to groups. In addition, members of the Legislative Council's Home Affairs panel and Provisional Urban Councillors were also granted an audience by officials in charge of the shake-up.
 - 9 See www.ppwk.org/aboutus.html.
 - 10 *Ibid.*
 - 11 *Ibid.* p. 53.
 - 12 *Ibid.* p. 67.

Chapter 13

- 1 Chen Yonghai, "Xinjie weicun yu shequ Xiangxiang," in Chen Jiehua ed., *Pipan shikao, chuangyi jiaoxue: Xianggang shequ jiaoyu* (Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, The University of Hong Kong, 2004). Hung Ho-fung, *Rethinking the Hong Kong Cultural Identity: The Case of Rural Ethnicities* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1998).
- 2 Xiao Xi, "Sheide Sheide Chengshi," *Jijin Luntan* 2 (1998).
- 3 Akil Gupta and James Ferguson eds., *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997). Liu Tik Sang and Cheung Siu Woo, "Reference Community: Anthropological Experience of Research, Teaching and Friendship in Tai-O, Hong Kong," in Sidney C. H. Cheung ed., *On the South China Track: Perspectives on Anthropological Research and Teaching* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1998).
- 4 Keesing, Roger M., "Creating the Past: Custom and Identity in the Contemporary Pacific," *The Contemporary Pacific*, 1989, vol. 1, nos. 1 and 2, 19–42.

- 5 The origin of the description of Tai O as “Venice of Hong Kong” is not yet dated but is probably from an earlier post-War era.
- 6 “Da’ao ni chongxin baozhuang, fazhan yi yucun wei zhuti lüyou dian,” *Ta Kung Pao*, 21 March 2000, A11.
- 7 “Fanxin Angping yingfang, zhengqu Da’ao jian xinju, Qingnian Lüshe qiang zuo youke diyizhan,” *Hong Kong Economic Times*, 14 January 2002, A22.
- 8 “500 Da’ao ren baowei teshou yaoqiu chengren zuye yuandi chongjian,” *Apple Daily*, 4 July 2000, A06.
- 9 “Chong jian po huai sheng tai chai peng wu kong shi jia yuan, da ao ju min shi kang zheng fu bao cun,” *Tin Tin Daily News*, 23 April 2000, A08.
- 10 “Da ao ju min ni chou 460 wan chong jian peng wu,” *Hong Kong Economic Times*, 9 September 2000, A26.
- 11 *Jia Zai Shuixiang*, videorecording, TVB, c2003, 11:43.
- 12 “Da ao yu huo chong sheng hua zuo huan bao zhong xin,” *Mingpao*, 31 July 2000, A02.
- 13 “Chong zhi Da’ao hongshu Yuhuchu ya pi,” *Oriental Daily News*, 24 March 2001.
- 14 *Ibid.*
- 15 *Da’ao Shetuan: Wei zhengqu gaishan difang huanjing yijian shu*, 1985.
- 16 Liu and Cheung, *op. cit.*, 234.
- 17 James Hayes, *The Hong Kong Region 1850–1911: Institutions and Leadership in Town and Countryside* (USA: Archon, 1977), 85.
- 18 Liu and Cheung, *op. cit.*, 234, 230, 231, 235.
- 19 Emily Chan Mee Lee, “Tai O: Its Growth and Development,” undergraduate essay presented in the Department of Geography and Geology, The University of Hong Kong (1956).
- 20 Alice Yau Shuk-ki, “A Regional Study of Tai O,” undergraduate essay presented in the Department of Geography and Geology, The University of Hong Kong (1960).
- 21 Liu and Cheung, *op. cit.*, 235.
- 22 Hayes, *op.cit.*, 91. Lü Lie, *Dayushan* (2002), distinguishes two salt production methods practiced by two separate group of workers settled in different parts of Tai O (p. 95).
- 23 Sha Tin village might be another settlement connected with the salt workers.
- 24 Wong, Wai King, *Tai O — Love Stories of the Fishing Village* (Hong Kong: Wong Wai King, 2001), 20.
- 25 Liao Disheng, “Shequ mailuo de renshi: Dao shequ gean fenxi,” in Chen Jiehua ed., *Pipan shikao, chuanygi jiaoxue: Xianggang shequ jiaoyu* (Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, The University of Hong Kong, 2004), 16.
- 26 Wong, *op. cit.*, 20.
- 27 Wong, *op. cit.*, 156.
- 28 Wong, *op. cit.*, 152–53.
- 29 A 1981 report also touches on sexual segregation and discrimination in Tai O. It notes that regardless of the time of day and location, and the kind of leisure activity involved, “one can never find a gathering of both men and women.” It also describes how bias against women/daughters was common, citing the case

- of a shop owner who wanted a son so badly that he did not give up after five daughters were born. The same man refused to let his daughter attend secondary school despite her success in getting a place (p. 64). Du Lixin and Zhang Guoyi, *Da'ao she qu guan cha* (Hong Kong: Xianggang Jidu jiao nü qingnian hui Da'ao shequ fazhan banshichu, 1981).
- 30 Liu and Cheung, *op. cit.*, 235.
- 31 Liao, *op. cit.*, 5.
- 32 Wong, 20. Also *Shuixiang Qing*, videorecording, RTHK, c1999, 19:02.
- 33 Liao, *op. cit.*, 6.
- 34 Du and Zhang, *op. cit.*, 20. This is partly because Hong Kong fishermen were otherwise restricted from China's territorial seas.
- 35 It is said that during the sixteenth century, some Portuguese had lived in the village of Fan Kwai Tong in Tai O. Wong, *op. cit.*, 24.
- 36 Wong, *op. cit.*, 87–88.
- 37 *Ibid.*
- 38 *Tai O through the Eyes of Anthropologists*, videorecording, RTHK, c1986, produced by Dominic Siu.
- 39 See Du and Zhang, *op. cit.*, 70–71 for further details.
- 40 See, e.g., Du and Zhang, *op. cit.*, 21.
- 41 Liao, *op. cit.*, 6.
- 42 Liu and Cheung, among others, have remarked on mechanization and China competition as factors to decline of fishery and salt production.
- 43 Du and Zhang, *op. cit.*, 40 and 72 and these observations.
- 44 Wong, *op. cit.*, 29.
- 45 In the early days, sea-traffic was severely threatened by pirates, but they gradually disappeared after World War II. See Wong, *op. cit.*, 29–30. Passenger-ferry service began as early as the 1930s. In 1938, the Hong Kong Yau Ma Tei Ferry Co. Ltd. provided passenger-ferry service from Sheung Wan to Tai O, passing through Castle Peak and Tung Chung.
- 46 Du and Zhang, *op. cit.*, 17–19.
- 47 Du Deqi, *Da'ao jilu* (1976). Compare Du and Zhang, *op. cit.*, figures 11–13 on p. 55 and after. One oddity is that the sex ratio for the age range of 30 to 59 was 593 in 1961 (compared with 1242 in 1971), suggesting an unusual gender patterns in mortality, marriage and migration. This may be related to a report that from the 1940s to the 1960s some Tai O daughters were sold (Wong, 36).
- 48 Wong, *op. cit.*, 163.
- 49 Du Deqi, *op. cit.*
- 50 "Report on Tai O children health screening report [sic.]" (1979) makes similar observations.
- 51 Du and Zhang, *op. cit.*, 48, 65, 67.
- 52 "Banyi tianshi/wei Dao Chuli," *Jingji ribao*, 11 November 2004.
- 53 *Daao Fengguang Hao*, 78.
- 54 Lü Dale and Gong Qisheng, *Chengshi zongheng* (Hong Kong: Guangjiaojing, 1985), 94.
- 55 Zhu Changxi, "Jiceng shequ de jingji fazhan jihua," in Chen Liyun and Luo Guancui eds., *Shequ gongzuo: shequ zhaogu shijian* (1989 and 1994 editions:

- Xianggang shehui gongzuo renyuan xiehui). An earlier report is Zhu Changxi, “Da’ao jingji fazhan jihua — moluo shequ de xingsheng,” in YWCA HK, Youth Work & Community Service Department ed., *Shequ gongzuo shizai* (Hong Kong: Jidu jiao nu qing nian hui, 1987).
- 56 John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage, 1990).
- 57 *Xiao Dao Qinghuai*, RTHK, 1990.
- 58 Dean MacCannell, “Ethnicity and Tourism,” 16–17.
- 59 *Ibid.*, 14.
- 60 Lin Hongyuan, “Daao de tiankong,” <http://www.waying.edu.hk/wyl/hiking/route/980415.html>.
- 61 “Da’ao yi chongzheng: shuixiang fengqing kong buzai,” *Jingji ribao*, 13 April 2000.
- 62 I have seen in a source that it began around 1930. That approximates the founding of a predecessor of the Rural Committee, in 1932. See e.g. Du and Zhang, *op. cit.*, 60 for the latter date. James Hayes, *The Hong Kong Region*, 96, cites Schofield’s memory that the Kaifong organization ran a sampan ferry across the creek.
- 63 See “Da’ao Yuye” in Du Deqi, *Da’ao jilu*.
- 64 It was in 1979 that residents of the neighborhood built Sun Kei (“New Embankment”) Bridge using their own money.
- 65 YWCA Tai O Community Development Office, *Da’ao shequ diaocha* (Hong Kong, 1981), 19.
- 66 “Da’ao de zhuanbian,” *Sishiwu fenzhong shishi zhuiji*, ATV, broadcasted, 11 March 1989.
- 67 Wong names two translators, the first being a good friend who first knew her as a newspaper reporter and the other translates and proofreads the book (p. 183).
- 68 Comment by “hong” to “Da’ao ... [sic] Maocheng,” <http://blog.panghouse.com/2005/09/07/156/>.
- 69 MacCannell, *op. cit.*, 16.
- 70 Wong, *op. cit.*, 181 and Li Weiyi (Lee Wai Yee), “Bianzhe Hua,” (editor’s note), in *ibid.*, 8.
- 71 It is noteworthy that two organizations of very different background than the two identified above, namely the Society for the Promotion of Civil Aid and the Tai O Youth Club, endorsed the document. Three other organizations applied their stamps on the document and one of the personal endorsers was Cheung Chi-wing, a district councillor from Tai O’s fishing community. The cooperation between those organizations might be linked to the district administration reform introduced in the few years before.
- 72 The document states “neglect by the government for twenty years.”
- 73 In her book published in 2000, Wong describes the seawall as not only a useful protection against the sea during high tide but also a scenic spot, especially at sunset, and a major project at the time of its construction, and a place for Tai O people to enjoy themselves in summer evenings for music, art, and nature. It is also revealed that the land people and fisher folk call the seawall by different names. Wong, *op. cit.*, 145.
- 74 The infeasibility of repairing the seawall is emphasized by another interviewee, who should be impartial in the dispute.

- 75 It is not clear that residents of the village, being mostly Hoklo salt workers now no longer represented by a union, were among the most marginal groups in Tai O. Such a condition might explain the government strategy in dealing with the seawall, and Wong's inability to enlist most Tai O organizations to support her campaign to protect the structure.
- 76 Her family was the biggest one at the time. She also mentions that some residents were offered and accepted comparatively generous re-housing, including public housing or Home Ownership Scheme flats in the urban area.
- 77 See "Da'ao yucun mianlin weixie," *Huanjing qianxian*, 2 December 1995. The move is partly because Hong Kong was bound by the relevant international convention and general duties associated with ideas of global citizenship.
- 78 "Daao tupian ji wenwu zhan," *Dagong bao*, 24 April 2000.
- 79 "Da'ao jian dingbo qu zhi hongshu lin," *Hong Kong Daily News*, 17 April 2001.
- 80 "Mob attacks teen as he goes to rescue of mother fighting Tai O typhoon shelter," *Hong Kong i-Mail*, 15 May 2001.
- 81 In fact, Wong expresses doubts that tourism and the revival of the fishing port will actually bring economic benefits to the community as both increasingly involve non-local labor.
- 82 See the following publications of Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, 1987, *Hong Kong 1986 By-Census: Tertiary Planning Unit Summary Tables*, Hong Kong: Government Printer, 1993. *Supermap Hong Kong 1991: Hong Kong Population Census Statistics*. Electronic resource, Hong Kong: Huang Kwan & Associates, 1997. *1996 Population By-Census: Tables for Tertiary Planning Units: New Territories*, Hong Kong: Government Printer. It should be noted that the latest numbers also reflect the presence of a considerable number of newcomers in the government housing and Home Ownership Scheme flats, who had been ignored by most commentators.
- 83 Wen Keji, "Kefu Lidao shequ ziyuan pinfa de zhangwai," in 2002–03 *Niandu youzhi fuwu fenxiang — gaishan jiaju ji shequ zhaogu fuwu — gean guanli*. http://www.hkcss.org.hk/el/er/GP_EHCCS_1.pdf, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Council of Social Services.
- 84 Liao, *op. cit.*
- 85 "Guan Daao wenhua," *Ming Bao*, 11 July 2001.
- 86 "Daao gongzuo shi zang qiong gu," *Jingji ribao*, 19 September 2003.
- 87 "Yuhushu moshu qiongyu gu," *Xingdao ribao*, 19 September 2003.
- 88 "Wenhua gongzuo shi," *Xingdao ribao*, 24 September 2003.
- 89 "You wenhua," *Pingguo ribao*, 6 September 2005.
- 90 Peter K. W. Fong and Chan Chik, *Home of Yesterday* (Hong Kong, 1993), 104.
- 91 *Ibid.*, 94. Tai O locals probably had no such perception. Interview with Cheung Chi-wing, December 2005, and remarks of a fisherfolk male apparently in his 30s or 40s in RTHK's *Daao Sou zuo zai*, first broadcasted in 2004.
- 92 Pang's daughter retold her explanation that printing many copies of photographs was not a waste because there would be people who wanted to buy. See RTHK's *Yucun Zhaoxiangguan*, first broadcasted early 2002.
- 93 Those can be seen in RTHK's *Yucun Zhaoxiangguan* but not in Wong's book.
- 94 It actually also covers salt manufacture done by workers from a different part of China who spoke a different "dialect."

- 95 The others were one mute woman, and a peddler (with only about one third of the account focusing on him).
- 96 “Chengda xinhangxian, cai danche you Daao,” *Pingguo ribao*, 16 August 2002.
- 97 As far as can be identified, once in *Dagong Bao*’s report on Tai O tourism promotion activities in its racing and business information page (“Daao liuyou tuiguang ri zhouri juxing,” 1 November 2004) and *Sing Pao Daily News* supplement page together with the Tai O Culture Workshop (“Shuang jiangjun shi fang pengwu,” *Cheng bao*, 28 November 2005).
- 98 A research assistant of middle class background and exposure to museums abroad compared the style of presentation to China products department stores in Hong Kong in the 1980s after her first visit.
- 99 Kong Gaofeng, “Qiannian,” 136. In the 1986 pamphlet of about 50 pages (*Yushan diaochen*, Tai O, Lantau: Tai O Youth Club, 1986), member Liu Kinsang, a son of the Tai O goldsmith’s originally from another part of the Pearl River Delta, gathered fragments of Lantau and fishermen’s history, highlighting its former importance in trade, defense, fishing and salt production, expressing hope that those in power might appreciate past glory and try to restore it. Almost ten years later, the Club publishes a newsletter, featuring an article that criticizes the government’s plan to demolish stilt houses and move the residents to newly constructed housing estates. It links the move to forcing fisherfolks to give up fishing, leave their hometown, become unskilled workers in the city, and become assimilated by a dominant cultural group. Instead of romanticizing “traditional life” of the fisherfolks, it puts considerable emphasis on the risk and hardship of fishing, and mentions the quite common phenomena of men not being able to get married and women being sold by their families. Instead of advocating preservation of stilt houses as they are, the author draws attention to the fact that the dimensions of stilt houses were controlled by the government, which specifies the height, width, and length of each stilt house, in effect restricting expansion and improvements to the residents’ living space in hygienic and other aspects. The article links the situation to the government’s refusal to recognize the fishingfolk’s land rights as it does the land villagers’. (Cited in Kong, “Qiannian,” 136–37.)
- 100 Opinion submitted to LegCo panel on environmental affairs, 7 April 2000, not consulted at this writing.
- 101 “Da’ao de lishi,” manuscript dated 1 September 2001.
- 102 Hei Meigui, “Congqian youren gaoshu wo,” *Huanjing Qianxian*, 2 December 1995. <http://meltingpot.fortunecity.com/roberts/818/issue2/ef02.htm>
- 103 To some extent, Fuk Kam has parallels in some younger men who grew up in Tai O and expresses their views on the place through an organization for nature exploration they formed with Hong Kong residents with less specific connection to Tai O. However, at least for a most active member I interviewed in late 2005, global concerns and “the future of the earth” is a more pressing priority for them.
- 104 See Sidney C. H. Cheung, “The Meanings of a Heritage Trail in Hong Kong,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 26:3 (1999).

Conclusion

- 1 For the apparent loss of cosmopolitan space, see Margaret Ng's comparison of Mumbai and Hong Kong "Cosmopolitanism at risk" (*SCMP*, September 12, 2001); for a more general discussion of citizenship, see Agnes Ku and Pun Ngai (2004).

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